# ENCYCLOPEDIA
## OF THE
# New American Nation



The Emergence of the United States,
1754–1829

3

PAUL FINKELMAN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF THE
*New American Nation*

# Editorial Board

# ENCYCLOPEDIA
## OF THE
# New American Nation

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

## 1

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

PAUL FINKELMAN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

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

**THOMSON**

**GALE**

<sup>TM</sup>

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

For Stanley N. Katz, mentor and friend.

# Editorial & Production Staff

**Project Editor:** Erin Bealmear

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

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

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

**Copyeditors:** Jessica Hornik Evans, Michael Levine, Alan Thwaits

**Caption Writer:** Judith Culligan

**Proofreader:** Carol Holmes

**Cartographer:** XNR Productions (Madison, Wis.)

**Indexer:** Wendy Allex

**Cover & Page Designer:** Pamela A. E. Galbreath

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

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

**Manager, Composition:** Mary Beth Trimper

**Assistant Manager, Composition:** Evi Seoud

**Manufacturing:** Wendy Blurton

**Development Editors:** Roberta Klarreich, Lisa Vecchione

**Editorial Director:** John Fitzpatrick

**Executive Vice President and Publisher:** Frank Menchaca

# Contents

## X–Y

XYZ Affair
Yorktown, Battle of

# Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Paul Finkelman*

# Chronology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**1761:** Ottawa chief Pontiac rebels against the British.

**1762:** Spain declares war on Great Britain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**1774–1793:** Louis XIV reigns in France.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**1788:** Bread riots occur in France.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH

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

### COLONIAL ANTISLAVERY SENTIMENT

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

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

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

### ABOLITION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

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

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

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

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

### ABOLITION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

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

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

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

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

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Joanne Pope Melish*

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

### RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF ABOLITIONISTS

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

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

### LOCATIONS OF ABOLITION ORGANIZATIONS

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

## GRADUAL ABOLITION

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

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

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

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

## LEGAL ASSISTANCE TO BLACKS

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

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

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

### EXPANSION OF ACTIVITIES

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

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

### BLACK ABOLITIONISTS

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

### FROM GRADUALISM TO IMMEDIATISM

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Richard S. Newman*

## ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

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

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

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

*Martin J. Burke*

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

*R. Blake Brown*

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

**REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS**

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

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



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

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

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

## WAR, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND CONSTITUTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE FEDERALIST ERA

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

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

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

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

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

## RETIREMENT

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

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

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

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Richard Samuelson*

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Richard Samuelson*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

*Carol Sue Humphrey*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Lucia McMahon*

# AFRICAN AMERICANS

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

## *Overview*

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

### SLAVERY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

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

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

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

### HEIGHTENING RACISM

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

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

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

### A HOUSE DIVIDED

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

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

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

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

### AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### HOW FREE IS "FREE"?

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Donald R. Wright*

## African American Life and Culture

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

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

### FAMILIES IN SLAVERY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### SLAVES AND FREE BLACKS

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

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

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

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

### FAMILIES IN FREEDOM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Heather S. Nathans*

## African American Literature

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

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

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

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

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

In 1829, David Walker took the movement from ignorance to self-awareness through the act of writing one step further. In his political treatise *An Appeal to Coloured Citizens of the World*, Walker mimics the rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and asserts that "all men are created equal," regardless of race. Walker's "appeal," of course, was not to African Americans, for they were already well-acquainted with the cruelty and inhumanity of slavery. He addressed, rather, a white audience that either was ignorant or wished to be ignorant of the plight of the slave. Walker explicitly called for slaves to revolt against masters who would not grant them their full rights. One of the earliest overt political papers regarding anti-slavery and anti-racism, Walker's written work was championed by abolitionists and weakened the links in the chains of slavery.

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

*See also* **Autobiography and Memoir.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

*Stephanie J. Wilhelm*

## *African American Religion*

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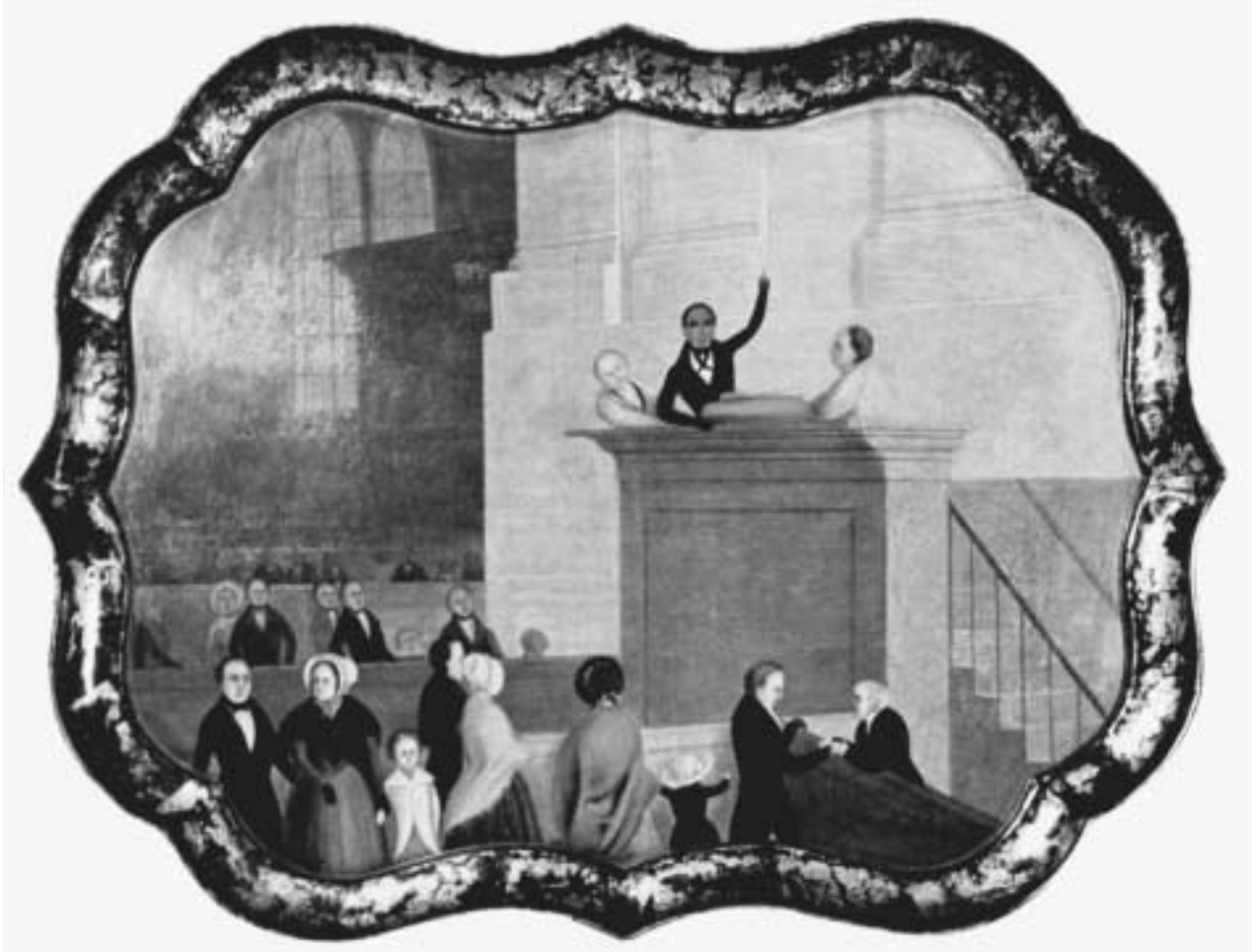
**Lemuel Haynes.** The Reverend Haynes (1753–1833), pictured here on a tray painting (c. 1810) by an unknown artist, was a Revolutionary soldier, a writer, and a preacher, and one of the first African Americans to serve as the pastor of a predominantly white congregation. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW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

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

### AFRICAN BACKGROUND

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

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

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

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

### AFRICAN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See also* **Religion: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Scott M. Langston*

## African American Responses to Slavery and Race

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

### AN ERA OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

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

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

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

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

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

### THE POWER OF THE WORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Roy E. Finkenbine*

### Free Blacks in the North

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

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

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

### ABOLITION AND DISCRIMINATION

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

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

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

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

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

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

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

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

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

### FORGING BLACK COMMUNITIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paul Finkelman
Christopher Malone

## Free Blacks in the South

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

### THE REVOLUTION AND MANUMISSION

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

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

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

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

**Term manumission and term slavery.** Unique to the Upper South was the process of term manumission. In an economic environment where slavery was increasingly less profitable, masters could recoup their investment in their slaves, whom they often pos-

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

### FREE BLACKS IN THE CITIES

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

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

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

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

In comparative terms, in the Upper South (and especially in its cities) fewer free blacks held noticeably less real property than free blacks in the Lower

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

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

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

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

### GROWING RESTRICTIONS ON FREE BLACKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

*Christopher Phillips*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

*James A. McMillin*

# AGRICULTURE

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

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

## Overview

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

### THREE TYPES OF AGRICULTURE

Three major forms of colonial agriculture existed by 1750: the diversified farm, the plantation, and the backwoods settlement. Northern farmers tended to practice a diversified agriculture in which they combined corn and rye with dairy stock. The cattle not only gave them milk for high-value products like butter but also manure, which they spread over their fields to replenish soil nutrients. Either the manure would be carted to fields in the spring or the animals

would be allowed to dung the ground where they grazed. The New England farmstead included apple orchards for cider, a garden for vegetables, and outlying fields that were cultivated less intensively than those closer to the barn. Farmers in eighteenth-century Concord, Massachusetts, cultivated no more than twelve acres, depending on their needs and labor, with half or more of all the land they owned in either wild meadow or pasture sown with high-quality grasses. The town of Concord maintained broad common meadows that residents spent generations reclaiming from the Concord River. Most remote of all were the woodlands.

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

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

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

### MARKET REVOLUTION

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

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

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

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

### SOILS AND SCIENCE

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

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

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

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

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

### EXPANSION INTO THE 1830S
Cyrus McCormick (1809–1884) invented the first successful reaping machine in northern Virginia in 1831. It was the most notable of a generation of farm implements including binders, corn drills, rakes, and threshers intended to lower the cost of labor and

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Steven Stoll*

## *Agricultural Improvement*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

*Mark A. Mastromarino*

## Agricultural Technology

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

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

During the period from the 1820s to the 1840s, several innovations occurred in plow production. As people moved onto the prairie frontier, farmers needed plows to work the soil there. The Breaking Plow, or Prairie Breaker, was a heavy wooden plow plated with iron strips to reduce friction. Prairie plows were heavy, weighing at least 125 pounds and requiring from three to seven yoke of oxen. Cutting only three inches into the soil, farmers could break eight acres a year. Professional prairie breakers could break more land as they traveled from farm to farm. In 1833 John Lane of Illinois designed the first plow for general farm use on the prairie. Lane used steel instead of cast iron. In 1836 John Deere began to produce steel plows in Illinois. Deere's plows contained a polished wrought iron moldboard and steel share. This design quickly became the plow of the prairie frontier as the polished steel blade cut through the prairie soil.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

*Stephanie A. Carpenter*

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

*Daniel S. Murphree*

---

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

*Caryn E. Neumann*

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

*Richard J. Bell*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

*Timothy J. Shannon*

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

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

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

### THE EARLY REPUBLIC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### TEMPERANCE

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

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

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

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

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

idea, in part because those who opposed alcohol often also opposed slavery.

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

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

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

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

*W. J. Rorabaugh*

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

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

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

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

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

### WHISKEY CHALLENGES RUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## WHISKEY PREVAILS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. J. Rorabaugh

## ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS

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

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

### POLITICAL DIFFERENCES

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

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

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

**TABLE 1**

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

### THE ACTS

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

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

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

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

### THE FEDERALIST "REIGN OF TERROR"

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

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

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

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

### THE LEGACY

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Marilyn C. Baseler*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See also* **Printers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

*Patrick Spero*

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

### EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

During the 1770s, American Revolutionaries portrayed Britain as "corrupt" and "luxurious," a deca-

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

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

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

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

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

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

## EUROPEAN VIEWS OF AMERICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

*J. M. Opal*

## AMERICAN CHARACTER AND IDENTITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Michael Zuckerman

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY   *See* **Colonization Movement.**

## AMERICAN INDIANS

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

### *Overview*

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

#### DEMOGRAPHY AND DISEASE

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

### INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Daniel M. Cobb*

## *Northern New England*

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

*Daniel R. Mandell*

## Southern New England

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

### ACCULTURATION AND AUTONOMY

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

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

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

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

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

## REACHING A NADIR

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

*Daniel R. Mandell*

## *Middle Atlantic*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE REVOLUTION

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

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

### DECLINE OF THE IROQUOIS

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

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

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

### EMIGRATION, RESERVATIONS, AND SURVIVAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Karim M. Tiro*

## *Southeast*

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

**TRADITIONAL CULTURE**

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

Southeastern communities were autonomous: each town or village was responsible for its own po-

litical affairs and held its own social and spiritual events. Town councils were divided into civil (white) and military (red) spheres. Civil decisions were reached by consensus after a period of discussion in which all adults had a right to speak. Older members of the community held influence, as did men and women who had distinguished themselves with their military exploits, administrative ability, or wisdom. A red council, which was composed of the warriors of the community, took control of the town when the civil council of the whole determined to go to war. The chiefs, military and civil, did not possess coercive authority over their people; they essentially led their people where the latter wanted to go. Over time, loose confederations of peoples and towns had developed for purposes of security and trade; these ties continued to solidify into national institutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### CULTURAL CHANGE

New economic relations with settlers of European ancestry had already transformed southeastern Indian subsistence and social patterns. Although the native peoples were already quite experienced in dealing with the multicultural world of disparate tribes, the English, Scots-Irish, French, and Spanish colonists who intruded into their territories brought with them new languages, cultural practices, and material goods. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Indians of the Southeast had adopted many of the items offered by colonial merchants, including firearms and gunpowder, metal tools and implements, cotton, wool, and glass. Southeastern men hunted deer, bear, and other mammals and offered up the skins to pay off the debts they had accrued from the purchase of trade goods.

The trade goods made much of day-to-day life easier and more productive. At the same time, however, by the middle of the eighteenth century all of the southeastern societies had fallen into a state of dependency upon the European suppliers. Native Americans came to rely on the new technology over the old ways of doing things, and at times the colonies were able to force the tribes to accede to their wishes by threatening to withhold trade goods. Colonial settlers continued to intrude westward into tribal territories; and when Indian consumers accumulated large debts to merchants, colonial authorities sometimes forced their councils to surrender land to retire the balances. Overhunting, which resulted from the need to pay trade debts and purchase more goods (including alcohol, which became a social problem in many communities), depleted the deer

population and deranged the ritual relationship that traditionally existed between hunter and prey.

### THE IMPERIAL WARS

Despite these challenges, the southeastern tribes demonstrated an extraordinary ability to survive, adjust, and adapt as Britain, France, Spain, and later the United States vied for control of North America. The geopolitical rivalries enabled the southeastern Indians to play the imperial powers, and the colonies, off against one another for their own political and economic interests. The Choctaws and Creeks, for example, played the French, Spanish, and English against one another to obtain gifts and better trade goods at cheaper prices. In the 1780s the Creeks, under Alexander McGillivray's leadership, forced the United States and Spain to compete for their trade, friendship, and military support. At the same time, southeastern communities were often divided by sympathies to different European powers. During the French and Indian War (1754–1760), both British and French authorities tried to recruit southeastern warriors to their side, which exacerbated existing factional strife. Some contingents of Creeks, Choctaws, and Cherokees fought with the French; other warriors among them allied with or offered aid to the British. In 1758 hostilities broke out between the Cherokees and English settlers in western Virginia. On three occasions in 1760–1761 British armies, supported by colonial militia and Chickasaw and Catawba warriors, invaded the Cherokee Nation and burned its towns and crops. Perhaps as many as 50 percent of the Cherokees perished from war, disease, and starvation during the conflict; in its terms of peace, the British required the Cherokees to surrender a large portion of its eastern territory.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) that ended the war required France to surrender its territory east of the Mississippi River. Although King George III attempted to pin the colonies east of the Appalachians with the Proclamation of 1763, it was impossible to keep white squatters and speculators out of Indian country. Settler intrusions continued to exasperate the southeastern tribes until they were forced to relocate beyond the Mississippi in the 1830s; neither the British nor the U.S. governments could stem the tide of westward settlement. When the American Revolution broke out in 1775, representatives from Britain and the rebelling colonies tried to form alliances with the tribes of the Southeast. The Cherokees and groups of Chickasaws, Creeks, and Choctaws fought on the side of the British during the war; the Catawbas, surrounded by colonists in the Carolinas, fought

with the Americans. The Cherokees suffered another devastating defeat in 1776 when militia from the southern colonies invaded their territory. The southeastern tribes paid for their British sympathies. The southern states seized tracts of land from the Cherokees and Creeks during the war as the penalty for supporting the British.

After the war the United States moved to make peace with the southeastern tribes. During the period of 1785 to 1786, American negotiators signed separate treaties with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws at Hopewell, South Carolina. Each agreement established specific borders between the tribe and the United States and provided the Indian council with jurisdiction over Americans venturing into its territory. These recognitions of tribal rights of title and sovereignty were balanced, or perhaps contradicted, by provisions which stated that the tribe was under the protection of the United States and was prohibited from conducting independent trade or diplomatic relations. Creeks under Alexander McGillivray, and the Chickamaugas, a dissident group of Cherokees led by the warriors Dragging Canoe and Bloody Fellow, refused to accept the Hopewell peace settlements and joined in raids to force American settlers out of the Tennessee and Cumberland Valleys. Along with forming an alliance with Spain, McGillivray also attempted to construct a confederation of southeastern tribes that would challenge the United States's designs on the region. McGillivray's rapprochement with the United States in 1790 (and his death in 1793), the refusal of the Chickasaws to support the movement, and the Spanish withdrawal from the area under the Treaty of San Lorenzo (1795) thwarted the dreams of a southeastern Indian alliance. The Chickamaugas and settlers continued to fight bitterly until 1794, when the Indians submitted to a treaty with the United States.

## CIVILIZATION

During the presidential administration of George Washington, the United States began adopting legislation and using treaties, such as the Treaty of New York (1790) with the Creeks, to implement a "civilization" program for the Native American population. The federal government wanted Indians to adopt Anglo-American cultural habits, become farmers on their own individual plots, and assimilate into American society. This would free up Indian hunting grounds, according to the plan, and enable the United States to acquire and then transfer them to Americans. The federal government provided the Indians with farm implements, looms, and spinning wheels, appointed federal agents to instruct each tribe, and established model farms to demonstrate how to live as American yeomen. The tribes were also encouraged toward acculturation by a small class of political leaders and economic entrepreneurs who were the descendants of Indian women and English, Scots-Irish, or French traders. These men held clan and tribal membership through their mothers, spoke English and their Indian language, and moved adroitly in the white and Native American worlds. Some of them established farms and plantations growing cotton and other staple crops, acquired African American slaves, and integrated themselves into the American market economy. The more successful of this acculturated class—such as John Ross (1790–1868), a Cherokee; Levi Colbert (1759–1834), a Chickasaw; and Greenwood LeFlore (d. 1865), a Choctaw—diversified into tavern and ferry operations, built fine homes with expensive furnishings, sent their children to school in New England, and secured high office in tribal government.

Many southeastern Indians did not want to make the transformation required by the civilization program. Women did not want to abandon their place in the fields; men did not want to perform the agricultural work that traditionally had defined femininity. The civilization program created factions in communities between those who did and did not want to change, and the pressure to acculturate provoked nativist revolts among some of the tribes. In 1811 a number of Red Stick warriors from the Upper Creek towns responded to the call of Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet Tenskawatawa, for a pan-Indian rebellion against the United States. Civil war broke out between the Red Sticks, who wanted to eliminate the influence of Anglo-American culture, and other Creeks who sought a peaceful accommodation with the United States. In 1813 the rebellion drew in the United States when the Red Sticks massacred hundreds of Americans at Fort Mims, northeast of Mobile (in what became southwest Alabama). Andrew Jackson organized an army comprising militia forces and Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and accomodationist Creek warriors and marched into Creek territory. On 27 March 1814 Jackson's army annihilated the Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend (in what was later eastern Alabama). After the battle, Jackson forced the Creeks to cede twenty-two million acres of their territory to the United States under the Treaty of Fort Jackson (August 1814). Many of the surviving Red Sticks fled into Florida and assimilated with the Seminoles, who were an amalgamation of the remnants of the Florida tribes that had been decimated by war and disease during the colonial era. In

1817 Jackson led another army into Spanish Florida to punish the Seminoles, who had been attacking American settlements on the Georgia border and providing refuge to runaway slaves. In 1819 the United States acquired Florida from Spain, and in 1823 it forced the defeated Seminoles to surrender their territory in northern Florida and move farther south into the interior of the peninsula.

### REMOVAL

The civilization program did not produce the land cessions and political assimilation that its proponents had anticipated. After the War of 1812 Jackson and many southern political leaders began urging the federal government to relocate the tribes across the Mississippi River and open up all of the Southeast to American settlement. As the pressure for removal increased, the southeastern tribes became more determined to preserve their sovereign powers and land base. In an effort to present a unified front to the United States, the tribes gradually moved legal and political authority from the clans and local councils to new tribal or national institutions. The Cherokees, for instance, created a national police force to protect private property rights, formally abolished the practice of clan blood revenge, and adopted and codified laws to deal with various economic and social issues. The Choctaws in 1826 and the Cherokees in 1827 adopted written constitutions. The Cherokee constitution emulated the American model to some extent in that it created a republican government comprised of three branches: a two-house legislature; a national judiciary; and an executive (the principal chief) elected by the people. The Cherokees also created national social and cultural institutions. In 1821 a Cherokee named Sequoyah created a syllabary that allowed his people to communicate in writing in their own language. The syllabary, which Cherokees could learn quickly, enabled the Cherokee Nation to print books and religious materials for its people. In 1828 the nation began publishing a newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, that included text in both Cherokee and English; its editor, Elias Boudinot, became an important voice in informing the Cherokees on the removal developments affecting their nation. By 1835 a majority of Cherokee households had at least one individual who could read the Cherokee language.

In 1819 Georgia, which in 1802 had signed away its western territory in exchange for a promise from the United States that it would extinguish the Indian title in the state, began urging the federal government to fulfill its promise and remove the Creeks and Cherokees from its boundaries. Tennessee, Ala-bama, and Mississippi quickly joined Georgia's removal campaign to clear the Southeast of Native Americans. The Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees all surrendered territory to placate the southern states. They also took measures to inhibit private sale of their lands: the Creek and Cherokee national councils adopted laws forbidding the sale of tribal territory upon penalty of death. In 1825 the Creek national council executed William McIntosh, a prominent headman, for signing the Treaty of Indian Springs (1825), which called for the removal of the Creeks and the cession of most of their homeland.

After the Cherokees announced the ratification of their constitution and declared themselves a sovereign nation in July 1827, the Georgia legislature extended the jurisdiction of the state over their territory. Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi soon extended state jurisdiction over the Native Americans within their borders. After Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828, he told the tribes to submit to state jurisdiction or remove. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which gave Jackson authority to negotiate the removal of the eastern tribes across the Mississippi. Despite determined resistance from the Cherokees (who attempted to forestall removal in the federal judicial system) and the Seminoles (who fought a long and bloody engagement with the United States Army), between 1832 and 1843 the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles were relocated to the Indian Territory that the federal government established west of Arkansas.

*See also* **French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Carson, James Taylor. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Champagne, Duane. *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Garrison, Tim Alan. *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Gibson, Arrel M. *The Chickasaws.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Hudson, Charles. *The Southeastern Indians.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South.* New York: Free Press, 1981.

*Tim Alan Garrison*

## Old Northwest

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, much of the Old Northwest (the area north and west of the Ohio River, encompassing the present-day states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and a portion of Minnesota) underwent an extensive indigenous repopulation. Driven to the far western reaches of the region (or, in the case of the Shawnees of southern Ohio, to the southeast) by the Iroquois during the Beaver Wars of the previous century, the surviving elements of the northwestern tribes returned to their traditional area homes in response to Iroquois peace initiatives in the early eighteenth century. These groups were joined in the region by eastern tribes fleeing white encroachment, disease, and ongoing Iroquois raids from the north and east.

Among the larger tribal groups inhabiting the Old Northwest by mid-century were the Ojibways, settled primarily around Lake Superior; the Ottawas, located in the straits region of present-day Michigan; the Potawatomis of southern Michigan; the remnants of the Huron nation (also known as Wyandots), settled around Detroit and northern Lake Erie; the Delawares (migrants from Pennsylvania) of south central and central Ohio; the Shawnees (also migrants from the east) of southern Ohio and Indiana; the Miamis, settled in northwestern Ohio and northern Indiana; the Illinois; and the Winnebagos of present-day Wisconsin. Most of the region's estimated 60,000 to 80,000 natives were of Algonquian stock (the main exceptions being the Iroquoian-speaking Hurons (or Wyandots) and the Siouan Winnebagos) and practiced, with varied emphasis, a mixed pattern of relatively settled horticulture combined with seasonal hunting and gathering.

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The northwestern territory where these tribes settled rapidly became a highly contested borderland between rival European powers. As France and Great Britain maneuvered for control over the rich fur resources of the Ohio Country and the interior of the American continent, hostilities broke out in 1754 when Virginia militia, under the command of George Washington, failed in their attempt to dislodge the French from the headwaters of the Ohio River near present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Eager to strike back at those who had driven them from their eastern homes, many of the Ohio natives, along with the stridently pro-French tribes of the Great Lakes, joined the fray against the British and their American colonists, playing a critical role in the defeat of British forces under the command of General Edward Braddock in 1765, and staging ongoing raids throughout the Pennsylvania and Virginia backcountry. Although the war began well for the French and their northwestern native allies, defeats at Quebec (1759) and Montreal (1760) paved the way for British victory and the loss of France's mainland American colonial empire.

The natives' long-standing accommodationist strategy of pitting one European power against the other was no longer viable. As a result the British commander in chief in America, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who was also motivated by personal disdain for the natives, drastically altered British Indian policy. He confined the fur trade to army posts; banned the sale of weapons, ammunition (necessary tools in the fur trade), and alcohol to the Indians; and ended the tradition of diplomatic gift giving (originally adopted in adherence to the native concept of reciprocity). Stunned by the unexpected French abandonment, the northwestern tribes bristled under Amherst's insulting and culturally demeaning policies. Additionally, a steady stream of westward-moving white settlers and the British occupation of abandoned French posts in the west fueled native fear and animosity. Inspired by the teachings of a Delaware prophet named Neolin, who preached renunciation of white culture and a return to traditional lifestyles, many northwestern Indians, such as the Ottawa chief Pontiac, embraced a more radical, oppositional philosophy and turned their backs on accommodation with whites. The resulting conflict, referred to as Pontiac's Rebellion or Pontiac's War (1763), failed in its primary objective of ridding the region of any British and American presence. Nonetheless, it did prompt an alteration of British policy culminating in the ouster of Amherst and his replacement by General Thomas Gage, the appointment of two regional (northern and southern) superintendents of Indian relations, and the creation of a demarcation line separating Indians and colonists designed to stop settler encroachment into the region. Moreover, the conflict, coming as it did on the heels of French withdrawal from the region and the collapse of the complex web of layered

Indian and European alliances, also delineated a clear racial fault line in the northwest between Indian and white.

The Northwestern Indians' hopes that the boundary line might hold and that native autonomy might become a reality, however, were rapidly dashed. In 1768, the Six Nation Iroquois, intent on preserving their New York homeland, ceded their tenuous claim to western lands south and east of the Ohio River in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Conspicuously absent from the negotiations were the tribes—the Cherokees and Shawnees—actually inhabiting the region. Equally problematic for the local tribes were the competing claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the disputed region. The intense intercolonial rivalry led to numerous attacks on local Indians and in 1774 to open warfare between Virginia, aggressively seeking to preempt Pennsylvania claims to western lands, and the Shawnees in Lord Dunmore's War. The ensuing Treaty of Camp Charlotte (1774) forced Shawnee recognition of Virginia's claim to Kentucky.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND THE NORTHWEST

As Lord Dunmore's War drew to its close, the imperial struggle between Great Britain and its American colonists reached a heightened level, spilling into open warfare in April 1775. Among the grievances cited by the Americans in making their case for independence was the ministry's concerted effort to deny white migration onto western lands and its alleged encouragement of Indian raiding along the frontier.

The Northwestern tribes initially approached the revolutionary crisis with a great deal of caution, with most attempting to remain neutral in the conflict. Sustained diplomatic and economic pressure, along with the recognition that the war was also a conflict for native land, however, persuaded many western tribes to side with the British and to wage their own war for freedom. Among the areas hardest hit by the conflict was Ohio. There American and British agents worked tirelessly to persuade the Delawares and Shawnees to take up arms. Despite assuming a neutral stance, the Delawares and Shawnees faced continued American depredations—the murder of the pro-American Delaware Chief White Eyes (1778), the massacre of pacifist Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhutten (1782), and the killing of the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk while under a flag of truce (1777). As a result, by war's end members of both tribes were actively engaged in the struggle against the Americans.

### WAR FOR OHIO

As British and American diplomats conducted talks to end the war, the northwestern tribes found themselves in a familiar position—without representation. Indeed, the ensuing Treaty of Paris (1783) completely disregarded Indian interests and resulted in the unauthorized cession of their homelands by their wartime allies to a now independent United States. American officials quickly made it clear to the Northwestern tribes that they considered them conquered peoples and that they were to submit to American authority or perish. In light of the altered circumstances, elements of the western tribes met with American officials at Fort Stanwix (1784) in New York, Fort McIntosh (1785) in Pennsylvania, and Fort Finney (1786) in Ohio. Under great pressure, they recognized American sovereignty and ceded large tracts of land, including lands in the Ohio country, to cement the peace. The Confederation Congress followed up on the cessions with laws providing for the structured survey and sale of the newly acquired lands and, with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, by organizing the area as the Northwest Territory. White Americans swarmed into the region.

Large segments of the western native population, however, refused to recognize the cessions as legitimate and held fast to the idea of an Ohio River boundary between white and Indian. Encouraged by the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, the northwestern tribes forged a confederation that refused to accept treaties signed by individual tribes and pledged itself to resisting American settlement in Ohio. Violence was not long in coming. In 1790 and 1791 American armies (the first commanded by Josiah Harmar and the second by Arthur St. Clair) invaded Indian country intent on subduing the confederation. Both armies were decimated by confederation warriors led by the Miami Chief Little Turtle and the Shawnee Blue Jacket. In spite of their success, however, the confederation began to unravel as Brant recommended reaching a settlement with American authorities. While the western tribes debated the merits of continued resistance or compromise, the Americans raised a new army, placing it under the command of General "Mad" Anthony Wayne. Indian factionalism played into Wayne's hands; in 1794 his Legion marched into the heart of the northwest. Confronting a reduced Indian force on the Maumee River near present-day Toledo, Ohio, Wayne's army drove the natives from the field (the Indians were then denied refuge at a nearby British fort) and then proceeded to destroy native villages and crops in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The following year, Wayne extracted a promise of peace and vast cessions of land

from the natives in the Treaty of Greenville, thus opening the door to unimpeded access to most of Ohio.

### TECUMSEH AND TENSKWATAWA

With peace at hand, American officials stepped up their effort to "civilize" the western tribes by converting them to Christianity, recasting traditional gender roles, and reorganizing native life around intensive agriculture. The rigorous pressure on the western tribes and the assault on traditional life helped to spawn one final effort, led by the Shawnee brothers Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh, to build a united native front in the northwest. Inspired by a visionary trance in 1805, Tenskwatawa (also known as the Shawnee Prophet) renounced his previous life of drunkenness and debauchery and began to preach a messianic message urging native peoples to abandon alcohol and to reject Christianity and all things white. Tenskwatawa's religious vision was spread by his brother Tecumseh, who added a plea for Indian unity in resisting white expansion. The combination was a potent one, and its success frightened American officials. In response, in 1811 the American army under General William Henry Harrison launched a preemptive attack on the prophet's settlement on Tippecanoe Creek, Indiana. The Americans' victory in the Battle of Tippecanoe dealt the prophet and Tecumseh's confederation efforts a blow. Tecumseh's subsequent death at the Battle of the Thames (1813) during the War of 1812 destroyed what was left of the movement.

With the resistance movement broken, American authorities redoubled their efforts to "civilize" the tribes, concentrating them onto small "reservations" of land and exploring the possibility of relocating the tribes to new lands west of the Mississippi River (lands acquired through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803). It was argued that the natives would be insulated there from the vices and pressures of white society and free to advance at their own pace. This policy, known as removal, became the key component of President Andrew Jackson's Indian policy in the early 1830s and eventually resulted in the forced relocation of most of the native peoples of the lower northwest (Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois) to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

*See also* **French and Indian War; Fur and Pelt Trade; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Thames, Battle of the; Tippecanoe, Battle of; Treaty of Paris.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

Hinderaker, Eric, and Peter C. Mancall. *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

McConnell, Michael N. *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

O'Donnell, James H., III. *Ohio's First Peoples.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004.

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

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

*Martin J. Hershock*

## *Old Southwest*

The native peoples of the Old Southwest resided in an area that included western Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and parts of Florida and Louisiana. Between 1754 and 1829 they underwent profound changes.

In 1754 most Indians in the region lived by small-scale farming, hunting game, and fishing. They lived in villages with headmen who used powers of persuasion rather than coercion to get people to follow them. Private property was unknown, and criminal matters were avenged by the victim, or in the case of murder, the victim's kin. By 1829 the major tribes of the Old Southwest possessed formal governments with written constitutions; court systems; large-scale agriculture, including plantations and African American slaves; and powerful chiefs who governed by force of law backed by organized police forces. In many cases the wealthiest Native Americans possessed more goods and lived in better style than many of their European American neighbors. Despite their adoption of European technology and political practices, the United States failed to protect these people from local settlers and state officials who coveted the Indians' land and envied their successes. At the close of the era, the federal government under the Jackson administration (1829–1837) forcibly removed most of the Native Americans east of the Mississippi to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. Despite those challenges, these victimized Indian peoples had created social institutions at the dawn of the nineteenth century that have allowed them to thrive into the twenty-first century.

**Dog Dance.** This picture of a "dog dance" performed by Indians in what is now Kansas is an 1823 engraving by Cephus G. Childs based on a sketch by the artist Samuel Seymour, who accompanied Major Stephen H. Long on an expedition to the American West in 1819. © CORBIS.

### TRIBES OF THE REGION

The most prominent nations in the region were the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Cherokees. In the first two decades of the 1800s, these Indians became known as the Five Civilized Nations because they took up commercial farming and other European ways. A number of smaller nations lived among the five: the Yamasees, Houmas, Chitimachas, Tunicas, Catawbas, and Yuchis. Some of these groups united with one of the Five Tribes for protection. The Shawnees also traveled through the region during the late eighteenth century, some of them settling among the Creeks. Though all of these peoples played a role in the history of the Old Southwest, the Five Civilized Tribes dominated it.

All of the five except the Cherokees spoke Muskogean languages. The Choctaw and Chickasaw cultures were so similar that both people told stories that they had descended from two brothers. The two, it was said, lost each other during a hunting trip; when they met up again, they had been apart so long that they no longer understood each other's speech. They decided to settle at some distance from the other

and from them came the Chickasaw and Choctaw people. The Creeks and many of the Seminoles spoke a similar language. Some Seminoles spoke Mikasuka, a distant relative of Creek. The Cherokees, on the other hand, spoke an Iroquoian language that developed during two thousand years of separation from their northern kinsmen.

The Choctaws lived along the upper reaches of the Tombigbee River in eastern Mississippi and western Alabama. To the north, in western Tennessee, lived the Chickasaws. The Creeks inhabited eastern Alabama and western Georgia. Florida was home for the Seminoles, many of whom had relatives among the Creeks. The Cherokees resided in the mountainous regions where the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee meet. Farmers, hunters, and traders from France, Spain, England, Scotland, and Germany also lived and worked in small settlements scattered throughout the region.

During the early part of the 1700s, most of the native people of the Old Southwest grew accustomed to the labor-saving tools and efficient firearms delivered by French and English traders who gradually tied Native Americans to the markets of the Atlantic

world. They paid for these weapons with deerskins. Tens of thousands of hides traveled along the roads and rivers for eventual shipment from New Orleans, Mobile, or Charles Town (later known as Charleston). By the middle of the eighteenth century, life in Indian country depended on a steady supply of European tools, cloth, and ammunition.

### BRITISH DOMINANCE

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) had little initial impact on the region. The Choctaws, traditional allies of France, formed a barrier between the pro-British Cherokees and Creeks. The Chickasaws, badly weakened by a quarter century of warfare with Louisianans and Choctaws, could do little for their English-speaking patrons. As the war progressed, British traders and agents strengthened their ties with the Creeks. The English also made inroads with the Choctaws, starved of powder and textiles by the Royal Navy's blockade of the French. By the war's end, most of the Native American nations in the region considered themselves allies of King George.

Cessation of hostilities in Europe did not mean peace for the peoples of the inland regions of the Old Southwest. Trouble came from several sources. The British government stopped giving gifts to groups like the Cherokees. Officials from London declared that Native Americans were subjects of the king, not allies, and therefore ineligible for such donations. Another problem carried over from the early 1700s: tensions between the European Americans and Indians over land flared as settlers moved west. Moreover, the Indians had fewer European powers to play against each other. With the French gone, the Choctaws and Creeks could still turn to the Spanish for supplies and support when British demands became too burdensome. However, Spain no longer had the resources nor the inclination to offer a consistent alternative to the English. The Cherokees and Chickasaws, who lived inland far from Florida and Mexico, had even fewer options.

The Cherokees took arms in protest against these changes that began in the late 1750s and continued through the 1760s. As a consequence, they suffered terribly at the hands of the combined might of the British army and colonial militias. When the two sides made peace, the Cherokees lost much of their land east of the Appalachians. Some Cherokees, led by Dragging Canoe, bitterly resisted Euro-American expansion. He established a stronghold along the banks of the Chickamauga River and continued to fight the colonists, and later the Americans, into the

1790s. The Chickasaws lacked the strength to resist the shifting policies of Great Britain. The Choctaws and Creeks, however, managed to convince the British to amend their ways. In January 1762 the British appointed John Stuart as the royal superintendent for Indian affairs in the southern colonies. Rather than dealing with competing provincial governments, Native Americans would be able to parley with a single responsible individual.

However, Stuart's desire to regulate trade and mediate conflicts between the colonists and the Indians did not work. South Carolinians, Virginians, and others resented British protection of their recent enemies. This resentment played a role in the decision of Americans to revolt against Britain in the mid-1770s. White juries would not convict European Americans for crimes committed against Indians. Unlicensed traders brought liquor and shoddy merchandise into the backcountry and often cheated their customers.

### LAND CESSIONS AND DEPENDENCY

The United States's victory in the War of Independence (1775–1783) had momentous consequences for Native Americans. The Treaty of Paris (1783) awarded control over all the land between the Mississippi and the Atlantic Ocean to the new nation. Indian nations experienced different outcomes from the Revolution. The Cherokees once again suffered terribly during this conflict. Virginia militiamen devastated Cherokee settlements in 1776 in retaliation for alleged Cherokee raids in the state's western mountains. Dragging Canoe and his Cherokee faction kept the United States at bay until the late 1780s. On the other hand, many other Cherokee leaders saw a fearsome enemy in the Americans and eventually ceded territory to the new Republic in the Treaty of Hopewell (1785) and in the Treaty of Holston (1791). The Creeks faced similar pressure after the war, as did the Choctaws. Fortunately for the latter two nations, they were far enough away from the Americans to avoid heavy involvement in the Revolution. Also, they had the option of trading with the Spanish in Pensacola and Mobile, where English merchants maintained well-stocked warehouses.

The Old Southwest took its final shape during the years around the ratification of the Constitution. The defining policy came in the form of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act (1790). This legislation limited commercial contact with Native Americans to licensed traders who operated in official "factories," or stores. Many in the federal government hoped that by providing a flood of consumer goods

and tools, they would ensnare Native American leaders in debt. They then would have to sell their land to pay their creditors. Another provision of the law sent farm tools and teachers to Native American tribes in order that they assimilate into European American society. It also placed Indian agents in each of the major nations as representatives of the federal government. Though many of the agents engaged in graft, several of them worked hard to protect their charges from the settlers and state governments. One the most successful of these men was Benjamin Hawkins, agent for the Creek Nation from the 1780s to the 1810s, who helped the Creeks adapt to the pressures exerted by the expanding Republic.

During the years following the American Revolution, one Creek began the process of transformation without waiting for cues from the United States. Alexander McGillivray, the wealthy son of a Scottish merchant and a Creek woman, negotiated an alliance with Spain in 1784 for protection against the infant United States. After fighting several battles against the Americans throughout the 1780s, he traveled to New York, where in 1790 he signed a treaty with the United States. He then received an appointment as a brigadier general with a yearly salary of twelve hundred dollars a year. After returning home, he repudiated that treaty and in 1792 reinstated the old alliance with Spain, this time for a Spanish salary of two thousand dollars yearly.

McGillivray's career exemplified the changing nature of Native American leadership styles in the Old Southwest. The old model of a chief who relied upon his powers of persuasion gave way to men who controlled access to European manufactured goods and markets. This caused a major shift in the way Native Americans organized themselves. Private property became the norm in the region. Many men turned to farming, traditionally women's work, and animal husbandry to make a living. Others still harvested deerskins in the forests, but they often did so with tools and weapons purchased on credit from wealthy Indian headmen rather than European American merchants. As Indians acquired private property, they created institutions to protect it. They also recognized the need to organize themselves to meet the threats posed by their American neighbors. The skills introduced by Indian agents like Hawkins helped them develop an economic base upon which they built a political structure.

### ACCOMMODATION, RESISTANCE, AND REMOVAL

In the first decades of the 1800s, the Cherokees created a court system and a mounted police force called the Cherokee Light Horse and in 1827 adopted a constitution modeled on the U.S. Constitution. Sequoyah facilitated the last innovation by creating the Cherokee syllabary (alphabet), completed by him in 1821 and still in use 185 years later. The Cherokees also saw the wisdom of cooperating with the United States. Chief John Ross (1790–1866) led Cherokee warriors against the Red Sticks, a Creek faction, during the Creek War (1813–1814), fighting alongside the forces of Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (1814).

Not all Native Americans in the Old Southwest wanted these changes. The Red Sticks, from the Upper Towns, located in northern Alabama and northwestern Georgia, rejected the adoption of Western culture and technology taking hold of the Lower Towns. The latter communities were on the coastal plain in southeastern Alabama and western Georgia. The Creek War started as a civil war between the two factions. The Red Sticks wished to return to the old spiritual practices and abandon the corrupting influences of alcohol and dependence on manufactured goods. They sought protection from traditional talismans and rituals. These hopes were soon dashed when the United States entered into the conflict to prevent Great Britain from gaining inroads into the region during the War of 1812.

The defeat of the Red Sticks spelled the end of armed resistance against the United States. The Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) forced the Creeks to cede a large portion of their tribal lands. Ironically, much of the territory belonged to the Lower Towns, which supported Jackson in his fight against the Red Sticks. Some survivors of the Creek War made their way into Spanish Florida to join with the Seminoles, a multiethnic group of Native American refugees of earlier conflicts, Creeks, and escaped African American slaves, where they held out for decades.

Throughout the 1820s, some of the Indians of the Old Southwest, particularly families with leadership roles, prospered as they continued to use more Euro-American technology. Many of the wealthier Native Americans acquired African American slaves whom they treated as a form of property. The headmen of the major tribes built plantations and began to raise cotton, others became successful merchants. Nonetheless, a good number of the Indian peoples remained poor, eking out a living on small backcountry farms. This situation changed during the War of 1812.

The conflict between the United States and Great Britain placed the Native Americans of the Old Southwest between two fires. Some of them sup-

ported the United States while others resisted. American troops from the East overran Creek country. Their commander, General Andrew Jackson, imposed harsh terms in the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) that deprived Creeks of more than half of their land. Jackson later invaded Florida and closed the British supply stations in Spanish Pensacola. Thus, the Indians of the region lost the ability to play the Americans against their Spanish and English rivals. This lack of foreign support eroded Native Americans' power to negotiate with Washington and the state governments.

Soon after the war, the Mississippi and Alabama Territories gained admission to the Union as states in 1817 and 1819, respectively. The new governments resented having Indian nations claiming sovereignty in their midst. Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi passed legislation outlawing Native American courts and political entities within their borders. Andrew Jackson's election in 1828 paved the way for the annihilation of Indian rights in the Old Southwest. The president pushed successfully for passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830), which called for the seizure of Native American lands in the East and the exile of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

*See also* **Creek War; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America*, *1685–1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Brescia, William Jr. "Choctaw Oral Tradition Relating to Tribal Origin." In *The Choctaw Before Removal.* Edited by Carolyn Keller Reeves. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1985.

Carson, James Taylor. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Cox, Bruce Alden. "Natives and the Development of Mercantile Capitalism." In *The Political Economy of North American Indians.* Edited by John H. Moore. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Cushman, Horatio Bardwell. *History of the Choctaw*, *Chickasaw*, *and Natchez Indians.* Greenville, Tex.: Headlight Printing House, 1899.

Galloway, Patricia K. "'So Many Little Republics': British Negotiations with the Choctaw Confederacy, 1765." *Ethnohistory* 41 (1994): 513–538.

———. *Choctaw Genesis*, *1500–1700.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Garrison, Tim Alan. *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Hatley, Tom. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Ishii, Izumi. "Alcohol and Politics in the Cherokee Nation before Removal." *Ethnohistory* 50 (2003): 671–695.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi*, *1818–1918.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

O'Brien, Greg. *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age*, *1750–1830.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Piker, Joshua. "'White and Clean' and Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War." *Ethnohistory* 50 (2003): 315–347.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking, 2001.

Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property*, *Power*, *and the Transformation of the Creek Indians*, *1733–1816.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Snapp, J. Russell. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Swanton, John Reed. *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911.

———. *Religious Beliefs and Medicinal Practices of the Creek Indians.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928.

———. *Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians.* Washington: N.p., 1928.

Usner, Daniel H., Jr. *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

White, Richard. *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence*, *Environment*, *and Social Change among the Choctaws*, *Pawnees*, *and Navajos.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Woods, Patricia Dillon. *French–Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier*, *1699–1762.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research, 1980.

*George Edward Milne*

## *Plains*

Since about A.D. 1000, the Indians of the Great Plains had been divided into two grand divisions: the nomadic, tipi-dwelling nomads who generally lived on the western short-grass Plains, and the village-dwelling horticulturists who occupied the eastern reaches of the region. Each group was well adapted to conditions in the semiarid plains environment, and the entire region was heavily populated, despite earlier claims that the area was inhospitable and

***Young Omahaw, War Eagle, Little Missouri, and Pawnees.*** A portrait of several Pawnee leaders, painted by Charles Bird King in 1821. SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC/ART RESOURCE, NY.

sparsely inhabited before horses were introduced by the Spanish in the seventeenth century. The nomadic life had ancient roots, reaching deep into the prehistoric past, for Indians had been living on the plains and hunting bison for no less than twelve thousand years. The village way of life was more recent, having been introduced from eastern North America about A.D. 900.

The village farmers lived principally along the Missouri and its major tributaries and on the eastern reaches of tributaries of the Mississippi. They included, from south to north, the Caddoan-speaking tribes of Texas and Oklahoma, and the Osages, Otoes and Missouris, Wichitas, Pawnees, Iowas, Omahas, Poncas, Arikaras, and the Mandans and Hidatsas. In the north, most of these villagers lived in substantial earth-covered lodges in communities often surrounded by fortifying ditches and post palisades; in the south, more moderate weather permitted their

homes to be less substantial (the Wichitas even lived in grass houses). They remained for most of the year near their villages, where the women grew their crops in the fertile river bottoms. Conversely, the nomads lived in skin tipis and, while they had home territories, ranged widely in search of the bison that was the mainstay of their diet. The most important of them were the many bands of Dakotas, or Sioux; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, Crows, and Assiniboines.

There was a brisk trade from prehistoric to historic times between the villagers and the nomads, the villagers trading corn and garden produce to the nomads in exchange for the products produced by these hunting peoples. Their trade routes often became those followed by early European fur traders. This trade did not prevent groups from raiding one another at other times, for young men could attain social and political prominence only if they had war honors

and were successful in raiding other groups for horses.

Even before 1750 diseases introduced by Europeans, principally smallpox, began drastically to reduce Indian populations, sometimes killing up to 95 percent of the affected population. Smallpox probably attacked tribes along the Missouri River in about 1750, but a major outbreak in 1781 was responsible for massive depopulation, as was a later one in 1837, which almost eliminated the Mandans and, according to Joshua Pilcher, left the entire northern Plains "one great grave yard." This depopulation made later American settlement a far simpler matter.

European penetration of the plains came from three directions: from the southwest by early Spanish explorers; from the north and east from the Canadian plains and Great Lakes by the French and English; and from the southeast, principally by Americans ascending the Missouri River. These alien traders brought a startling new technology, including edged iron tools and firearms, and a shift in Indian lifeways from one that stressed subsistence to another that focused on producing, at first, furs and, later, buffalo robes. These new elements, together with the introduction of horses, led to massive changes in their lifeways, ones that, for a time, brought them riches and an affluent way of life that led to today's stereotypic view of the American Indian: a tipi and a horse-mounted warrior wearing an eagle-feather headdress and carrying a spear or firearm.

Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye was the first visitor from the north to reach the Missouri River in 1738, but about the same time, traders from St. Louis or Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, began infiltrating the northern plains, and other French traders were reaching tribes deep in the southern plains. By the early nineteenth century American explorers began to follow the tracks left by the first traders, and initiated the process that led to American settlement and the often illegal confiscation of tribal lands. Lewis and Clark in 1804–1806, Zebulon Pike in 1805–1807, and Stephen H. Long in 1819–1820 brought the West to the attention of easterners. The trails that brought cattle from Texas north into Kansas and further followed, between 1840 and 1897. But it was the initiation of the Oregon and California Trails in 1834 and 1841, and the Santa Fe Trail in 1821, that brought trespassing immigrants and trade. Indian responses to them were largely the reason for the introduction of military posts along their routes.

*See also* **Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Fur and Pelt Trade; Health and Disease; Livestock Production; West.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DeMallie, Raymond J., ed. *Handbook of North American Indians.* Volume 13: *Plains.* William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001.

Holder, Preston. *The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains: A Study of Cultural Development among North American Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, 1991.

Joshua Pilcher to William Clark, February 27, 1838. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: Upper Missouri Agency, 1824–1881. Record Group 75, Microcopy No. 234, Roll No. 884. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Wood, W. Raymond, ed. *Archaeology on the Great Plains.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

*W. Raymond Wood*

## Far West

As Indians east of the Mississippi embroiled themselves in international wars, engaged in religious revitalization movements, and faced Indian removal, Indians west of the Mississippi were also experiencing profound changes in their way of life. Between 1750 and 1815, new opportunities brought substantial economic, social, and cultural changes to the Indians of California, the Great Plains, the Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest coast.

At some time in the past, the Cheyennes' Creator, Maheo, warned the Cheyenne people that adopting horses would result in great changes in their way of life. Indeed, all across the Plains during the eighteenth century, American Indians dealt with changes in material culture, social organization, and intertribal relations as a result of the adoption of the horse culture. Horses had arrived in North America with Hernán Cortés in 1519. Spanish soldiers and settlers then took horses to northern Mexico, where they eventually spread into the Southwest. Indian groups in northern Mexico, for instance, raided Spanish settlements and subsequently traded the horses they captured to Indians in New Mexico and Texas. A second mass migration of horses occurred in 1680, when Spanish soldiers and settlers fled New Mexico in the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt. From New Mexico, various Indians traded horses to Indians living on the northern Great Plains.

Horses made hunting bison more efficient and quicker and brought new material culture items such as saddles and bridles. For some, like the Chey-

**A Traditional Dance.** This image from circa 1806 by Wilhelm von Tilenau depicts a group of costumed Indians engaging in a traditional dance near the San José de Guadalupe Mission in California. © CORBIS.

ennes, Comanches, and Lakotas, the horse culture brought wealth and power—but not without costs. First, the drive to acquire horses put tribes in direct conflict with one another and increased the incidence of warfare on the Great Plains. The Lakotas embarked on an impressive expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, moving from Minnesota to occupying parts of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado. In the process they dislodged the Mandans, Hidatsas, Arikaras, Omahas, and Pawnees. Second, the acquisition of horses precipitated social fissures. Horses became the prime indicator of wealth within Indian groups; the man with the most horses usually controlled an unequal portion of wealth. Plains Indians became stratified into, as the Kiowas called them, the fine (those with more than a hundred horses), the middling (those with around twenty horses), and the poor (those with few or no horses). These social changes also affected women's roles. When women harvested wild

food sources or practiced agriculture, they were the primary economic providers of their group. With the advent of the horse and buffalo economy, men became the primary providers (they hunted the buffalo), and women tended to become the processors of trade items (bison hides). Third, horses required vast acreage for grazing and thus threatened the ecology of the northern and southern Plains. Plains Indians tended to winter in river valleys, which were rich in timber and grasses. As a result of the long period of habitation as well as environmental changes on the Plains, these riverine valleys became denuded of trees and grasses. When Americans began to migrate across the Plains in the mid-nineteenth century, it only exacerbated an already worsening situation.

The horse and bison economy also put Plains Indians in contact with southwestern tribes. For instance, between 1740 and 1830 the Comanches held annual trade fairs in the panhandle of Oklahoma. These trade fairs became a rich and vibrant market-

place for bison hides, Pueblo pottery, European guns and horses, and human captives. The fairs were part of a larger regional economy in the Southwest that depended on the reciprocal raiding by Navajos and the Spanish for livestock and humans. Navajos frequently launched attacks on neighboring Spanish settlements, absconding with sheep and human captives; Spanish and Mexican militias would then attempt to recapture them, taking Navajo captives in the process. Thus Indians and the Spanish were part of a tightly woven, though sometimes hidden, web of kin and economic relations.

Farther west, Spanish officials established missions, military bases, and civilian communities in California to combat what they saw as a threat from Russian and English traders in the Pacific Northwest. Led by Father Junípero Serra in 1769, Franciscan friars established a string of twenty-one missions, intended to convert California Indians to Christianity, that stretched from San Diego to San Francisco. These institutions of religious conversion were completely dependent on Indian labor to harvest crops, tend cattle, and make artisanal objects. The missions had high mortality rates for Indians. In response to beatings by friars, Indians often ran away or participated in open revolt.

Russians, British, and Americans in the Pacific Northwest also affected Indian life. They established a trade in sea otter pelts from the Aleutian Islands to northern California; although Pacific Northwest Indians welcomed the new trade items and the potential allies, the trade came at great cost. Europeans and Americans brought epidemic diseases that affected indigenous populations, and unscrupulous traders exchanged alcohol for the pelts, leading to other social problems.

Native Americans of the far West confronted small bands of Europeans and Euro-Americans in search of both furs and souls. By the time Americans began to move west across the Mississippi, the region had already undergone a century of enormous change.

See also **Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Fur and Pelt Trade; Livestock Production; Spanish Empire; West.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY
Calloway, Colin G. *One Vast Winter Count: The Indian West Before Lewis and Clark.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." *Journal of American History* 90 (December 2003): 833–862.

*William J. Bauer*, Jr.

## *American Indian Ethnography*

Between 1750 and 1829 Americans attempted to explain the Indian cultures they encountered as well as to identify Indian origins. Eyewitness and secondary accounts of Indian life or the lives of whites among the Indians became popular reading, and collections of Indian artifacts fascinated the American public. Observers of Indian societies—ministers, missionaries, government officials, Indian captives, explorers, traders, travelers—wittingly or unwittingly practiced ethnography, or the study and systematic recording of a culture. These records of Indian manners and customs reflect the authors' judgments against the backdrop of government policy regarding the Indians.

The 1803 Louisiana Purchase ushered in an era of expansion, and land and its use increasingly became the focus of debate on American–Indian relations. Land was precious to both groups, but the Americans had the advantage of the printed word on their side. Their writings applied descriptive and pejorative terms to Indians such as "wild," "savage," "primitive," and "heathen," rendering more persuasive the land claims of "civilized" Americans. Even sympathetic collectors and writers employed these stereotypes. The idea that the Indians were expendable took root.

### IDEAS ABOUT INDIAN ORIGINS
Throughout the period of Indian displacement and Indian wars, Americans pondered Indian origins. The Indian trader James Adair was likely the first to claim, based on his observation of taboos and eating habits, that the Indians were the Lost Tribe of Israel; others were to follow, such as Elias Boudinot, whose *Star of the West* (1816) portrayed Indians as strayed members of the Chosen People. The Scottish historian William Robertson thought Indians had migrated from Wales, calling them "exuberant Highlanders." Benjamin Smith Barton, in *New Views of the Origins of the Tribes and Nations of America* (1797), asserted that the Indians had originated in Persia and other parts of Asia.

### ETHNOGRAPHIC CHRONICLES: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMAGES
Prior to and during the French and Indian War (1756–1763), many positive images of Indians

**Algonquin Child's Coat.** This coat was part of a collection of American Indian drawings on hide that was gathered by M. Fayolle in 1786 and taken to France. Most of the collection consisted of garments worn by chiefs of the Arkansas, Dakota, and Northeastern regions. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

emerged in the writings of observers and in records of transactions between Americans and Indians. In his memoirs (1753) Samuel Hopkins, a Congregational pastor in Springfield, Massachusetts, attached great significance to the introduction of Christianity to the Indians, whom he felt were ready to accept "civilization." In 1763 the interpreter Conrad Weiser detailed the Onondaga language and customs and the successful negotiations to establish a trading post in their nation. As Benjamin Franklin's printing of Indian treaties between 1736 and 1762 revealed, American officials learned that Indian councils followed strict protocol and rituals, such as using the wampum belt to seal agreements and the passing of the calumet to signify friendship, when engaging in land negotiations. Though a land speculator himself, Franklin decried aggression against innocent and friendly Indians. In 1764 he denounced the twenty-two massacres in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, incited by revenge for Pontiac's War of 1763. In his writings, the Quaker reformer John Woolman praised Indians as containing the "inner light" or

knowledge of God. William Smith's *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764* portrayed Indians as patriotic, independent, and lovers of liberty.

Captivity narratives depicting Indian societies fueled negative images of Indians. Mary Rowlandson's *A Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, first published in 1682 and reprinted many times, attests to the widely accepted notion of Indian cruelty. Other narratives also portrayed Indian brutality, such as Peter Williamson's *French and Indian Cruelty* (1757); William Walton's *A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and His Family* (1780); and Mary Kinnan's *A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan* (1795). A somewhat milder version of Indian life was depicted in *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson* (1796), by Suzanne Willard (Johnson) Hastings, who lived for four years among the Abenakis.

In the early nineteenth century, narratives and narrative novels began to portray Indian culture and

people as having a sense of purpose. James E. Seaver recounted the praise of Indian people by Mary Jemison, who lived with the Delawares for seventy years, in his *Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824). John Dunn Hunter's *Memoir among the Indians of North America* (1824) commended his captors, the Osages and Kansas Indians, for their intelligence, religiosity, and communalism.

Travelers and traders recorded scrupulously detailed accounts. Bernard Romans, in *A Concise History of East and West Florida* (1775), described Indians as unnatural and grotesque, whereas others took great care to observe and record indigenous cultures accurately. John Bartram, in *Observations on the Inhabitants*, *Climate*, *Soil*, *Rivers*, *Productions*, *Animals* (1751), and his son, William Bartram, who wrote of his encounters with Indians of the Southeast in 1791, portrayed the Indians favorably. The trader James Adair, who lived with Cherokees and Chickasaws for forty years, wrote glowingly about Indian law, marriage, and religion in his *History of the American Indians* (1775). The Virginian Henry Timberlake, in his memoirs of 1765, characterized Cherokee culture as an improvement over British culture. The physician and reformer Benjamin Rush praised Indians for their wisdom in a 1789 essay on Indian medicine.

The expedition from 1804 to 1806 by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, commissioned by President Jefferson, and the publication in 1814 of Nicholas Biddle's history of the expedition, provided a wealth of information about Indians from the upper reaches of the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition brought back Indian animal-skin maps, dress, and a host of other artifacts that Jefferson displayed in his Indian cabinet at Monticello. Encountering over fifty tribes, the explorers described Indians as simple savages, culturally inferior to whites and prone to stealing and sexual promiscuity.

### THE "VANISHING" INDIAN

One result of the Indians' encounter with Americans was the depletion of their populations. War, alcohol abuse, and disease took their toll. Travelers, government officials, Enlightenment philosophers, and missionaries put forth a theory of the vanishing Indian alongside notions of the noble and ignoble savage. Thomas Jefferson, in *Notes on Virginia* (1781–1782), called Mingo Chief Logan a doomed but, in the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's phrase, "noble savage." In his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crevecoeur attributed the violence of the frontier as much to white

settlers as to Indians, but other works, such as Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *Indian Atrocities* (1782), described the Indians as racially inferior to whites and of a wild and brutish nature. John Filson's *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (1784) juxtaposed the heroism of Daniel Boone against the undisciplined, indecorous Indians.

Many works attested to the social harms of alcohol abuse among the Indians, citing it as the Indians' path to disappearance. Among them are Franklin's *Autobiography* (1784), Benjamin Smith Barton's *Observation on Some Part of Natural History* (1787), and Daniel Gookin's *Historical Collection of the Indians of New England* (1792), in which the Puritan missionary portrayed Indians as barbarians, decimated by disease.

### "WORTHINESS" OF THE INDIAN: PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

The founding of the American Philosophical Society in 1743, with Franklin as the first president and Jefferson as a leading member, fostered the pursuit of knowledge in the areas of ethnology and philology. The Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, who became a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1797, chronicled his experiences among the Leni-Lenape Delawares in *History*, *Manners*, *and Customs of Indian Nations* (1819). His commendation of Indian life, except for their refusal to abandon their "heathenism," became the focus of debates over Indian worthiness.

The writers Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper considered the attributes of Indians in their fiction and nonfiction works. In his 1813 essay, "Traits of Indian Character," Irving criticized the rapacious frontiersmen for breaking treaties and undermining Indian character; he also praised Indians for what he saw as their natural "wildness" stemming from long contact with nature. Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) extolled the Indian for having conquered the wilderness and passing it on to the white man. In 1829 John Augustus Stone's popular play *Metamora*, *or The Last of the Wampanoags*, based on the life of Metacomet (called King Philip by the colonists), reinforced American fascination with the vanishing "noble savage."

### INDIAN EXPENDABILITY AND REMOVAL

In 1820 President James Monroe commissioned Jedidiah Morse to tour among the Indians and ascertain the "actual state" of Indian affairs. In Morse's 1822 *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, he pressed for immediate programs

of "civilization." Policymakers agreed that the Indians were expendable, but they had serious doubts as to whether the Indians would accept acculturation programs. By 1829 the notion that Indians should be made peripheral to American society had become dominant.

Favoring a policy of Indian removal, Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan Territory and later secretary of war to Andrew Jackson, dismissed Heckewelder's Indian history and Hunter's captivity memoir as presenting Indians in too favorable a light; he found *The Last of the Mohicans* superficial and romantic. Responding to the removalists, William Apess, a Pequot, admonished whites for driving Indians from their ancestral domains in his autobiography *A Son of the Forest* (1829). Jeremiah Evarts published essays against Indian removal in 1830 under the pseudonym William Penn, invoking the teachings of Penn as they correlated to Evarts's own beliefs about America's obligations, both legal and moral, to indigenous peoples.

Intellectualizing Indian existence failed to stop the push for Indian removal. The audience for printed materials and collected artifacts of Indian life lived along the East Coast, far removed from the Indians of the interior and the frontiersmen who came in contact with them. By 1829 the frontier voice was a deciding factor in the formation of a policy of Indian removal. Displacement and dispossession followed, and much of the literature by then accepted Indian expendability as a reality.

*See also* **American Philosophical Society; Autobiography and Memoir; Fiction; Louisiana Purchase; Racial Theory.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians.* 1775. Edited by Kathryn E. Holland Braund. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Knopf, 1978.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Indian Treaties.* 1736–1762. Edited by Carl Van Doren and Julian Boyd. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1938.

———. *A Narrative of the Late Massacres, in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province, by Persons Unknown.* Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764.

Lepore, Jill. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity.* New York: Knopf, 1998.

Liebersohn, Harry. *Aristocratic Encounters: European Travelers and North American Indians.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Nash, Gary B. "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind." In *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism.* Edited by Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.

Rowlandson, Mary. *Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.* Boston: Nathaniel Coverly; reprint, 1770.

Rush, Benjamin. "Inquiry into the Natural History of the Medicine among the Indians of North America, and a Comparative View of Their Diseases and Remedies with Those of Civilized Nations." In *Medical Inquiries and Observations.* 1789. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

*Rowena McClinton*

## *American Indian Policy*, 1787–1830

The new American nation developed an Indian policy based on the premise that peace must be maintained. National leaders considered war too expensive, and they feared that harsh treatment of the Indians would blacken the nation's honor and reputation. By conciliation of the Indians through negotiation, liberal gifts and presents to the chiefs, guarantees of protection against white encroachment, and well-developed trade to provide for Indian wants, federal officials envisioned peace and prosperity for both the new Republic and the Indian tribes on the frontiers.

Peace, however, was an elusive goal, for white citizens on the frontier were avaricious for land; they had little respect for Indians and their culture, and it was difficult for the government to restrain them. Time and again, serious wars interrupted the peace, which nevertheless remained a constant goal. To meet the challenge of preserving peace while at the same time satisfying the demands of white citizens, the government, in the ethnocentric climate of the times, hoped that the Indians would ultimately accept the cultural patterns of the whites and thus be assimilated into mainstream American society. The Indian problem would disappear if the Indians disappeared, not by extermination but by amalgamation.

### THE PLAN OF CIVILIZATION

The theoretical basis for this hope for assimilation was supplied by George Washington, Secretary of War Henry Knox, and Thomas Jefferson. These officials were men of the Enlightenment, and their views were widely shared. They saw the Indians as brothers moving inexorably from barbarism to civilization, and they were determined to encourage and support the journey. The main embodiment of the principle was a plan of civilization, begun in Washington's administration and carried on by Jefferson and his successors. Its outline was simple: give the

## INDIAN PEACE MEDALS

An important element in federal Indian policy was the distribution of silver medals to Indian chiefs and warriors as a sign of friendship and allegiance. The United States inherited the practice from the British, French, and Spanish; and Indian chiefs expected to get such medals from their new Great Father.

During Washington's administration, officials presented large oval medals, individually engraved. Some small medals with scenes of civilized life were struck in England at Washington's direction to reward Indians for their acceptance of white ways. Then the government settled on a new form for the medals. Beginning with the Jefferson presidency, the U.S. Mint struck large round medals bearing on the obverse the bust of the president and on the reverse, amid clasped hands and crossed peacepipe and hatchet, a message proclaiming PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP.

Lewis and Clark presented such medals to Indian chiefs, and the medals were used widely by Indian agents and other American officials. They came at first in three sizes, in order to differentiate chiefs of varying importance. The medals were produced for succeeding administrations (except that of William Henry Harrison) until 1890. All those before 1850 used the peace and friendship reverse; later medals had reverses designed to promote culture change among the Indians.

As Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Indian Office, wrote to Secretary of War John H. Eaton on 21 December 1829: "Without medals, any plan of operations among the Indians, be it what it may, is essentially enfeebled. This comes of the high value which the Indians set upon these tokens of Friendship. They are, besides this indication of the Government Friendship, badges of power to them, and trophies of renown. They will not consent to part from this ancient *right*, as they esteem it; and according to the value they set upon medals is the importance to the Government in having them to bestow."

The medals are now of interest chiefly to museums and private collectors, who pay high prices for them. In the early Republic they were essential for successful dealings with the Indians.

*Francis Paul Prucha*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Prucha, Francis Paul. *Indian Peace Medals in American History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

---

Indians cattle and sheep as private property; supply plows and other agricultural tools (with blacksmiths to keep them in shape); and provide cards, spinning wheels, and looms. Thus would the men be able to support their families by agriculture while the women practiced the arts of domestic manufacture. Once the Indians had adopted these methods of sustenance, they would make their hunting grounds available for white settlers because extensive territories would no longer be necessary for food and clothing. The government sent agents to work among the tribes with instructions to carry out this plan as their primary duty.

Indian policy, of course, did not develop in a vacuum, but was influenced by the circumstances of the day. The federal policy grew little by little to meet the exigencies of the times. One problem was land. The United States acknowledged the Indians' ownership of their lands, but it limited that right to occupation and use, without admitting a fee simple title, which would have allowed the Indians to dispose of their land at will. The federal government paid for lands that the Indians ceded rather than claiming them by right of conquest. And it insisted that the Indians could cede or sell land only to the government, which carefully guarded this right of preemption.

Another problem was trade, a primary contact point of the two races in much of the early national period. Goods had long been exchanged between the Indians and the whites, the former supplying furs and peltries, the latter supplying knives, kettles, guns, and other manufactured goods that had become necessities in Indian lives. Unless fraud and corruption could be eliminated from the trade, peace with the tribes was unlikely, and the plan of civilization could not be carried out.

### TREATIES

The concerns that developed over the decades were met in the first instance by formal treaties between the federal government and the Indian nations. By 1789, when the new government under the Constitution began, nine treaties had already been signed

tribes; Congress appropriated money for gifts and annuities given in exchange for lands; and the signed treaties were sent to the president to be forwarded to the Senate for its approval or ratification, as the Constitution directed. Between 1787 and 1830, 142 treaties of peace and land cession were ratified. By 1830, except for the still-reserved lands of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole) and some lands in Michigan and Wisconsin, nearly all the territory east of the Mississippi had been freed of Indian title.

The treaties, of course, provided much more than peace and land cessions. They regulated trade, promoted civilization, made rules for the detention of hostages and for exchange of prisoners, established procedures for dealing with crimes in the Indian country so that Indians could be deterred from private retaliation, specified the boundaries between white settlements and the Indians, provided annuities and other payment for ceded lands, required passports for entering the Indian country, promised protection by the United States (which the Indians agreed to accept), obtained rights of way for passage through the Indian country, supported education among the tribes, and limited state jurisdiction over Indians. All this supported peace, defined political relations between the United States and the tribes, and promoted the plan of civilization.

### TRADE AND INTERCOURSE ACTS

The treaties alone did not maintain the peace between the Indians and the white settlers, who invaded the Indian country and boldly squatted on lands that were protected by treaties. So, beginning on 22 July 1790, Congress, at Washington's bidding, passed a series of laws "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers." These Trade and Intercourse Acts were the key legislation for governing the relations between the whites and the Indians—mainly by establishing norms and sanctions to control the white citizens.

The first law was simple: it regulated traders by means of a licensing system, prohibited the purchase of Indian lands by any means other than federal treaties, and provided punishment for crimes against the Indians. Then, as conditions got worse, the legislation was expanded in 1793, 1796, and 1799, and a more comprehensive and permanent law was enacted on 30 March 1802. That law renewed trade regulations, described the boundary line marking the Indian country, specifically forbade invasion of the Indian lands by whites to settle or drive cattle, required passports for entry into the Indian country,



**Jefferson Peace Medal.** This silver medal, designed by John Reich, was struck by the U.S. Mint in 1801 in several different sizes. Lewis and Clark carried a supply of Jefferson peace medals on their expedition west from 1804 to 1806. The medals were presented to Indian leaders they met along the way. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

with the New York Indians and the southern nations. The Constitution authorized the federal government to regulate commerce with Indian tribes as well as among states and with foreign nations, but it did not specifically mention treaties with Indians. President Washington, however, decided that the forms used in treating with Indians be the same as those used with foreign nations. The use of treaties persisted, despite a somewhat shaky constitutional base. Commissioners were appointed to deal with the

prescribed punishment for crimes, attempted to eliminate horse stealing, authorized action "to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes," and appointed agents for that purpose.

Because failures of enforcement continued, the laws authorized the use of military force to restrain the white violators, and they strengthened the sanctions against the introduction of whiskey into the Indian country. An amendment of 29 April 1816, aimed at British traders from Canada, prohibited foreigners from engaging in the Indian trade, and a law of 25 May 1824 required private traders to carry on trade with the Indians only at specified sites. Congress finally collected this piecemeal legislation and codified it in the Trade and Intercourse Act of 10 June 1834, which endured for the rest of the century.

### THE FACTORY SYSTEM

To ease if not eliminate problems in the Indian trade caused by profit-seeking white traders, many of whom were persons of low character, Congress, pushed by Washington, passed a second series of laws. This legislation, beginning on 18 April 1796, established government trading houses (called factories), which sought to eliminate unscrupulous traders by setting up trading posts owned and operated by the federal government. The intention was to treat the Indians fairly, restrain the use of liquor in the trade, and drive private traders out of the business by underselling them.

On 21 April 1806 Congress established an Office of Indian Trade with a superintendent of Indian trade to run the business. It was a noble experiment; the system grew from two factories among the Creeks and the Cherokees at the end of the eighteenth century to a nationwide system that eventually numbered twenty-two houses.

The factories were also a civilizing force. Thomas L. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade from 1816 to 1822, was especially eager to encourage the Indians to accept white ways, and he turned his office into a center for promoting schools and missions among the tribes. Largely at his urging, Congress on 3 March 1819 established an Indian Civilization Fund by appropriating $10,000 annually to "instruct [the Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic." McKenney distributed the money to missionary societies, who added their own funds for Indian education.

Although the War of 1812 interrupted the work of the factories, the system survived and expanded. Then it was crushed by powerful private fur-trading interests, led by John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company. Influenced by these men, Congress on 6 May 1822 closed all the factories and turned the trade back to the private traders, although new legislation of the same date tightened the regulations. The government trading houses had fallen victim to the spirit of free enterprise.

### THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT

The complexity of Indian policy after 1800 necessitated a growing bureaucracy to implement it, a corps of men collectively known as the Indian Department. At the top was the secretary of war, whose office was charged with the management of Indian affairs. To assist him in the field were superintendents of Indian affairs monitoring large areas in the West, whose office was often joined to that of territorial governor. Reporting to the superintendents were Indian agents and subagents, who were assigned to specific tribes or groups of tribes and who lived with the Indians. These men enforced the intercourse laws, negotiated treaties, and were ambassadors of the federal government to the Indians. They protected peaceful Indians as well as identified hostile ones. They knew the Indians, understood their needs, and were in general respected by the tribesmen.

The system of agents in the early years, however, was haphazard. Not until 1818 did Congress provide funds specifically for agents, and only on 30 June 1834 did a new law finally establish a well-organized Indian department.

Some semblance of an Indian office within the War Department was provided by McKenney while he was superintendent of Indian affairs. Then, on 11 March 1824, soon after the factory system collapsed, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, without specific congressional authorization, established in his department a Bureau of Indian Affairs. McKenney headed the bureau from 1824 to 1830. Correspondence with superintendents and agents passed through his office. He handled the payment of annuities and the distribution of the civilization fund, examined claims arising under the trade and intercourse acts, and took care of financial matters pertaining to Indian affairs. Not until 9 July 1832 did Congress create a commissioner of Indian affairs.

The agents in the field cooperated with the trading houses, which were often located near the agencies. They were in close contact also with the commanders of the army troops stationed at crucial spots along the frontiers. Although the military men were directed not to interfere with Indian policy decisions of the agents, and the agents did not command

the troops, in many cases the lines of responsibility were not clearly drawn. Frequent controversies arose between the two sets of officers, even though both reported to the secretary of war.

### INDIAN REMOVAL

The plan of civilization did not work as rapidly as its promoters had envisioned—and certainly not as quickly as the expanding white population demanded. Even those Indians who had accepted white ways were not likely to be accepted enthusiastically in white society. Many observers feared that Indians along the southern, northern, and western borders of the new nation might aid foreign nations in schemes against the United States.

A new and radically different policy for preserving and civilizing the Indians gained acceptance little by little. It called for the exchange of lands in the East for lands in the West and the removal of eastern tribes to areas west of the Mississippi, a policy made feasible by the Louisiana Purchase of 30 April 1803. A small exchange of lands was accomplished with the Cherokees in 1817. Then President James Monroe took up the idea aggressively. In a special message to Congress on 27 January 1825, he advanced his arguments in favor of removal, including the establishment of a government in the West for the Indians.

Meanwhile Georgia continued to pursue its intention to free the state completely of Indians. It did not acknowledge the Cherokees' claims to sovereignty and began to extend state authority over the Indian lands within its boundaries.

The issue of the removal of the Cherokees (and of other tribes as well) took on new force when Andrew Jackson became president in 1829. He denied that the Indians were sovereign and independent nations and that they could claim "tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase." Either they must become subject to the state or move to the West, where no state or territorial claims existed. There, under the guidance and protection of the federal government and freed from contact with the worst sort of frontiersmen, the Indians could continue their advance toward civilization.

Following Jackson's first message to Congress (8 December 1829), in which he outlined his policy, removal bills were introduced. Bitter debate occurred in Congress and in the public press between those who accepted Jackson's proposal and religious-minded persons who feared that God would punish the na-

tion if it did not live up to its treaty obligations. The Jackson party won when Congress enacted a Removal Act on 28 May 1830, which authorized the president to exchange lands west of the Mississippi for Indian lands east of the river and provided funds for the removal. Under that stimulus, despite Supreme Court decisions (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, [1831] and *Worcester v. Georgia* [1832]) that supported the Indians' claims, the Cherokees and other southern tribes were forced to sign removal treaties. In the North removal continued piece by piece in numerous treaties that did not furnish the high drama of southern removal.

Federal officials in these early years had mixed motives. They heard the cries of the whites for Indian lands and acquired those lands through treaty after treaty. But at the same time they wanted to act humanely toward the Indians and to ease as much as possible the trauma of displacement. How well they succeeded has been a contested question among historians. Some see the government responding honestly to nearly insoluble problems; others charge Jefferson and similar leaders with hypocrisy and deceit in offering help to the Indians in their public pronouncements but robbing them of their lands and culture by their actual deeds.

*See also* **Land Policies.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Horsman, Reginald. *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1782–1812.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790–1834.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.

———. *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy.* 3rd ed., documents 1–50. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Viola, Herman J. *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy, 1816–1830.* Chicago: Sage Books, 1974.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

*Francis Paul Prucha*

## American Indian Relations, 1763–1815

Indian affairs between the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in

1815 were marked by a stark contradiction. On the one hand, policymakers in London and Philadelphia wrote stirring defenses of Indian rights, especially the right of American Indians to keep possession of their lands in North America. Basic ideas about sovereignty and Indian rights were worked out during this period. On the other hand, the half century between the two grand wars was also the time when the loss of native lands far outstripped the total area of all the lands lost in the 150 years prior to 1763. From a relatively narrow coastal strip of thirteen colonies in 1754 hemmed in on three sides—by the French to the north, the Appalachians to the west, and the Spanish to the south—the English-speaking settlements burst out of their confinement and within four decades claimed sovereignty over North America to the Rocky Mountains. After 1763, American Indian tribes resorted to armed defense of their landholdings in a series of wars during and after the American War of Independence (1775–1783). They suffered serious defeats in the 1780s and 1790s, followed by crushing defeats to Indian nations in the Lower Mississippi Valley, the Ohio Valley, and the central Great Lakes region during the War of 1812 (1812–1815). After every defeat of Indian arms by the United States, and sometimes in between, the United States sought and gained major land cessions from the American Indian nations.

### THE PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763

Having defeated the French in the French and Indian War (1754–1760)—the North American phase of the Seven Years' War—the British in 1760 arrogantly assumed that they had a monopoly of power and trade over the Indians of North America and therefore could command without negotiating. Pontiac's uprising in 1763, however, disabused the English of that notion. Instead, the British had to reinvent their king, George III, as the Great Father of all the peoples in his North American dominions. But just thirteen years after Pontiac's War, his own English subjects in the colonies revolted rather than continue to submit to his rule. In this regard, a student of history could consider Pontiac's uprising against George III as the first American Revolution and the uprising of 1776 as the second.

King George's royal proclamation of a settlement line in North America in October 1763—known as the Proclamation of 1763—is an important, if neglected, document in American history. The king of Great Britain said that his subjects all had their own homelands. His British subjects in North America had their homes in the thirteen colonies on lands east

**"Horrible and Unparalleled Massacre!"** Proponents of removal exploited the fears and racist inclinations of many frontier southerners and westerners who indicated that they would never afford Indians equal status. This illustration from around 1800 accompanied an editorial describing "merciless Savages . . . fatally engaged in the work of death on the frontiers." © CORBIS.

of the Appalachian Mountains; his French-speaking subjects had their homeland in the St. Lawrence Valley downstream from the Great Lakes; and his Indian subjects had their homelands in the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. In other words, King George divided up his North American sovereign claims into three ethnically based enclaves. In effect, the Proclamation of 1763 introduced the idea of a geographical place called "Indian Country," an im-

portant term in law not to be confused with the depiction in Hollywood western movies of Indian Country as outlaw or bandit lands. Indian Country was the king's designation of lands within Britain's sovereign North American claims where Indian occupancy of the land was not to be "molested or disturbed" by non-Indians. The king explicitly "reserved" Indian hunting lands for the use of Indians. The king demanded that his Indian children regard him as their Great Father, but he also promised them that they would be protected in their lands against trespassers, invaders, settlers, rum dealers, and other interlopers.

Since 1763, the term "Indian Country" has continued to mean the lands that Indian tribes occupy and hold without disturbance or trespassing from outsiders. The king's settlement line proclamation anticipated that the British could acquire lands from Indian Country but only by an agreement directly between a tribe and the king or his representative, most likely a royal governor. King George III said that this type of agreement shall be held at a "Meeting or Assembly," that is, at a treaty negotiation. The king's representative would approach a tribe. A meeting would be held. A mutual agreement would be reached. The Indians would sell their land directly to the king for whatever they could negotiate. After the king took title to his new lands, he could presumably sell those lands to his English "loving subjects," give them away, or keep them as a royal game park. But the Proclamation of 1763 made it illegal for individual Englishmen to buy lands directly from Indian Country.

**Land cessions and resistance.** Unfortunately for the American Indians living in an area that became part of Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Virginia, many of the king's British subjects had moved west of the settlement line. Rather than try to expel the trespassers from Indian Country, the king's main representative for Indian affairs in North America, Sir William Johnson, worked for four years to obtain a treaty cession from the Indian tribes that would redraw the line between Indian Country and the king's thirteen English-speaking colonies. In the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768, the Iroquois Confederacy negotiated a major land cession. They sold land that ran from the Upper Delaware Valley southwest through the Susquehanna, Ohio, and Wabash Valleys and then looped back up the Cumberland River Valley to the Cumberland Pass of the Appalachian Mountains. This cession confirmed the existing fact on the ground of a widespread European American population movement to the west of the Appalachian Mountains. More significantly for the future, the Fort Stanwix land cession assumed the shape of a sword thrust deep into the center of Indian Country in the Ohio Valley that had the effect of separating the American Indian populations into northwest and southwest nations. To the northwest of the land cession, the Indian tribes held a line on the Ohio River containing the lands north and west of that river to the Great Lakes and to Upper Spanish Louisiana. To the southwest of the land cession, the Indian tribes held a line on the Cumberland River containing the lands south and west of that river to Spanish Florida and Lower Spanish Louisiana.

The Shawnee Indians did not accept the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, insisting that the Iroquois Indians who signed the treaty had no authority to cede to the crown the lands of the Shawnees in what would become Kentucky. In the years after 1768, Kentucky was the scene of bloody warfare between the Shawnees and English-speaking settlers. The Shawnees were eventually driven north out of Kentucky and across the Ohio River, but they fought into the 1790s to keep access to their old lands. Further south, in the Tennessee and Cumberland Valleys, the Cherokee Indians resisted English-speaking settlers crossing the mountains into Indian Country. Open warfare broke out between the Cherokees and the militias of Virginia and North Carolina in 1774. Many of the tribes that had fought the British crown in the Seven Years' War now sided with King George III in his war to suppress the rebellion in the thirteen colonies. Some Indian nations, such as the Mohicans and the Oneidas in the North and the Catawbas in the South, supported the American side in the Revolutionary War, but many more supported the crown.

## THE REVOLUTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The American Revolution did not erase the concept of an Indian Country with limited sovereignty within a larger sovereign power. Instead, the American Congress simply replaced the crown as that overall sovereign. The Proclamation of 1763 continued to be the basic model for American federal Indian policy. The United States forbade trespassers in Indian Country. It also enacted legislation to regulate trade there. And only the United States, through a treaty, could purchase land from a tribe. The first plan of government for the new United States was the Articles of Confederation, written in 1777 but not ratified until 1781. The Articles perpetuated the basic idea of the Proclamation of 1763, stating that "the United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . regulating the trade

and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States." In other words, only Congress, as the sovereign power of the United States upon independence from the crown, had the authority to deal with Indians who were in Indian Country, but not Indians residing in the states. The shift here was subtle but important. Congress would deal with Native Americans in the areas northwest and southwest of the line of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the separate states would have free rein to deal with Indians within their boundaries.

**Revolution and Confederation.** At the same time that the United States fought Great Britain for its independence, the new nation entered into active diplomacy with Indian nations. Most notably, the United States in 1778 signed a treaty with the Delaware Indians residing in the lands northwest of the Fort Stanwix line giving U.S. forces passage through Delaware lands to attack British posts in Indian Country. The United States promised material aid to the Delaware Indians, recognition of the Delawares' right to their Ohio Valley lands, and most intriguing, the possibility that at some future date, the Delaware Nation could lead an intertribal confederacy and join the United States as a state. Subsequent warfare between U.S. and Delaware forces made that promise a dead letter, but it was significant that the Congress was willing to contemplate a future federation with an intertribal group. The triumph in 1781 of U.S. forces fighting the British in the South caused the latter to seek a negotiated end to the War of American Independence. Negotiations lasted into 1783, with the U.S. diplomats rejecting any acknowledgment of special rights for the crown's former Indian subjects in the lands that the king acknowledged as the United States.

After independence the Congress, operating under the Articles of Confederation, further spelled out its Indian policy in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Besides creating a system of government for the trans-Ohio region, the document set out a new Indian policy: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress."

**The Constitution.** The same year as Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, a different gathering of delegates met in Philadelphia to devise a new constitution. The document approved at the Constitutional Convention contained none of the lofty sentiments found in the Proclamation of 1763, the Articles of Confederation, and the Northwest Ordinance. Instead, the Constitution had only one direct and one oblique reference to the conduct of Indian affairs. The direct reference stated that Congress shall have the power to regulate trade with the Indian tribes. The indirect reference acknowledged that "Indians not taxed" were outside the American polity and presumably kept their own limited sovereignty within U.S. borders. The Constitution contemplated a continued relationship with American Indian tribes via negotiated and ratified treaties, like the half dozen concluded by the Articles of Confederation government in the 1780s to end wartime hostilities and gain land cessions from northwestern and southwestern tribes. Indeed, after the ratification of the Constitution and continuing until 1871, the United States negotiated and ratified more than three hundred treaties with Indian tribes. By the terms of the Constitution, these treaties were the "supreme law of the land" and continue in the twenty-first century as fundamental elements of American law.

### DEFEAT OF INDIAN NATIONS

Beginning in the early 1790s, the United States engaged in a series of wars against the Indian nations of the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest. The goals of most of the military campaigns were to establish U.S. power and secure Indian recognition of a superior U.S. sovereignty over the lands in the Ohio and Tennessee Valleys, but each campaign in which the United States emerged victorious was accompanied by a treaty demand upon the Indian tribes to cede and relinquish more lands. In the cases where Indian arms prevailed over the U.S. military forces, the Americans regrouped and came back with greater force to prevail and impose their will. The three most significant examples of the ongoing warfare between the United States and the Indian tribes within U.S. borders as recognized under the Treaty of Paris (1783) were the Ohio campaigns of the 1790s, the Indiana campaigns of 1811–1813, and the Alabama campaigns of 1813–1814.

**Battles of the 1790s.** U.S. policy toward the lands northwest of the Ohio River in the mid–1780s ran ahead of U.S.-Indian diplomacy. On the one hand, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 contemplated American settlement of the trans-Ohio region, and soon enough, settlers established communities at Marietta, Gallipolis, and Cincinnati. On the other, the United States had not yet made treaties with the Shawnees and Delawares ceding the lands on the north bank of the Ohio River and upstream on the big tributaries of the Ohio, such

as the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Miami. To solidify its claim, the U.S. Army built forts at key points in the interior of Ohio and the American soldiers there prepared for war. The Americans pursued a strategy of destroying Indian villages in 1790 and 1791 on the Upper Maumee River in what became northwestern Ohio and on the Upper Wabash River in latter-day Indiana. U.S. forces overreached, however, in the fall of 1791, and more than one thousand soldiers were cornered in western Ohio, where they were decimated by an intertribal Indian force of Miami, Shawnee, and Delaware Indians during the battles of Harmar's Defeat (1790) and St. Clair's Defeat (1791). The complete destruction of General Arthur St. Clair's army seemed to presage a rollback of American power south all the way to the Ohio River, the line established in 1768 by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix that the Indians insisted was the true border between U.S. lands and Indian Country. In 1794 the U.S. government in Philadelphia decided to send another military expedition to reverse the St. Clair defeat. This force, led by General Anthony Wayne, engaged in a campaign to destroy the intertribal villages in the Maumee and Upper Wabash Valleys. At the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794), fought upstream from where Toledo would later stand, the U.S. forces defeated the Indian soldiers. General Wayne then compelled the Indian leaders to sign the Treaty of Greenville in the summer of 1795. It established a new boundary line between the U.S. settlements in the southern half of Ohio and the now-reduced Indian Country to the north. Many of the Indian people who had lived in Ohio moved west to the Lower Wabash Valley of Indiana, north among the Ottawa and Potawatomi people in the lower peninsula of Michigan, or northeast into British North America among the intertribal groups on the north shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario.

**Indian revitalization.** In the years after the Indian defeat at Fallen Timbers, some remarkable intertribal movements for religious and political reform began. Some tribes embraced Protestant Christianity, notably the Mohicans, or Stockbridge Indians, whose leaders attempted to form new intertribal arrangements. Other religious leaders among the Indian nations rejected Christian missionaries and their teachings. Starting among the Seneca Indians of New York, Indian religious leaders preached a variety of messages emphasizing the importance of returning to old beliefs in order to reverse the imbalance of power with the Americans. The most inspiring of the new leaders were Tenskwatawa, a Shawnee prophet, and his brother Tecumseh a Shawnee warrior, who built an intertribal community at Prophetstown on the Lower Wabash River in what became Indiana. The Shawnee leaders preached a message of intertribal resistance to the Americans and their ways, and in the years between 1805 and 1811, their views reached thousands of Indians from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Winnipeg. In the year 1811, territorial militia under Major General William Henry Harrison attacked the intertribal settlement and ignited a general war with the Indians of the Northwest that soon became part of an international war with Great Britain.

**War of 1812.** While mainly remembered for the British burning of the American capital at Washington and for the victory of the Kentucky and Tennessee militiamen against British regulars at New Orleans, the War of 1812 in the Old Northwest and Old Southwest was fought mainly between American regulars and militia on one side and Indian nations with some British militia on the other. Two leaders on the American side emerged as effective generals against Indian forces: Major General Harrison in the Northwest and Major General Andrew Jackson in the Southwest. Under Harrison, American forces defeated Indian soldiers on the Lower Wabash. After an initial loss of the garrison at Detroit, American forces regrouped and took the war into the Indian villages of British North America between Detroit and Niagara. This campaign culminated in the decisive Battle of the Thames in 1813, in which the Americans routed a combined Indian and British force and killed Tecumseh. The power of the intertribal forces under Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa to resist American power in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan was broken forever.

The religious message of cultural revitalization and reform had perhaps its deepest resonance in the Southwest among the Muskogee (Creek) Indians of Alabama and Georgia. The villages of the Muskogee Nation divided in the year 1812 into two camps, one group supportive of revitalization and of opposition to the American settlers in the Old Southwest, and the other willing to coexist with the Americans. The insurgent group of Red Stick Muskogees began a civil war within the Muskogee Nation and soon enough militiamen from Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama joined to make the intratribal fight a battle between nations. Led by General Jackson, the forces of the Tennessee militia in 1814 finally cornered and slaughtered the Muskogee soldiers at the Muskogee settlement of Tohopeka in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. After the fighting ended, Jackson imposed a draconian peace on the entire Muskogee Nation that included the cession of fourteen million acres of land

in Alabama, including fertile parts of the future Cotton Belt. In the next few years, Jackson imposed similar terms on the other Indian nations of the Old Southwest, thereby opening the way for the dramatic expansion of slave-based plantation agriculture in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The allied, if fragmented, opposition of the intertribal groups inspired by the Shawnee prophet had one final chance to halt the spread of American settlement and power in the years from 1811 and 1814, and soon after their defeat, the United States turned to a policy of Indian removal from the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest into the lands of the new Louisiana Purchase (1803).

*See also* **Creek War; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Revolution: Military History; Thames, Battle of the; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

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

Deloria, Vine, Jr., and David E. Wilkins. *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.

Edmunds, R. David. *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership.* Boston: Little Brown, 1984.

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

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

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

Oberly, James W. *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815–1972.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.

Payne, Samuel B., Jr. "The Iroquois League, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 53 (1996): 605–620.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking, 2001.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

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

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

*James W. Oberly*

## American Indian Relations, 1815–1829

The history of United States–Native American relations between 1815 and 1829 was marked by an ascension of United States military superiority over the Native American nations. It was also marked by the continuation of the federal government's programs to acculturate Native Americans and bring order to the Native American trade, as well as by the emergence of an American plan to relocate the eastern tribes west of the Mississippi River.

### GENERAL POLICIES IN 1815

Before 1815 the United States adopted policies intended to stabilize its frontiers and provide for the peaceful expansion of the nation. The government recognized the Native American tribes as sovereign nations possessing legitimate title to their land, paid for cessions acquired in diplomatic treaties, and prohibited white settlement on Native American lands without tribal permission. Congress also instituted a "civilization program" to prepare Native Americans for assimilation into the American population. The government included articles to encourage acculturation in its treaties with the tribes, appropriated money to supply Native Americans with farming tools and implements, and posted agents among the tribes to instruct individual Native Americans in their use. The federal government continued the civilization program with uneven success in the period from 1815 to 1829. Of particular note in this era was an act in 1819 in which Congress began appropriating funds for the education of Native American children. Rather than establishing secular schools, however, the government simply channeled the money to Protestant churches and missionary societies. By 1830 over fifty schools had been established in or around the Native American nations.

### WAR OF 1812

The civilization program was not as successful in achieving assimilation as its exponents had hoped.

Most white Americans, particularly those on the frontier, refused to accept acculturated Native Americans into their midst on equal terms, and many Native Americans simply did not want to make the transformation required by the program. In some nations, nativist prophets like White Path (Cherokee) and Tenskwatawa (Shawnee) urged their followers to repudiate Anglo-American culture and goods (particularly alcohol) and drive American settlers out of Native American territory. Many Native American communities divided into factions that either accepted or rejected the civilization model.

During the War of 1812 the United States eliminated two major Native American uprisings spawned by nativist prophets. In the Old Northwest, American forces under William Henry Harrison destroyed a pan–Native American confederation of tribes led by Tenskwatawa and his brother, the warrior chief Tecumseh. In 1814 troops under Andrew Jackson annihilated a group of nativist "Red Stick" Creek warriors at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River. Jackson forced the Creeks to cede some twenty-three million acres to the United States in a treaty at Fort Jackson. American victories over the northwestern confederation and the Red Sticks established U.S. military hegemony over the Native American nations in the East.

In the Treaty of Ghent (1814) that ended the War of 1812, the United States promised Great Britain that it would make peace with Britain's Native American allies and restore their former "possessions, rights, and privileges." Within months the United States had concluded numerous treaties with the tribes from the Old Northwest at Portage des Sioux (near St. Louis) and Spring Wells (near Detroit). Rather than returning Native American territory, however, the United States immediately set out to acquire more.

Jackson became a pivotal figure in the American acquisition of tribal territory. As a U.S. treaty commissioner (1814–1820) he used harsh, if not unscrupulous, means to acquire major cessions from the southeastern tribes. He also played a controversial role in the United States's acquisition of western Florida. In 1818 Jackson, suspecting that the Spanish were encouraging Seminole attacks on white settlements in southern Georgia, led an army into Florida, attacked the Seminoles, and captured and executed two British traders. Spain surrendered control of Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís, or Transcontinental, Treaty of 1819 that resolved the conflict; the Seminoles subsequently ceded much of their territory in the Treaty of Gadsden (1823).

## REGULATING THE NATIVE AMERICAN TRADE

Until 1849 (when the Interior Department assumed responsibility), Native American relations, including the regulation of the Native American trade, fell under the jurisdiction of the War Department. The trade had always been a source of income, and trouble, for the United States and its colonial predecessors. The government continued trying to reduce the unrest provoked by unprincipled merchants in the years from 1815 to 1829. Congress required traders to obtain licenses and post bonds and provided punishments for those found guilty of corrupt dealing. These measures supplemented the public factory system (which provided trade goods to Native Americans at cost) that the government had established in 1795 to compete with private traders. As superintendent of Native American trade (1816–1822), Thomas L. McKenney urged the government to continue the factory system and use it to promote civilization, Christianity, and fair dealings with Native Americans. The factory system expanded throughout most of the Native American country until 1822, when John Jacob Astor, owner of the American Fur Company, and other prominent private merchants persuaded Congress to abandon the government's competing posts. McKenney lost his job as superintendent of trade in the process, but in 1824 Secretary of War John C. Calhoun created the Bureau of Indian Affairs to manage nonmilitary Native American matters and appointed McKenney its first commissioner. In 1832 Congress codified Calhoun's restructuring of Native American affairs.

To intimidate the tribes and prevent them from reestablishing trade and military ties with Great Britain and Spain, the United States built several forts at key river locations on the northwestern and southwestern frontiers after the War of 1812. In 1816 Congress began refusing trading licenses to noncitizens and authorized the president to arrest foreign traders and seize their goods. The federal government also tried, with little success, to eliminate crime and disorder among frontier and Native American communities. The fact that a particular crime could involve Native Americans and whites under state, federal, or Native American territory jurisdiction complicated prosecution. Much of the crime was caused by the widespread availability of alcohol in Native American and American towns. In the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1822, Congress authorized government agents to seize a trader's inventory if it included alcohol. In 1832 Congress prohibited the sale of "ardent spirits" in Native American country. This proscription was no more successful than the national prohibition declared nearly a century later,

for the government agents lacked the resources to rein in the private suppliers.

## NATIVE AMERICAN REMOVAL

After the War of 1812 Jackson and Calhoun urged President James Monroe to abandon the federal government's policy of recognizing the land title and political sovereignty of the tribes. The United States, they argued, should treat Native Americans as subjects of the state in which they lived. Jackson and state political leaders in Georgia began calling for the federal government to remove the Native American tribes from the southern states. In 1803 Thomas Jefferson had proposed the idea of relocating eastern Native Americans to the Louisiana Territory where, he asserted, they would have time to acculturate free from the trespasses of white settlers. Although a few thousand Cherokees responded to Jefferson's entreaties and moved west in the years from 1808 to 1810, the vast majority of Native Americans preferred to remain in their ancestral homelands.

Georgia's removal argument was buttressed by an agreement concluded during Jefferson's administration. In the Compact of 1802, the state had surrendered its territory between the Chattahoochee and Mississippi Rivers to the United States. In exchange, the federal government had promised to extinguish the Native American title in Georgia as soon as it could be "peaceably obtained, and on reasonable terms." Georgia used this agreement to force the federal government to consider extinguishing the territorial rights of the Creeks and Cherokees who lived within the state's borders. President Monroe responded that the federal government was not bound by the Compact of 1802, and that while he favored the idea of removing the tribes to the West, he would not force any nation to relocate involuntarily.

The motivations of removal proponents were primarily economic and racial. The emerging profitability of cotton agriculture created a tremendous demand for land in the southern "Black Belt," a fertile crescent that stretched from western Georgia across central Alabama and Mississippi. The cotton boom enticed thousands of white settlers into and around Native American lands in the Southeast. In 1810, for example, 40,000 Americans lived in the Mississippi Territory; by 1830 the population of Mississippi and Alabama, the states formed out of that territory, had increased to almost 450,000. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws were very quickly surrounded by white Americans who wanted their land, and as soon as Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (1819) were admitted into the Union, their political

leaders began calling for Native American residents to leave their states.

Removal proponents also exploited the fears and racist inclinations of many frontier southerners and westerners who indicated that they would never afford Native Americans equal status, regardless of how civilized they became. The situation of the Cherokees offered a clear example of this irony. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Cherokees developed a market economy, adopted a republican government, and built schools and churches throughout their nation. They devised their own written language, known as Sequoyah's syllabary, and used it in the publication of their own newspaper. Despite this movement toward the Anglo-American standard of civilization by the Cherokees, and by the other southeastern tribes as well, most white southerners refused even to entertain the idea that they might assimilate Native Americans in the future.

**Toward implementation.** Between 1817 and 1826 the Cherokees (1817 and 1819), Choctaws (1820), and Creeks (1826) signed cession treaties that included removal articles. The agreements offered Native Americans living on ceded territory the choice of removing to land offered in the West or remaining in the East, taking individual allotments of land, and living as subjects of the state. The treaties promised that the United States would protect the removed Native Americans from attacks and white settlement in their new lands, allow them to maintain their political autonomy, and continue to provide them with material and personnel to prepare them for their eventual assimilation. Similar provisions were included in the general removal treaties signed by the Native American nations in the 1830s. Some of these agreements, including the Cherokee treaty of 1817 (which was negotiated by Jackson), were signed by dissident factions in the face of opposition by the formal tribal government. In order to prevent future illegal cessions, the Cherokee national council enacted legislation formally establishing the land of the nation as property of the people in common and prohibited, upon penalty of death, the sale of tribal territory without its approval.

John Quincy Adams, who succeeded Monroe, held to the position that the Native Americans would have to consent to any removal proposal. The resistance of the Cherokees, and Adams's refusal to force them to remove, infuriated the Georgia government. In 1827 George Troup, governor of the state, had become so frustrated by the federal government's inaction that he threatened to use the state militia to re-

move the Cherokees and Creeks and promised a war if the federal government interfered. The Creeks tired of Georgia's unrelenting pressure and signed away their remaining territory in Georgia. The state then turned its attention to the Cherokees, who adamantly refused to concede. On 26 July 1827, the Cherokees adopted a constitutional government and declared their nation an independent, sovereign republic. In subsequent months they called over and over again for the federal government to intervene in the dispute and restrain Georgia's belligerence.

In 1828 the U.S. voters elected Andrew Jackson as president, and the administration of the national government passed into the hands of a man who had been promoting removal for almost a decade. In his first annual message, Jackson warned that the Native American tribes could either remove or fall under the jurisdiction of the state in which they lived. He also called on Congress to enact legislation to remove the eastern tribes. Georgia was emboldened by Jackson's election and, within weeks of his victory, its legislature had annexed the Cherokees' lands in the state. In 1829 Georgia extended its jurisdiction over the Cherokees and purported to abolish their national council, court system, and laws. Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee soon followed Georgia's lead and claimed jurisdiction over the Native Americans in their states. The discovery of gold in the Cherokee Nation in 1829 only exacerbated the desire of whites to move onto Native American land; the Georgia legislature unilaterally seized the strike locations, prohibited Cherokees from approaching them, and established a paramilitary force to harass the Native Americans. Soon thereafter Georgia sent surveyors into the Cherokee Nation, divided its territory into parcels, and distributed them to white state residents by lottery.

In 1830 Jackson's allies in Congress responded to his request and introduced a removal bill. Despite the determined efforts of Jeremiah Evarts, the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, who led public opposition to the bill in New England, and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, who fought the bill in the Senate, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 passed by slim majorities in both houses. The bill, which Jackson signed into law on 28 May 1830, authorized the president to mark off territory in the West for Native American resettlement and negotiate removal treaties with the Native American nations. The law also authorized the president to reimburse Native Americans for improvements surrendered upon removal and to pay the costs of relocation and resettlement.

**Native American response.** With the passage of the removal bill, the Native American nations had four choices: submit to state jurisdiction, remove, litigate, or fight. In the 1830s different nations chose different courses. The Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and many tribes in the North reluctantly agreed to remove. The Cherokees, led by their principal chief, John Ross, challenged Georgia's extension laws in federal court. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Cherokees a sovereign nation and Georgia's extension laws unconstitutional. Jackson, however, did not enforce the decision against the state. The Cherokee national council continued to refuse to sign a removal treaty, but in 1835 a dissident group signed the infamous treaty of New Echota, which called for the surrender of all Cherokee lands in the East and the removal of the nation to a territory in the West. In 1838 federal troops entered the Cherokee Nation, rounded up some sixteen thousand Cherokees, and forced them to march to the Indian Territory that Congress had established west of the Mississippi River (in what became Oklahoma). Military resistance failed as well. The Seminoles, Sacs, and Foxes fought bitter wars against the U.S. Army before they surrendered and were forced to remove. Thousands died in the removal migrations, mostly from starvation, malnutrition, exposure, and heartbreak. The Cherokees, for example, who came to refer to the removal as the Trail of Tears, lost over a quarter of their population in the exile; deaths ascribable to the removal crisis may have approached ten thousand among the Creeks.

Although most of the removal controversy centered around the Cherokees and the other southern nations, the Indian Removal Act also resulted in the relocation of most of the tribes in the North, including the Cayugas, Delawares, Kaskaskias, Kickapoos, Menominees, Miamis, Ojibwas, Oneidas, Ottawas, Peorias, Piankashaws, Potawatomis, Senecas, Shawnees, Tuscaroras, and Winnebagos. In 1843 the War Department estimated that it had removed almost ninety thousand Native Americans from their homes.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Jackson, Andrew; Transcontinental Treaty; War of 1812.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Garrison, Tim Alan. *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Kappler, Charles J., ed. and comp. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* 5 vols. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904–1941.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking Press, 2001.

Viola, Herman J. *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy*, 1816-1830. Chicago: Sage Books, 1974.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Washburn, Wilcomb E., comp. *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History.* 4 vols. New York: Random House, 1973.

*Tim Alan Garrison*

## American Indian Religions

The eras of the American Revolution and early Republic were turbulent times in Indian country. Waves of English and American settlers encroached on Indian lands, epidemic diseases winnowed indigenous populations, and the pangs of dependency—including the increase of the rum trade—gnawed at communities. Religion provided succor for many American Indians during these tumultuous times. Many found new hope and strength in religious revitalization movements that swept the Ohio Valley and Southeast. Others entered, voluntarily or involuntarily, Christian communities and encountered Christian missionaries who promised new hope. The American Revolution profoundly affected the religious experiences of American Indians.

American Indian religions were holistic. Ceremonies and worship connected people, nature, and animals. The ceremonies also emphasized harmony and efficacy. Religious practices ensured that hunters found game, that corn, beans, and squash grew plentifully, and that the universe remained in balance. When game disappeared, crops failed, or the universe was out of kilter, it suggested that the ceremonies had failed, been improperly practiced, or ignored, or a combination of all three factors. When such calamities befell the entire community, American Indians refashioned older ceremonies or adopted new ones. Thus American Indian religions were malleable and could incorporate other elements without losing strength. Contact with Europeans affected American Indian religious practice in diverse ways. For instance, some scholars trace the rise of the kachina ceremonies to the dispersal of the Anasazis because of drought and warfare. Kachinas bring rain, plenti-

ful crops, and cooperation among villages. In a controversial stance, the scholar Calvin Martin argues that hunters in southern Canada blamed the spread of European epidemic diseases such as smallpox on the beaver and other animals and subsequently waged war on the animals. All across North and South America, the arrival of Europeans disrupted the native world. New diseases, slaving expeditions, and the introduction of new items (such as alcohol, trade goods, and weapons) forced Indians to adjust their religious lives.

### RELIGIOUS REVITALIZATION IN INDIAN COUNTRY

The succession of religious revivals that began in the 1730s in the colonies coincided with a period of intense religious revitalization among American Indians in the Northeast and Southeast. Native prophets such as Neolin, Handsome Lake, and Tenskwatawa preached a message of Indian unity, renewal, and rejection of Euro–Americans. Their messages combined Old and New World religious beliefs and spoke to the issues—disease, excessive alcohol consumption, and war—that affected Indian communities.

These religious movements resulted from the changes in Indian country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Disease and Iroquoian warfare had reduced many native populations, and, in response, surviving Algonquians, Hurons, and Winnebagos formed multitribal villages in the Ohio Valley and along the Great Lakes. These multiethnic villages served as centers of diplomacy, trade, and religious activity throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Witnessing the deleterious effects of disease and trade dependency, shamans called for a rejection of Europeans and their trade goods. In 1737 a prophet told his followers that God told the animals to leave the Susquehanna Valley because Indians had traded furs for alcohol. In 1751 a Delaware woman informed followers that God had made three separate peoples—blacks, whites, and Indians—and that all should have different religions. These prophets, and others like them, outlined the forms of religious expression during this period. First, they preached Indian guilt. That is, Indians were to blame for their current problems (trade dependency, overhunting, and alcohol), but Indian actions (forgoing alcohol, ending trade with Europeans, and giving up European trade items) could correct these issues. Second, they preached a pan-Indian message. All Indians, regardless of tribe, faced similar problems because of English encroachment, such as the pressure on their hunting lands and trade dependency. These

messages of unity and anti-Europeanism became more salient after the 1750s.

The aftermath of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) fueled the shamans' fire. After the British forced France to withdraw from its North American colonies, British settlers on Indian land in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes prompted conflict between Indian and white settlers on the frontier. France's absence also left most Indians with only one trading partner—the British. Prices soared, the quality of goods declined, and British traders used rum liberally in their exchanges with Indians. These events laid the groundwork for a wave of religious expression. Sometime after France abandoned its colonies in North America, Neolin, a member of the Delaware tribe who lived at Tuscarawas Town, in present-day Ohio, received a visitor. This visitor told Neolin that before the Europeans arrived the Indians' path to heaven had been unimpeded. Now, whites blocked the Indians' path and irrevocably led them to hell. Neolin then began teaching the message of the Master of Life to the Delaware and others. He warned his followers of the dangers of alcohol and advocated that his followers surrender European goods. Neolin also suggested that American Indians were inherently different from Europeans, and thus all Indians should unite to combat English expansion. Neolin's message was accompanied by the use of the "Black Drink." Indians brewed this concoction, drank it, and then vomited so as to expel English influences from their bodies. Neolin also preached a message of warfare, predicting that Indians and Europeans would soon engage in battle. Neolin's message was extremely popular in the Ohio Valley and by the end of 1761 had reached all the Delaware villages in the region. By 1763 Neolin had followers among the Potawatomis in Michigan and Indiana.

Among Neolin's most influential followers was Pontiac, a member of the Ottawas. Pontiac told his followers that the Master of Life disliked the English but liked the French. Thus Indians should attack the English, force them to leave North America, and wait for the return of the French father. The ensuing conflict, Pontiac's War (1763–1766), fused religious and military messages to unite Indians in the Great Lakes. Indians across the region heeded Neolin's and Pontiac's call and lay siege to English forts. Some of these assaults were successful, but Pontiac himself failed to take Fort Detroit, a defeat with symbolic importance. Moreover, the demands of the hunt prevented Pontiac and others from keeping an army in the field year round. The brutal warfare on both sides (including General Jeffrey Amherst's use of blankets that had covered smallpox patients) ended the rebellion but not the importance of pan-Indian religious movements.

Thirty years later, similar social and economic conditions spawned another revival. After the American Revolution, Iroquois prestige and power declined. Between 1763 and 1776, the Iroquois acted as middlemen between the British government and the Indian nations in the Ohio Valley. However, the American ascension after the American Revolution stripped the Iroquois of influence and wealth. The Iroquois ceded large chunks of land to the United States (some of which actually belonged to Ohio Valley Indians) and lost their ability to act as political intermediaries and support their own economies. Subsequently, alcohol consumption in Iroquois country soared. In 1799 Handsome Lake, of the Senecas, lying on what seemed to be his deathbed, received a series of visions in which the Creator instructed him on how to revitalize Iroquoian communities. Handsome Lake's religious message fused American policy and religion with Iroquoian beliefs. First, he admonished the Iroquois to live at peace with the United States and each other. However, Handsome Lake protested any future Iroquoian land cessions to the United States. Second, he supported the United States' efforts to teach the Iroquois Euro-American modes of farming and education. Third, he denounced alcohol and sale of Iroquois land. Finally, Handsome Lake preached the return to older thanksgiving festivals. Handsome Lake spread this message throughout the Iroquois nation for the next fifteen years before passing away in an Onondaga town. This religion continues to have adherents among contemporary Iroquois.

Similar economic conditions plagued Ohio Valley Indians. After the American Revolution, Shawnees, Miamis, and other Indians reacted against American settlers on their homelands. Little Turtle (Miami) and Blue Jacket (Shawnee) resisted the United States, but Anthony Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers (21 August 1794) and the subsequent Treaty of Greenville (1795) forced them to surrender most of modern-day Ohio and Indiana. By 1800 Ohio Valley Indians found themselves deprived of lands on which to hunt and dependent on American traders for much of their livelihoods.

In the early nineteenth century, two members of the Shawnee tribe, the half-brothers Tecumseh (1768–1813) and Lelawithika (1768–1834), played a significant role in Indian relations with Americans. Chief Tecumseh attempted to rally Ohio Valley and Southeastern Indians to create a unified army to pre-

vent United States expansion. Joining the British side in the War of 1812, he helped them capture Detroit. Behind this military effort to block U.S. encroachment was the religious influence of Lelawithika. In 1805 Lelawithika had a vision in which he visited with the Master of Life, who told Lelawithika to return to earth and preach his message. Lelawithika changed his name to Tenskwatawa, meaning "open door," and told his followers to throw off European trade items (especially alcohol) and return to older ceremonial practices. Tenskwatawa helped Tecumseh advocate for Indian confederacy, and his message spread to the Shawnees, Ottawas, and Wyandots. In 1808 Tenskwatawa, known among his followers as the Prophet, established Prophetstown, a settlement in modern-day Indiana, to accommodate them.

In 1811 William Henry Harrison, governor of the Northwest Territories, marched on Prophetstown. Before Tecumseh left for the Southeast, he warned his brother not to engage Harrison's troops, but Tenskwatawa ignored his brother's advice. In Tecumseh's absence, Harrison's force defeated Tenskwatawa's at Tippecanoe in 1811, and Tenskwatawa abandoned Prophetstown. He was discredited in the eyes of his followers and never regained prestige. Tecumseh's efforts for a pan-Indian alliance also failed. The Southeastern Indians (Choctaws and Creeks) rejected Tecumseh's call for unity, and he returned to burned-down Prophetstown. Tenskwatawa fled with other Shawnees to the west, and Tecumseh was killed by Harrison's forces in 1813.

During this time, a movement influenced by Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh emerged among the Muscogees in the Southeast. Muscogee shamans called for a rejection of Euro-American trappings, including livestock and alcohol, and a renewal of older ceremonies, such as the Black Drink Ritual and the Green Corn Ceremony. In 1810 some shamans went north and visited Tenskwatawa. However, the efforts of the Muscogee shamans fractured Muscogee society. Some chose to follow American policy and adopted farming and Christianity. Others, known as the Red Sticks for the ceremonial red sticks they carried with them into battle, remained hostile to this way of life. The Red Sticks resisted until 1813–1814, when Andrew Jackson delivered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (27 March 1814). The surviving Red Sticks retreated to the Everglades of Florida and teamed with Seminoles to provide resistance to Jackson and Indian Removal in the 1830s.

## INDIANS IN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

During the period of pan-Indian revitalization movements, other Indians lived in Christian communities throughout North America. Some Indians came to the communities voluntarily; others were forced. In the Northeast, Christian missionaries established communities for American Indians. For instance, Moravian missionaries created small communities for their Indian converts. Yet this placed many American Indians in harm's way. In 1763 in Pennsylvania, residents of Paxton descended on Conestoga, the home of Christian Susquehannocks who had moved to the town and lived under the protection of the colonial government. With passions and fears inflamed by Pontiac's Rebellion, the so-called Paxton boys attacked and killed six Susquehannocks. The Christian Indians then fled to nearby Lancaster, but the mob followed them there, broke into the warehouse where the Susquehannocks were hiding, and butchered them. Indians who adopted Christianity were not immune to the violence of Indian-hating colonists.

A different story emerged in the Spanish territory of California. Spanish officials, fearing British and Russian incursions from the Pacific Northwest, began establishing a series of Franciscan missions in California. Father Junípero Serra established the first mission in modern-day San Diego in 1769, and by 1834 the string of missions reached Solano, just north of San Francisco. The missions were the focal point of Spain's efforts to defend its northern frontier, which also included *presidios* (military bases) and *pueblos* (civilian communities).

At the missions, Franciscans sought to transform native ways of life. Soon, Indians replaced wild foods gleaned from hunting, fishing, and gathering with domesticated plants and animals, especially corn and beef. Indians began living in Spanish-style houses and dressing in Spanish-style clothing. Franciscan priests also sought to transform Indian social relations. They required unmarried men and women to live in separate dormitories (often in filthy conditions). They also squelched behaviors that conflicted with Christian morality. At one mission, priests and soldiers discovered a *berdache*—a man who dressed like a woman—and made him sweep and work in the plaza in the nude. After this punishment, the *berdache* fled into the interior of California.

Religious instruction was an important part of the mission environment, as was religious conversion. Spanish officials gathered Indians in the immediate area of the mission and sometimes sent military expeditions inland to gather potential converts. Fran-

ciscans oriented all aspects of daily life in the mission toward conversion, such as signaling work and prayer times by ringing bells and performing baptisms. Some Franciscans wanted Indians to learn the tenets of Catholicism before baptism, whereas others placed little emphasis on religious knowledge as a prerequisite for baptism.

Yet because of California's isolation, economic factors often overwhelmed the efforts at conversion. Until 1834 most land routes from northern Mexico and New Mexico to California were considered too dangerous to traverse; civilian and military outposts had only sporadic connections with Mexico City and, by extension, Spain. Therefore missions, with their large Indian workforces, strove to be as self-sufficient as possible. Under the direction of the friars, Indians harvested grain, tended cattle herds, and developed artisanal skills, such as leather working and soap making. The missions also traded with *presidios* and, to a lesser extent, *pueblos.* These activities left little time for the friars' efforts to convert the Indians.

Because conversions were limited, the Indian religions remained strong and vibrant in the missions. The influx of Indians from the interior of California also helped to maintain traditional Indian religious ways. Shamans continued to administer to followers and heal the sick, and Indian dances persisted. California Indian religions also blended Christian and native traditions. Among the Luiseño, Cupeño, Kumeyaay, and Chumash tribes, a new religion called Chingichngish gained in popularity. This religious expression was named after a cultural hero, manifested as a new creator or a condor, who emerged among the groups. Chingichngish was probably a response to epidemic diseases as well as to mission Indians who fled the Franciscan communities and brought tenets of Christianity inland. Indian participants, however, were extremely secretive about their practices and hid their religion from the Franciscans.

For many California Indians, living in missions meant death. On average, Indians survived only twelve years of mission life. Between 1769 and 1834, California's Indian population declined by almost one-third. Yet, unlike Spanish mission efforts in New Mexico and Texas, a large population in the interior of California provided ready sources of new converts and workers. Spanish soldiers made frequent forays into the San Joaquin Valley to capture gentiles (unbaptized Indians) and bring them back to the mission.

Poor living conditions and an influx of gentiles fostered discontent among the Indian population. Priests and soldiers attempted a number of methods of social control. When Indians committed criminal offenses, priests flogged Indian converts or put them in stocks. When priests considered crimes too egregious, Spanish officials executed Indians. In response, California Indians participated in a variety of resistance strategies. Many Indians ran away from the missions, sometimes for a few days, sometimes permanently. Other California Indians participated in open rebellion. In 1824, members of the Chumash tribe near Santa Barbara rose up, attacked, and occupied Mission Santa Barbara and Mission La Purisima.

### CHRISTIANS COME TO INDIANS

After the American Revolution, the architects of federal Indian policy debated what to do with the Indians living in the Ohio Valley and the Southeast. Anglo-Americans agreed on expanding onto Indian land; they disagreed on how to treat Indians living there. President George Washington, Secretary of War Henry Knox, and others decided the best way to ensure peaceful relations with Indians and open land for settlement was through the process of teaching Indians the rudiments of Euro-American farming, education, and religion. Toward this end, missionaries from a number of denominations, including Moravians and Presbyterians, descended on Indian communities in the Ohio Valley and Southeast. Some tribes, including the Cherokee, invited the missionaries.

The Cherokees had endured a tumultuous history since the Seven Years' War. Between 1760 and 1790, Cherokees had fought in all major conflicts and subsequently suffered from economic and political dislocation. In an effort to heal internal wounds and adapt to new circumstances, some Cherokees asked for Moravian and Presbyterian missionaries, primarily to teach school. Between 1811 and 1813, the influx of Christian missionaries and Euro-American ideas precipitated a Cherokee revival. Prophets attempted to direct and control social change. Some advocated expelling all Americans and American influences; others thought that the Cherokees should expel Americans but let their trade goods remain; and still others thought that the Cherokees should allow a few more Americans to enter their communities, but no more than were necessary. As with other contemporaneous religious movements—such as those of Tenskwatawa and the Red Sticks—the Cherokee religious revival blended Euro-American and Cherokee religious traditions. Some

messages spoke of God and Heaven while at the same time proposing to minimize the influence of American culture. Although the Cherokee religious revival paralleled Tenskwatawa's, they were not affiliated. Still, many Americans, including the missionaries living in Cherokee territory, feared this movement and wanted the Cherokees to demonstrate their loyalty. During the Red Stick War (1813–1814), five hundred Cherokees enlisted with Andrew Jackson's force and helped defeat the Red Stick Creeks at Horseshoe Bend.

Between 1750 and 1815, warfare, epidemic diseases, and trade dependency forced American Indians to make difficult adjustments. In new religious expressions, American Indians sought to mediate these changes. Some, such as Neolin, Handsome Lake, and Tenskwatawa, fused Christian and native religions to support a pan-Indian effort to block American westward expansion. Others, such as the Susquehannocks, California Indians, and Cherokees, experienced Christian missionary efforts. Franciscans, Moravians, and Presbyterians descended on their communities and attempted to change the Indians from the inside. Yet throughout this period Indian religious expressions remained strong and vibrant. Handsome Lake's religion, Chingichngish, and others blended Christianity and native beliefs to make sense of a new world. These types of religious expressions would continue into the twentieth century, with the Ghost Dance and the Native American Church.

See also **Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Moravians; Pontiac's War; Presbyterians; Revivals and Revivalism; Tippecanoe, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Deloria, Vine. *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1973; reprint, New York: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Jackson, Robert, and Edward Castillo. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Martin, Calvin. *The Keepers of the Game: Indian–Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Martin, Joel. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

McLoughlin, William. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984.

Salisbury, Neal. "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans." *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996): 435–458.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.* New York: Vintage, 1972.

Weber, David. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*William J. Bauer, Jr.*

## American Indian Removal

The process of pushing indigenous tribes westward long predated Andrew Jackson and his oft-maligned Indian Removal Act. Every time since 1607 that native peoples had their land seized or purchased by the European invaders of North America, they had to find new habitations and hunting grounds. By 1776 they had been pushed well away from the Atlantic coast, and the new United States authorities soon determined to reduce the tribes' remaining landholdings through a process of negotiation and purchase conducted, after 1789, by the federal government. By 1820 this process had successfully extinguished the Indian title throughout most of the North, compelling most indigenous peoples to migrate farther west or north into Canada or restricting those that remained to reservations of very limited size. In the South, native tribes signed over thirty land-cession treaties between 1789 and 1820, but the situation there proved more complex and contentious.

Since 1789 the federal government had always been willing to envisage native people remaining as residents in the eastern states if they would accept "civilized" standards. Those standards required behaving as individuals rather than as members of tribes and becoming farmers rather than hunters—which would mean that Indians needed less land. This policy, backed by congressional appropriations after 1802, had its greatest successes among the most agricultural, settled, politically sophisticated, and numerous tribes—the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole—but, ironically, the "civilization" program made them ever more determined to retain their ancestral lands. In 1820 these "civilized" tribes still held the title to fifty million acres in the South, including large tracts of Georgia and Alabama and more than half of Mississippi, and their rights were recognized by existing treaties with the United States.

**American Indian Removal**

- Land ceded before 1784
- Land ceded 1784–1819
- → Routes of removal
- ⋯ Indian Territory boundary

### THE REMOVAL POLICY, 1817–1825

The policy of persuading Indians to exchange their lands in the East for specific permanent grants of federal land across the Mississippi was first proposed by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803 but was not officially adopted until the presidency of James Monroe. His administration continued the "civilization" policy, but insisted that any tribe that refused to surrender tribal independence and adopt individual landownership must be encouraged to emigrate westward. The lands they would receive were not barren wilderness but desirable farming areas on the fringes of the prairies. In 1817 the first treaty was signed by which a tribe was explicitly offered federal land west of the Mississippi if it would agree to emigrate, and in 1818 some six thousand Cherokees moved west at the War Department's expense, as did some Choctaws in 1820.

However, the policy of buying up the Indians' lands piecemeal broke down in 1822 when the Cherokees and Creeks declared their determination not to remove, made land sales punishable by death, and even began to question the authority of the state they lived in. Any temptation to give up tribal authority and assimilate as individuals was in any case eliminated when the southern states refused to grant citizenship rights to those Indians who wished to remain as individual landowners. By 1824 the parties had come to an impasse: the speed of white encroachment on Indian lands made conflict likely, while the survival of tribal authority could not be fitted within the federal system without undermining state rights. On 24 January 1825 Monroe announced the first comprehensive removal plan, designed to move all the tribes—except those Indians who chose to remain as individuals—beyond the damaging influence of white men to lands across the Mississippi that would never be encroached on. The Senate approved the plan, but it failed in the House, many of whose members objected to a plan that seemed designed to encourage the internal expansion of the slave economy.

### POLITICS OF REMOVAL, 1824–1830

By now the issue had begun to affect presidential politics. In the 1824 election most southwestern states overwhelmingly backed Andrew Jackson because of his leadership in crushing hostile Creeks in 1813–1814 and 1818 and securing huge land cessions. The successful candidate, John Quincy Adams, accepted the removal policy, but insisted that emigration must be voluntary and treaty rights respected. Georgia pointed out that in 1802 it had surrendered its claims in Alabama in return for a federal promise to extinguish the title of Indian tribes in Georgia as soon as practicable; in 1826, finally losing patience, Georgia began to survey lands not yet legally ceded by the Creeks. In January 1827 Adams's Secretary of War, James Barbour, threatened to use the army to uphold existing treaties, and Governor George M. Troup retorted that Georgia would repel all armed invaders. The Cherokees compounded this contest of constitutional authorities when they adopted their own constitution in July 1827, in effect creating a state within a state. Even the Adams administration recognized that removal would dissolve this impasse and prevent the possible destruction of the Georgia Indians. In the late 1820s Congress debated an Indian removal bill, but its proponents divided as to whether the new Indian lands should be established as a formal territory, with a locally elected legislature. The impasse helped make Jackson overwhelmingly popular in Georgia and the southwestern states, where local whites coveted the Indians' lands and feared their possible support for rebellious slaves.

When Jackson came to power, he threw all his influence behind securing a removal act. As passed on 28 May 1830, the act authorized the assigning of federal lands across the Mississippi to the tribes "forever" in return for their lands in the East, and provid-

ed a half-million dollars to pay for the improvements Indians had made to their lands as well as the costs of transport and subsistence for the first year in the West. Treaties for removal were still supposed to be negotiated freely and removal to be entirely voluntary, but in practice Jackson refused to protect the Indians against the governments of the states they lived in, and various southern states passed laws extending their laws over the tribes. Decisions of the Supreme Court striking down such measures could not be enforced, and most tribes quickly accepted the inevitable. By 1836 almost all the tribes east of the Mississippi, including most northern tribes, had agreed to remove to lands assigned to them west of the ninety-fifth meridian. Of the more reluctant, the Florida Seminoles fought on, retreating ever deeper into the Everglades, while about four thousand Cherokees died when forcibly moved west in 1838-1839 on what became known as the Trail of Tears. This tragedy was compounded by the fact that the lands across the Mississippi promised "forever" would in time be themselves lost, as white settlers moved west seeking land.

*See also* **Expansion; Florida; Georgia; Jackson, Andrew; Land Policies; Monroe, James.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cotterill, R. S. *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

Horsman, Reginald. *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783–1812.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian.* Chapel Hill: University Press of North Carolina, 1973.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

*Donald J. Ratcliffe*

## American Indian Resistance to White Expansion

North American Indians had been accustomed to dealing with Europeans long before the United States came into existence. For two centuries Indians traded, intermarried, allied with, and fought against the various groups of newcomers. The people of the United States, however, represented something new in their seemingly limitless appetite for Indian land. For many native people, a long struggle to contain this aggressively expansionist nation consumed the eras of the Revolution and new Republic.

### A WAR FOR INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

Many Indians fought in the Revolution, most of them on the side of the British. In joining they acted less out of loyalty to the king than from an awareness that American settlers threatened their land and freedom. Some Cherokees, for example, saw the Revolution as an opportunity to punish squatters and regain territory lost to Virginia and the Carolinas over the previous decade. Against the advice of older leaders, Cherokee warriors began raiding backcountry settlements soon after the start of the conflict. In the Ohio Valley, Delaware and Shawnee leaders at first tried to keep their people neutral. Americans, however, treated both tribes as enemies, and soon Delaware and Shawnee warriors accepted British offers of alliance. For the Iroquois Six Nations, the Revolution became a civil war. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas joined the British, whereas the Oneidas and Tuscaroras sided with the Americans.

The Revolution brought terrible destruction to Indian country. In the South, Americans responded to Cherokee raiding with punitive expeditions that burned crops and villages and drove whole communities into flight. In the North, Britain's Iroquois allies suffered similar forays, including John Sullivan's infamous 1779 raid, in which Americans burned some forty Iroquois towns. Yet for all of the damage, the fighting was inconclusive. When invading armies left, native people often returned, and in 1783 Indians still controlled most of the interior. The Treaty of Paris, signed that year, ended the Revolutionary War and granted the United States all territory east of the Mississippi, but from an Indian perspective this was a fraud. The British had no right to give away these tribal homelands. Americans claimed the interior, but Indians possessed it. In those circumstances, conflict was bound to be renewed.

### INDIAN UNITY AGAINST THE NEW REPUBLIC

Soon after the Revolution ended, the United States began pressuring tribes for land cessions. Believing they were dealing with conquered peoples, American treaty commissioners tried to dictate new territorial borders. They worked to gain possession of Indian country piece by piece, signing agreements with single tribes and, if that failed, with particular factions or individuals. American citizens, meanwhile, pushed westward, with settlers and land speculators ignoring any and all boundaries. In response, northern Indian leaders attempted to unite their peoples in common defense. The Mohawk Joseph Brant, the Shawnee leader Blue Jacket, and others built a multitribal alliance, rejecting the earlier treaties and in-

sisting that future land cessions be made only with the tribes' unanimous consent. In 1786 they informed Congress that they wanted the Ohio River to be a firm boundary between the new Republic and the Indian nations. That arrangement, they suggested, would be fair to everyone and would promote peaceful coexistence. If the Americans continued to demand land beyond the Ohio, however, the united tribes would fight for their homes.

Confederation was not a new strategy. Before the Revolution, Indians had attempted similar alliances, the most famous being the movement named for the Ottawa leader Pontiac. In 1763 this coalition of Great Lakes and Ohio Valley tribes attempted to rid the Northwest of the British. Indians seized seven military posts and killed some 2,500 soldiers and settlers before disease and the British army broke the "rebellion." The confederacy of the 1780s reflected what was, by then, a well-established political tradition.

The Indians' effort to contain American expansion led to war, and for a time the confederacy had the better of the fighting. On two occasions multitribal forces led by Blue Jacket and the Miamis' Little Turtle defeated invading American armies—in 1790 near modern-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, and the next year in northwestern Ohio. In the wake of those victories, however, the confederacy began to splinter, as some leaders (among them Joseph Brant) advocated negotiation over continued war. In 1794 General Anthony Wayne led a third invasion, besting an outnumbered Indian force at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in northwest Ohio. That defeat broke what was left of the Indian alliance, and in 1795, in the Treaty of Greenville, tribal representatives assented to large new land cessions in return for American promises that their remaining territory would be secure.

### PROPHECY AND RESISTANCE

While white farmers sought to take Indians' land, other Americans pursued their minds and souls. Missionaries, teachers, and government agents worked to "civilize" native peoples, urging them to change their economies and abandon their religions and languages. The men and women involved in this effort assumed that when confronted by a "superior" society, Indians would be destroyed if they did not join the new order. They also anticipated that as Native Americans discarded their old ways they would become willing to part with much of their land. The eradication of Indian cultures, they believed, would promote the growth of the Republic while rescuing native people from annihilation.

Few Indians accepted the logic of the civilization campaign. They adopted specific elements of Euro-American cultures that they found attractive, but they seldom sought the kind of wholesale transformation desired by agents and missionaries. Some Indians, meanwhile, responded to cultural pressure by actively rejecting white ways. This resistance often took religious form. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, prophets appeared in many tribes, holy men who taught that the acceptance of Euro-American culture had weakened the Indians and angered the Creator. Indians needed to purify themselves, casting away at least some foreign practices and ideas, if they were to restore order to their lives and communities. Together, the prophets represented an ongoing Indian effort to regain spiritual power and autonomy in a world unbalanced by colonization.

Although some prophets opposed warfare, others played crucial roles in maintaining the armed defense of Indian land. Pontiac's movement, for example, drew inspiration from the Delaware prophet Neolin. Something similar occurred in the early nineteenth century with the last, and most famous, effort to create an Indian confederacy. Like other holy men before him, the Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa, taught that Indians must reject Euro-American religion, goods, and economic practices if they were to regain the favor of the Creator. This message, which he began preaching in 1805, won him followers from a variety of northwestern tribes. Tenskwatawa's brother, Tecumseh, shaped that religious revival into a new movement for Indian unity. Like the previous generation of leaders, he urged an end to land cessions and criticized chiefs who continued to sign American treaties. He traveled throughout the interior, inviting tribes to join together to restrain the United States.

As in the 1790s, the effort to create an Indian confederacy ended in war. In 1811 an army led by William Henry Harrison marched against Prophetstown, Tenskwatawa's village, while Tecumseh was away. In the Battle of Tippecanoe, the prophet's followers ambushed the Americans as they camped near the village; but Harrison's troops drove the attackers back, forcing the Indians to abandon Prophetstown. The following year, the Indians' conflict with the United States merged with the War of 1812. Tecumseh allied with the British, hoping to use the war to end American expansion. The Indians enjoyed some military success, but when the fighting closed the United States retained possession of the Northwest. Tecumseh himself was killed in 1813 at

the Battle of the Thames in southeast Ontario. With his death, and in the absence of a British victory, the last movement to create an eastern Indian alliance unraveled.

### DIFFERENT STRATEGIES

In the South several tribes adopted a different path. As Tecumseh worked to form a confederacy, Cherokees began building a centralized political system for their tribe. This was partly a response to American land hunger. Tribal leaders hoped that a strong national government would prevent individuals and faction leaders from negotiating their own treaties. It also reflected the Cherokees' accommodation to Euro-American culture. By the 1810s and 1820s, many Cherokees had adopted at least some of their white neighbors' ways, in particular economic activities such as raising livestock and spinning cloth. A segment of the tribe, meanwhile, undertook a more thorough change, entering the market economy as owners of businesses and plantations and seeking Euro-American education for their children. This latter group led the move toward political centralization, although often with the agreement of more traditional Cherokees. The culmination of the trend came with the framing of the 1827 Cherokee Constitution, which created a government modeled on that of the United States and declared that government to be the only authority capable of selling Cherokee land. Creeks likewise began centralization, particularly after the Creek War of 1813–1814. The national council took control of tribal law, drafting and enforcing national statutes. Politics, however, remained far more decentralized than among the Cherokees, and the Creeks did not adopt a national constitution until the 1860s.

By the 1820s the Cherokees had become one of the most important targets of the removal policy, the United States' campaign to persuade the major eastern tribes to trade their lands for new homes west of the Mississippi. The state of Georgia demanded, with increasing fervor, that the federal government end Indian possession of land within its borders, citing an 1802 agreement in which the federal government had promised to do just that. Federal officials urged the Cherokees to cooperate, offering them new lands and pledges of future security, and some did choose to migrate. By the 1820s, however, those who remained were determined to preserve their homes, and the United States faced the choice of either reneging on its promise to Georgia or violating its treaties with the Cherokees in order to force the tribe out.

The balance in this standoff tipped in Georgia's favor with the presidential election of 1828. Andrew Jackson was a longtime advocate of the removal policy, and Georgia's leaders took his victory as an invitation to force their claim to Cherokee land. Soon after the election, the state legislature passed an act to absorb tribal territory into existing Georgia counties. It then extended state law over the Cherokees and established a process to parcel out the tribal lands to Georgia citizens. The Cherokees responded by asking the federal government to protect the tribe, as promised in the treaties. The new president, however, refused to act.

Some in the South expected violence, but the Cherokees chose different methods of resistance. Led by Principal Chief John Ross, they lobbied Congress, seeking allies among Jackson's political opponents. They conducted what modern Americans would call public relations campaigns, appealing in particular to opinion in the North. They received aid in these efforts from reformers and philanthropists, including missionaries with ties to the tribe. Using the Cherokees' reputation as "civilized Indians," Ross and his allies argued that the Cherokees had done everything Americans ever asked and wanted only to be left unmolested to continue their progress. When the Jackson administration ignored their appeals, they sought to compel federal action through the Supreme Court, a strategy that resulted in two of the most important cases in Native American legal history: *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). In the second of these cases, Chief Justice John Marshall affirmed the Cherokees' right to self-government and acknowledged that, under the treaties, the federal government had a duty to protect the tribe from Georgia and its citizens.

The Cherokees won the day in court, and they gained a great many sympathetic allies. They did not, however, defeat Georgia and Jackson. The president ignored the Supreme Court's decision, and his lieutenants continued to press the Cherokees for a removal treaty. In this increasingly desperate situation, some Cherokees broke with the tribal government and began to advocate emigration. In 1835, arguing that the battle had been lost, this "Treaty Party" negotiated and signed a removal agreement. The Cherokee government continued to resist, leaders insisting (correctly) that the Treaty Party did not represent the tribal majority. In 1838, however, federal troops began to implement the agreement, gathering Cherokees together for the long journey west. By the time the last group arrived in Indian Territory (today, eastern Oklahoma) in early 1839, at least

four thousand Cherokees had died either in camps prior to departure or while traveling the "Trail of Tears."

In the end, the Cherokees, like Tecumseh's confederacy, failed to keep Americans at bay. In the twentieth century, however, it would be the Cherokees' methods that would help Native Americans regain some of their property and autonomy. Political organizing, public relations, and the law would be the weapons of the new warriors.

*See also* **Expansion; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Jackson, Andrew; Marshall, John; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Prophecy; Thames, Battle of the; Tippecanoe, Battle of; Treaty of Paris.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Champagne, Duane. *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

———. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green, eds. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents.* Boston: Bedford Books, 1995.

Sugden, John. *Tecumseh: A Life.* New York: Holt, 1998.

*Andrew Denson*

## American Indians as Symbols/Icons

On the evening of 16 December 1773, 150 American patriots dressed as Mohawk Indians ran through the streets of Boston and down to the wharves, where they spent the next three hours dumping tea into Boston Harbor to protest the Tea Act. The meaning of this dramatic act of defiance, which became a touchstone for the Revolution and a powerful symbol of burgeoning American nationalism, cannot be understood fully without considering the richly layered history of the Indian as icon in American history.

When the Sons of Liberty chose to disguise themselves as Mohawks for the Boston Tea Party, they called into play a wide range of meanings associated with the figure of the Indian. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, European iconography commonly represented America as an Indian Queen. Such imagery suggested the wealth and availability of the New World along with hints of savagery (usually represented by club or bow and arrows) that indicated both the Indians' need for civilization and their formidable strength to resist.

American colonists adapted existing iconography to a variety of new purposes. The seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, for example, features an Indian woman who pleads, "Come Over and Help Us." The Diplomatic Medal designed for President George Washington in 1790 represents the new nation with the figure of an Indian woman seated on bales and barrels signifying American natural resources transformed into items of commerce. The cornucopia she offers to Mercury (god of commerce) reinforces the effort to link the national destiny to the rich potential of the land, and to associate both with the figure of the Indian.

During the years of the Revolution, the Indian Princess was often used by English and American political cartoonists to represent the American cause. Political artists emphasized the Princess's relationship to Mother Britannia, the vulnerability of the daughter, and the Indian's commitment to liberty. Paul Revere's 1774 engraving (copied from a British cartoon) shows America victimized by parliament as Britannia looks away in shame. Other cartoons foreground the Indian's savage strength and love of liberty as representative of American resistance. For example, "Liberty Triumphant" (1774) features an Indian Princess with arrow drawn, leading the attack against England as she cries, "Aid me, my sons, and prevent my being Fetter'd." A follower reaffirms, "Lead on to Liberty or Death."

After the Revolution the symbolic uses of the Indian became more complex. The continuing popularity of Indian captivity narratives reinforced a vision of the Indian as ferocious savage. During the Whiskey Rebellion, backwoods settlers of Pennsylvania dressed as Indians staged violent protests against the 1791 excise tax on whiskey while more peaceful

***The Widow of an Indian Chief*** (1789). The noble and vanishing Indian, as seen in this engraving by John Raphael Smith after Joseph Wright, became a dominant trope in representations of Native Americans. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

groups published their demands in an "Indian Treaty" printed in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1794. During the same period, fraternal organizations such as Tammany societies or the Order of Red Men provided citizens of the new nation a means to forge communal bonds and to assume new roles as they experimented with the values and meanings that would distinguish a new, distinctively American identity.

The Indian continued to be associated with the potential of the new nation, as is evident in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). To refute the theory of the eighteenth-century French scientist Count de Buffon, who argued that the American environment produced degeneration in all organisms including man, Jefferson offered a picture of the Indian as noble savage representing an earlier but not inferior manifestation of human development. As an illustration of the Indian's superior ora-

torical skills, Jefferson printed Chief Logan's famous speech, which concludes, "Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."

The conjunction of noble and vanishing Indian embodied by Logan was to become a dominant theme in representations of the Indian during the nineteenth century. From Washington Irving's "Traits of Indian Character" (1814) to James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) to the legal and political rhetoric shaping American Indian policy, the disappearance of the noble Indian was lamented even as it was embraced as an inevitable and natural process. In countless novels, plays, and speeches mourning "the last of the tribe," Americans imagined themselves as heirs to the noble American qualities embodied by the doomed and vanishing Indian.

The figure of Pocahontas provided a particularly appealing version of the noble Indian, whose nobility is best evidenced by her willingness to sacrifice herself to the cause of "civilization." In the original story introduced by Captain John Smith in *A General History of Virginia* (1624), Pocahontas risks her own life to save Smith, then serves as protectress of the colony by warning of impending attack and providing food in times of scarcity. During the years following the Revolution, this image of Pocahontas as patron saint of the fledgling nation became the basis for a powerful nationalistic myth of origins. John Davis was one of the first to popularize the myth in *The First Settlers of Virginia, an Historical Novel* (1805). Numerous poets, playwrights, and artists followed his lead, thereby contributing to the elevation of Pocahontas to national hero.

The artwork installed in the Capitol during the early nineteenth century illustrates the role of the Indian as national symbol. Above each of the four doors of the Capitol rotunda is a relief sculpture depicting the role of Indians in American history. Two of the four scenes picture peaceful interactions—*William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (Nicholas Gevelot, 1827) and the *Landing of the Pilgrims* (Enrico Causici, 1825)—while *The Preservation of Captain John Smith by Pocahontas* (Antonio Capellano, 1825) focuses on the moment when violence is interrupted by the Indian's intercession for peace. The fourth sculpture offers a very different vision of the Indian's role in national history. In the *Conflict of Daniel Boone and the Indians* (Enrico Causici, 1826–1827), Indian and white man are locked in battle, each resting a foot on a dead (or dying) Indian. Together the sculptures make clear that the confrontation with the Indian—whether imagined as noble or savage, compliant or resistant—constitutes the symbolic ground upon which the identity of the new American nation was forged.

*See also* **Art and American Nationhood; Nature, Attitudes Toward; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Fleming, E. McClung. "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765–1783." *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965): 65–81.

Lubbers, Klaus. *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and the Visual Arts, 1776–1984.* Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga.: Ropodi Press, 1994.

Scheckel, Susan. *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.

*Susan Scheckel*

## American Indian Slaveholding

American Indians forced other humans to labor in at least three distinct forms in the colonial and antebellum eras. First, Eastern Woodlands societies and other Native American cultures customarily practiced "mourning war"—combat initiated to avenge or replace lost kin. When a war party took captives, the prisoners could be tortured to death to alleviate the sadness of those who had lost relatives in battle, adopted to replace a dead family member, or held by a family in an ambiguous position between death and adoption as a form of servant. Eastern Woodlands peoples did not hold these individuals as capital investments. Instead, the captives assisted their "owners" with subsistence and domestic chores and were treated as a distinct class of people beyond the protection of a clan. In the Pacific Northwest, the Tlingkits, Modocs, Chinooks, and other peoples of the region captured and purchased slaves from rival tribes. Native Americans in the region were motivated by the desire to enhance their position in the community and occasionally gave their slaves to others to demonstrate their wealth. Some peoples in the Pacific Northwest practiced the ritual murder of slaves; when a chief died, his slaves were executed and buried with the corpse.

American Indians participated in a second form of forced labor when Europeans arrived in North America. Spanish conquistadors and French and English colonists captured Native Americans and forced them to carry burdens and work in their mines, missions, and fields. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, merchants working out of the English colonies of Virginia and Carolina developed a vigorous slave trade in Indian war captives. They supplied Indian allies such as the Westos and Chickasaws with manufactured trade goods, including guns and ammunition, in exchange for native prisoners who were sold into slavery on plantations in the Southeast, New England, and the Caribbean. In 1708 a Carolina census reported that 1,400 of the 4,300 slaves in the colony were American Indians. The Tuscarora (1711–1713) and Yamasee uprisings (1715) were partly motivated by English traders who kidnapped their kin and sold them into slavery.

In the third form of forced labor, Native Americans purchased or captured African American slaves

and put them to work in their homes, fields, and businesses. In the eighteenth century slaves captured in Africa gradually replaced Indians and English indentured servants as the primary source of agricultural labor in the southern colonies. American laws stigmatized African slaves as inheritable and alienable (transferable) property, a status that had not applied to the customary form of Indian servitude. In the late 1780s the United States established a "civilization program" to teach Native Americans to live and work like Anglo-Americans. Federal Indian agents offered slaveholding white planters as the model of civilization to the Indian nations in the Southeast; and in the nineteenth century a number of Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws developed farms and procured African American slaves to perform the agricultural work that had customarily been performed by women. Indian slave owners also used their bonded servants to work on their ferries and in their taverns and manufacturing enterprises.

Although most Native Americans could not afford, or did not want to acquire slaves (most scholars agree that less than 10 percent of Southeastern Indians owned slaves), a small class of bicultural Indians enthusiastically embraced the form of slave agriculture promoted by the federal agents. Men such as Greenwood LeFlore (Choctaw), Levi Colbert (Chickasaw), Alexander McGillivray and William McIntosh (Creek), and the Vann, Ross, and Ridge families (Cherokee), bought and sold African American slaves, developed large plantations, and built palatial homes that rivaled those of the wealthiest white planters. By the 1820s the planter class had acquired tremendous influence in their nations; slavery thus became a divisive political and social issue among Southeastern Indian societies. Although the planter class, as a general rule, believed that their nations needed to embrace Anglo-American cultural mores, they opposed political integration into the United States and wanted their tribes to remain sovereign nations with the right to determine the future of slavery.

In the 1820s the Southeastern Indian governments began to adopt laws circumscribing the rights of African Americans held in bondage. The Cherokee national government, for instance, prohibited blacks from marrying Indians or whites, forbade them from participating in political activities, and made it illegal for them to deal in liquor or own property. Most historians agree that the Indian slave codes were not as draconian as those of the southern states; and at least one scholar, Theda Perdue, has argued that slaves of Indians lived more comfortably and were treated less harshly than those serving under white owners. Whereas white masters and the southern state governments refused to allow slaves to learn to read and write, she points out, many African American slaves living in the Indian nations received educational instruction.

African Americans did not always live in bondage with Southeastern Indians. In Florida the Seminole Indians welcomed runaway slaves from nearby Alabama and Georgia into their communities. In the First Seminole War (1817–1818), the United States invaded the Spanish territory to recapture slaves who had fled to the Seminoles and to punish the Indians for attacks on American settlements. Black and Indian Seminoles fought side by side to defend their liberty and territory from American forces.

In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which provided the president with the authority to negotiate treaties that resulted in the relocation of the eastern tribes. By 1843 the federal government had removed all of the major Southeastern tribes to an "Indian Territory" it established west of Arkansas. When they immigrated, Indian slaveholders took their bondspeople with them and put them to work establishing farms and plantations in the Indian Territory. Southeastern Indians in the territory continued to possess slaves until the end of the American Civil War, when the United States required their nations to abolish slavery and accept the freedpeople as tribal citizens.

*See also* **Slavery.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Littlefield, Daniel F., Jr. *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Perdue, Theda. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

*Tim Alan Garrison*

## *British Policies*

Between 1754 and 1829, British policies toward native North Americans sought three key objectives: recruitment and supply of native military allies; regulation of trade and diplomacy; and protection of native peoples' territorial integrity through negotiat-

ed settlement boundary lines. Although these policies played a crucial role in the British victory over France in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), they rapidly fell into disfavor among the settler population of British North America after 1763. By 1776, colonists' discontent with imperial oversight of Indian affairs constituted a significant grievance against Great Britain. In the aftermath of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), the ongoing influence of the British Indian Department in Canada with native peoples in the United States was viewed by many Americans as a threat to the survival of the Republic itself. Only after the Treaty of Ghent (1814) ended the War of 1812 (1812–1815) did the British cease to pursue alliances with Native Americans as a means of checking American expansionism.

### LATE COLONIAL YEARS

The Albany Congress of 1754 witnessed the first call by imperial reformers for centralizing control of Indian affairs in British North America. General Edward Braddock commissioned William Johnson as his agent to the Six Nations (Iroquois) in 1755, and in 1756 the crown established northern and southern superintendencies for the colonies. South Carolina merchant Edmond Atkin became the first superintendent of the Southern Department; William Johnson headed the Northern Department. Leaving Indian affairs primarily in the hands of locally constituted bodies in individual colonies marked a dramatic change from past practice. After 1755, the crown sought to rationalize and extend its control over Indian policymaking, employing the superintendents to integrate Native Americans into a multinational North American empire in which all constituent peoples were at once protected by and subordinated to the crown.

During the Seven Years' War, the administrative reforms in British Indian policy had minimal impact on military affairs. Neither Johnson nor Atkin proved successful in imposing their authority over the Iroquois or the Cherokees (the two largest British-allied Indian nations). As in prior colonial conflicts, native warriors dictated the extent of their participation in British military campaigns notwithstanding threats, cajoling, and lavish outlays of cash, arms, and supplies from the superintendents. The critical turn for British Indian policy came at the Treaty of Easton in October 1758, when Pennsylvania officials conceded a settlement boundary line (at the Allegheny Mountains) to hostile western Algonquian nations then allied to France. This promise, which became fundamental to subsequent British In-

dian policy, encouraged native peoples to withdraw military support from France. The lack of Indian allies to pursue offensive frontier raiding forced the French into a defensive posture, which contributed to the British conquest of Canada in 1760.

The expansion of British territorial jurisdiction in North America after the Seven Years' War created conflicting needs to forge diplomatic and economic ties to many native peoples previously connected to France and Spain on the one hand, and to economize Indian Department expenditures on the other. Provision for a settlement boundary line in the British Crown's Proclamation of 1763 was intended to protect native peoples' territorial integrity from settler encroachment, but it also antagonized many squatters and colonial land speculators with claims to lands beyond the boundary. The British military presence in the trans-Appalachian West proved incapable of stemming the postwar movement of settlers into Indian territory, forcing Johnson and John Stuart (who replaced Atkin in 1762) to continually revise the northern and southern boundary lines through treaty negotiations with influential tribal groups between 1763 and 1773. In 1764 Johnson proposed a comprehensive "Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs," which advocated confining all Indian trade to licensed merchants at military posts operating from a fixed price schedule and official renewal of the diplomatic custom of regular distributions of military supplies and material goods (or "presents") to allied native nations. However, the British Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 eliminated the colonial revenues needed to fund Johnson's plan. Parliament took further steps toward the deregulation of Indian affairs in 1768, restoring control over the Indian trade to individual colonies and relocating the bulk of the military establishment from the scattered interior posts to cities on the colonial seaboard to deter civilian unrest.

Mounting colonial protests against crown efforts after 1768 to raise revenues to fund the costs of frontier defense compounded problems of Indian policy. In the vacuum of imperial authority in the West, settlers and speculators continued to encroach on Native American lands; employed questionable techniques to clear native title in lieu of treaties; and murdered Indians, who often responded in kind. Even in moments of crisis, settlers, not Indians, enjoyed the support of crown officials. For example, in 1774 Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, opposed the efforts of the Shawnees to retain hunting grounds east of the Ohio River. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775, British officials sought

to enlist Native American assistance in suppressing the colonists' rebellion. This led an outraged Thomas Jefferson to decry King George III's intended use of "merciless Indian savages" in the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

### FROM 1776 THROUGH 1815

During the Revolutionary War, the British enjoyed far more success recruiting Native American allies than did the Continental Congress. An experienced diplomatic corps, a steady flow of arms and ammunition, and continued promises to protect native lands earned the British the allegiance of an estimated thirteen thousand native warriors over the course of the conflict. Yet despite these impressive numbers, British generals hesitated to make full use of allied native warriors in the early years of the conflict, fearing that any overt appearance of support for "atrocities" inflicted by Indians might hinder efforts to reintegrate the rebellious colonists into the empire. For their part, Indians allied to Great Britain during the Revolutionary War placed their own objectives first, fighting a proxy war against settler expansion with British supplies. The significance of the eventual American victory in the Revolutionary War extended beyond the failure of the British to secure territorial protections for their native allies in the Treaty of Paris (1783). Americans used the fact that Indians had chosen the wrong side and lost as justification for punitive treatment of them in the aftermath of the conflict.

After 1783 the British provided material support for allied Native Americans (including arms and ammunition) in the trans-Appalachian region in order to preserve their territory as a buffer zone against the expansion-oriented United States. Operating from Great Lakes posts such as Detroit and Michilimackinac, retained by the crown in violation of the Treaty of Paris (on the grounds of illegal American confiscations of Loyalist property), British Indian agents sustained highly effective Native American resistance to settler encroachment for a decade after 1783 along a frontier stretching from modern Ohio to Florida. However, the refusal of the British garrison at Fort Miami (near modern Toledo, Ohio) to provide refuge to allied Indians retreating from American general Anthony Wayne's army sealed their defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on 20 August 1794. The ratification of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain by the United States in 1795 prompted the British evacuation of the Great Lakes posts, creating further distance between erstwhile native allies and the material support of the British Crown.

British fear of an American invasion of Upper Canada (modern Ontario) in the aftermath of the Chesapeake affair of June 1807 motivated imperial officials to renew ties to the native peoples bordering on the province. The reappearance of the British as a potentially viable military partner, however, offered substantial encouragement to native leaders such as Tecumseh, who employed promises of British assistance in his efforts to recruit a pan-Indian army to oppose American settler expansion. Native Americans played crucial roles as British allies during the War of 1812, but the American naval victory on Lake Erie in September 1813 prompted the British to withdraw from Fort Malden (modern Amherstburg, Ontario) and other advanced Great Lakes posts. Allied Native Americans, who remembered 1783 and 1794, expressed bitter opposition to this decision, since they recognized it as another British abandonment of their territorial interests. The Treaty of Ghent of 1814 ended the war by restoring the 1811 *status quo ante bellum.* Although the United States did not implement this provision, never again would the British pursue offensive alliances with Native Americans against the United States.

### AFTER 1815

Although the newly elected President Andrew Jackson worried in 1829 about the British "stirring up" of soon-to-be-removed southeastern Indian nations in the United States, official British Indian policy had long since shed its aggressive component. During the post–1815 rapprochement between Britain and the United States, British Indian Department officials made clear in a series of public Indian councils that they would no longer assist or turn a blind eye to native hostilities against the United States. For six decades after 1754, Native Americans allied with Great Britain in hopes of securing their interests against an aggressively expansionist settler population. After 1783, however, power dynamics in North America east of the Mississippi River led the British to treat native peoples as expendable inferiors in international diplomacy with the United States. Increasingly after 1783, Britain looked to North America for markets and raw materials, not for Indian allies or the furs they traded. Although the image of perfidious British Indian agents inciting "savages" to terrorize innocent frontier inhabitants persisted in the American mind-set, British Indian policy after 1815 closely resembled that of the United States insofar as it attempted to change those belonging to independent Native American nations into Christian citizen-farmers occupying bounded spaces.

*See also* **Fallen Timbers, Battle of; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Ghent, Treaty of; Jay's Treaty; Treaty of Paris; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Allen, Robert S. *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774–1815.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992.

Calloway, Colin G. *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783–1815.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Hall, Anthony J. *The American Empire and the Fourth World.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Snapp, J. Russell. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Sosin, Jack M. *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760–1775.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

University of the State of New York. Division of Archives and History. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson.* 14 vols. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921–1965.

*Jon Parmenter*

**AMERICANIZATION** For the different groups engaged in the struggle to gain political and economic control of the misnomered "New World," "Americanization" meant radically different things. In exchange for western manufactured goods, whiskey, and horses, Native Americans were decimated by disease, warfare, and cultural subordination. African slaves faced an equally harsh transformation, from their passage across the Atlantic to being under the total legal control of another human being. Nevertheless, the slaves quickly reestablished elements of their prior culture (most enduringly through music) despite their degraded status, while the Native Americans maintained a remarkable degree of cultural difference. The numerous European regional, ethnic, religious, and national groups also brought their own beliefs and customs; there were 150 different ethno-religious groups by 1750. All these peoples immediately commingled. While some slaves worked on isolated rural plantations, many thousands worked with whites and Native Americans at the numerous ironworks or in the small but growing towns that eventually became bustling urban centers. Thus, from the moment of initial contact, Americanization was a perpetually changing, interactive process with global ramifications.

Within the colonies, the English established the cultural baseline by being the first group to settle in large numbers during the seventeenth century. In *Albion's Seed* (1989) David Hackett Fischer describes four waves of English immigrants who brought radically different cultural assumptions with them from different parts of their home country: the Puritans arrived between 1629 and 1640; the elitist Cavaliers and their indentured servants between 1642 and 1675; the Quakers between 1675 and 1725; and the Scots-Irish from 1718 to 1775. A huge surge of immigrants from London and Scotland started in the 1750s, a migration that could only be stopped by the American Revolution. Throughout the colonies, the new subcultures were diverse, but primarily English, ranging from the Yankee, the Yorker, the Quaker, and the Cavalier to the Scots Irish. In *The Shaping of America* (1986, 1993), D. W. Meinig concluded that the colonies were more culturally English than either Ireland or Scotland on the eve of the American Revolution.

### AN EMERGING AMERICAN IDENTITY

Yet as Frederick Jackson Turner pointed out in his famous series of essays on the effects of the frontier on American culture, the combination of wide-open spaces and continual warfare with the indigenous population gradually changed Englishmen into optimistic, aggressive Americans whose rugged individualism assumed a middle-class conception of equality (at least for all white males). As the colonists progressed westward to their small towns and tiny plots of land, they became increasingly "American." Although an elite bound by family relations and wealth ran each colony, hereditary aristocracy could not thrive within a political system that guaranteed the franchise to many more of its citizens than did England. Because England never had a grand, hierarchical design for its colonies, the colonists flourished with little political guidance while paying few taxes.

Having come from many different backgrounds, the colonists never merged themselves into a religious majority and thus gradually became more tolerant of different religious beliefs (even though widespread wariness of Catholicism lingered for many more decades). Two surges of evangelical Christianity—the Great Awakening in the middle of the eighteenth century and the Second Awakening at the turn of the century—transformed the American religious experience into what two scholars called a "free market religious economy." Just as the average American could choose where to live and what to buy, he or she did not have to conform to the more

staid, hierarchical versions of Christianity embodied in the Congregational, Episcopal, or Presbyterian churches. Rather, anyone could start or join a church that emphasized a personal and passionate relationship with Christ and God that focused on the perpetual battle against sin and corruption. In addition, all religious groups were prone to schisms. While such self-righteousness can cleanse people of self-destructive behavior, energize them to embrace life, and provide them with necessary fellowship, it also helps breed the "paranoid style" of American politics. At least until the slavery issue splintered the country, the churches self-consciously ameliorated such tendencies by creating national religions and interdenominational institutions. Once again, "Americanization" consisted of a complex, evolving blending of diversity, uniformity, and individual choice.

As with all other English norms and institutions, the colonists retained whatever parts of the English common law they felt were necessary and discarded, modified, or supplemented the rest.

Colonial wariness of external authority provided necessary fodder for the American Revolution. The colonists shifted from seeing themselves as a crucial part of the British Empire to being a separate and superior people uncorrupted by European decadence and class strife. Americanization turned from a subtle, sociological force to a self-conscious, political proposition. In 1765, Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina told the fellow delegates who had gathered from nine different colonies in response to the Stamp Act: "There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent; but all of us Americans." Patrick Henry echoed these sentiments nine years later when the country considered armed revolution: "The distinctions between Virginians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more, I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The Constitution (1787) provided something of a grand imperial design by creating a republican empire that could spread across the continent. For some leaders, a unified America was paramount. Alexander Hamilton saw states as little more than fictions, Chief Justice John Marshall consistently invoked "the People" to justify his controversial opinions that expanded federal power at the expense of the states, and George Washington warned against regional factionalism in his Farewell Address (1796). But the Constitution also left much political power to the states and to the individual; its federal structure explicitly incorporated the dual loyalties of numerous Americans. Many southerners and New Englanders remained more committed to their region and their state than to the new nation. At the Constitutional Convention, some southern leaders threatened not to join secession lest the new federal power interfere with their slave economy. A group of Yankee Federalists met at the Hartford Convention during the winter of 1814–1815 to protest the continuing war against the British. A minority of the delegates, successfully opposed by Alexander Hamilton, considered secession. This provincialism all but destroyed the Federalist Party, which suffered severe defeats in the 1816 election. But the ensuing debate in 1820 over which new states should be free or slave, a debate that the Missouri Compromise temporarily quelled, unmasked the issue that would fundamentally threaten American nationalism and identity.

### EQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY

By the time Alexis de Tocqueville visited America in 1831, the nation had become glaringly different from England. Americans had remained uniquely free of external political authority but were under great social pressure to conform to the mores of equality, democracy, and the restless pursuit of wealth. Thus, every honest profession was honorable. There was a "general equality of condition" which revealed that American democracy had economic and cultural as well as political connotations. Law and religion remained important adhesives, but American character was being formed in the many clubs and groups that provided energy and direction to the civil as well as the political culture. Even the lawyers, who served as something of an aristocratic buffer against the excesses of democracy, knew that public opinion was more powerful than the law. This bustling openness created a form of pluralism—relentlessly increased by the influx of immigrants coming from more distant regions of the world than earlier—that made Americans wary of grand philosophy, abstract political ideals, and religious fanaticism. Of course, the consensus to pursue wealth had its costs: fraudulent speculation; geographical expansion at the expense of Native Americans and rival European powers; widespread sexual subordination; the slave economy; brutal working conditions for wage earners; and environmental degradation. But Americanization was never a timid force. From the days of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, Americans envisioned an era when their country would achieve moral and political preeminence. Such optimism sometimes seems cruelly naive, but it provides energy and hope—preconditions to success in the struggle between different political cultures.

*See also* **African Survivals; Character; Constitutional Convention; Expansion; Frontier; Hartford Convention; Immigration and Immigrants; Politics: Political Culture.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Random House, 1986.

Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America 1776–1900: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Fisher, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History.* Vols. 1 and 2. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986, 1993.

McDougall, Walter A. *Freedom Just around the Corner: A New American History*, *1585–1828.* New York: HarperCollins, 2004.

Sweet, William W. *The Story of Religion in America.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1983.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* Edited by Phillips Bradley. New York: Knopf, 1945.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Holt, 1920.

*James G. Wilson*

# AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

When John Adams wrote that Philadelphia was "the pineal gland of the republic," he may well have had the American Philosophical Society in mind. The APS, the nation's first learned society, began as a self-consciously colonial enterprise in 1743. It evolved into a place where scientific acumen met political power and where Enlightenment ideals of rational thought exerted influence over the body politic.

A suggestion from the botanist John Bartram that the colonies needed a place for men of curiosity to meet and exchange ideas triggered Benjamin Franklin to form the APS. In his prospectus for the Society, Franklin declared that the colonies had at last reached a level of maturity sufficient to support a leisured, thinking class. As a would-be savant still early in his own maturation, he announced an ambitious Enlightened mission of "promoting useful knowledge." Aspiring artisans, mechanics, and merchants, rather than gentlemen, supplied most of the "virtuosi or ingenious men" who comprised the Society in the colonial era, but its few ardent members soon discovered that too many of their peers were in fact too leisured to bother with serious learning. Within a few years, as Franklin later recalled, the Society went dormant.

The concept of a learned society, however, continued to appeal to Philadelphians interested in social advance or personal prestige, and even after Franklin left for a diplomatic assignment in Britain, others took up the project. By the mid-1760s there were two organizations in the city, aligned loosely with the major political factions, both claiming to be successors to Franklin's initiative. Energized by proto-nationalist sentiments, the emphatically named American Society appointed the absent Franklin to its presidency (without his knowledge) in 1768, while the more conservative, revived American Philosophical Society boasted members who had actually belonged to its namesake. After a brief but intense contest, the two set aside their differences and merged in January 1769, joined shortly by the Medical Society. In Europe, Franklin abetted the fledgling organization, using his rising reputation in learned circles to forge intellectual ties to the metropole and beyond. The reputation of the Society was further enhanced with the appearance in 1771 of its *Transactions*, the first scholarly journal printed in North America.

During the Revolution the Society shed most of its Loyalist and pacifist members. The APS reemerged in 1780 and dramatically recast itself in a republican mold. Over a two-year span, a pantheon of Revolutionary heroes were inducted into membership, including George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Paine, and Friedrich von Steuben (a general and advisor to Washington), some of whom barely fit the bill as savants. In France, Franklin did his part to reinvigorate the Society, electing a host of major and minor savants (and one woman, Princess Ekaterina Dashkova [1743–1810] of Russia). When he finally returned to Philadelphia in 1785, he completed the bonding of the Society to the republican state by arranging for the new permanent home of the APS to be built on the State House Yard, adjacent to the nation's capitol and Supreme Court. At the crossroads of early national political power, aligned with republican principles and sharing membership liberally with the new government, the APS acted effectively as a national library, academy of sciences, and patent office.

Science came to be fully in service to the state under Thomas Jefferson, who was simultaneously third president of the APS (1797–1814) and the United States. During his tenure, APS members vigorously advocated the improvement of domestic

manufactures, publicized and passed judgments on technological innovations, and debated political economy, and the Society offered "premiums" (prizes) to stimulate improvements in navigation, streetlights, stoves, public education, and the preservation of peach trees from rot. The Society also served as a center for discussion of national exploration and expansion. In 1793 Jefferson drew upon the APS to organize a transcontinental scientific expedition under the botanist André Michaux, and ten years later he dusted off these plans as a framework for Lewis and Clark, preserving the records of that expedition in Philosophical Hall. Finally, between 1794 and 1811 the Society was indelibly associated with its tenant, the Philadelphia Museum, the most popular venue in the early Republic. The museum, under the leadership of the portrait artist Charles Willson Peale, presented a unique blend of science, entertainment, and American self-image to a receptive public.

After the federal government relocated to Washington in 1800 and gradually assumed a more active role in promoting industry and internal improvements, the APS lost much of its advisory role. The Society remains an active scholarly organization, however, and still pursues its mission of promoting useful knowledge.

See also **Academic and Professional Societies.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bell, Whitfield J. *Patriot-Improvers: Biographical Sketches of Members of the American Philosophical Society.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997–1999.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

*Robert S. Cox*

**AMERICANS IN EUROPE**  Before the advent of the first regular transatlantic passenger service between New York and Liverpool in 1818, relatively few Americans had the means and opportunity to travel to Europe. Yet their experiences played an important role in fostering the notion of a distinct American national identity, as the New World continued to be defined against—and therefore in terms of—the Old World.

For eighteenth-century Americans, Europe meant essentially England and France. Before the Revolution, Anglo-Americans looked to Britain for markets, consumer goods, cultural standards, political ideas, and self-definition. The colonies and the mother country also had strong religious ties. Because of the lack of an American bishop, Anglicans who wanted to be ordained as deacons or priests were required to travel to England. American Quakers kept in close contact with Friends in Britain. Improved postal services and seagoing traffic in the second half of the eighteenth century also linked evangelical activity on both sides of the Atlantic by spreading news of conversions, establishing models for revivals, and facilitating the transnational workings of itinerant preachers.

After merchants and sailors, the sons of the colonial elite accounted for the largest number of Americans visiting Europe. An English university education or professional training was a rite of passage, especially in the South. Until the late eighteenth century, aspiring doctors and lawyers lacked educational opportunities in the colonies and had no choice but to go abroad. The uncontested center for legal studies was the Inns of Court in London, but for medical training most American students preferred Edinburgh, supplementing their courses with visits to London hospitals and medical facilities on the Continent. In addition to meeting students from all over Europe and the British Empire, Americans formed enduring bonds with ambitious young men from the other colonies.

The young elite men (women very rarely crossed the Atlantic, let alone on their own) often extended their formal education to include a "grand tour" of Europe for the purpose of self-improvement. Following the itinerary prescribed in guidebooks, tourists began with an extensive sojourn in Britain, then moved on to sightseeing in France and Italy with brief excursions through Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. Grand tours included visits to historical monuments and battlegrounds, museums and cathedrals, as well as spas and bordellos.

Education and travel in Europe were meant to enable young Americans to shed provincial habits and mindsets, yet the experience often made them only more painfully aware of their country's lack of sophistication. This gnawing sense of inferiority manifested itself both in admissions of the colonies' backwardness and in brash declarations about the wholesome simplicity, purity, and equality of American society. Some came to regard the identity and

interest of the colonies as different from those of the mother country.

In the midst of the colonial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, the works of Italian-educated, London-based American painters John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) and Benjamin West (1738–1820) combined Old World artistic traditions and standards with distinctly New World subjects and approaches. Both artists influenced younger American painters, such as Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), and John Trumbull (1756–1843), who went abroad to study with them after Revolution.

During the War of Independence, around 7,000 Anglo-American Loyalists from across class lines took refuge in England. Some prominent Loyalists tried to lobby the British government to intensify the war effort in the colonies, but the refugees mainly served as objects for English war propaganda. After the war, few expatriates regained the social status they had enjoyed in America and were unwelcome reminders to their host country of an embarrassing loss. The war also brought to London hundreds of African American refugees who had liberated themselves or had been freed by the British army. As many were destitute and reduced to begging in the streets, the British government sponsored their resettlement to Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa in 1787.

Britain continued to be a source of technological innovation for the early Republic. In the late 1780s and early 1790s, American merchants and Treasury officials attempted to obtain workable models of new British cotton spinning machines and to (illegally) recruit mechanics and mill managers. Some textile workers contacted prominent Americans in Europe, like Benjamin Franklin, to sound out their prospects before they were willing to emigrate and engage in industrial espionage. In the late 1820s American engineers traveled to Britain to gain firsthand knowledge of the emerging railroad technology, and the most successful early railroads in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey closely copied British models.

But as Britain lost its place as the preeminent trading partner and cultural role model, Americans began to look to France, both for help on the battlefield and in defining an American identity. As the envoy to Paris between 1776 and 1785, Franklin came to personify the new nation in the European imagination. Rather than hiding his provincial origins, Franklin shrewdly catered to the preconceptions of the French nobility who liked to think of Americans as noble savages. He was equally adept at advancing his own status as a transatlantic celebrity and promoting an image of his country as a land of virtuous and studious farmers, universal prosperity, and religious toleration.

Other American emissaries, notably John Adams, remained torn between fascination with the grandeur and refinement of European court societies and scorn for their decadence and immorality. Many post-Revolutionary travelers expressed the hope that the yet-to-be-modeled American national character would find a midpoint between the gravity and formality of English manners and the ease and elegance of the French. In the first decades after Independence, the United States sent envoys to only a few European capitals other than London and Paris: the Hague, to negotiate loans and trade agreements; Madrid and Lisbon, because of Spain's and Portugal's continued presence in the New World; and, for a short time, Berlin and Petersburg.

Between his arrival in France in 1784 and the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the next American minister to France, Thomas Jefferson, tried to educate European intellectuals about the New World while constantly keeping his eyes open for animals, plants, machines, and buildings that could be usefully transported to America. He also served as host and mentor to many young Americans traveling in Europe, but warned them to avoid the temptations of Paris.

Many French reformers looked to the United States as setting the precedent for a successful revolution. In 1789 American residents of Paris, including Jefferson, actively participated in the debates about a new French constitution. Some, like Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), who was to become Jefferson's successor as minister to France in 1792, and Jefferson's former secretary William Short (1759–1848), were convinced that the French people were not yet ready to follow in American footsteps and argued for a constitutional monarchy. Others, like Joel Barlow (1754–1812) and Thomas Paine (1737–1809), saw France as showing America the way by trying to establish a republic on a more democratic basis.

When the French republic and Britain went to war in 1793, the United States declared its neutrality. Nonetheless, American merchants tried to profit from the European conflict, even as both belligerents seized their ships. The crisis in Franco-American relations caused by the United States' refusal to side with France, the continued seizure of American vessels, and the XYZ affair (1797–1798) all rendered the situ-

ation of Americans in France increasingly precarious. Owing to their language and dress, Americans were often mistaken for Englishmen and faced insults, threats, and even arrests for espionage. Many American supporters of the French Revolution, disillusioned by Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power in 1799, returned home.

The ill-fated attempts at economic coercion designed to obtain French and British recognition of America's neutrality, especially President Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, caused a further decline in the number of Americans traveling to Europe, which continued with the outbreak of war between the United States and England in 1812 and the economic depression in 1819. Meanwhile, the proliferation of colleges and professional schools in the United States and the new emphasis on a distinctly republican education reduced the necessity for studying abroad. But, beginning in the 1820s, improved transportation by transatlantic steamboats brought unprecedented numbers of American tourists to Europe.

At the same time, American authors living abroad also spurred popular interest in Europe. Washington Irving (1783–1859) inspired his readers to imagine a trip to Europe as a romantic return to the past and the origins of their own culture. The Old World was now less associated with tyranny and immorality than with venerable traditions and the latest fashions in art, music, and literature. James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), who spent ten years in Paris, expressed a belief in American republican ideals combined with an appreciation of the cultural and intellectual achievements of European aristocracies that made American society appear shallow and materialistic by comparison.

*See also* **Embargo; War of 1812; XYZ Affair.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, William Howard. *The Paris Years of Thomas Jefferson.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Andrews, Stuart. *The Rediscovery of America: Transatlantic Crosscurrents in an Age of Revolution.* New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964.

Sachse, William L. *The Colonial American in Britain.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956.

*Philipp Ziesche*

**ANGLICANS AND EPISCOPALIANS** The Church of England was a product of the dynastic ambitions of Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547), who divorced it from the international Roman Catholic Church and confiscated much of its property, and the Protestant Reformation, which affected religious beliefs and practices in many fundamental ways. Because England's rulers and citizens were never entirely of one mind about these things, they never restored religious unity. In spite of intermittent and sometimes severe persecution, Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants remained in the realm. Meanwhile, the Church of England developed as a compromise between these extremes, resembling Rome in its hierarchical government and uniform services while resembling the Protestant churches in its articles of belief and its use of vernacular language. Deprived of most of its income-producing property by King Henry and required by law and custom to perform various social services, the Church of England, like the monarchy itself, was relatively poor. Gifts, endowments, and local taxes were its main supports, yet after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Parliament held more power over it than did the crown, its nominal head.

### ANGLICANS BEFORE 1750

Anglicans—members of the Church of England—established Virginia, the first permanent British colony in the Americas. Once the colony became self-supporting and prosperous, the church grew apace with population, though never quite catching up. One problem was the supply of ministers. By 1750 a few private schools operated by ministers and the College of William and Mary offered respectable education, but Virginia had no Anglican bishop, nor was there any in North America, to ordain ministers. Anglican parishes either imported their ministers or sent young men on a dangerous and expensive trip to England for ordination. Meanwhile, the Church of England made the bishop of London responsible for oversight of its far-flung colonial parishes. Though no bishop ever actually visited them, beginning around 1690 London sent ministers with the special office of commissary, with powers to appoint and remove ministers and generally see to the health of colonial churches. In most respects the Anglican churches of Virginia were governed by their vestries, self-perpetuating committees made up of leading men in their parishes. They had power to collect taxes for the support of ministers and church property and for the care of orphans, widows, and others unable to support themselves.

Meanwhile, the Church of England managed, under varying circumstances, to gain a foothold in all the other colonies, most successfully in Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and surprisingly, Connecticut. The Puritan saints of Massachusetts, mostly with ill humor, were forced to accept an Anglican church in Boston under their new royal charter granted by William III in 1691. But it was Connecticut that proved to be the seedbed for both colonial Anglicanism with an American face and for the "High Church" party of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, officially organized between 1785 and 1789 (later simply the Episcopal Church). In 1723 the Reverend Timothy Cutler, president of Yale University, declared that he and several of his disciples were convinced that the Congregational establishment was fundamentally defective in constitution and belief; therefore, they would henceforth seek full communion with the Church of England. Cutler resigned his position at Yale, went to England, received ordination, and returned with a modest income guaranteed by England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). So did young Samuel Johnson (1696–1772), who would sustain Anglicanism in Connecticut, train several young men for the ministry, and in the 1750s serve as first president of King's College (later Columbia University) in New York City.

The SPG and a related organization, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), were organized around 1700 by the Reverend Thomas Bray (1656–1730) and associates, who were deeply concerned by the spiritual wastelands they perceived in the rapidly growing British colonies of North America and the Caribbean. Bray's concerns extended to the temporal and eternal condition of African slaves and Indians in those colonies; the seeds of British antislavery were planted by his organization. Bray also encouraged the belief that changes in environment could change behavior, and so besides working for the conversion of prisoners, he floated the idea of transporting felons to the colonies instead of executing them. Bray's friend, General James Oglethorpe, undertook—with indifferent success—to implement this idea in founding the colony of Georgia (1733). The greatest success of the SPG before American independence was the sending of more than three hundred capable ministers to the colonies.

### ANGLICANS, EVANGELICALS, AND GREAT AWAKENINGS

The religious revivals that swept like tidal waves through the English colonies in the eighteenth century affected all of the Protestant denominations, in-

cluding the Anglicans. The brothers John (1703–1791) and Charles (1707–1788) Wesley preached for a few months to small and indifferent congregations in Georgia. They were then practicing the devout and cerebral Anglicanism they had learned at Oxford. Both soon converted to evangelical activity—in John's case after close friendship and study with German Pietists, especially the Moravian Brethren. Their chief field of work was England, though their movement soon spread to North America. From the 1740s until just after the American Revolution, the Methodists were a society within the Church of England; indeed, Charles Wesley remained firmly in the church, and John, with a gift for making his own rules, continued to think himself a member until his death. Another Anglican minister, George Whitefield (1714–1770), found North America a most fertile field for saving souls. His revivalist preaching tours in the middle colonies in 1739 and New England in 1740 drew tens of thousands in packed church buildings and open fields. It was difficult to be neutral regarding Whitefield; denominations and particular congregations divided over him, especially among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, but also among Baptists, Lutherans, and his fellow Anglicans.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Church of England unintentionally played a significant if limited part in creating the imperial crisis that culminated in war and the independence of the United States. Thomas Secker, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1758, had learned much about the state of his church overseas in his previous job as bishop of London. Though always concerned to avoid conflict, he received sympathetically the growing number of petitions from America requesting the seating of a bishop in North America. Merely discussing the question raised suspicions among colonial Patriots, who took alarm at the growing number and power of royal officials—governors, customs inspectors, Indian agents, and soldiers—settled among them. Furthermore, the archbishop planted an Anglican seminary in eastern Massachusetts to prepare young men for the Anglican ministry. While this was a far more peaceful act than the stationing of redcoats in Boston Harbor, it was still perceived as a threat by the descendants of the Puritan pioneers.

As the state of British–colonial relations grew more alarming in 1773 and 1774, a few Anglican ministers preached loyalty to the crown and engaged in the paper wars of pamphlets and letters to newspapers. Two of the most famous (or notorious) were

the Reverend Jonathan Boucher of Maryland and the Reverend Samuel Seabury of Westchester County, New York, a native of Connecticut and disciple of Samuel Johnson. Some Anglican ministers supported the Patriot side, especially in the southern colonies, and many prominent Anglican laymen took leading roles in the Revolution, including John Jay of New York and George Washington of Virginia. Once the Revolutionary War began, outspoken partisans of the crown either fled to areas under British control, such as New York City, returned to England, or sought refuge in loyal British colonies, such as Nova Scotia. A large middling group succeeded in remaining neutral.

### THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

For obvious reasons, the Anglican Church suffered greatly from American independence. Membership in the Church of England seemed disloyal prima facie. Even worse, the SPG could continue to support its missionaries only by reassigning them to colonies that remained in the British Empire or by helping them find parishes in England. Virginia and Maryland, having the largest numbers of ministers before the war, also lost the largest numbers, in part because those states disestablished the Anglicans and proceeded, with most of the other states, to eliminate established churches entirely. Henceforth all denominations would be voluntary societies. With all public support withdrawn, ministers who wished to remain in Maryland and Virginia required new, voluntary support. From the 1780s onward Anglicans, reconstituting themselves as Episcopalians, also struggled to keep their ministers and laypersons from converting to the Methodists, who began organizing themselves as a distinct American denomination under Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. Only Connecticut and Massachusetts continued to support state churches, but this hardly helped the Episcopalians, their establishments being Congregational. The Episcopalians accordingly made common cause with Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, and other dissenters to disestablish the Congregationalists. Connecticut did so in 1818, Massachusetts in 1833.

The substantial remnant of the former Church of England in the United States continued to worship using the Anglican Book of Common Prayer—as revised in 1662, with prayers for the king tactfully removed—under ministers who had been ordained in England prior to the Revolutionary War. A few were radical enough to propose creating their own bishops, officers who were required to ordain ministers,

govern regional associations (dioceses), and confirm communicants. But the overwhelming majority believed so devoutly in the apostolic succession—an unbroken sequence of consecrations of bishops and ordinations of ministers from the original apostles down through history—that they insisted on having bishops created in the traditional and orthodox manner in which the consecration of a bishop had to be accomplished by three existing bishops. First to seek elevation to this rank was the former Tory Samuel Seabury, living once more in Connecticut; reconciled to American independence; and through his long and cordial association with the SPG and his unquestioned strength of faith and intellect, an ideal candidate. Yet the archbishop of Canterbury, while seeming sympathetic, in fact gave Seabury a humiliating runaround. After enduring over a year of delay and indecision, Seabury tried another option. The alternative was ordination by Anglican bishops of Scotland, who represented a succession founded by the Stuarts, hence known as nonjuring and still suspected of secretly wishing for a Stuart restoration. These were not the bishops most Americans would have chosen. But Seabury found them preoccupied with religious matters only, not political matters, and so, after considerable negotiation—they were especially concerned about the wording of the Holy Communion service—three Scottish bishops consecrated the first American bishop in November 1784. Seabury became bishop of Connecticut, was recognized as such throughout New England, and upon returning home ordained a number of new ministers.

But most Episcopalians lived south of New England and, under the expert leadership of the Reverend William White of Pennsylvania, they dominated the Episcopal conventions in Philadelphia in 1785 and 1786. By this time the English bishops had decided to cooperate with the Americans, had approved their proposed Book of Common Prayer, and had consecrated three new bishops: White; Samuel Provoost of New York; and James Madison of Virginia, the president of the College of William and Mary and a cousin of the fourth president of the United States. In 1789 another General Convention met in Philadelphia, with Bishop Seabury and New England delegates fully participating. The organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church, USA, was now complete. Episcopal authority was guaranteed by the preservation of the apostolic succession: only bishops could create new bishops and ordain ministers. But laymen continued to control the temporal affairs of their congregations and sent lay delegates to their diocesan meetings as well as to the triennial

**Saint John's Episcopal Church.** This church, known as the "Church of the Presidents," stands opposite the White House on the north side of Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C. It was established in 1815 during James Madison's second administration to serve as a church for occupants of the White House and their families. © ROYALTY-FREE/CORBIS.

General Convention. There, authority was divided into two houses, the first consisting of ministers and laymen, the second of bishops alone. The 1789 Book of Common Prayer remained in force with only minor changes until the wholesale revisions of the 1960s.

### ANOTHER GREAT AWAKENING AND EXPANSION

Little additional creative effort came from the leaders who stood by the former Church of England, preserving and then transforming it into a denomination in the United States.

New leaders came forward after 1800, however, both to expand the Episcopal Church in the eastern states and to spread it across the rapidly growing West. Richard Channing Moore followed James Madison as bishop of Virginia in 1812 (consecrated in 1814) and was far more active in promoting the growth of the church in his state and beyond. He in turn was followed by a zealous minister, William

Meade, who in his earlier years had promoted the abolition of slavery and served as an agent of the American Colonization Society. John Henry Hopkins (1792–1868), an immigrant from Ireland, served as an active layman and church musician in Pittsburgh and then as a minister in that city. In 1832 he became the bishop of Vermont and in 1865 was chosen presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, serving to his death in 1868. Perhaps the most remarkable of all was Philander Chase. Born to a family of Congregationalists in New Hampshire, he converted to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA through reading the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Provoost ordained him minister in 1799; after organizing the diocese of Ohio, he was consecrated bishop in 1819. Along the way he had led churches in upstate New York; Hartford, Connecticut; and New Orleans. In Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan he was in effect a missionary-itinerant. He founded Kenyon College in Ohio and Jubilee College in Illinois.

John Henry Hobart (1775–1830), born in Philadelphia and educated at Princeton, made his mark in the city and state of New York. As minister, assistant bishop, and finally bishop of New York, he wrote, edited, published, preached, traveled, opened missions, and greatly expanded the size and strength of his church. When the General Convention began considering creating a national seminary, Hobart at first stood with those who preferred diocesan seminaries, permitting each bishop to supervise the training of his future clergy. But when the General Theological Seminary opened in New York in 1817 and then moved to New Haven, Hobart succeeded in bringing it back, newly endowed, and administered in such a way that the bishop of New York could, in practice, be in charge. Reopening in New York City in 1822, the seminary has been there ever since. In 1826 it moved to its permanent location, a prime acreage donated by the Reverend Clement C. Moore, professor of Old Testament Studies, and, incidentally, the author of "A Visit from St. Nick," better known by its first five words, "'Twas the Night before Christmas."

### HIGH CHURCH, LOW CHURCH

From the time of Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) to the twenty-first century, the Church of England and, since 1789, the Protestant Episcopal Church, USA, have included low-church groups with strong Puritan beliefs and practices that emphasize the sovereignty of God, salvation by faith rather than works, the necessity of a spiritual experience of conversion, and a tendency to minimize the efficacy of sacraments. Equally perennial (and in some respects

enjoying the upper hand in the late twentieth century) has been the High Church party, insisting on the primacy of the sacraments—especially infant baptism, confirmation, and frequent (preferably every week) Holy Communion—in God's scheme of salvation. Because only ordained ministers and consecrated bishops can perform the rites of the church, the authority of these self–perpetuating apostles must obviously be paramount. Therefore, High Churchmen were traditionally reluctant to concede authority and spiritual responsibilities to laypersons.

Throughout this essay the term *minister* has been used rather than *priest* only because that was the usage customary in colonial and early national America. But "priest" is far more appropriate for the High Churchmen of the era, such as Samuel Johnson, Samuel Seabury, and John Henry Hobart. Since the Oxford movement in England and the United States began in the 1830s, the High Church party has tended toward neomedievalism, represented by Gothic architecture, elaborate vestments, monastic orders, sung services, burning incense, and other ancient Christian practices. America's High Churchmen before 1830 had much less concern with such things, though they were likely to be somewhat particular about ceremonies and architecture. They were just as likely to be hostile to Roman Catholicism as to the low-church party. In the era of the Second Great Awakening (c.1800–1846), High Churchmen were often energetic and revivalistic (always observing proper decorum) like Bishop Hobart, and low churchmen were typically dedicated to preserving the essentials of episcopacy in church government and the Book of Common Prayer in worship.

See also **Loyalists; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Albright, Raymond W. *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* New York: Macmillan, 1964.

Butler, Diana Hochstedt. *Standing against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth–Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Ellis, Joseph J. *The New England Mind in Transition: Samuel Johnson of Connecticut*, *1696–1772.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Rhoden, Nancy L. *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution.* New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Steiner, Bruce E. *Samuel Seabury, 1729–1796: A Study in the High Church Tradition.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1971.

*Robert McColley*

**ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION** The Annapolis Convention of 1786 began as an ad-hoc gathering of the states to resolve differences regarding trade and commerce. Such efforts had not succeeded in Congress because of disagreements within that body and chronic absenteeism.

The Articles of Confederation, ratified in 1781 as the first official government of the United States, tightly restricted the power of Congress. The limitations and voting requirements made any legislation, enforcement, or revision of the Articles difficult, as a small number of states (five of thirteen) could block important legislation, and just one could block amendments. Problems with the system of government—strong, individual states and a weak central government—became clear quickly, especially in matters of trade and finance. Some state leaders called for a trade conference, without the involvement of Congress, in hopes they could ease these difficulties. In January 1786 Virginia's governor, Patrick Henry, invited each state to a convention set for the first Monday the following September in Annapolis, Maryland.

Only five states attended the Annapolis Convention, represented by twelve delegates. John Dickinson, George Read, and Richard Bassett represented Delaware. New Jersey sent Abraham Clark, William Churchill Houston, and James Schureman. Alexander Hamilton and Egbert Benson arrived from New York, and one delegate, Tench Coxe, represented Pennsylvania. James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and St. George Tucker of Virginia completed the assemblage. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Rhode Island appointed delegates who either did not make the trip or arrived after the convention had adjourned. The four remaining states—Connecticut, Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina—did not even appoint delegates.

The convention officially began on 11 September and lasted four days. The delegates first elected John Dickinson as the chair of the convention, then read their instructions from their respective state legislatures. They quickly agreed that with so few states represented, and with such differing instructions, a new convention should be called. The group unani-

mously appointed Delegates Benson, Clarke, Coxe, Read, and Randolph to draft a report to submit to the states and Congress. On 13 September the committee presented its report, drafted by Hamilton, to the larger group. It called for a new convention in Philadelphia, beginning the second Monday of May 1787, to address not just matters of trade, but "the general System of the federal government" as well. On 14 September the delegates approved the report and adjourned.

Congress took up the Annapolis recommendation on 11 October 1786, appointing a committee to consider the report. After intense debate, the committee recommended on 21 February that Congress endorse the proposed Philadelphia Convention, which it did with little further controversy. Seven states had appointed delegates to the Philadelphia Convention even before Congress's approval. The remaining states, except Rhode Island, had appointed delegates by May 1787.

Scholars of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 generally recognize the Annapolis Convention as an important step toward the new constitution. Yet they usually portray it as a failure. Because so few states attended, the convention could accomplish none of its objectives, making a new convention necessary. The Annapolis Convention is also seen as proof of the failure of the Articles of Confederation; some historians have addressed it in regional terms, asserting that regional divisions in Congress necessitated outside efforts such as the Annapolis Convention. Others, however see the 1786 conference as a turning point in the minds of leaders such as James Madison toward support for a new central government. Additionally, the Annapolis Convention was a turning point for the country, as it was the first conference to meet, whereas previous efforts had come to nothing, to consider constitutional reform. Further, it established a model for the Philadelphia Convention. Previously, the question had often arisen of how to revise the Articles, as just one state could repeatedly block reform attempts in Congress. Rather than a failure, the Annapolis Convention showed the potential for an extra-congressional assembly, and thus enabled the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

See also **Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Hamilton, Alexander.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banning, Lance. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Davis, Joseph L. *Sectionalism in American Politics, 1774–1787.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.

Hamilton, Alexander. "Annapolis Convention. Address of the Annapolis Convention." In *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton.* Edited by Harold C. Syrett, vol. 3, pp. 686–689. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union, 1781–1789.* New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

*Cheryl R. Collins*

**ANTI-CATHOLICISM** Anti-Catholic prejudices were carried from Reformation England to the New World, taking root in the colonies where actually very few Catholics lived. Anti-Catholicism helped transplanted Britons retain some tenuous cultural connection to a distant mother country in a strange and often hostile world. Because of their diverse origins, purposes, composition, and location, virtually the only trait these colonies shared was their traditional hatred and fear of Catholicism. In the absence of any organic unity, or any other organizing ideology like nationalism, Catholicism helped to define for most colonials what was "other" or "foreign."

Although the most virulent anti-Catholicism would have been found in Massachusetts and in the Chesapeake colonies, nearly all British colonies imposed restrictions on Catholic settlement, landholding, political participation, and religious liberty. Only in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania were Catholics safe from persecution; but even in tolerant Pennsylvania, Catholics were not allowed to hold public office.

In all of the colonies, regardless of the official position of the government, hatred of Catholicism was contained in everyday popular expressions, folktales, songs, and popular amusements. However, outbursts of real anti-Catholic persecution could, at any time, be generated in time of war or revolution.

In the long period of wars between England and Catholic France and Spain (1689–1763), anti-Catholic action was strongest in those colonies most exposed to potential attack. In the newly founded frontier province of Georgia, Catholics were not allowed to enter the colony. Even in Virginia, with less vulnerability to attack, all Catholics were disarmed during the French and Indian War, and they were not allowed to own horses. The Carolinas prohibited Catholics from holding any public office, and North Carolina forbade the employment of Catholics as guardians after 1755. Only political disunity in

Maryland prevented much overt anti-Catholic legislation in Virginia before 1755; but, in that year, Maryland began double-taxation of Catholics.

No actual anti-Catholic legislation was passed in Pennsylvania until the outbreak of the French and Indian War, when prejudicial laws flowed from the formerly tolerant Quaker legislature. All Catholics were disarmed, forbidden from serving in the militia, double-taxed, and prohibited from settling in the western part of the colony most vulnerable to French attack. Even in formerly tolerant Connecticut, Catholics were denied any protection of their religion after 1743. New Hampshire instituted an oath of allegiance in 1752 requiring Catholics to renounce their allegiance to the pope.

Fear of a Catholic invasion died out with the defeat of France and Spain in 1763. The American colonies had other, more pressing, issues to divert their attention from anti-Catholicism. Resistance to new British regulations and taxes filled the space once occupied by fear of a Catholic foreign enemy. When this resistance movement began to develop momentum, however, anti-Catholicism provided demagogues with a handy tool for arousing popular sentiment.

The Quebec Act of 1774, designed to treat fairly the French Catholics now in the British Empire, stirred up a flurry of anti-Catholic outbursts. Preachers and politicians claimed that Great Britain was actually threatening Protestant religious liberty in the colonies by establishing Catholicism on their western frontier. And for those interested in destroying any residual loyalty to the British Crown, labeling George III as an ally or a puppet of the pope aided the cause considerably. Contemporaries testified later that the anti-Catholicism caused by the Quebec Act was a major unifying element in the American Revolution.

The Quebec Act led to a short revival in the colonies of the English celebration of Guy Fawkes Day, renamed Pope Day in the colonies, on 5 November each year. Involving the lower-class practice of burning an effigy of the pope, the celebration quickly spread from its home in New England to all the colonies in 1774. As far south as South Carolina, the pope was burned in a bonfire of English tea. When such celebrations threatened to destroy the unity among the recruits in the Continental Army, George Washington condemned the practice. Throughout the colonies after 1775, Pope Day foundered because of the desire to attract Catholic Canadians to the Revolutionary cause.

Attempts to use anti-Catholicism in the war against Great Britain also faced impediments once it became apparent that a French alliance was in the best interests of the Revolution. Even so, some states disarmed Catholics as they had during the French and Indian War, and many an anti-Catholic commentator expounded on the sinister presence of Catholic Irish soldiers in the British Army. Assistance from Catholic France after the Alliance of 1778 was always looked on by some with suspicion. The Alliance also gave Loyalists an opportunity to pillory the Patriots with the seeming incompatibility between Catholic hierarchy and British freedom.

Of the constitutions drawn up by the Revolutionary states, only those in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia accorded Catholics full equality with other Christians. For a hundred years after 1776, New Hampshire upheld its seventeenth-century test oath, its funding for only Protestant teachers, and its requirement that all members of the state government be Protestants. Similarly, in its 1779 constitution, Congregational Massachusetts supported only Protestant institutions and teachers and required all officeholders to take an oath rejecting any loyalty to foreign ecclesiastical powers. These restrictions were not removed until 1833. Congregationalism remained the established church in Connecticut as well until 1818.

In New York, John Jay strove unsuccessfully to have the constitution of 1777 prohibit Catholics from holding land or participating in state politics until they had abjured their beliefs in Catholic teachings and their loyalty to the pope. Yet the milder form ratified still refused naturalization to anyone holding "foreign" religious allegiance. This prohibition was removed in 1806. Although New Jersey proclaimed religious freedom in its 1776 constitution, Catholics were forbidden until 1844 from holding political office.

In 1776 North Carolina restricted officeholding to Protestants, as did South Carolina in its 1778 constitution. These restrictions were lifted in the latter in 1790 and in the former in 1835. Georgia kept its pre-independence anti-Catholic statutes on the books until 1798.

Even the new Constitution of the United States was attacked by North Carolina because it did not contain the anti-Catholic test oath to which so many Americans were accustomed. The tolerant spirit of the Constitution, however, was infectious, as is evidenced by the removal of anti-Catholic laws in the states after 1790.

Given such a dispensation, American Catholic clergymen were quite wary of doing anything to resurrect the old fears of their religion. An appearance of foreign attachment had to be avoided at all costs. For that reason, they petitioned for, and obtained, the appointment of an American, John Carroll of Maryland, as the first Catholic bishop in the United States in 1789. He and his successors were at pains to defuse Protestant hostility by reinforcing the idea of Catholics as loyal Americans and not the puppets of a "foreign" leader.

The type of anti-Catholicism that emerged with the formation of the Federalist Party was more political than anything else. That party formed around an antipathy for the French during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and by their understanding that renewed immigration from Ireland largely benefited their opponents, the Democratic Republicans. The fact that the French and the Irish were Catholics was important but incidental. Nevertheless, it could be used to political advantage to justify persecution of political rivals under the Alien and Sedition Acts in the 1790s. Irish Catholic, Mathew Lyon, was the first person prosecuted under John Adams's Sedition Act, but Adams had no qualms about appointing British Catholic William Kilty to the highest judicial post in the District of Columbia.

After the Democratic victory in 1800, anti-Catholic sentiments once again went underground except among Federalist holdouts in New England. Renewed immigration of Catholics from Ireland in the 1820s, however, increased Protestant fears that their beliefs and institutions were again in jeopardy. An attempt by the American Catholic hierarchy to calm Protestant fears by calling the First Provincial Council of Catholicity in America in 1829 actually backfired. Certain decrees of the council, like those warning against non-Catholic interpretations of the Bible, calling for the creation of separate Catholic schools, and urging baptism of Protestant children if there was a chance they could be raised Catholic, all stirred up ancient fears of a powerful, aggressive Catholicism. In a divided society experiencing unprecedented geographic growth and socioeconomic change, the monolith of Catholicism was very frightening.

The trusteeism controversy in several Catholic churches only served to catalyze these fears for the next thirty years. At issue here was whether or not lay trustees, who often had been instrumental in purchasing land and funding the construction of Catholic church buildings, should also have the right to select their religious ministers. To the trustees, and to most Protestant Americans, such a power seemed most in keeping with American customs. When, however, the Catholic bishop of Philadelphia, in a long, ugly confrontation that lasted from 1820 to 1830, was able to defeat the trustees, and when the state legislature refused to intervene, it seemed to many that foreign authoritarianism had triumphed.

Anti-Catholic responses to this threat merged with the growing reform mania in the United States. Immigration restriction became popular, as did appeals to rediscover the true Protestant Bible. Thirty religious newspapers with a definite anti-Catholic agenda were founded by 1827, warning Americans of the evils of the Catholic Church. These and other examples of anti-Catholic propaganda were so troubling that formerly diffident Catholic church leaders felt compelled to respond to attacks in speeches, public debates with Protestant clergy, and apologetic publications of their own. Bishop John England of Charleston was an especially aggressive leader, founding the *United States Catholic Miscellany* in 1822. Reverend John Hughes of Philadelphia, later to become the bishop of New York when anti-Catholicism had progressed from mere words to brickbats and guns, established a Catholic Tract Society in 1827 to defend the beliefs of Catholics. In the end, Catholic attempts to explain themselves fell on deaf ears, and probably only added fuel to a fire that was about to engulf America in the nativist and Know-Nothing era.

*See also* **Catholicism and Catholics; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; European Influences: The French Revolution; European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Tests for Officeholding; Theology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Billington, Ray Allen. *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism.* New York: Rinehart, 1952.

Curry, Thomas J. *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Lee, Francis Graham, ed. *All Imaginable Liberty: The Religious Liberty Clauses of the First Amendment.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1995.

Smith, Elwyn A. *Religious Liberty in the United States: The Development of Church-State Thought since the Revolutionary Era.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.

*Joseph J. Casino*

## ANTI-FEDERALISTS

**ANTI-FEDERALISTS** The anti-Federalists voiced objections to the proposed Constitution in 1787–1788. This diverse group was concerned about the amount of power the Constitution would grant the national government, apprehensive about representation at the national level, and disturbed over the lack of safeguards for citizens' rights. Anti-Federalists were a significant presence in most states. In several of them, supporters of the Constitution (who took the name "Federalists" and probably pinned the negative-sounding label on their opponents) agreed to recommend amendments to secure support from mild anti-Federalists. This concession facilitated ratification, but it also created the expectation that the Constitution would be changed to address certain of its opponents' concerns. After ratification, the anti-Federalists worked within the Constitution's bounds. They expected Federalists to do so as well, holding them to their ratification fight pledge that the Constitution granted the national government only specifically listed powers.

### THE CONSTITUTION'S ALLEGED DEFICIENCIES

The Constitution was made public in September 1787 and faced opposition almost immediately. Controversy exists over the primary motivation of the anti-Federalists. Some think they opposed the Constitution primarily for economic reasons. Others argue that they wanted to protect their own political power. Still others find that they were influenced mainly by political theory. Despite questions about their motivations, anti-Federalists clearly expressed their objections as a set of broadly applicable political views.

Phrases in the Constitution led anti-Federalists to believe that the power of the national government would, in theory, be virtually unlimited. Article I, section 8 listed the powers of Congress. At the end of that list was a clause that allowed Congress "to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing Powers." Anti-Federalists frequently argued that this phrase would allow the national government to formulate any law it wished, including ones that would be harmful and unrepresentative. Additionally, the Constitution contained a "supremacy clause" in Article VI that recognized the national government as the final arbiter of its disputes with the states. This clause led anti-Federalists to conclude that states and their citizens would be at the mercy of the national government.

Anti-Federalists considered extensive national power problematic for a number of reasons. They complained that the national government could tax them without constraint, that it could build an expensive and dangerous army, and that it could even take away the rights that Americans expected government to protect. The most problematic omission in the Constitution, especially in the view of moderate anti-Federalists, was the lack of a bill of rights. Not protecting freedom of the press or due process rights for the criminally accused made many anti-Federalists suspicious of Federalist motives. Most did not think that a new national government would act tyrannically immediately. However, they argued it was best to write safeguards against tyrannical action into a constitution at the outset rather than rely on the good nature of politicians not to enact tyrannical measures.

Most anti-Federalists felt they could not rely on national representatives as much as they could on state representatives. Officials elected at the state level were closer to the people they served. They frequently returned home to face their constituents and they served short terms. This regular contact helped ensure that state legislators would follow constituent wishes. Furthermore, state legislators were much more likely to be representative of the populace. They tended to be middle-class farmers and local businessmen, like most voters. The national Congress would not be made up of such individuals. The Constitution itself dictated that every member of the House would have more than thirty thousand constituents. Most senators would represent many more than thirty thousand. Anti-Federalists reasoned that only the wealthy and prominent would be sufficiently well-known to get elected, giving Congress an upper-class bias. The distance between most states and the national capital meant that national representatives would only infrequently mingle with their constituents. Long terms, particularly in the Senate, meant that constituents would exert less control over what representatives did. At the very least, anti-Federalists called for a significant expansion of the House of Representatives to remedy these problems. The more aggressive anti-Federalists argued that the national government could never accurately represent citizens.

Anti-Federalist objections to the Constitution were based on well-known political theory. Republican thinkers, particularly the English Whig opposition of the 1730s and 1740s, had argued that popular governments were almost inevitably short-lived. Great vigilance was necessary to prevent the concentration of power, which would destroy popular government and result in tyranny. Anti-Federalists jus-

***The Looking Glass for 1787: A House Divided against Itself Cannot Stand.*** This satirical engraving, produced in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1787 by Amos Doolittle, depicts the state of Connecticut as a wagon sinking under the weight of debt and paper money, as Federalists and anti-Federalists engage in arguments. Doolittle favors the Federalists. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

tified their opposition as necessary to save popular government. They also argued, citing John Locke (1632–1704) as their inspiration, that the powers of government needed to be strictly separated. Federalists had unnecessarily written shared powers into the Constitution, including those over appointments and treaties. Many anti-Federalists felt that the Senate and president could conspire to control the new government.

Finally, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), by Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), had convinced many that a republic could not exist in a large nation. Montesquieu argued that popular government required a common culture. The states were relatively homogeneous and therefore could be viable republics. The nation, with its many different ethnicities, religions, and economic interests, would be unlikely to produce a broad array of policies that its diverse citizenry would support. Therefore, anti-Federalists reasoned that states should retain significant powers. Many argued that the nation should simply be a confederation of sovereign states.

### LEADERS AND ADHERENTS

Some of the nation's best-known political leaders were among those who opposed the Constitution. Famed orator Patrick Henry led the anti-Federalists in Virginia, joined by the author of the Virginia declaration of rights, George Mason, who had attended the Constitutional Convention but refused to sign the document. Governor George Clinton organized opposition to the Constitution in New York. The Massachusetts Patriot leader Elbridge Gerry, a future vice president, also objected to the Constitution after

participating in the Constitutional Convention. Samuel Adams, the organizer of the Revolution in Massachusetts, initially expressed his opposition to the Constitution (although he ultimately voted for ratification after his constituents instructed him of their support for it and the Massachusetts convention recommended amendments). Many other anti-Federalists were prominent politicians of their day. Other critics of the Constitution became famous after ratification. The future president James Monroe opposed ratification, as did John Quincy Adams, a young law student in 1787–1788.

While many prominent anti-Federalists expressed their opposition to the Constitution openly, most who wrote against the document employed pseudonyms. There was a long tradition of doing so, because arguments rather than personalities were supposed to sway the public. The best-known anti-Federalists wrote series of letters under pseudonyms like "Brutus," "Cato," "Centinel," and "Federal Farmer." Each represented a different perspective. Centinel was among the harshest of anti-Federalists, calling the Federalists "conspirators" and believing that it was the framers' design to take away the people's right to govern themselves. Federal Farmer was one of the milder and more learned opponents of the Constitution. He felt the new national government would benefit the nation if rights were safeguarded and the House of Representatives was expanded to become a "true picture" of the people. Most anti-Federalist views fell somewhere in between these extremes. The majority believed that the national government should be granted more power than it had under the first American constitution, the Articles of Confederation, though not nearly as much as the new Constitution allowed. Most frequently, anti-Federalists recognized that the national government required a stable source of revenue and the ability to regulate interstate commerce, neither of which it had under the Articles of Confederation.

Far more anti-Federalists lived inland than on the coasts. The reason for this was simple. Commercial interests favored the Constitution and they predominated in more highly developed coastal areas. It was understood that the national government would eliminate trade barriers between the states, spurring commerce and benefiting the coastal economy where goods were more easily transported. Additionally, the national government would repay its long-standing debt, helping to restore health to the nation's ailing commercial economy. These matters were not of great concern to those who did not live near the coast or major rivers. Most of them were small farmers with few goods to sell on the open market. The Constitution's commercial benefits were unlikely to benefit them much.

The states' different economic interests help to explain why anti-Federalist strength in them varied significantly. For instance, many imported goods came into New York City's harbor. Under the Articles of Confederation, the state of New York could charge a tariff on these goods, many of which would eventually wind up in New Jersey or Connecticut. New York State could finance its government at the expense of those neighboring states. Under the new Constitution that practice would not be allowed. New Yorkers thus had an incentive to oppose ratification while those in New Jersey and Connecticut almost uniformly supported the Constitution.

Economic interests, however, were not the sole reason for one's position on the Constitution. The most fervently anti-Federalist state, Rhode Island, was also the most coastal. The citizens of Rhode Island displayed a notorious independent streak and opposed ratification in order to guard their state's own decision-making power. Some prominent individuals who lived on the coast opposed the Constitution too, including Elbridge Gerry, one of the nation's wealthiest merchants.

Many citizens concerned about slavery were anti-Federalists. Southerners expressed fears that under the Constitution the eight northern states would gang up on the five southern states, passing legislation which would harm their slave-based economies. Many northerners lamented that the nation would have to recognize and protect something so contrary to universal rights.

### RATIFICATION DEBATE DYNAMICS

Several practical matters complicated the anti-Federalists' quest to alter or defeat the Constitution. The call to form a convention came from the Federalists. They were interested in making radical changes to the structure of the national government and were highly motivated to attend the Philadelphia Convention. Anti-Federalists wanted less far-reaching changes and thus were less motivated to attend the Constitutional Convention. Two of its attendees were the nation's most respected political leaders, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, both of whom clearly favored the Constitution. Washington and Franklin were heroes of the Revolution. Most citizens trusted their judgment.

The great majority of the nation's ninety newspapers published during 1787–1788 were printed near the coast. These papers naturally reflected the

prevailing interest of their local areas, which were predominantly Federalist. About eighty of these newspapers were firmly Federalist in orientation, while only about a half dozen were firmly anti-Federalist. This dynamic hindered dissemination of the anti-Federalists' message, while it facilitated the spread of Federalist views.

Federalists also skillfully controlled the ratification process. They wrote into the Constitution the provision requiring just a two-thirds majority of the states (nine of the thirteen) to ratify and set up the new government. Had they abided by the rules of the Articles of Confederation, all thirteen states would have had to agree to the change. Anti-Federalists protested the more lax requirement but could do little about it. Five states—Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut—ratified the Constitution quickly by wide margins. In stark contrast to the other four states, Pennsylvania's ratification proved to be highly divisive because of heavy-handed Federalist tactics. Anti-Federalists and Federalists clashed physically in Carlisle on 25 and 26 December 1787. A petition asking the state legislature to void the state's ratification circulated in western Pennsylvania and eventually netted six thousand signatures, a huge number for the time.

Ratification was not a foregone conclusion in any other state, with the exception of Maryland. To obtain ratification in the tightly contested states, Federalists changed their tactics. Beginning with Massachusetts in February 1788, Federalists agreed to recommend amendments in exchange for support from the mildest anti-Federalists. By late June 1788 ten states had ratified, including Massachusetts and Virginia, the two most populous states. Without the approval of these two states the Constitution could hardly have succeeded.

The Constitution was not immediately implemented. During the months between ratification and implementation, politicians in the holdout states of New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island came to understand that it was in their state's interest not to be left out of the nation. These states ratified the Constitution, though it took North Carolina two ratification conventions to do so. North Carolina's Outer Banks made commercial navigation difficult. Its economy was primarily agrarian and its populace firmly anti-Federalist. Even so, the second state ratification convention approved the constitution in until November 1789. Rhode Island held out until May 1790, well after the new government began operations in April 1789.

With only a few exceptions, anti-Federalists agreed to abide by the ratified Constitution. Their reasoning was that good citizens are obligated to support all laws. If anti-Federalists did not accept the ratified Constitution, then anybody who fundamentally disagreed with a law could refuse to follow it. To the anti-Federalists, not accepting ratification was a prescription for anarchy, and that was something they would not tolerate. At the same time, many anti-Federalists did call for a second constitutional convention to consider the recommended amendments. The New York ratifying convention had called for such a meeting and Virginia's legislature, with a majority of anti-Federalists in it, did so as well, indicating that the anti-Federalists continued to think of the new framework of government as inadequate.

Accepting the Constitution's legality, however, carried a political price. To many citizens it appeared as if anti-Federalist leaders were conveniently willing to accept what they had vehemently disputed in order to retain their political influence. The careers of several prominent anti-Federalists ended as a result, and as a whole the group suffered electorally into the mid-1790s.

## LEGACY

Though the Constitution was ratified, the anti-Federalists did not leave the fight empty-handed. They expected that the recommended amendments would be seriously considered even though the push for a second convention failed to have an impact. Yet few anti-Federalists were elected to the new Congress. With massive Federalist majorities in both the House and the Senate, they had little hope that Congress would deal with the amendments in good faith. Some pressed Congress to consider the amendments immediately while others sought delay, hoping for a better opportunity to get them approved.

While many Federalists in Congress were content to ignore the promise of amendments, James Madison was not. He felt amendments that safeguarded rights would shore up support for the new government. He also wanted to prevent changes that would alter the new government's structure. Accordingly, Madison wrote amendments and used his considerable influence to push them through the First Congress. Ten amendments were ultimately ratified by the states, becoming the Bill of Rights. Most former anti-Federalists were pleased that rights were expressly secured. However, those who doubted that a national government could be representative were still deeply disturbed by the new regime

and expressed frustration that the amendments were inadequate.

Former anti-Federalists tended to dislike Federalist policies. They complained that the Federalists were going back on their word that the Constitution granted only clearly enumerated powers to the national government. That argument had been voiced forcefully by the Pennsylvania Federalist James Wilson during the ratification debate and that idea was seemingly set into the Constitution by the Tenth Amendment, which stated that "powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it [the Constitution] to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." On many issues, particularly in the controversy over establishing a national bank, former anti-Federalists accused Federalists of exceeding their rightful authority. Some who had been Federalists, like James Madison, agreed. Madison's group allied with the anti-Federalists and organized as a political party, with Thomas Jefferson as its leader.

This alliance proved durable. In the election of 1800, these Jeffersonian or Democratic Republicans captured majorities in the House and the Senate, and Jefferson won the presidency. Many of the former anti-Federalists continued to be a vital part of the Democratic Republican Party into the nineteenth century. They had been on the losing side in the ratification debate, but they also felt vindicated by their having preserved state power and, with it, the federal nature of the American government.

*See also* **Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Constitutional Convention; Democratic Republicans; Madison, James.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Banning, Lance. "Republican Ideology and the Triumph of the Constitution, 1789–1793." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31 (1974): 167–188.

Cornell, Saul. "The Changing Historical Fortunes of the Anti-Federalists." *Northwestern University Law Review* 84 (1989): 39–73.

———. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalists and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Duncan, Christopher M. *The Anti-Federalists and Early American Political Thought.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995.

Finkelman, Paul. "Turning Losers into Winners: What Can We Learn, If Anything, from the Antifederalists?" *Texas Law Review* 79 (2001): 849–894.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 19 vols. plus microfiche supplements. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Kenyon, Cecelia. "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 12 (1955): 3–43.

Lienesch, Michael. "In Defense of the Anti-federalists." *History of Political Thought*, 4 (1983): 65–87.

Siemers, David J. *The Antifederalists: Men of Great Faith and Forbearance.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

———. *Ratifying the Republic: Antifederalists and Federalists in Constitutional Time.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Storing, Herbert. *The Complete Anti-Federalist.* 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

*David J. Siemers*

**ANTI-MASONS**    The rapid growth of Freemasonry after the Revolution prompted a series of hostile—and often paranoid—reactions. In 1798 and 1799 a brief excitement arose when Jedidiah Morse suggested that the fierce political opposition to the Federalist regime resulted from a conspiracy by the notorious Bavarian Illuminati, who were trying to use the Masons to bring about a revolution like that in France. Other brief, localized outbursts of hostility occurred in Pennsylvania among German dissenting sects in 1812 and 1819 and among Presbyterian clergymen in 1821, but not until after 1826 did a great Anti-Masonic crusade spread through the nation, spawning a political party that competed powerfully in several northern states in the early 1830s.

Freemasonry had secured a highly respected position as a benevolent movement transcending social divisions, providing moral training for good citizens, and expressing the best values of republican virtue. But after 1815 some people came to see it as an exclusive mutual-aid society for its members, providing a hidden network of contact, recommendation, and credit for businessmen and politicians. According to some local newspapers, Masons held half of all public offices while numbering only one-tenth of the white adult male population. More significantly, Speculative Freemasonry became an affront to all those caught up in the evangelical revival of the day, especially Methodists and Baptists; they increasingly identified Masonry with the freethinking of the Enlightenment and condemned it as an attempt to create a secular moral authority based on heathen rituals, rationalism, and Deism.

These antagonisms came to a head after an infamous incident in September 1826. A stonemason named William Morgan of Batavia, New York, decided to publish an exposé of Masonic secrets. Impris-

oned on a petty charge of debt, he was suddenly released when the debt was paid for him and then abducted as he left jail. Common report claimed that he had been shackled with chains and thrown into the Niagara River. The subsequent hue and cry found its inquiries obstructed, and the trials of those suspected dragged on for five years, to little effect. Opponents blamed the law's delays on the strategic governmental and judicial positions held by Masons belonging to the higher orders who had secretly sworn to defend fellow Masons regardless of their offences, "treason and murder not excepted."

Convinced that Freemasonry was an evil institution capable of subverting the Republic, an aroused public opinion put pressure on Masons to recant, ministers to leave the order, and lodges to cease meeting. The crusade entered politics in New York in 1827, when Anti-Masons decided to prevent the election of Masons to township office. In 1828 they ran a ticket in the state elections, though in the presidential election they backed John Quincy Adams because of his openly Anti-Masonic sympathies. Subsequently, Anti-Masonic parties also took their evangelical and egalitarian appeals into the state and local elections of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New England. The political party never won the electoral support of all Anti-Masonic sympathizers, because many "moral Anti-Masons" felt that it was improper to vote for or against candidates on the basis of their private beliefs and social affiliations. However, the party effectively appealed to the socially discontented, though the voting returns reveal that it did not stimulate unprecedented levels of voter turnout, as is sometimes claimed. The Anti-Masons won control of many county governments; elected governors in Vermont in the years from 1831 to 1834 and Pennsylvania in 1835; gained significant influence in the legislatures of Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island; and elected over twenty congressmen.

In September 1830 the Anti-Masons held the first-ever national political-party convention, and at the second, in September 1831, they nominated former attorney general William Wirt as their presidential candidate. Wirt carried Vermont, but in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio the Anti-Masons preferred to support "unpledged" tickets that would vote in the electoral college for whichever candidate stood the best chance of beating Andrew Jackson. This experience demonstrated that Anti-Masonry had no program relevant to national politics, and when Jackson seemed to imperil the Republic and its prosperity by removing the government's deposits from the national bank in 1833, most political Anti-

Masons swiftly moved over to support the new Whig Party, though the Anti-Mason Party lingered on in Pennsylvania until 1839.

The ending of Anti-Masonry was facilitated by a deliberate policy among Whig leaders of persuading Masonic lodges to surrender their civil charters, while three states passed potentially destructive statutes prohibiting extrajudicial oaths. These measures reinforced the pressure that public opinion had brought against the order, even in states (such as Alabama) where an Anti-Masonic political party never appeared. Between 1826 and 1840, the number of members and of active lodges declined by two-thirds and more in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and New York. Across the nation, membership may have declined from one hundred thousand in 1826 to forty thousand a decade later. When Freemasonry revived after 1850, it did so as a less secretive, less esoteric, more fraternal institution than before 1826.

*See also* **Freemasons; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Parties.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bullock, Steven C. *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order*, 1730–1840. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Goodman, Paul. *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England*, 1826–1836. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. "Antimasonry and Partisanship in Greater New England, 1826–1836." *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no. 2 (1995): 199–239.

Vaughn, William Preston. *The Antimasonic Party in the United States.* Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1983.

*Donald J. Ratcliffe*

**ANTISLAVERY**   Opposition to slavery in British North America began in the late seventeenth century but was limited mostly to a minority of Quakers and a few Puritans until the quarter century before the Revolution. In 1754 the Quaker activist John Woolman published *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, which soon stimulated a renewed hostility to slavery among Quakers. In 1758 the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia took an official position against slaveholding, and by the time of the Revolution, most Quakers had begun to free their slaves. In 1770 Quaker leaders working with Anthony Benezet opened the African Free School in Philadelphia. Benezet published *Short Account of That Part of Africa In-*

*habited by the Negroes* (1762), which challenged common assumptions about the racial inferiority of blacks. His *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (1772) exposed the horrors of the African slave trade and stimulated opposition to the trade in England and America. Meanwhile, throughout the country Baptists, Mennonites, and Methodists preached against slavery. Initially, John Wesley would not even allow slave owners to join his church. Some individual Anglicans and Presbyterians also took stands against slavery, although those denominations did not oppose slavery at this time.

### REVOLUTIONARY ERA GAINS

On the eve of the Revolution, slavery was found in all thirteen colonies and antislavery was limited mostly to the religiously motivated. The Revolution stimulated opposition to slavery from a variety of sources. Slaves, especially in New England, used Revolutionary rhetoric to challenge their own servitude, and many masters accepted these arguments and allowed their male slaves to enlist in the state militias and the Continental line in return for their freedom. By the end of the war, slavery was severely weakened in New England and Pennsylvania and under assault in New York and to a lesser extent in New Jersey. Even in the South some masters freed their slaves to serve in the army or because the masters could no longer in good faith own slaves. After the war private manumission in the South, stimulated by Revolutionary ideology or religious fervor, brought liberty to tens of thousands of slaves. In Virginia, for example, the free black population went from about two thousand in 1780 to over thirty thousand by 1810. Similarly, in Maryland the free black population went from under ten thousand in 1790 to just under forty thousand by 1820. The slave population, meanwhile, remained virtually stagnant in this period. There was also a spurt of manumissions in the Carolinas. By the War of 1812, however, the manumission rates were declining everywhere in the South except Maryland and Delaware.

In 1780, before the war was even over, Pennsylvania passed the nation's first gradual abolition act. The legislature noted the "abhorrence of that condition, to which the arms and tyranny of Great-Britain were exerted to reduce us," and declared that having been delivered from British tyranny,

> we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us, and release from that state of thraldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from

which we have now every prospect of being delivered.

Similarly, Massachusetts ended slavery through its Constitution of 1780. By the end of 1784, all of the New England states had either ended slavery outright or passed gradual abolition statutes to end bondage over time. Later on, New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804) passed similar laws. Meanwhile, abolition societies sprang up throughout the North and the Upper South. Most focused on helping free blacks, abolishing the African slave trade, and ending slavery in their own states. These early antislavery advocates did not focus on ending slavery in other states, as abolitionists of the antebellum period would.

### NATIONAL-LEVEL VICTORIES

At the national level, opponents of slavery achieved two victories in the early national period. In 1787 the Congress under the Articles of Confederation banned slavery from the Northwest Territories. This ban was the result of lobbying by New England investors who wanted to purchase land in the area north of the Ohio River but did not want slavery there. The Northwest Ordinance did not immediately end slavery in the region, and there were a substantial number of slaves in Illinois and Indiana until after both territories achieved statehood. But the ordinance nevertheless showed the potency of antislavery. In 1807 Congress banned all American participation in the African slave trade, in 1819 Congress provided for stricter enforcement of the ban, and in 1820 declared that illegal importation of slaves amounted to piracy. While opponents of slavery applauded these laws, they cannot be seen solely as victories for opponents of slavery. Many slave owners, especially from the Upper South, opposed the slave trade in part because banning the trade would increase the value of their excess slaves.

### DECLINE AND REVIVAL

The early antislavery movement began to die out after the War of 1812. By that time slavery was dead or dying in all of the northern states. Because the early societies were local in their scope and vision, they did not turn to ending slavery in the South, but instead focused on improving the circumstance and educational opportunities of free blacks in the North. Those societies that had existed in the Upper South either completely disappeared or became so marginalized that they had no effect on public policy.

In 1817 some opponents of slavery joined the newly organized American Colonization Society

(ACS), which was dedicated to removing blacks from the United States. Some members of the ACS saw colonization in Africa as a way of encouraging an end to slavery, but many others hoped the movement would simply lead to the removal of the existing free black population. Sincere opponents of slavery soon abandoned the ACS and would eventually move into the abolitionist movement initiated by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831.

In 1819 Congress debated the admission of Missouri into the Union. Northern congressmen, led by James Talmadge of New York, opposed admitting Missouri as a slave state. This led to the first great debate over slavery in Congress. It led to sharp denunciations of slavery by northerners, which shocked many southern members of Congress. Never before had there been such an acrimonious debate over slavery. Sectional harmony would never again be possible as long as bondage made the nation half slave and half free.

In the decade following the Missouri debates, the issue of slavery simmered. No great antislavery movement emerged in the North, but some northerners began to speak out more directly against the system. In 1821 Benjamin Lundy began to publish the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the first bona fide antislavery newspaper in the nation. He daringly moved the paper to the South, publishing it in Tennessee, Maryland, and then Washington, D.C. In 1829 William Lloyd Garrison joined Lundy, and after Garrison left this partnership he began to plan for the publication of *The Liberator*, which in 1831 became the most important antislavery paper in the nation and the catalyst for the antislavery movement of the antebellum period.

### AFRICAN AMERICAN ACTIVISM

Throughout this period African Americans were the most committed opponents of slavery. They expressed their opposition in a variety of ways. Fugitive slaves, acting as individuals or in groups, ran from bondage and in so doing expressed their opposition to slavery and their refusal to be treated as slaves. Some blacks, like the Virginia slave Gabriel Prosser and his associates, plotted rebellions. During the Revolution tens of thousands of slaves asserted their freedom or convinced their masters to free them so they could join the army, escaped from their masters, or ran away to join armies on both sides of the conflict. Thousands found refuge with the British, and some of these ended up as free people in Canada and elsewhere. Throughout the period slaves and free blacks petitioned colonial and state legislatures and

the new Congress to gain their own freedom. In the 1820s black authors attacked slavery through their own publications. In 1827 Samuel Cornish and John Brown Russwurm started the nation's first black-run newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, and in 1829 Cornish began to publish his own paper, *Rights of All*. Most dramatically of all, in September 1829—at the very end of the period of the new American nation—David Walker published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, quoting the Declaration of Independence and demanding that blacks be given their inalienable rights to life and liberty or that they rise up in revolt, just as white Americans had done a half century earlier.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans; Missouri Compromise; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Slavery: Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Wiecek, William M. *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America, 1760–1848.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.

*Paul Finkelman*

**APPALACHIA** The history of Appalachia between 1754 and 1829 encompasses an ongoing migration of peoples, their struggle to secure political and economic interests, and a blending of Indian, European, and African cultures into a unique regional identity. Although the Spanish explored Appalachia as early as 1539, significant interaction between Europeans and Indians came only after 1650 with the arrival of English and Dutch explorers. At that time resident tribes included the Cherokee in the South, Algonquian groups in the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the northern Iroquois Confederation. Contact led to the development of a profitable fur trade between European rivals and the Indians of Appalachia, competition for hunting grounds, and, increasingly, European settlement of lands originally controlled by Indians.

European settlement expanded rapidly after 1730, when Virginia law awarded land speculators one thousand acres for every family settled west of the Blue Ridge and North Carolina offered free "headrights" of one hundred acres to prospective settlers. From 1730 to 1830, waves of German, Scotch-Irish, and English immigrants pushed south and west from Pennsylvania into Appalachia, displacing Indian peoples and resettling western Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee and Kentucky.

Eighteenth-century Scotch-Irish and German immigrants into Appalachia came from war-torn and impoverished regions and were motivated by a desire to own land and to practice their own forms of religion. They moved together and established communities dominated by particular ethnicities and religious sects, including Mennonite, Moravian, Baptist, and Methodist. English immigrants included miscellaneous groups of religious dissenters, such as Quakers and French Huguenots, and, though they lacked the ethnic cohesion of the Scotch-Irish and Germans, accounted for one-third of all settlers and a substantial portion of the economic and political elite that later dominated Appalachia. Slave and free, Africans lived and worked in Appalachia throughout the eighteenth century and participated in the exploration of Indian territory, the construction of frontier homes, the clearing of land for cultivation, the harvesting of crops, and the formation of a regional cultural identity.

Competition between British and French fur traders led to the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the Cherokee War (1759–1761). In both cases American colonists, hoping to open new land for western settlement, supported the British cause. Although victory secured British control of Appalachia, it limited options for Indians in the region and encouraged the Pontiac Conspiracy, a multinational Indian uprising against European settlements. Though ultimately defeated, the uprising led the British to issue the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding white settlement beyond the crest of the Allegheny Mountains. American colonists opposed the Proclamation of 1763 because it countered their achievements in the French and Indian War—access to trans-Appalachian lands for settlement and trade. In the next decade, as the British further restricted access, Virginia fought to strengthen western land claims in Lord Dunmore's War against Chief Cornstalk, a formidable military strategist, and his Indian forces in 1774. The Proclamation of 1763 and other British policies that limited access to western lands were a major cause of the American Revolution.

When the American Revolution began, it was not certain that Appalachian settlers would support the independence movement. In the Regulator Movement (1767–1771), western backcountry settlers in North and South Carolina violently protested their colonial governments' failure to provide adequate protection from Indians, representation in legislative assemblies, and legal and judicial services. Once the Revolution began, however, the British strengthened alliances with Indians and selected military leaders from among non-Regulator constituents; in doing so, they pushed western settlers into the Revolutionary ranks. Major battles of the American Revolution took place in the Appalachian region and involved mountain peoples, including the Battle of Kings Mountain and Cowpens, both victories for the revolutionary cause.

The American Revolution strengthened white settlers' hold on the Appalachian region, forcing the Cherokee to surrender thousands of acres and destroying the Iroquois Confederacy. After the Revolution, Scotch-Irish immigration into Appalachia and the "Long Hunter" culture, both predating independence, resumed and led to the attempted, but failed, statehood of the mountain State of Franklin, and to the successful statehood of Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796). Controversies with the East continuing during the early Republic focused on the use of federal power, Indian removal, and slavery.

A sign of Appalachia's struggles with the new federal government, the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania began when mountaineers protested a federal excise tax on the distilled whiskey they produced. Similarly, southern mountaineers protested federal Indian policy throughout the 1790s. Although Hamiltonian policies pushed many in Appalachia to embrace Jefferson's Republican Party between 1800 and 1825, southern mountaineer demands to move Indians west were not addressed until one of their own became president in 1828. Andrew Jackson and his successors used federal troops to forcibly remove the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, including the Cherokee in the infamous Trail of Tears. Despite this, remnant elements of the Cherokee eluded federal troops and remained in the Smoky Mountains.

As the East moved toward a cash economy after the Revolution, the majority of people in Appalachia experienced a cash-poor yeoman agricultural economy until at least 1830. A significant minority, however, tied the region to the broader capitalist system

by participating in the expansion of mining salt, charcoal, coal, and gold and trading furs, meat, dry goods, and slaves.

After the American Revolution the backcountry's landed gentry achieved their goal of expanding slavery in the region, and a slaveholding elite came to dominate economic and political affairs in many mountain counties. However, only a minority of small landholders in Appalachia became slaveholders, and many others supported antislavery and abolitionist movements in the nineteenth century. Antislavery activities in the mountain South included the development of antislavery societies, the publication of antislavery journals, the founding of antislavery "log cabin colleges" by Presbyterian ministers, and the 1831 debate when western representatives proposed legislation that would gradually emancipate all slaves and end slavery in Virginia. Just months after Nat Turner's slave insurrection and after a full week of debates, Virginia state legislators voted 73 to 58 against emancipation—seven votes short of abolishing slavery.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: Middle Atlantic; American Indians: Southeast; Antislavery; Baptists; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Iroquois Confederacy; Methodists; Moravians; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Quakers; Regulators; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Drake, Richard B. *A History of Appalachia.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Hatley, M. Thomas. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Inscoe, John C. *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

Klein, Rachel. *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760–1808.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Mitchell, Robert D., ed. *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Williams, John Alexander. *Appalachia: A History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

*Pamela C. Edwards*

**ARCHAEOLOGY** Archaeological discoveries in the United States in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century relate predominantly to Native American earthworks discovered as Americans expanded into the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys and the interior Southeast. American settlers, naturalists, and antiquarians recorded these earthworks and puzzled over the question of who had built them and when. By the start of the nineteenth century, a growing national interest in science and America's unique ancient history led to an increase in the collection and synthesis of data, to publication, and to a spate of theories on the origins of the people who built the earthworks.

**MAPPING AND DATING**
The earliest archaeology focused on the detailed mapping of ruins. In laying out the town of New Philadelphia, Ohio, in 1772, missionary David Zeisberger described the Indian mounds that the new town would soon obscure. That same year, the Grave Creek Mound was discovered by settlers near Wheeling, Virginia (later West Virginia). This mound was left intact, a relatively rare occurrence for the time, and more than 230 years later it could still be seen surrounded by the town of Moundsville. In 1787 General Rufus Putnam of the Ohio Company of New England prepared a detailed map of the ancient monuments near the new town of Marietta, the first such map ever made in the United States. Another first at Marietta occurred when Manasseh Cutler (1742–1823) pioneered the use of tree rings to date archaeological sites. He concluded that the mounds were at least one thousand years old.

**FALSE ATTRIBUTION**
Synthesis and interpretation of such individual archaeological reports began in 1787, when Benjamin Barton published a study of Ohio mound sites and drew a conclusion that would become common in this era—that the mounds could not have been built by American Indians or their ancestors, but were built by a separate race of people who were later displaced by Indians. Such theories, which attributed the construction of the mounds to various people such as the Vikings, Phoenicians, Israelites, and Toltecs, came to be called the "myths of the moundbuilders." The idea that the sophisticated, monumental earthworks were beyond the intellectual and engineering skill of North American Indians had currency among American scholars from the late eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century. A century later these earthworks were known to have been built by the ancestors of contemporary Native

Americans and were constructed from 3,000 B.C. to as late as the early eighteenth century A.D.

### EVIDENCE FOR INDIAN CONSTRUCTION

Compelling evidence for this cultural continuity began to form as early as the late eighteenth century. Natural historian William Bartram (1739–1823) traveled extensively throughout the southeastern United States and published descriptions of mound sites located in the territories of the Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee tribes. At one then-functioning Indian town in Florida, Bartram observed the practice of Indians building and using mounds. Yet at other towns, Indian people could not identify the mound builders. Given this, Bartram concluded the mounds had been built by ancestors of the Indians. Unfortunately, his work was not widely distributed at the time and did little to offset the enthusiasm for interpreting the mounds as the work of non–Native American cultures.

### JEFFERSON AS SCIENTIFIC ARCHAEOLOGIST

Archaeology as the science of excavation began in the United States in 1784 when Thomas Jefferson formally excavated an Indian mound near Charlottesville, Virginia, and published the results of his study in a chapter of his widely-read book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Jefferson pioneered scientific and problem-oriented archaeology in the United States as his excavation was not designed to recover objects for display, but rather to answer questions about the reasons the mound was constructed. Jefferson considered as alternative hypotheses that it was either a place where warriors had died in battle and were interred in a single event or a common sepulcher for a community, used over many generations. The presence in the mound of the remains of both males and females and small children, and the absence of evidence of traumatic injury, led Jefferson to conclude it was a community cemetery used over many generations. Few formal, scientific excavations followed directly on Jefferson's, although his published report and interest in Indian mounds spurred much new study of such archaeological sites.

### EARLY PUBLISHED REPORTS

In 1799, as president of the American Philosophical Society, Jefferson sent a letter to correspondents urging them to collect precise data on the form and content of fortifications, tumuli, and other Indian works of art. The letter called for cuts to be made into the tumuli to determine their contents. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the *Transac-*tions of the American Philosophical Society became a source of information concerning America's antiquities. The most famous of these early reports is that by Henry M. Brackenridge in 1818, which included descriptions of mounds beyond Ohio, most notably the site of Cahokia near St. Louis, the largest mound complex in North America. This period of early American archaeology was influenced by European studies of ancient sites such as Stonehenge, Avebury, and countless less familiar barrows (mounds) spread across the English countryside. Archaeological studies of the ruins of Greece, Rome, and Egypt were rarely compared to the earthen structures built by Native Americans north of Mexico. Significant exceptions include Jefferson's comparison of the unusual burial practices he observed in the Virginia burial mounds to strikingly similar mortuary customs of ancient Greece, and Henry M. Brackenridge's likening of the Cahokia mounds near St. Louis to the pyramids of Egypt.

### A FIELD FOR AMATEURS

Archaeology in the United States in the early nineteenth century remained the concern of antiquarians, amateurs committed to gaining knowledge, but not profit, through the study of ancient sites and ancient objects. The American Antiquarian Society (1812), a group of wealthy New Englanders committed to investigating and collecting American antiquities, was the most important of these and invited representation from all states in the Union. In 1820 the society funded and published the results of a large, important study of Ohio antiquities by Caleb Atwater. The engagement of the federal government in the study and preservation of America's antiquities was still a half-century to a century away (with the Smithsonian and the National Park Service, respectively), and America's universities would not engage in the study of American Indian archaeological sites until the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Architecture: American Indian.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brackenridge, Henry M. "On the Population and Tumuli of the Aborigines of North America." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, no. 1 (1818): 151–159.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Edited by William Peden. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Silverberg, Robert. *The Moundbuilders.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986.

Trigger, Bruce G. *A History of Archaeological Thought.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

*Jeffrey L. Hantman*

## ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

**ARCHITECTURAL STYLES**   Style is appearance. It is a public, not a private, quality. It seeks to impart and impress. The word comes from a sharp instrument of the sort reinstituted for the first time since the cuneiform by computer makers in the late twentieth century to imprint an impression upon a portable device. Where Babylonians used styluses to make themselves understood upon clay tablets in ancient Mesopotamia, styluses are now employed to record e-mail messages on PDAs (personal digital assistants). It is a pleasure to consider the first inscriber of Gilgamesh with a PalmPilot and thus to be led to the use of style in architecture. It inscribes as well. It is employed by architects to impart those messages to the public that clients want to impart, about who those clients want to be thought to be.

### THE EMERGENCE OF STYLE

Style became important in the early American Republic as an assertion not only of what individuals wanted to be thought to be, but to give an impression of the new nation itself. The messages of earlier structures were associated with continuing cultures, either those in place when the Europeans arrived or those brought with the invaders. Generally speaking, these were astylar, less concerned with meaning than with utility, but there were exceptions. The temples, palaces, and assembly halls of the Native Americans no doubt were intended to impress. Why otherwise set them so high as Monks Mound at Cahokia, in Illinois, or paint them, as in the Southeast, or wall them and rear them so great, as at Chaco Canyon in New Mexico? And a person does not paint the skins that bind a portable habitation unless that person wishes to say something—to make use of what the French call an *architecture parlante*—a talking architecture. So a Cheyenne tepee may, indeed, have a style.

But that is not what one ordinarily means by the term. One means something that speaks in a European language and fits into the taxonomy of European variations in setting large personae before the public. For example, the Spaniards made use of a Vitruvian and Serlian set of precedents in asserting their presence as a Mediterranean culture in Florida, Texas and California. There is no mistaking the Roman style of the great domed brick churches in the bottom of the Satevo Canyon in Mexico or at San Xavier del Bac in Arizona. Spanish designers imagined how the buildings described by the Roman writer Vitruvius (first century B.C.) might have looked, and from their imaginary buildings came the temple forms suggested as pilastered hieroglyphs on the facades of their mission at Santa Barbara, California, and of their governor's house at St. Augustine, Florida. The Spanish Habsburgs and Bourbons sometimes thought of themselves as new Romans. Certainly their captains acted like Romans. Earlier, the Norse at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland seem to have contented themselves with sod structures as functional as the wicker wigwams of the first Pilgrims at Plymouth, but after 1620 or so the British were eagerly conveying by style their intention to remain and urbanize as soon as they could emerge from dugouts, cabins, brush-and-wicker wigwams, and "soddies." Jamestown had London-style town houses. By 1780 sections of Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York looked as much like middle-class areas of Bristol as sections of St. Augustine looked like middle-class sections of Havana or Cádiz.

As habitual architecture continued in city and country, the French West Indian way of building piazzas along the front of buildings came to the Mississippi Valley and the shores of the Gulf Coast and a Hispanic American way appeared along the rivers of the Southwest and Florida. Log cabins were created by Swedes and Finns along the Delaware, probably not so much to assert a style as to keep out the weather, and soon thereafter came ambitious framed-and-filled buildings in wood-building colonies and brick buildings where there was good clay and an acquaintance with masonry. Style bespoke a deliberate effort to impress. Size was important, of course, but at first not shape. Church spires marked style, writing instruments pointing upward toward the heavens, but the buildings bearing them often did not. Only fancy gables, curvilinear or stepped, did so, especially in Dutch trading towns seeking to state affinities to Amsterdam or Antwerp. Nonetheless, until about 1700, buildings were indistinguishable style by style among the colonies of the North Sea peoples. Barbados looked like Boston.

Dark, gabled, jumbled buildings were constructed large and small in the Northeast; simple, timber-framed cottages in the middle colonies; and in the port cities, row houses and tenements. When the number of gables diminished and buildings settled into symmetry, discernable style was setting in. The

**Mission Santa Barbara.** This Spanish colonial church in Santa Barbara, California, was built by Franciscan missionaries between 1812 and 1820, after an earthquake destroyed the mission's previous church. © DAVID MUENCH/CORBIS.

persistence of medieval qualities in verticality, in grouped chimneys, and in a few windows pointed at the top was probably accidental—the Gothic Revival came in the 1830s and 1840s, after a break for classicism and in reaction to it.

### COLONIAL STYLE

The term "colonial" should be reserved for buildings that explicitly assert the dominance of an outside force; the word means farmlike, but in the context of this essay it means a place farmed for somebody else's benefit. Like "plantation," it was first applied to the English exploitation of Ireland and is not to be used carelessly. Nonetheless, considering the ways in which they were built and by whom, it is proper to say that the Santa Barbara Mission church is in the Spanish colonial, or Hispano-Vitruvian style; that the fortress of Quebec is French colonial; and that the

white churches with Roman temple fronts and stacks of Roman gadgets ascending steeples in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston are in the British colonial style. The fundamental designs of the latter style were those of Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723) and James Gibbs (1682–1754), architects of a triumphant, imperial British baroque. Its secular forms can be distantly observed at in Virginia at Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary, and also in Philadelphia at what became Independence Hall.

The most familiar domestic colonial buildings of the British eighteenth century are not derived from the Hellenistic or Roman Imperial of the baroque, but from a sort of demure and almost Puritan urban merchants' tradition. They are the tidy, red brick, and severe row town houses, often called Georgian when they have white wooden trim set primly into

**Isaiah Davenport House.** This Federal style house in Savannah, Georgia, was completed in 1820 to 1821 by Isaiah Davenport, a master builder. © ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS.

red brick facades. It could be argued that the architectural influence of the merchant class that prospered under Kings George I (r. 1714–1727), II (r. 1727–1760), and III (r. 1760–1820) extended beyond 1776, but these were not architecturally sophisticated monarchs like George IV (r. 1820–1830). There are large Georgian manor houses in Virginia and Maryland plus one late example southeast of Pittsburgh, but they were not exemplary farther south and west until their style was revived in the 1920s and 1930s.

There is very little in the United States to suggest the more ebullient British styles of the colonial period. Few colonials could afford garlands, swags, and putti. Some very prudent and whitewashed Adamish plasterwork can be seen in George Washington's dining room at Mount Vernon, his sister's parlor ceiling at Fredericksburg, and the tiny pavilion of John Penn (1760–1834) (later included within the Philadelphia Zoo), and one or two other Philadelphia houses, but that is about it. The Scottish brothers Robert Adam (1728–1792) and James Adam (1730–1794) worked in the Gothic as well as in their more familiar garlanded classicism, but not with any American consequences.

**FEDERAL STYLE**

Yet in lightening things up the Adam brothers did contribute to the Federal style after independence. (There is no Federalist style in the political sense—the Federalists and Jeffersonians had the same architectural tastes.) The Federal style bespoke a new nation, but it did so in forms that were indistinguishable from styles of the same time in England, Russia, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and France. Lighter, more pastel-colorful, glassier, and distinctly more suburban than the colonial style, the Federal was the work of French designers such as Pierre Pharoux, the Mangin Brothers, and Joseph Jacques Ramée (1764–1842), the Irish architect-contractors John McComb (1763–1853) and James Hoban (c. 1762–1831), the
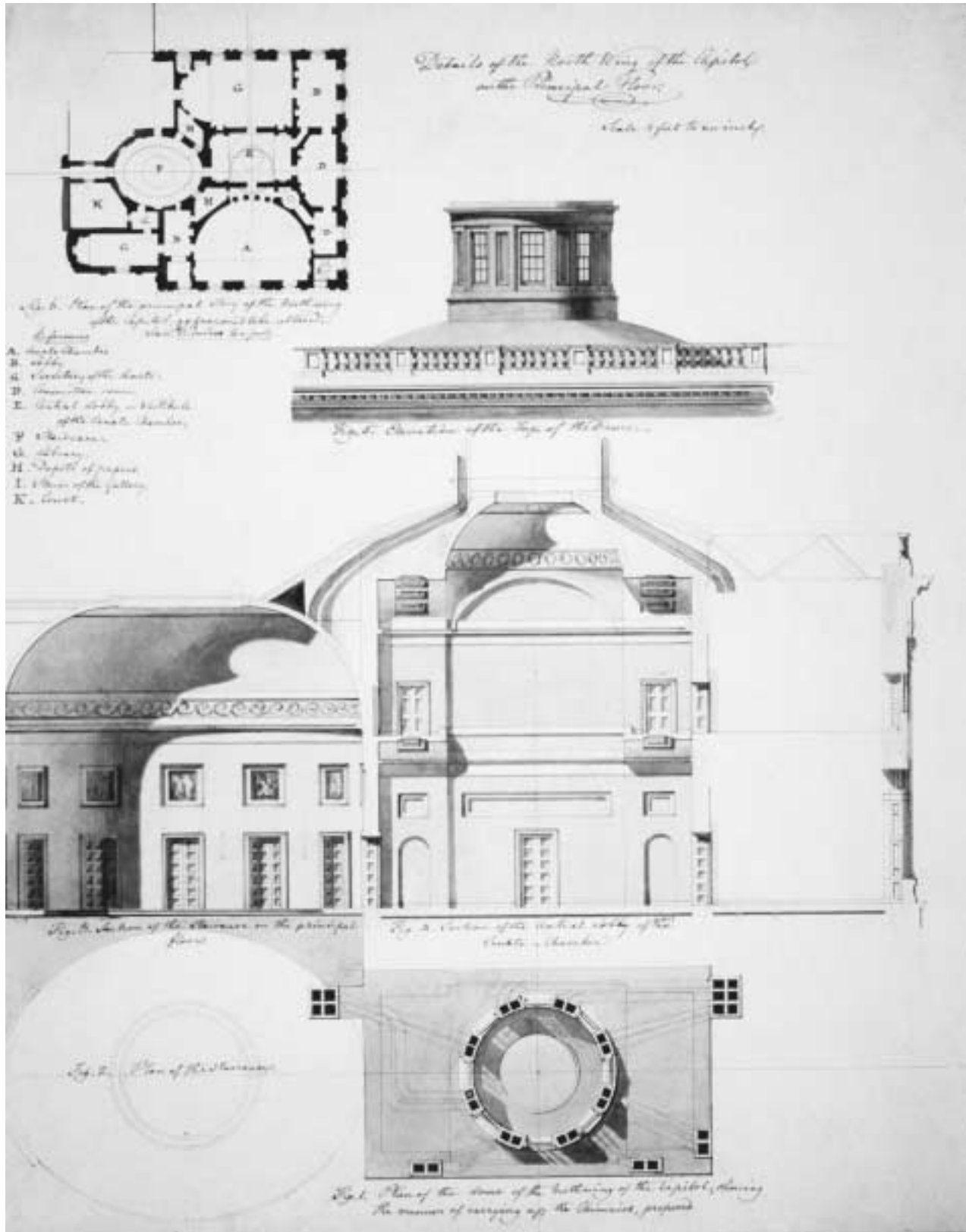
**The United States Capitol.** Benjamin Henry Latrobe's 1814 blueprint for the north wing of the U. S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. © CORBIS.

West Indian Dr. William Thornton (1759–1828), and the English architects George Hadfield (1763–1826) and Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820), the most influential of them all. Had the French designers remained at home, their buildings would have been called Directoire or Napoleonic; Latrobe and Hadfield worked in the Regency style at home and abroad. Latrobe's Gothic villa at Sedgley is gone, as are his villas for Richmond, Virginia. His masterpiece, the Baltimore cathedral, remains, as do his wonderful Federal-style bank in New Orleans, his interiors in the U.S. Capitol (his Federal dome is gone), and a handful of villas outside Washington.

Hadfield's imprint is stronger on the nation's capital. Overlooking Washington was Arlington House, the first Greek Revival building in the nation, a little ahead of its time. In Washington he designed the more characteristically Regency-style City Hall, later the District Courts Building. Thornton was a medical doctor, chief of the Patent Office from 1802 to 1828, and a gifted amateur architect. His Octagon House is the sort of thing Robert Adam might have done for a friend on a tight budget in a tight site; his Tudor Place shows how French was the prevailing Federal taste. Its color is especially instructive, a pale yellow, the color that its counterpart, Gore Place, in Waltham, Massachusetts, would have had if it had been built instead just outside Paris. The Mangin Brothers, in association with John McComb, provided New York its Federal-style City Hall, lighter and more French than Hadfield's for Washington, and Marc Isambard Brunel (1769–1849) showed that a plain English country house could be remodeled into the brassy French baroque for Aaron Burr at Marble Hill, in the West Village.

Generally, however, the Federal may have been cheerier than the Georgian, but it was still earnest and sober by contrast. Even among the newly rich privateering class on Beacon Hill in Boston and Baltimore, there was none of the fanlit, coved-ceilinged, plasterworked, flamboyant Regency of Dublin.

This Federal style was sustained into the 1820s in upstate New York by Ramée, best known for Union College at Schenectady, built in the form of a great French château and the first American campus to be constructed around a rotunda. The University of Virginia was the second. The Federal style is best exemplified, however, in republican country houses, whose builders have returned to anonymity, though their forms and details are based upon pattern books devised by identifiable architects. They are breezier than their colonial predecessors, often displaying fanlights and patterned sidelights to lighten up door-ways as well as windows enlarged vertically. A few are more ambitious, making use of Adamesque coves above doors and windows and plastered exteriors in the white, yellow, and salmon that has too often been sandblasted away to bring them back to the hotter-selling red-brick Georgian. The English-inclining Alsops at Middletown, Connecticut, the French-inclining Gores at Waltham, Massachusetts, and the Prussian-inclining Whitfields at Gaineswood in Demopolis, Alabama, built Federal-style villas irrespective of their dates.

Three more decades passed after independence before a full-tilt Greco-Roman style surged into national popularity. When it came it was the architecture of Manifest Destiny. Of the few porticoed buildings constructed in the United States prior to the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, only Arlington House carried Greek proportions. The Greek Revival that came with Jackson was largely Roman and appropriately imperial.

### GOTHIC REVIVAL AND ITALIANATE STYLES

At the time there was, in a minor key, a Gothic Revival as well. Latrobe's foray into the Gothic had no more immediate consequences for American architectural style than did Hadfield's Greek at Arlington House, but after 1830 or so residential buildings and churches began to take on asymmetrical massing; pointed windows; crockets; finials; decorated, vine-like boards along their eaves; and a generally steeper look. To the extent that the signage of the two styles—their intended messages—can be distinguished, the Gothic Revival spoke to the "home-whispering" nostalgia of the Anglophile literary class of the 1830s and 1840s, and the Greco-Roman to its militantly American political class. The Gothic was assertively nativist, directed oddly enough against Irish Catholics. The Irish had, of course, as often built in the Gothic as the English. Yet in the United States they did not do so until the 1850s. When the Catholic squirearchy of Maryland laid up the first cathedral church in the early American Republic, it eschewed exotic forms like the Gothic, and Bishop John Carroll (1735–1815) rejected that alternative when it was offered by Latrobe. So the cathedral in Baltimore appeared in the Federal-Regency, neoclassical style. Thereafter, hundreds of Anglican Gothic churches went up. Finally, the Irish Catholics of New York insisted upon their own version at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Nobody seemed to notice that its prototypes were as French as those for the first St. Patrick's, down on Mott Street, which by then had burned down.

In addition, by the 1830s two varieties of Italianate style were beginning to follow American tourists homeward. The first was the Tuscan villa, with a square tower, brackets under the eaves, asymmetry, and round-arched windows. The second was the Renaissance palazzo style, cubical, also with brackets and round-arched windows, higher ceiling heights than had been common in the Greek or Gothic, considerably more plate glass, and symmetrical facades. Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia went Italianate in a rush. So did San Francisco; Chicago; Red Wing, Minnesota; and Savannah. It was no longer a new Republic, but an older one, with a leisure class desiring to be fashionable and to show that it had been "abroad."

The so-called battle of the styles occurred in mid-century, when the nation grew confused, divided, and sent mixed messages to itself and the rest of the world. Then Abraham Lincoln gave it a New Birth of Freedom and saw to it that the dome was set in place atop the Capitol—and a statue of Liberty set atop the dome, where the world, and the Confederate Army, could see it.

*See also* **Architecture; Civil Engineering and Building Technology; Construction and Home Building; Housing.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Morrison, Hugh. *Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Pierson, William H., Jr. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 1, *The Colonial and Neo-classical Styles.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1976.

———. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 2, *Technology and the Picturesque: The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1980.

*Roger Kennedy*

# ARCHITECTURE

This entry consists of seven separate articles: *American Indian*, *Greek Revival*, *Parks and Landscape*, *Public*, *Religious*, *Spanish Borderlands*, and *Vernacular*.

## *American Indian*

The founders of the American Republic were well aware that they were latecomers to North America and were relatively modest in their architectural achievements. The largest buildings seen by George Washington were built by American Indians along the Ohio River. The most complex geometric construction known to Thomas Jefferson was reported to him from the same area in the 1770s, and it is likely that his octagons and earthen dependencies at Poplar Forest near Lynchburg, Virginia, acknowledged the example of the Hopewell people of Ohio. Jefferson, a preeminent neoclassicist, had no way of knowing that their work dated from the classical period, 400 B.C. to A.D. 400. The wonderment felt by Albert Gallatin amid the giant earthen cones at the headwaters of the Ohio River permeated his entire intellectual life. After he founded the American Ethnological Society of New York, he lived to learn of the great pueblos of the Rio Grande valley. Though much has been lost in the intervening years, enough is left to teach us what these men knew, and a little more besides.

### LARGE STRUCTURES

The American Indians built tens of thousands of large structures of earth, stone, timber, and adobe in a great building boom from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. They started just before the Scandinavians established American beachheads and sustained their pace until a mysterious, continentwide folk wandering (to borrow a European term) produced a cessation of monumental building and evacuations of areas rich in architecture such as Cahokia, Illinois; St. Louis; the Four Corners around Mesa Verde; and the Savannah River valley. The Europeans returned after 1492 and converted many more buildings into ruins: the Spaniards so desolated pueblos that they were not reoccupied; the British burnt out the towns of the Appalachee for harboring Catholic priests; and the American armies of Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton destroyed the council houses, residences, orchards, and cornfields of the Iroquois, who some ninety years earlier had scorched the earth of their great town of Ganondagan, with its 150 longhouses up to 200 feet in length and 50 feet wide, before its 4,500 inhabitants evacuated before a French assault. British and American generals did nearly as much damage to the villages of the Cherokee in the colonial period.

The buildings thus destroyed were dimensioned to accommodate the tallest people in the world, half a foot to a foot taller than contemporary Europeans. Osage and Cheyenne males were observed by George Catlin (1796–1872) to average well over six feet; some of the Texas tribes were nearly two feet taller than the Spaniards who measured them. The council

## IMPERMANENT BUILDINGS

The Mississipians and the Hopewell people in Ohio used earth to create platforms, one of which, Monk's Mound at Cahokia, has a larger footprint than the Great Pyramid at Giza. Most of the towns of early people in the desert West were composed of earthen structures, pounded and dried earth, a substitute for stone. The red brick of Williamsburg, so derided by Jefferson as barbaric, is generically close to adobe but less susceptible to erosion. The American Indians did not expect anything they built to last very long; that was not its purpose. Those who build of earth expect it to return in fragments and particles to earth with the rain. They expect to slather it back again as a renewable resource. Even Chacoan architecture of finely crafted layers of stone was intended to be plastered, and thus to be continuously renewed. It is not wise to attribute to its builders the expectation that their buildings would be inhabited much longer than they were—about two hundred years. Europeans who come to Chaco, New Mexico, are prone to follow the example of Jefferson's friend, le Compte de Volney, and ruminate upon ruins, as if the Chacoans aspired to Egyptian longevity and had been deprived of it. But did they?

Like their predecessors and successors, like the builders of the council house at San Luis and the slab carpenters of the Northwest Coast, the Chacoans were building for use. They were as aware of flux as the defining quality of life as were Ionian Greek philosophers designated as pre-Socratic. They saw their world as being fluid as quicksand and as unpredictable as fire. So Pythagoreans and Chacoans turned to the heavens for predictability and continuity, as it appears the Hopewell of Ohio did, and the people of Poverty Point in Louisiana. For these builders, eternity was out there, not here, in architecture. Archaeologists state that the average occupancy of southwestern masonry and adobe architecture was less than two hundred years. But their configurations deferred to patterns lasting hundreds of thousands of years in a larger universe. The earthen octagons, squares, and circles of the Hopewell, the axes of the D-shaped and E-shaped assemblages of rooms in the Chacoan world, the orientation of "effigies"—quite possibly configured according to stellar constellation patterns—in Georgia, Wisconsin, Ohio, Iowa, and Chihuahua, and (possibly) of the villages of the Cherokee and the Iroquois, attend to a world larger and more stable than their own.

Many American Indian buildings were impermanent for more immediate reasons. The people had learned from nasty experience in large urban centers such as Cahokia–St. Louis that human excrement ac-



**Tepees.** These tepees at Fort Laramie National Historic Site in Wyoming are modern reconstructions of Plains Indian structures from the 1800s. © LOWELL GEORGIA/CORBIS.

house of the Appalachee at San Luis, Florida, was 132 feet in diameter. The Spanish friars reported that it could hold from two to three thousand people. These were large buildings for large people, well nourished over generations. Most of the people were agricultural, requiring storage buildings—the people of San Luis required two tons of maize to provide their seed corn. These were villagers, not isolated farmers like many who succeeded them. The Cherokees lived in Upper Towns and Lower Towns, and so did the Creeks. They and their linguistic cousins the Iroquois were sedentary, agricultural townspeople, which is why Sullivan and Clinton could so easily burn them out. The Ancestral Pueblo People and the canal-building hydrologists of Arizona were more urban, per capita, than the Europeans outside Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The first practitioners of new urbanism—the concentration of residential structures in multilevel, multifamily complexes—were pueblo people.

cumulates, and that in cold climates a few thousand people can quickly consume all the wood in the neighborhood for construction, heating, and cooking. They expected to move. It was practical to do so. Therefore, a slab house in Washington State, the apotheosis of a brush arbor in San Luis holding three thousand people, or a Cherokee council house was conceived, like a Japanese wooden temple, to be periodically rebuilt in place so long as the place was healthy and still easily supplied with firewood and its people fed from productive fields. There is nothing artificial about the reconstructions found in many parks and traditional villages. They are today, much as they were in the early American Republic, born to serve life, and then to be replaced. Even the great earthworks that awed the founders were impermanent and were regularly restored with fresh mantles of earth (often in new colors) in sustained interaction with the Earth, while the configurations of the mounds remained in interaction with the heavens.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gauthier, Rory, and David Stewart. *Prehistoric New Mexico: Background for Survey.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

Kennedy, Roger G. *Hidden Cities: The Discovery and Loss of Ancient North American Civilization.* New York: Macmillan, 1994.

Morgan, William N. *Ancient Architecture of the Southwest.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.

———. *Precolumbian Architecture in Eastern North America.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1999.

Nabokov, Peter, and Robert Easton. *Native American Architecture.* New York: Oxford, 1988.

*Roger G. Kennedy*

## Greek Revival

The American Greek Revival was not so Greek as Roman. The Greeks used stubbier columns than the Romans and that their buildings were therefore squatter. Greeks did not use domes, nor did they build houses in what we call "temple form." Even in imperial Athens, the portico was reserved for public structures and the Parthenon shape for places of diffidence to the gods. The Romans used domes, but not domestically. Only after several centuries in which domed temple forms were limited to use as temples, they deified their emperors and gave them temples, too. Neither the Greeks nor Romans used steeples,



**First Presbyterian Church in New Bern, North Carolina.** This church, built from 1819 to 1821, was designed by local architect Uriah Sandy in Greek Revival style. © LEE SNIDER/ PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

though for military purposes and to get high enough for a view, both used towers. Steepled churches with porticoes are baroque, not Greek Revival.

Below the surface there is, however, among all these forms, a purpose: a proclamation and an imposition. They are all "classical"—a word coming from an Indo-European root, "kha-les," becoming Greek in the noun "klhsis" for "a calling" and in the verb "kalein," "to call." Calling to what? The Romans give us the answer, for the "classicus" was a summoning instrument rather like an alpenhorn, used to gather the militia into the parade ground—the Campus Martius—to be classified into their ranks, orders, and companies, first class, second, and third. And why were they so ordered? So that they could bring order. Their job was to diminish chaos. Not necessarily to keep the peace, as Rome's neighbors learned, and the neighbors of the new American Republic learned as well. Yet the classical principal was associated with

orderliness in a myth that over a half millennium cloaked Roman aggression as always unpremeditated and always a reluctant response to other people's aggressions. The classified citizenry would go forth to restore tranquility to the countryside—often a countryside previously kept orderly by somebody else.

**CLASSICAL HIEROGLYPHS**

The classically trained republican founders of the United States were well aware of these connotations to a Roman Revival, and the bullying truculence of Rome appealed to few of them. The columnar American Greek Revival did not get underway in earnest until after 1825. It was not the architecture of George Washington or Alexander Hamilton. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison did not adapt the double-height columns of the Roman temple-form to domestic architecture until the nineteenth century was well underway. The full imperial boldness of the form awaited Andrew Jackson and the Polks, including President James K. Polk and his politically and architecturally ambitious kinship. In the eighteenth century, the English baroque produced a few columned and steepled churches in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York; a library in Newport; a columned banqueting hall—Whitehall—in Maryland; a few porticoes added to earlier houses; and a classically pilastered governor's house in St. Augustine, like the mission church at Santa Barbara a hieroglyph of the temple form. The only true temple form building was Prince William's Chapel in South Carolina, derived from a design of the British baroque architect James Gibbs (1682–1754). It has not survived, and it its proportions were not Greek.

The Parthenon shape, with columns all around, was not seen in the United States until a replica of that building was created in Nashville, Tennessee, in the 1890s. So far as is known, the first building in North America to have columns all around was William Dunbar's plantation house "The Forest" (1819), in Natchez, Mississippi, but it was not in rectilinear temple form. The first Greek-proportioned portico was laid upon a traditional English house form for Arlington House (1802–1820, portico in 1817), overlooking Washington, D.C., created by George Washington's stepson as a sort of Federalist billboard to remind the Jefferson and Madison administrations of their delinquencies after 1800. Jefferson was a Franco-Roman-Palladian in taste, and thanks largely to him, the White House was Irish Palladian: that is to say, that many Italian and British and Irish adaptations had intervened between it and any temple form, either Greek or Roman. It did not bear any resemblance to any Greek or Roman domestic building or to either the Parthenonic or Pantheonic temple form. Until the 1820s, New York was dominated by architects trained in French classicism who eschewed both Greek and Roman Revival styles. The English architects Benjamin Henry Latrobe and George Hadfield, brought over to finish sloppier earlier work on the White House and Capitol, were also disinclined to the Greek. Hadfield produced Arlington House for George Washington Parke Custis, as if inviting the floodlights that now play upon it, but no others. After displaying his erudition for two little dependencies of a British country house in the Greek manner, Latrobe worked only in the English neoclassical mode.

Latrobian-Jeffersonian classicism can best be seen in the pavilions around The Lawn (1826) at the University of Virginia, templates for plantation architecture across the South. Jefferson wrote that he intended them to be exemplary; one can think of them as being like a paper chain to be snipped to make keepsakes by young planters headed for Tennessee. The university needed no architecture school to have the greatest influence of any institution upon the architecture of the plantation South. The northern Greek Revival was Roman as well, but more modest and conscious of a cold climate, often drawing the portico back onto the face of the house as pilasters. It too awaited Andrew Jackson's restoration of the nation's flagging confidence at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) and his westering imperial progress. In 1831 Jackson put a columned facade upon the cluster of previous structures at his Hermitage (1821) in Tennessee and went on to make Jefferson's templates the architecture of Manifest Destiny.

**THE POLITICS OF CLASSICISM**

The Greek Revival in its Roman-Jeffersonian-Jacksonian form swept all the way to Oregon as a folk architecture. There was no matching Greek Revival in Canada, in part because it was recognized as an American imperial form. It was not, however, an imposed regimen, as was the Russian Greek Revival born eastward across Siberia by order of the tsars. In the United States we have neoclassical outhouses, offices, banks, canal houses, and especially, residences, thousands of them. And the pleasure of their company is to remind us of a time when every citizen was fit for an emperor's kind of house.

Was Hollywood right? Was the Greek Revival so ubiquitous that Scarlett O'Hara's "Tara" was likely

to look like David O. Selznick's temple-fronted version in *Gone with the Wind* (1939)? Not likely. The neoclassical temple form was very rare in the countryside of the Deep South. For that matter, so were plantation houses of any magnitude. Big southern houses tended instead to be in compounds. Outside the watershed of Chesapeake Bay dominated by the Virginian predilection for dispersed plantations, the antebellum South was not a scene of rural white-columned mansions. A contrary, compound-building Carolina tradition dominated the rest of plantation country. Those plantation owners and other whites who could make the choice manifested aversion to living in the countryside, whether guarded by a barrier of columns or not. They chose Charleston or Georgetown, Augusta, Rome, Sparta, Athens, New Orleans, or Natchez. That is where Greek Revival buildings are found, not in the southern countryside. There are a few dozen raised cottages, with columns all around, or nearly all around, along the River Road in Louisiana, but only one house in that state (Madewood) has a temple form where a classicist would have put it, in the center of a tri-part composition, and its columns appear only in the front of the house. In the South, the countryside was for slaves and overseers, not for owners.

The Finger Lakes Region of New York is the heartland of the American Greek Revival, extending westward along the band of Yankee emigration all the way to the St. Croix Valley between Minnesota and Wisconsin. No one has done a complete inventory, but it is a fair guess that the ratio between northern Greek Revival and southern Greek Revival would probably run toward ten to one.

*See also* **Architectural Styles.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Kennedy, Roger G. *Architecture, Men, Women, and Money.* New York: Random House, 1985.

———. *Greek Revival America.* New York: Stewart, Tabori, and Chang, 1989.

———. *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780–1820.* New York: Knopf, 1989.

Kimball, Fiske. *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic.* New York: Scribners, 1922. Reprint, New York: Dover, 2001.

Major, Howard. *The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic, The Greek Revival.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1926.

Pierson, William H. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 1: *The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles.* Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1976.

*Roger G. Kennedy*

## Parks and Landscape

The small cities and towns of the new American Republic did not have public parks. They did not need them; their inhabitants had only to walk a short distance to reach nature. Nevertheless, there were park-like urban spaces. Almost every New England village had a turfed green at its center, used for markets and other public gatherings. When villages grew into towns, these greens were often enlarged, as in the case of Boston Common. The other type of American urban space was the square, which appeared early in formally planned colonial towns such as New Haven (1638), Philadelphia (1681–1683), Annapolis (1694), Williamsburg (c. 1699), and Savannah (1733). Squares were often faced by important civic buildings such as churches and courthouses. The American square had one unique characteristic: unlike the Italian piazza and the French *place*, it was grassy rather than paved. These little patches of green were the precursors of the great urban parks of the nineteenth century.

A distinctive landscape feature of many New England squares and commons was a huge tree—usually an American elm. The trunk of a mature elm, a fast-growing species, is easily 10 or 12 feet in diameter and more than 120 feet high, so these public trees assumed the role of both landmarks and civic monuments. Elms were often given names. New Haven had the Benjamin Franklin Elm, which was planted on the day of the great man's death; Kennebunk, Maine, had the Lafayette Elm, which stood in front of a house where the general had stayed during his triumphal tour of 1824; and Cambridge Common in Massachusetts had the Washington Elm, below whose spreading branches the general had assumed command of the Revolutionary Army. Most of these great elms were later destroyed by Dutch Elm disease, which ravaged urban America in the mid-twentieth century.

Public parks originated in European cities when royal gardens such as the Tuileries and Regent's Park were opened to the general public. America, lacking an aristocracy, had nothing of that kind. A few cities, such as New York, Charleston, and Boston, provided their citizens with waterside promenades (sometimes disused batteries), but these were a rarity, for river banks were usually taken up by docks and warehouses, commerce taking precedence over recreation. Washington, D.C., was planned to have a parklike space. Pierre L'Enfant (1754–1825) intended a mile-long Grand Avenue flanked by public gardens, but it was never built. The future Mall sat vacant until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Andrew

Jackson Downing (1815–1852) laid out a national park.

The art of gardening in America remained a private affair. After 1750, it was common for northern mansions and southern plantation houses to have extensive walled gardens, laid out in a formal manner derived largely from Britain and France, a practice that continued after independence. Handsome though they were, these early gardens did not exhibit distinctly American characteristics. For that, one has to look to the most important work of public architecture of the early nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia at Charlottesville (1817–1826). His idea of a green, open space enclosed by rows of buildings was entirely original. The so-called Lawn, bordered by rows of trees, was conceived as an outdoor room. It was a sort of idealized town green for what Jefferson called an "academical village." This was not a closed quadrangle on the cloistered Oxford model, however, for it was open at one end and symbolically faced the West—the frontier. Jefferson looked to the ancient Roman world for inspiration—the library was patterned on the Pantheon—but he interpreted classicism in a singular way. His unusual combination of the formal and the bucolic set a pattern that Americans would follow, in cities and suburbs, until the present.

*See also* **City Growth and Development; City Planning; Nature: Attitudes Toward; Recreation, Sports, and Games.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.
Campanella, Thomas J. *Republic of Shade: New England and the American Elm.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.
Reps, John W. *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.

*Witold Rybczynski*

## *Public*

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, and Alexander Hamilton were patrons of architecture. Washington and Jefferson also designed buildings. Washington supervised the building of Pohick Church, a gentle, red-brick structure near Mount Vernon; after this obeisance to the past, Washington, as well as Hamilton, turned away from the Georgian architectural style, which came to be regarded as symbolic of a colonial status (and presumably boring besides). Nor did Washington and Hamilton endorse any so-called Federalist architecture, as opposed to Jeffersonian-Republican architecture. Hamilton might have done so after Washington's death but in fact showed no inclination to the severe Doric style of Arlington House, designed by George Hadfield for George Washington Parke Custis, Martha Washington's son by her first husband. In this house, begun in 1802 practically as a Federalist monument looming over the federal city, which Jefferson had captured in the election of 1800, the Custis family created a shrine to Washington. Like Washington himself, however, this first Washington memorial had no direct heirs until a generation, and the Federalist Party, had passed.

The architects of the 1780s and 1790s were nonpartisan. Except for Charles Bulfinch, considered the first professional American architect, the only trained talents were French, Irish, or English. Major Charles L'Enfant designed the balconied presidential mansion for the government installed in New York in 1783 and remodeled its Congress building, Federal Hall—both gone and unmemorable. Joseph François Mangin did much better with his design for New York's City Hall—light, airy, plastered, and modern for its time. Mangin's sponsor was Hamilton, triumphing over Burr and his favored architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Mangin also designed the first St. Patrick's Cathedral, on Mott Street, and the city's first public theater. His most formidable competitor before the arrival of Latrobe had been Pierre Pharoux, who designed city and country mansions for the Livingstons, two abortive towns west of the Adirondacks, and a splendid plan for Esperanza (now Athens) on the Hudson. Had Esperanza been built as Pharoux intended, the world would have a neoclassical city hall, market, porticoed church, and triumphal arch in the spirit of the French architects Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Étienne-Louis Boullée.

Burr had previously favored Marc Isambard Brunel, an indifferent architect though a great engineer. Brunel, a French-born Englishman who fled to New York during the French Revolution, proposed to remodel a country house for Burr in a peculiar neo-Baroque style; Burr became occupied with other things and then turned to Latrobe, another engineer-architect, before the place was torn down by the financier John Jacob Astor. The closest equivalent to Brunel's taste was that of Bulfinch in Boston, though he was vastly more competent in the execution of his projects. Brunel, like Bulfinch, used the bombé (having outward curving lines) front to impart grandeur

**Pohick Church.** Construction of Pohick Church in Lorton, Virginia, was completed in 1774. George Washington, who was a parish vestryman, was a member of the building committee. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

even to row houses, and he, too, drew versions of pantheonic public buildings. But Bulfinch built them, as did Jefferson. The great Virginian's most famous structures were the rotunda library at the University of Virginia, the mansion for his friend Governor James Barbour, and, one might say, the subsumed pantheon at Monticello. Bulfinch provided the more traditional English–Palladian format for the Massachusetts State House and the Cambridge City Hall.

Upstate New York had its counterpart to Bulfinch in Philip Hooker, whose stone Hyde Hall in Cooperstown was the grandest country house away from the Hudson and whose Albany Academy picked up where Pharoux had left off. Both these (still-standing) upstate buildings would have been eclipsed had ironworks and the grazing of merino sheep rewarded the expectations of David Parish and the French architect Joseph Jacques Ramée. Parish, a financier, brought Ramée to America in 1811, and the two created the only neoclassical factories in the United States, set picturesquely beside waterfalls in the brushy backwoods around Parishville, a village named after Parish near Ogdensburg on the St. Law-

rence River. Along with Parish's neoclassical country villa, these factory buildings are gone, though Ramée's neoclassical church stands in the hamlet of Antwerp. Iron ore proved less than perfect for the task they had assigned to it, and the winters were too ferocious for the sheep. Ramée moved on to design Union College, in Schenectady, New York, the first college campus built around a rotunda library.

Four years later, Jefferson and Latrobe made the University of Virginia a constructed curriculum of red-brick, porticoed, Gallo–Palladian–Romanism, guiding the taste of graduate planters all across Tennessee and Arkansas into Texas. Jefferson worked in several other styles, some of them, such as that of the marble, porticoed temple design for the Capitol and Monticello itself, derived from direct observation of French buildings during his tenure as minister to France.

The founders also felt an affinity for Ireland and the Irish hunger for independence, particularly as embodied by the member of the Irish parliament famed for his oratory, Henry Grattan. Real estate agents sometimes refer to buildings of the 1790s in

**Pohick Church Interior.** After construction of Pohick Church, George Washington and other patrons of architecture did not build in the Georgian style, which they regarded as symbolic of a colonial status. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, or Salem, with fanlights over their front doors in the Dublin townhouse style of the time, as "Federalist." This is to conflate a period with a party. It would be better to speak of these buildings as "Grattanite." The White House was a specific testimonial to the American-Irish affinity; its Irish designer, James Hoban, derived the design from the Duke of Leinster's Dublin mansion, itself indebted to James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture.* L'Enfant, by contrast and by nature, had proposed something far too big. His presidential mansion would have been four times the size of the plan submitted by Hoban, as adjusted by Jefferson and Latrobe.

It must have given the elderly Jefferson satisfaction to see Latrobe produce a masterpiece on his own—no remodelings this time, as at the Capitol and White House. The Baltimore Roman Catholic Cathedral for Bishop John Carroll is the best building of the early American Republic, though it is challenged by another French neoclassical wonder nearby, Maximilien Godefroy's exquisite Unitarian Church. (Latrobe and Godefroy had been collaborators on a third

masterpiece, the Baltimore Exchange, now lost to the wrecking ball.)

The city of Washington owed L'Enfant not only its overall plan but also the concept of a huge, centrally domed Capitol building as its centerpiece. The plan was that of Versailles, with the Capitol, only sketched, where the château of Louis XIV was situated, the White House in the place of the Petit Trianon. The winner of the commission to build the Capitol was William Thornton, physician, botanist, and amateur. When Thornton was unable to make a building out of a plan, Jefferson turned to the recently arrived Étienne Sulpice Hallet (who became known in America as Stephen Hallet). Like Thornton, Hallet was soon run off the job, as was, after him, George Hadfield, brother of Maria Cosway, Jefferson's inamorata in Paris. Hadfield retreated from the Capitol wars to the patronage of Custis. After Arlington House, Hadfield worked quietly on jails, banks, and federal buildings until his last great work, the Washington City Hall, in 1820, which was much admired by the architects Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis, associated with the Greek Revival, and by

hundreds of first-rate successors. The so-called Greek Revival came later, after Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans, and then was Greek in only a handful of antiquarian examples. In fact, the style was Roman-Jeffersonian—and it came after the early American Republic had become the rising American Empire.

*See also* **Architectural Styles; Art and American Nationhood; Hamilton, Alexander; Federalists; Jefferson, Thomas; Washington, D.C.; Washington, George.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hamlin, Talbot. *Benjamin Henry Latrobe.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Kennedy, Roger. *Architecture, Men, Women and Money in America, 1600–1860.* New York: Random House, 1985.

———. *Greek Revival America.* New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1989.

———. *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780–1820.* New York: Knopf, 1989.

Pierson, William H., Jr. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 1: *The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles;* Vol. 2: *Technology and the Picturesque.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1970–1976.

*Roger G. Kennedy*



**Saint Louis Cathedral.** This New Orleans landmark, the result of several building campaigns during the late 1700s and 1800s, illustrates in its eclectic style the influence of French, Spanish, and American tastes. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

## Religious

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the predominant strain of religious building in the English colonies that became the new American Republic was neoclassical. By the 1720s, the classicism practiced by the great British designers Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723) and Sir James Gibbs (1682–1754) had been adopted in various provincial modifications across the Atlantic seaboard. In the Anglican colonies of the South, churches were usually executed in brick and located at nodes of rural transportation. Neoclassicism rapidly displaced the Puritan meetinghouse style in New England and can still be seen on town greens there, with main entrances on the short end in "churchly" fashion and often featuring a pillared Gibbsian portico. By the Revolutionary period it had even been adopted by the sectarian Baptists in their Providence, Rhode Island, meetinghouse, and by the early nineteenth century could be found in New England outposts such as Tallmadge, Ohio. Elaborate versions in what by then was known as the Federal style, such as Center and United Churches on the New Haven, Connecticut, green, represented a display of refined urban taste;

the continuing presence of the two side-by-side is a mute witness to the sundering of Congregational fellowship during the Great Awakening revivals, which persisted materially even after theological differences had been settled.

At the same time, other versions of classicism with republican ideological associations began to crowd out the older, English-flavored style. The first Roman Catholic cathedral, built in Baltimore from 1805 to 1818 under Bishop John Carroll's (1735–1815) supervision, represented a conscious choice of the Roman revival mode, with distinctive dome, over the Gothic alternative also offered by architect Benjamin Latrobe (1764–1820). By the 1820s the Greek Revival had emerged as the definitive American religious as well as civic style. Examples can be found across denominational and sectional lines and even among different faiths, as can be seen in the Swedenborgian Church in Bath, Maine (1843); Temple Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina (1841); the

First Congregational Church in Madison, Connecticut (1838); and the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati, Ohio (1845). It is noteworthy that both Jews and Catholics tended during these decades to adopt the styles of the dominant culture for their houses of worship. An early Jewish example is the Touro Synagogue (1763) in Newport, Rhode Island, which was designed by Peter Harrison, often characterized as the first professional architect in the British colonies, and which resembles the home of a prosperous merchant more than a religious structure.

Although classicism was favored by those denominations wanting to identify with the civic and cultural mainstream, dissenting groups often ignored or were oblivious to this tradition. Both Quakers and Shakers, for example, adhered to the same "plain style" that had characterized early Puritan New England meetinghouses, as did German sectarians whose structures often featured distinctively ethnic touches. Popular denominations worshipped wherever they could, though many, such as the Methodists, eventually adopted the styles of the times. Also, beginning with the Great Awakening of the 1740s, many evangelical services were held either out-of-doors or in temporary structures erected as preaching halls. A variant which emerged from this tradition was that of the camp meeting, a several-day event in which large numbers gathered for protracted preaching sessions. The Cane Ridge revival of 1801 in Kentucky was a major prototype of this tradition, which before long became routinized, with permanent facilities for its conduct.

Other styles were utilized by religious communities that drew on different sectors of the European past. Alongside the two neoclassical Congregational churches on the New Haven green lies Trinity Episcopal Church, also built during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Unlike its neighbors, Trinity is designed in an early American version of the Gothic mode, which at this time consisted primarily of some medieval features such as pointed arch windows superimposed on the same sort of rectangular frame as in most neoclassical churches. A similar but more distinctive adaptation of Gothic exists in the first Mormon temple, built in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, fitted internally for the distinctive Latter-day Saints rituals then in the process of formation. By the 1840s a more archaeologically correct Gothic style would emerge in Richard Upjohn's (1802–1878) urban Episcopal churches. Upjohn's simplified wooden "Carpenter Gothic" was adopted widely by a broad range of denominations.

In the outlying lands that would be incorporated into the United States by war or purchase, St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, the result of several building campaigns, illustrates in its eclectic style the influence of French, Spanish, and American tastes. Its prominent place in the Place d'Armes (Jackson Square) and the adjacent Cabildo (governmental offices) and Presbytère (quarters for clergy) indicate the close alliance of church and state under both French and Spanish regimes. The Spanish missions in California built in the late eighteenth century by the Franciscans Junípero Serra (1713–1784) and Fermin Lasuen (1736–1803) are much smaller in scale, but similarly reflect the cultural mélange of Spanish baroque style with Muslim influences built by indigenous laborers under clerical direction.

*See also* **Architectural Styles; Revivals and Revivalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buggeln, Gretchen Townsend. *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790–1840.* Hanover, Conn.: University Press of New England, 2003.

Williams, Peter W. *Houses of God: Region, Religion, and Architecture in the United States.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

*Peter W. Williams*

## Spanish Borderlands

Spanish architecture within the boundaries of the early-twenty-first-century United States began as early as 1526 with the settlement of San Miguel de Guadalupe on the coast of Georgia, and Hispanic methods of construction continued after the American capture of New Mexico and California from Mexico in 1846. Santa Fe, Los Angeles, San Antonio and St. Augustine retained their Hispanic appearances into the 1860s.

In the Spanish borderlands the earliest constructions were frameworks of poles interwoven with horizontal and vertical sticks, vines, and twigs plastered with clayey mud and roofed with woven thatch. In moist, wooded areas, framed buildings covered with planks came next. In dry areas construction with sun-dried adobe bricks was normal. Ultimately, many buildings of fired brick and stone were erected, vaulted in the most ambitious churches and fortifications.

Spanish Florida, after the establishment of St. Augustine in 1565, extended through Georgia and

**Mission San Francisco de Asís.** This San Francisco mission, popularly known as Mission Dolores, was founded in 1776. Construction on the mission's adobe church began in 1782. © LOWELL GEORGIA/CORBIS.

South Carolina and even further north into Virginia. It was the area of North America where Spain expended the greatest effort, resources, and people. But there is only archaeological or written evidence for the existence of 128 sites where missionary activity took place. In Florida the use of concrete for roofs began early, and stone was used in the construction, beginning in 1671, of the very substantial fortification, the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine. Stone was also used in the eighteenth century for the thirty-six surviving houses there.

Spanish towns were planned systematically according to the Ordinances of Settlement, but only St. Augustine grew into an ordered, rectangular grid surrounding a central plaza. Other settlements such as Santa Fe, San Antonio, and Los Angeles were carefully laid out initially but developed slowly in loose and disorderly ways.

More Hispanic structures survive in New Mexico than in any other American area. At least thirty churches were in use in Indian pueblos before the

Spanish were driven from most of the territory in the revolt of 1680, and in 2005 seventeen are still in use. Twenty churches remain from the Spanish and Mexican periods which served mixed populations living in Santa Fe and other New Mexican communities. More than fifteen hundred difficult land miles from Mexico City, the friars and secular New Mexicans adopted the Pueblo Indians' materials and construction techniques for their churches and houses and for the civic buildings of the towns. In contrast, the most significant structures in Florida were designed and built under the direction of military engineers, who were generally available in the Caribbean area.

In Spanish Texas, which contained thirty-seven missions, eleven presidios, and at least half-a-dozen towns, the friars hired master masons from Mexico to design and direct the construction of a modest number of vaulted and domed churches. Notable among these in the San Antonio area are Purísima Concepción, which retains its original vaults and dome, and San José, with its flowing baroque frontispiece.

Masons were also essential in the building in Arizona of San Xavier del Bac, south of Tucson, and the church at Tumacácori. San Xavier del Bac is the best-preserved Spanish church in the United States and has a dazzlingly ornate interior that was restored in the 1990s.

Buildings constructed when Spain controlled Louisiana from 1763 to 1800 are major monuments of the French Quarter in New Orleans, where the Spanish took over an urban layout similar to that prescribed in their Ordinances of Settlement. The cathedral facing the plaza later named Jackson Square has been enlarged and drastically altered, but the flanking structures—the Cabildo and the Presbytère—remain as designed by Gilberto Guillemard, a soldier engineer, although both structures were disfigured by the addition of a dormered third story in 1847.

In California twelve mission churches (out of twenty-one) and two chapels survive, most of them heavily restored. Examples of adobe-walled houses remain in San Diego, in the Los Angeles area, and in Santa Barbara, although they were later roofed with tiles instead of the tar normal for California houses in Hispanic times. The construction of major churches was directed by masons from Mexico. San Carlos in Carmel, San Gabriel near Los Angeles, and the stone church of Mission San Juan Capistrano, the latter substantially destroyed by an earthquake and further damaged by would-be restorers, were vaulted. Ultimately, vaulting was abandoned in California

because of the danger of earthquakes. Notable later churches, such as the restored stone church at Santa Barbara and the church at Mission San Luis Rey, both designed by masons, were timber-roofed, San Luis Rey with an internal timber dome.

The building remaining from the nearly three hundred years of Spanish occupation of much of the United States is impressive. It provides a rich heritage at least comparable to what survives from the briefer English colonial period.

*See also* **Architecture: Religious; Forts and Fortifications; New Spain; Religion: Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Early, James. *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States.* Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2004.

Gordon, Elsbeth. *Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

Treib, Marc. *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

*James Early*

## Vernacular

Americans in the early national period used vernacular architecture—everyday structures such as houses, barns, and stores—to implement fundamental changes in everyday life. Economic recovery in the late 1790s initiated a building boom that would substantially transform America's built environment and would begin to realize, however incompletely, an emergent national identity. Increasing specialization, standardization, and the myth of efficiency would characterize the architecture of vernacular landscapes in this new national identity even as persistent regional and ethnic identities preserved local distinctions.

The houses of Americans in the early nation were characterized by more complex floor plans than previously, plans that bespoke specialized room function and the separation of spheres—public from private, entertainment from work. By the later eighteenth century, many elite English Americans occupied houses with a central passage flanked by equally sized chambers. The passage acted as a social buffer protecting the best chambers of the house from direct entry by social inferiors. Also by the end of the century, one of the best chambers was dedicated entirely to the social ritual of dining, a conspicuous con-

sumption unavailable to the majority of Americans who occupied much smaller one- or two-room houses. During the housing revolution of the early nineteenth century, however, a greater percentage of Americans availed themselves of well-built houses, often with central passages and dedicated room use, or at the very least the separation of cooking from living spaces. The common nineteenth-century solution of an ell—a one or two story wing typically extending from the rear of the house—mediated the often-conflicting desires to dedicate entire rooms—dining rooms and parlors—near the front to polite social exchange and the increasing concern for efficiency in household industries and, in rural instances, farm management. By the 1820s, the rear ell became the bridge from the polite house to the industrial sphere of the rear work yard or the agricultural sphere of the farm.

**AGRICULTURAL REFORM**

The increasing specialization associated with the house was also realized on the larger scale of the farm. One or more small barns, an array of subsidiary structures, fences protecting gardens from free-roaming livestock, and fields unbounded by visual markers characterized the mid-eighteenth-century farm. Responding to the rhetoric of agricultural reform and improvement, early national farms were—to twenty-first-century eyes—more orderly and highly articulated, with fences separating fields of differing crops from pastures and larger multifunctional barns. The Pennsylvania bank barn, which either exploited a natural grade or included an earthen ramp to allow convenient and direct access to two levels, allowed multiple specialized functions all under a single roof and became increasingly widespread in the mid-Atlantic over the nineteenth century. The lower level was usually a stable that opened into an enclosed yard, while the upper level included a threshing floor and hay mows. The second level often reached beyond the lower to provide shelter to livestock in inclement weather. Mirroring changes in the farmhouse and the farmscape at large, the barn became a center of compartmentalized efficiency. On southern plantations, another reform took place as earthen-floored slave cabins of log or more traditionally African materials, including mud-walled houses, were replaced by raised and floored cottages employing English-derived timber-framing methods and aligned in orderly rows and streets.

**Nathaniel Hempsted House.** Nathaniel Hempsted built this stone house in New London, Connecticut, in 1759. It stands near a house built in 1678 by Joshua Hempsted, Nathaniel's grandfather. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

## COMPETITIVE EFFICIENCY AND THE CITY

The city also underwent a reconstitution in the early national period. The expanding grid of the city, for example, promised unfettered circulation. While eighteenth-century shops often claimed only the street-front rooms of merchant's houses, the early-nineteenth-century store had entire floors displaying goods. Furthermore, merchandise filled bay windows and spilled onto the sidewalks. The rational system of the urban grid was also realized in the increasing numbers of larger, institutional buildings—prisons and hospitals—employing rows of identical cells or rooms. The city hotel—grand, economically exclusive, and offering abundant private rooms—began in the 1790s to replace the common tavern with its undifferentiated common rooms and shared sleeping chambers. The enticing myth of efficiency would characterize not just these buildings' forms, but their production as well. The invention of the nail-cutting machine in the 1790s, the brick-pressing machine in the 1810s, and the increasing standardization of timber scantling meant that early-nineteenth-century building materials were mass produced, stockpiled, and delivered to building sites in unprecedented quantities. The slimming of essential framing members and the increasing use of nails instead of time-consuming joinery realized efficiency in both labor and materials.

## ETHNICITY AND COMPLEXITY

But even in the midst of such sweeping changes, America's rich cultural diversity tempered pressures toward uniformity. Colonial English, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, Spanish, Africans, and others left complex architectural legacies that imprinted the American landscape. Germanic immigrants, for example, often constructed a *Flurküchenhaus*, a two-room log or stone house with a *stube* (stove room, the main chamber) only accessible through a side *kuche* (kitchen). Variants usually included a *kammer* (private chamber) behind the *stube*. The facade of the typical German house, therefore, was typically asymmetrical, with a principle entry door into the *küche* hugging one edge and an off-center chimney stack. But beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing well into the next, German Ameri-

**Crocker Tavern.** Cape Cod's Crocker Tavern in Barnstable, Massachusetts, built circa 1754, served as a central meeting place for Patriots before the Revolutionary War. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

cans began to abandon external signs of their ethnicity and construct houses that more closely approximated the Georgian architectural vocabulary of their elite English counterparts, including symmetrical facades with centrally located doors, end-wall fireplaces, and brick construction. Patterns of German American house planning, by contrast, persisted through the nineteenth century. While acculturation did not mean the eradication of German identity, it did mean that early-nineteenth-century German Americans believed these new house forms negotiated the changing cultural and political context of the new nation more successfully than those forms derived from the Old World.

But cultural exchange in the new nation was not always a migration towards an English-Georgian architectural ideal. Early-nineteenth-century Americans in the coastal regions of the American South from North Carolina through Louisiana constructed one-story houses on a raised basement. These houses had two or three central chambers and multiple exterior doors and were enclosed on one, two, or all sides by galleries. This creolized house type and its many variants probably derived from the Spanish and French Antilles, where an English-Georgian architectural vocabulary held little sway. While widespread Georgianization was certainly a critical factor shaping the domestic architecture of the early national period, regional identities often enjoyed the upper hand in determining the ways broad national forces impacted architectural form. Place by place, America's early-nineteenth-century vernacular architecture spoke to extraordinary changes in everyday life, changes that moved privacy, improvement, and systematic efficiency—however slowly and incompletely—to the center of an emergent national identity.

*See also* **Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement; Architectural Styles; City Planning; Farm Making.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Chappel, Edward A., and Julie Richter. "Wealth and Houses in Post-Revolutionary Virginia." In *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*. Edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. pp. 2-33.

Hubka, Thomas C. *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England.* Hanover, N.H., and London: University Press of New England, 1984.

Hutchins, Catherine, ed. *Everyday Life in the New Republic.* Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur Museum, 1989.

Lanier, Gabrielle M., and Bernard L. Herman. *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Rilling, Donna J. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes of Eighteenth-Century Virginia." *Places* 2, no. 2 (1985): 59–72.

Vlatch, John Michael. "'Snug Li'l House with Flue and Oven': Nineteenth-Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing." In *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V.* Edited by Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. pp. 118-129.

*Louis P. Nelson*

**ARITHMETIC AND NUMERACY** Numerical proficiency in the American population varied in the late colonial decades, depending on occupational needs, but overall, training in arithmetic was arcane, difficult, and limited. Simple enumeration and addition were probably widely imparted to colonial children by parents, but the formal study of written arithmetic was confined to boys ten years old and older who studied it at a district school or with a master. British textbooks and their few American derivatives presented hundreds of abstract rules of calculation, each illustrated by an example. Arithmetic was a heavy labor involving memorization of the rules and close study of the examples. With explanatory text at a bare minimum, arithmetic was rightly judged to be an arduous subject, too difficult for young children.

Arithmetic found its main application in commerce and trade for the figuring of prices and the measurement of goods, the compounding of interest, and the sharing of risks. Denominate numbers—pounds and shillings, pints and gallons—added complexity, as did the differently valued monetary systems in place in the various colonies. Geometry and trigonometry had yet narrower application, namely in surveying, navigation, and gunnery. As a result, arithmetic was seen as a practical tool and thus not part of the classical curriculum of college-bound boys. Harvard College did not require basic arithmetic as an entrance requirement until 1802.

Two dramatic changes marked arithmetic instruction in the early Republic. The first arose out of the adoption of decimal-based money, and the second out of pedagogical innovations. Dollars, dimes, and mills of decimal coinage began to circulate in the mid-1790s, sparking the publication of scores of new textbooks aimed at the "Columbian Arithmetician" or the "Federal Calculator." Authors explicitly linked decimals with republicanism, positioning simplified arithmetic as a challenge to the indecipherable bookkeeping and taxation policies of tyrants. As textbooks proliferated, authors sought to distinguish their works through changes in pedagogy. Simplified arithmetic, it was argued, could now be taught to younger children, and more elaborate explanations of abstract rules began to appear. The most radical change in pedagogy arrived in 1821 with Warren Colburn's book, *First Lessons, or Intellectual Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi.* In this and in several more books (published in 1822, 1825, and 1826), Colburn banished rote-learned rules and targeted children of ages four to six to learn "mental arithmetic" in their heads, before they could read or write. He championed an "inductive" method, in which students would puzzle out carefully chosen problems, inventing their own techniques and eventually discovering the rules of arithmetic for themselves. Colburn's ambitious ideas created an instant sensation and gained a popular following.

Predictably, by 1830 a backlash developed, with some educators calling for a return to traditional rule and example learning. Well into the mid-century, the debate continued, greatly energizing arithmetic instruction. The combination of decimal money, new pedagogy, a rise in textbook publication, and the steady spread of common schools all combined to transform numeracy into a basic skill that spread rapidly, along with literacy, in American culture.

*See also* **Education: Elementary, Grammar, and Secondary Schools.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cohen, Patricia Cline. *A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Reprint, New York: Routledge, 1999.

———. "Numeracy in Nineteenth-Century America." In *A History of School Mathematics.* Edited by George M. A. Stanic and Jeremy Kilpatrick. Reston, Va.: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 2003.

*Patricia Cline Cohen*

**ARKANSAS** In 1673, when Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet ventured into the Arkansas region, residing there were the Caddo, Osage, and Quapaw native peoples. Beginning with the establishment of the *Poste des Arkansas* (Arkansas Post) in 1686 at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers, the French fur trade brought radical changes to native societies. Organized by René-Robert Cavalier de La Salle's lieutenant, Henri de Tonti, Arkansas Post drew the Quapaw together with French *habitants* (farmers), *coureurs de bois* (literally, "runners of the woods," i.e., fur trappers), and a small French mercantile elite, generating ultimately a class of *métis* (mixed blood) hunters and traders. In 1762 France ceded Louisiana to Spain, whose rule rested lightly on the inhabitants of the post and did little to change it; as of 1798, its residents numbered 337, along with 56 slaves. After the retrocession to France of Louisiana in 1800 and its purchase by the United States in 1803, Arkansas made its transition from French to American rule, to which the French Creole elite took some exception because of its discomfort with majoritarian republican government, the imported English common law, and a new judicial system.

Following the War of 1812 (1812–1815), settlers from Tennessee and Kentucky seeking land and opportunity flowed rapidly into the expansive Arkansas district of the Missouri Territory, formed in 1812. After Arkansas became a territory in 1819 and the Missouri Compromise (1820) secured slavery, more planters arrived in the Red and Mississippi River deltas. The total population rose from 1,062 in 1810 to 14,273 in 1820. Immigration slowed in the 1820s, but by 1830 the population had reached 30,388. The number of slaves rose from 136 in 1810 to 1,617 in 1820 and then to 4,576 in 1830, mostly the result of slaveholder immigration. The slaves who were marched into the territory suffered the deepest pangs of loss and the worst initial hardships. But for both them and the voluntary pioneers, who homesteaded mostly across the Ozark highlands and plateau, the dreaded "seasoning" process, fears of disease, illness itself, death, and feelings of isolation were commonplace. In this context, plain-preaching Methodist circuit riders and Baptist ministers organized camp meetings and fledgling churches. The Monroe administration relocated Choctaws and Cherokees to Arkansas from 1817 through 1820. A significant portion of the Cherokees, whose numbers reached about five thousand, were successful in building schools, comfortable homes, and farms that were well fenced and stocked with cattle, prompting some contemporaries to conclude that the Cherokees showed the imprint of "civilization" better than many white settlers. The near constant warfare between the Cherokees and the encroaching Osages, however, generated fears. The suspicion and demands of settling whites prompted Congress to remove all the tribes by 1828, a change that was particularly traumatic for the Quapaws. Removal created a turbulent western boundary abutting the new Indian Territory, which U.S. soldiers at Fort Smith policed haphazardly.

Dominated after 1819 by secretary of the Arkansas Territory Robert J. Crittenden, politics in the territory featured a scramble for status, wealth, and power. Most of the leaders were Democratic Republicans and, after 1824, nominal supporters of John Quincy Adams. Merchants, lawyers, and land speculators with ordinary backgrounds, however, vied for position with men, like Crittenden, from slaveholding families in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Competition for offices to obtain profits from federal lands and other perquisites spurred jealousies and factions. Public debate generated editorial warfare and duels. Political bloodshed was grist for the national press and for travel books that often depicted Arkansas as extraordinarily lawless and backward (an image that reflected both the moralistic worldview of genteel critics and the "premodern" forms of communal regulation and violent self-help that all-male grand juries often indulged in deference to traditional notions of manliness and honor). Opposition to the Crittenden clique was led by territorial delegate Henry W. Conway and his cousin, Ambrose H. Sevier. This opposition had developed into the Jacksonian Democratic Party by statehood in 1836.

Government and economic development were intertwined. Through the 1820s, territorial delegates petitioned Congress for more liberal land policies and funds to clear waterways, build roads, and improve frontier defense. Moving the capital from Arkansas Post to Little Rock in 1821, the legislature established basic laws, counties, and the militia, adhering to a minimalist system of local government. County courts in towns such as Little Rock (Pulaski), Arkansas Post (Arkansas), Davidsonville (Lawrence), and Washington (Hempstead) administered estates; assessed and collected taxes; licensed merchants, tavern keepers, and ferries; and enlisted residents to build roads and bridges. Increasingly after the War of 1812, pioneer families, mostly in the uplands, concentrated on subsistence farming and household production (raising corn, herding hogs, and making cloth and other items to achieve some level of self-sufficiency). Most yeomen remained unwilling to

risk time, energy, and resources on cash crops and slaves. But transportation improvements, especially the arrival of the steamboat in 1820, connected settlers in the Arkansas, White, and Red River valleys with the commerce in agricultural products and commodities on the Mississippi River. In the late 1820s, a minority of the yeomanry occasionally grew cotton for the market, while a small segment of it employed slaves in this endeavor and were successful enough to join the ranks of substantial slaveholders. By 1830, cotton had become the principle cash crop in the territory.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1815–1829; American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: Old Southwest.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Arnold, Morris S. *Colonial Arkansas, 1686–1804: A Social and Cultural History.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991.

Bolton, S. Charles. *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800–1840.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993.

McNeilly, Donald P. *The Old South Frontier: Cotton Plantations and the Formation of Arkansas Society, 1819–1861.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Valencius, Conevery B. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Whayne, Jeannie, comp. *Cultural Encounters in the Early South: Indians and Europeans in Arkansas.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995.

*Mark M. Carroll*

**ARMED FORCES**   *See* **Army, U.S.; Continental Army; Marines, U.S.; Revolution: Naval War.**

**ARMY, U.S.**   The formal end of the Revolutionary War in 1783 required the Continental Congress to consider a peacetime military establishment. Alexander Hamilton sought the advice of George Washington, and his report, proposing a force of just over twenty-six hundred, drew heavily on the general's recommendations. That plan, however, never obtained the approval of the Continental Congress, and on 2 June 1784 the Continental Army was disband-

ed—with only eighty officers and men retained. The next day, Congress asked the states for seven hundred militiamen and soon appointed Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar to command them. That force was sent into the territory north of the Ohio River to protect settlers, aid surveyors, and prevent intrusions on federal and Indian lands.

In 1786, when a rebellion led by Daniel Shays broke out in western Massachusetts, Secretary of War Henry Knox had no forces with which to protect the arsenal in Springfield. In the end, the Massachusetts militia under General Benjamin Lincoln put down the rebellion and saved the army's weapons and stores. The weakness of the Articles of Confederation was clear. The states were not only slow in recruiting, but many failed to satisfy their 1784 quotas. As a result, in 1785 and again in 1788, the Congress asked the states for three-year troops. Even that approach could not keep Harmar's frontier force close to its authorized strength.

**THE ARMY UNDER THE FEDERALISTS**

When the Constitution of 1787 went into effect two years later, the army consisted of a single, under-strength regiment of infantry and a battalion of artillery for a total of less than seven hundred men. The next year, the new federal Congress authorized a total of 1,216 men for the new nation's army. Although both African Americans and Indians were members of numerous Revolutionary War units, their recruitment into the army was forbidden through the early national period.

In June 1790, when violence between setters and Indians north of the Ohio increased, Knox ordered Harmar and Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, to attack the Indians along the Upper Wabash and Maumee Rivers. St. Clair led a force of regulars and militia north from Vincennes, but he turned back before making contact. Harmar's force, also a mix of regulars and militia, was ambushed at the Maumee. Although his regulars fought well, the militia fled the flight. Harmar lost 180 men, of whom 73 were regulars.

Late the next year, St. Clair was ordered into the field for a second time. Early on the morning of 4 November 1791, his force was attacked by Indians. Again the militiamen fled, trapping themselves and the regulars in a murderous crossfire. St. Clair lost 635 dead and some 300 wounded out of a force of about 1,500. Also killed were some 50 women and children, and many more camp followers were captured. Colonel Richard Butler, St. Clair's second in

command was killed, and St. Clair himself had eight bullet holes in his clothing.

In the aftermath of this defeat, Secretary Knox proposed enlarging the army and Congress approved, authorizing a force of nearly five thousand men, including riflemen and dragoons. At the same time the administration decided to reorganize the force, adopting a legionary system of four sublegions, each with its own infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Knox and Hamilton, now secretary of the Treasury, also reorganized the army's logistics and contracting system. This new force was put under the command of Anthony Wayne, an officer with a reputation for boldness.

In the spring of 1792, after enlarging the army, Congress took up militia reform. The administration's plan was to strengthen and make uniform the state forces and bring them under increasing federal influence. The Uniform Militia Act of 1792, however, accomplished neither aim—nor did any subsequent effort. Rather, it insured a national military establishment of regulars, augmented when necessary by federal volunteers, not militia.

Wayne immediately began to shape his new recruits into an effective fighting force. By the winter of 1793–1794, when he began to move into hostile country, he had barely thirty-five hundred of the five thousand men promised, and many of these were needed to protect his lines of communication. Still, what men he had were thoroughly trained. In July 1794 Wayne's fighting force of some two thousand regulars and fifteen hundred Kentucky volunteers moved toward the Maumee River. They burned and pillaged Indian towns as they marched, demonstrating that the British would no longer aid the tribes. Then, on 20 August, Wayne achieved a decisive victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The subsequent Treaty of Greenville in August 1795 brought lasting peace to the Ohio country.

Meanwhile, in 1794 western Pennsylvania farmers refused to pay a new whiskey tax, and President Washington called up nearly thirteen thousand militia and marched them west through Pennsylvania. In the face of this force, resistance quickly ended. In the same year, Knox ordered the arsenal at Springfield to produce muskets, a second national arsenal at Harpers Ferry was approved, and the army began fortifying key seaports. An ordinance officer was appointed to supervise the arsenals, and, two years later, a Corps of Artillerists and Engineers was created to build, garrison, and maintain the new costal forts.

In 1798, during the presidency of John Adams (1797–1801), the Quasi-War broke out—a maritime conflict between France and the United States. When France and England went to war four years before, Washington proclaimed U.S. neutrality, but the French, who believed they were due active support, began attacking American shipping. Fearing a wider conflict, Congress authorized a huge increase in forces. Most important of these was the New Army, consisting of twelve infantry regiments and six troops of dragoons. (The "old" army on the frontier, having abandoned its legionary organization, now had two infantry regiments.) In addition a ten-thousand-man Provisional Army, and an even more massive Eventual Army for emergencies, were authorized should war be declared. Furthermore, the president was authorized to accept volunteers as he saw fit. Of all of these, only a few volunteers and selected units of the New Army were ever organized, and even then few other than officers were ever enrolled. Washington was appointed to command this force, but he agreed to serve only if he could remain at home at Mount Vernon until the nation actually went to war. The Federalists' tendency to appoint only fellow Federalists as officers politicized the army and widened the political divide. The opposition Democratic Republicans claimed to see in this and other administration actions evidence of an incipient military despotism.

By early 1800 the threat of war, external or internal, had subsided, and the Adams administration began to eliminate those new units that had been created. At its peak the army may have approached six thousand men, but when Thomas Jefferson became president in March 1801, the number had declined to roughly thirty-six hundred.

### THE JEFFERSONIAN ARMY

Jefferson, however, was less concerned about the size of the army than about the predominance of Federalist officers in its ranks. Many of these men were strongly opposed to him and his policies and might, he feared, prove unresponsive to his orders. The United States Military Academy was created in 1801 by Jefferson and recognized by Congress in the Military Peace Establishment Act of 1802. Both the academy and the Peace Establishment Act were elements in a plan to reduce Federalist influence and ultimately Republicanize the army. The authorized strength of the army was set by the act at just below thirty-three hundred—roughly the size of the force when the measure was passed.

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the army, under Brigadier General James Wilkinson, began to garrison the towns on the western bank of the Mississippi River and push into the interior of the continent in a series of explorations. The first, in 1804, was the expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark up the Missouri River to find a route to the Pacific. In 1805 other detachments ascended the Osage and Mississippi Rivers and in 1806 explored the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers.

In June 1807, just off Norfolk , Virginia, the British ship *Leopard* mauled the American frigate *Chesapeake*. Resentment in America quickly turned into war fever, but Jefferson took measured steps until February 1808, when the administration asked for a sizable increase in troops that would bring the army to an authorized strength of almost ten thousand officers and men. In April, Congress gave the administration what it had asked, and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn immediately began the process of expanding the army—and finding Republicans to fill the new officer billets. As usual, recruiting lagged behind the appointment of officers, and the actual number of troops reached a high of around seven thousand in 1808 and then declined to an average of about six thousand from 1809 through 1811.

### THE WAR OF 1812

In June 1812 President James Madison asked for a declaration of war against Great Britain on four familiar grounds: impressment, illegal blockades, the Orders in Council, and British encouragement of Indian warfare on the northwestern frontier. Anticipating Madison's request, Congress had, in January, begun the creation of a force of about 36,000 men, plus volunteers, and militia. By 1814 the total authorized force was some 62,500 regulars, of which barely 38,100 were ever raised. Strategic control of the War of 1812 lay with the Americans in 1812 and 1813. They correctly believed that Canada was vulnerable and focused their efforts there during the first two years. The army, however, was ill prepared for an offensive war. Since the Revolution it had been scattered in company-size posts across the country. With few exceptions, there had been neither opportunities nor inclination to train or plan for either large-scale offensive action or the support and supply of such operations. After two seasons of campaigning without effect, the British took strategic control of the war. As the duke of Wellington's veterans poured into Canada, it is likely that the United States was saved from further embarrassment by a negotiated peace.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERNIZATION

The War of 1812 began under the leadership of senior officers who were veterans of the Revolutionary War—Dearborn, Wilkinson, William Hull, and Wade Hampton, in particular. By 1815 younger men—Jacob Brown, Edmund P. Gaines, Alexander Macomb, Decius Wadsworth, Winfield Scott, and Andrew Jackson—had replaced these veterans, and these new men were the ones who would lead the army for years to come. Just months after the war was over, the army was reduced to an authorized strength of just over twelve thousand officers and men. The actual strength of the force declined until 1820, when the number fell below nine thousand.

At that point Congress announced its intention to reduce the army to about six thousand, and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun proposed an Expansible Army plan that would retain most of the officers and noncommissioned officers needed for a twelve-thousand-man army, but only about one-third of the privates required for the larger force. The House of Representatives favored a more conventional approach, but the Senate sided with Calhoun and his expansible force was approved largely as he had suggested. The bill, however, did not explicitly mention Calhoun or his innovation, and its implications escaped the attention of many at the time (including some serving officers); the measure was also largely overlooked by historians for a century and a half.

In the years following the War of 1812, the army began slowly to evolve into a more professional organization. In 1815 a Board of Tactics presided over by Winfield Scott adopted drill regulations to train and discipline the troops based on the French model. At about the same time, the Ordinance Department began to promote uniformity in production between the two armories at Springfield and Harpers Ferry—a shift that ultimately moved them from craft industry to industrial production. In 1817 the Military Academy at West Point was placed under Sylvanus Thayer, who quickly turned it into a true engineering school—the first in the nation. In 1821 the newly trained engineers found employment as the army began a second program of seacoast fortification. In 1824, moreover, when the army was ordered to provide surveys, plans, and estimates for roads, canals, and other internal improvements, civil engineering was added to the academic curriculum.

The army's nascent modernization was further evidenced by the creation of its first professional school, an Artillery School formed at Fortress Monroe in 1824. This was followed three years later by

an Infantry School at Jefferson Barracks. Although these proved premature and lasted less than a dozen years, it is clear that the years between 1815 and 1828 were the beginning of a long period of slow, sometimes sporadic professional growth for the U.S. Army.

*See also* **Arsenals; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Forts and Fortifications; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Military Technology; Militias and Militia Service; Quasi-War with France; War of 1812; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Crackel, Theodore J. *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment*, *1801–1809.* New York: New York University Press, 1987.

———. *West Point: A Bicentennial History.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.

Kohn, Richard H. *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America*, *1783–1802.* New York: Free Press, 1975.

Skelton, William B. *An American Profession of Arms : The Army Officer Corps*, *1784–1861.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

Stagg, John C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics*, *Diplomacy*, *and Warfare in the Early American Republic*, *1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

*Theodore J. Crackel*

---

**ARMY CULTURE**   The United States operated with two versions of the same military organization during the early period of the Republic. One version consisted of a small peacetime military force that was used to enforce order on the growing western frontier. The other was a national army that was created to conduct war in defense of the Republic. This force was initially the Continental Army during the American Revolution (1775–1783). It was later transformed into a postwar frontier defense force.

**NATIONAL ARMY**

The regular army or "regulars" was the governmental institution whose job was to defend the country and its citizens. This military organization consisted of established units that were garrisoned throughout the country.

The Continental Army represented the first attempt to create a national military unit within the former British colonies. This organization was made up of men who either volunteered to serve or were conscripted by their states to serve in this force. It was not uncommon to see both whites and African Americans serving in the same battalions or regiments, especially if the organization was raised in the northern states. The ages of the men ran from eighteen to fifty. Immigrant soldiers were most likely to be either Irish or German in nationality. Women were considered a part of these military units as laundresses attached to regimental companies. Women also accompanied the men into the field and assisted in any medical duties. The armament of these regiments consisted of either French or British weapons, which were either supplied or captured on the battlefield. Their officers ranged from political appointees to veterans of foreign armies.

The army of the new nation was a token force consisting of small numbers of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Regimental officers beholden to the upkeep of their commands recruited the personnel. Many of the soldiers were older men, immigrants, or southerners. These soldiers would face the harsh environment of frontier service, where even their families might find themselves in combat. The War of 1812 (1812–1815) brought an expansion of the national army with the influx of farmers and native-born soldiers from New England. Unlike the peacetime army, this national force consisted of younger men who saw their future in land grants for military service.

**SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND COMBAT**

The culture of the army was concentrated around the company, which was the smallest level of the regular military organization. Regular army soldiers operated in a small world, interacting with officers, sergeants, and laundresses. Within these companies, the world of the soldier revolved around the mundane tasks of cooking and basic hygiene. Maintenance of health became an ongoing problem for soldiers in the field because of the rapidity with which disease attacked a unit. In addition, the quality and shortage of food became an ongoing problem for these military units. The regular units also suffered from problems in obtaining enough clothing to ward off sickness. After a particularly harsh campaign, many Continental Army regiments looked worse than their militia counterparts.

For regular units, discipline was the main focus of their training. Through proper discipline, European linear tactics became a lethal force in open country. These tactics thrust rolling waves against an enemy position, with continual strikes. To ensure

this discipline, officers and sergeants were ruthless to their privates. This approach was meant to make the privates mentally strong enough to stand in a line of battle to deliver rounds of volley fire on the enemy or to withstand hand-to-hand combat.

The strong application of discipline was one reason for desertions from military units in both war and peace. In addition, the extreme boredom of frontier garrison affected the willingness of men to endure the treatment of their superiors. The use of bounties for enlistment during the American Revolution and the War of 1812 created a class of soldier that used the system for profit through multiple enlistments and desertions.

### FRONTIER ARMY

From 1784 to 1828, the U.S. Army operated as a frontier constabulary for the country's ever-moving western frontier. This deployment forced the officers and enlisted men into becoming a police force to separate the Native American population from the settlers moving into the western territories. The positioning of army units to isolated fortifications along with tight fiscal policies were used to keep the army weakened both internally and politically. Many of the posts consisted entirely of units on the company, battery, or squadron level. In 1818 the regular army numbered roughly seventy-five-hundred men. The U.S. Army maintained sixty-four garrisons, in which units of more than one hundred men of all ranks occupied twenty-three posts. Entire regiments were rarely in the field at one time, except during war.

During times of peace, army life became very ritualistic and extremely lonely for officers and soldiers alike. Much of the time was focused on the maintenance of the post facilities and the occasional patrol. Small, company-sized units were sent out to establish small outposts along trading roads and water routes. Old fortifications were repaired and new ones constructed to protect the local communities. Soldiers were also called upon for construction of civilian buildings and roads. In 1818 the garrisons were ordered to start farming as a cost-saving measure. Several installations were able to raise enough crops to feed their own and other posts and sell the surplus in the marketplace. The fresh food cut the high disease rate of military garrisons, which had previously been issued low-quality food from military contractors.

Recreation on these isolated garrisons during free time was left to the creative minds of the officers and men. Army personnel resorted to activities such as gambling and drinking as a way to deal with the hard work and loneliness. Whiskey was a part of the issued rations for both officers and enlisted soldiers. The alcohol became a tool to deal with the emotional problems of garrison duty. Attempts were made to bring churches, small theater groups, and fraternal organizations like Masonic lodges to these posts. Many times it was left up to officers and enlisted men or their families to create pursuits to relieve the boredom on posts.

The U.S. Army became a tight, isolated community within the growing American Republic. Many men and their families spent their entire lives within the army going from post to post. Their mundane and ritualistic lives were interrupted by violence from time to time on the frontier. Many peacetime soldiers remained close to military garrisons upon leaving the service and formed the basis of many western towns.

*See also* **Army, U.S.; Continental Army; Forts and Fortifications; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Soldiers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coffman, Edward M. *The Old Army: Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Cox, Caroline. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Cress, Lawrence Delbert. *Citizens in Arms: The Army and the Militia in American Society to the War of 1812.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Guthman, William H. *March to Massacre: A History of the First Seven Years of the United States Army, 1784–1791.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Higginbotham, Don. *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763–1789.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

Kohn, Richard H. *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802.* New York: Free Press, 1975.

Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army.* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783–1846.* New York: Macmillan, 1968.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Stagg, J. C. A. "Enlisted Men in the United States Army, 1812–1815: A Preliminary Survey." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 43 (1986): 615–645.

———. "Soldiers in Peace and War: Comparative Perspectives on the Recruitment of the United States Army, 1802–1815." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 57 (2000): 79–120.

*William H. Brown*

**ARSENALS**   The word "arsenal," derived from an Arabic phrase meaning a "house of manufacture," entered western usage around the mid-sixteenth century. The words "arsenal," "armory," and "magazine" are often used synonymously. Traditionally, an armory focuses on the manufacturing, repair, and storage of weapons, while a magazine is a structure or complex that supports storage of munitions and equipage. By definition, an arsenal represents specialized industrial structures for the purpose of manufacture, repair, storage, and supply of both arms of various size and type and their associated munitions and equipage.

In the seventeenth century, a powder magazine was established in each English colony in North America by royal charter. These magazines varied in size and construction from earthen cellars to grand structures. Although militia laws required each male to own a suitable firearm with a supply of fixed or ready-made cartridges, large stores of powder and shot remained centralized in the magazines. Powder was stored in wooden barrels secured by wooden hoops and issued to the militia in emergencies. Various militia manuals of the day provided instructions for making fixed cartridges from loose powder, paper, and ball. To support English industry, by the mid-eighteenth century powder manufacture in the North American colonies was forbidden by law and weapons for the militia were either imported or stocked locally using imported parts.

The French and Indian War (1754–1760) forced the British army to establish a series of magazines running from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt (later Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) to support forces on the northwest frontier. The town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was selected as the site for a central grand magazine including arms and equipment shops unique to the colonies.

During the American Revolution (1775–1783), the new nation lacked arms and ordnance manufacturing sites. On 9 January 1777 the Continental Congress established a magazine and manufacturing laboratory on the site of the old English works at Carlisle. The Carlisle complex combined the French arsenal concept of state-run manufacturing combined with the English method of using government-inspected contractors from the surrounding areas to provide raw materials and semi-finished goods. At the end of hostilities, Congress sold off the arsenal equipment at Carlisle, leaving a token amount of ordnance stores at Fort Pitt and West Point, New York.

After the War of 1812 (1812–1815), the country began a program of rebuilding the various powder magazines and associated buildings, taking full advantage of the latest European technological innovations. Vaulted brick ceilings, traversed entrances, ventilation shafts, and lightning rods were added to arsenal and magazine architecture to increase safety and protect material. Designs sought to minimize the blast effect by forcing the roof up rather than the walls out. The use of exposed metal was minimized to reduce sparks, and tools of copper, wood, and leather would become standard when working with gunpowder. By 1816 the federal government had established an arsenal system based on five manufacturing plants. Harpers Ferry, Virginia (later West Virginia), and Springfield, Massachusetts, produced small arms; Watervliet, New York, and Watertown, Massachusetts, produced artillery; and munitions and small-arms ammunition were produced and stored at Frankford, Pennsylvania. Production at these plants was supplemented by government-inspected private contractors as need arose.

In the 1820s the federal armories of Springfield and Harpers Ferry, established respectively in 1794 and 1796 on the French model, developed production techniques that revolutionized the factory system. By 1822 the federal arsenals could produce complete machine-made weapons with interchangeable parts and stocks. These advances were the result of machines and gauges developed by John D. Hall for his breech-loading rifle at Harpers Ferry and Thomas Blanchard's duplicating lathe for making gun stocks developed at the Springfield armory. These production methods would become known as the American system and serve as a benchmark of the Industrial Revolution.

*See also* **Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Inventors and Inventions; Manufacturing.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Darling, Anthony D. *Red Coat and Brown Bess.* Ottawa, Ont.: Museum Restoration Service, 1993.

Farley, James J. *Making Arms in the Machine Age: Philadel-phia's Frankford Arsenal, 1816–1870.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Murray, James V., and John Swantek, eds. and comps. *The Watervliet Arsenal: A Chronology of the Nation's Oldest Ar-senal.* Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1993.

Neumann, George C. *Battle Weapons of the American Revolu-tion: The Historian's Complete Reference.* Texarkana, Tex.: Scurlock, 1998.

Partington, J. R. *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder.* Cam-bridge, U.K.: Barnes and Noble, 1960.

Scott, Beth F., James C. Rainey, and Andrew W. Hunt, eds. *The Logistics of War: A Historical Perspective.* Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.: Air Force Logistics Management Agen-cy, 2000.

Smith, Merrit Roe. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technol-ogy: The Challenge of Change.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Uni-versity Press, 1977.

Sveda, George J. *Fort McHenry Military Structures Baltimore, Maryland.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Com-merce, 1969.

Tousey, Thomas G. *Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks.* Richmond, Va.: Dietz, 1939.

Wilkinson, Norman B. *Explosives in History: The Story of Black Powder.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

Wright, Harry A., transcriber. *The Genesis of the United States Armory at Springfield, Massachusetts.* Springfield, Mass.: 1919.

*Chris Semancik*

**ART AND AMERICAN NATIONHOOD**   Most of the great western revolutions have led to an explo-sion of artistic creativity. The American Revolution was no exception. Colonial-era white American art was derivative and provincial. Post-independence art saw significant strides toward cultural autonomy and creativity. The achievement, however, was un-even. American artists accomplished a great deal on canvas. Distinctive American architecture began to appear, both in the Federal style (derived from En-glish Georgian and Regency) and in the Greek Revival mode, which drew on classical and Renaissance mod-els. Taken together, these styles came to define Amer-ican public buildings, as in Washington, D.C., on col-lege campuses, and at places of business such as banks. They also signified wealth and good taste in private homes. In literary terms, a real flowering had to wait until the mid-nineteenth century. Musically, a genuine American voice did not become audible until even later, when concert hall and music hall alike began to explore the country's heritage of eth-nic and racial collision. Nonetheless, by the early nineteenth century distinctively American themes were emerging and, sometimes, receiving sophisti-cated development.

### PORTRAITURE AND HISTORY PAINTING

Late-colonial-period white Americans from New En-gland to Georgia were acquiring enough wealth to celebrate their own lives on canvas. Initially, the market need was filled by limners, who often painted a sitter's face into an otherwise borrowed image, and by travelers from England. But on the eve of indepen-dence more sophisticated portraitists were emerging. One was Philadelphia's Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), whose 1772 portrait of George Washington reveals a provincial Virginian with no intimation of the fame that awaited him. But the foremost was John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) of Boston. Be-tween his earliest works, at age fifteen, and his per-manent departure from America in 1774, Copley turned out portraits of ever-growing sophistication. Working from guidebooks published in Europe and without formal teaching, he mastered chiarascuro, became adept at painting costumes, and acquired psychological insight. His portraits of Samuel Adams (1771) and Paul Revere (c. 1770) take the viewer deep into Boston's Revolutionary leadership. Yet Copley knew that he had still much to learn; he wanted to graduate from portraiture to history painting; his politics were Loyalist. All these contributed to his leaving.

In London, Copley could associate with fellow expatriate Benjamin West (1738–1820), who had left Philadelphia and emerged as a premier history painter. West's studio had become known as the "American School" because of the aspirants who congregated there. Among them were Peale, Mat-thew Pratt (1734–1805), Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), and John Trumbull (1756–1843). Copley's own reputation already was so strong that he joined the Royal Academy of Arts within a year of his arriv-al.

Most of the others returned to America. Peale worked in many genres, blending the ambitious painter and the showman. His choice of names for his children (Raphaelle, Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian) bespoke his high goals; his Peale's Museum (estab-lished 1784) where he exhibited both art and arti-facts, prefigured the popular culture productions of P. T. Barnum. Peale's charming *The Artist in His Mu-seum* (1822) brings both qualities together.

After working in London and Dublin, Stuart made himself the master of early Republic portrai-

***William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*** (1771, detail). Benjamin West's painting of William Penn meeting with Indian leaders helped reinforce notions of peaceful relations between white settlers and Indians. Edward Hicks drew much of his inspiration from this painting, and reproduced it as one element in his oft-repeated Peaceable Kingdom paintings. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

ture, particularly with his most difficult subject, George Washington. Trumbull used the modern-dress history painting genre that West had pioneered to remember and idealize the events of the Revolution. *The Declaration of Independence* (1786–1797), painted at the instance of Thomas Jefferson, shows the committee that Jefferson led presenting the text to Congress. As literal representation, it bears as much relation to the actual event as West's *Death of General Wolfe* (1770) did. But in symbolic terms, both West's painting and Trumbull's assert the importance of American events.

Taken together, these painters provided lasting, sophisticated images both of the Revolutionary era's social and political elites and of that groups "official" memories of the transforming events through which it had lived. As a whole, their work amounted to a meditation on the meaning of American independence. Not all the memories that the painters recorded were stately. *The Death of Jane McCrea* (1804), by John Vanderlyn (1775–1852), shows a frontier Loyalist woman's widely publicized murder during

the Revolutionary War in lurid, highly sexualized detail. The reputed killers were Indians; the effect is to link the Revolution itself to sexual threat by Native American males, implicitly justifying their people's fate at the hands of the triumphant Republic.

The same quality can be seen developing in how artists handled African American images. One of Copley's great canvases after his emigration, *Brooke Watson and the Shark* (1778), includes a carefully studied black man. Trumbull included an equally detailed African American in *The Death of General Warren at Bunker Hill* (1786). The Revolution began the process of slavery's destruction, and like their white counterparts, black leaders wanted portraits, sometimes by prominent artists. Raphaelle Peale (1774–1825) represented a dignified Reverend Absalom Jones in 1810. But by then, images of black Americans were descending from serious portraiture to supposedly comic caricature, evidence that like Indians, they were excluded from white America's vision of itself.

**The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill, 17 June 1775 (1786).** John Trumbull's painting of the death of Joseph Warren includes a carefully-studied depiction of an African American man on the right. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

The next great burst of "high" American painting, the Hudson River school of landscape artists, would sidestep the question of race in American life altogether. Virtually abandoning individuals and specific events, its practitioners—including Thomas Cole (1801–1848), Frederic Church (1826–1900), Asher Durand (1796–1886), and George Bingham (1811–1879)—would celebrate the contrast of nature and civilization, often in the same canvas. John James Audubon (1785–1851) excluded humanity from his majestic *Birds of America* (1827–1838). The richly ethnographic illustrations in George Catlin's *North American Indians* (1844) show a people whom the Republic was excluding as policy.

### FOLK ART

Untrained "folk" or "primitive" artists have been part of American cultural life from the beginning. In their work one can see the visions of nonelite white men, white women, and both African and Native Americans. Sometimes the artist can be identified. But frequently she or he remains anonymous. Working in

paint and other media, these artists too considered the meaning of the American experiment.

Sometimes the theme might also have appeared in West or Trumbull. *General George Washington* (after 1795) by Frederick Kemmelmeyer (c. 1760–1821) shows an outsized president reviewing the American army in September 1794, during the Whiskey Rebellion. But others adopted quieter themes. Jonathan Fisher (1768–1847), a talented minister in Maine, produced secular landscapes that celebrated life in his village, closely observed nature images, and didactic book illustrations. He had many counterparts, whose work is preserved in many small-town museums.

Indians across the continent expressed their sense both of themselves and of the contact and colonization that were under way. One of their many genres, particularly on the Plains, was the painting style called a "winter count," which recorded a group's history on buffalo skin. Wampum belts, highly decorated costumes, memory sticks, pottery, and metal reliefs all served similar purposes. Once understood, these can reveal as much about native

consciousness of the young Republic as any Trumbull history painting does about white elite thought. African American art from the slavery period is harder to recover. But one can get glimpses. *Mulberry* (c. 1800), a painting of a South Carolina plantation house by Thomas Coram (1757–1811), shows slave quarters in the foreground. Their design is African, particularly their sharply pitched thatched roofs. Black New Englander John Bush decorated Revolutionary army powder horns to express his sense of the struggle with Britain. It is possible that a black artist produced *The Old Plantation* (c. 1800), which features a black celebration and relegates the great house to the distant background.

The most notable early folk artist was Edward Hicks (1780–1849) of Pennsylvania, a Quaker who pondered incessantly on America's place upon the earth. Hicks drew much of his inspiration from one of West's history canvases, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1772). He reproduced it as one element in his oft-repeated *The Peaceable Kingdom* (c. 1833 and other dates), which also drew on the biblical image of the lion lying down with the lamb (Isaiah 11:6). In these and in his secular landscapes, such as *The House of David Twining in 1787* (c. 1846), Hicks portrayed the early United States as an essentially good society.

### BELLES LETTRES

Viewed against these achievements, literary output seems thinner. The creation of the United States saw a great burst of political thought, whose high point was *The Federalist* (1787–1788). The French migrant Michel-Guillaume Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1735–1813) used his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) to present an ever-darkening picture of a New World poisoned by racism, slavery, and war. Overcoming a long-standing taboo, a few Americans began to dabble in fiction, most notably Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816) and Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810). They pointed toward the large achievement of James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), whose output reached deeply into American history and culture. Among early dramatists was Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814), who also produced a history of the Revolution. Her fellow New Englander, Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820), developed many of the same ideas about women's civic rights as the more famous Englishwoman, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797).

The enslaved poet Phillis Wheatley (c. 1753–1784) found wide readership. So did the intensely partisan Jeffersonian Philip Freneau (1752–1832).

Among other poets were the "Connecticut Wits," who poked fun at what they regarded as American pretence. Washington Irving (1783–1859) followed their caustic example. But one of the wits, Joel Barlow (1754–1812), exemplified American writers' early republican dilemma. Struggling hard, he produced a triumphant American epic, *The Vision of Columbus* (1787). Widely read in its time, it later was virtually forgotten. Not until Walt Whitman (1819–1892) began to compose *Leaves of Grass* (1855) did an American poet find a voice and a style fully suited to his subject.

*See also* **Architectural Styles; Fiction; Painting.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davidson, Cathy N. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Ellis, Joseph J. *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture.* New York: Norton, 1979.

Kammen, Michael. *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination.* New York: Knopf, 1978.

Montgomery, Charles F., and Patricia E. Kane, eds. *American Art: 1750–1800, Towards Independence.* Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976.

Prown, Jules David. *American Painting from its Beginnings to the Armory Show.* New York: Skira Rizzoli. 1977.

———*John Singleton Copley in America.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.

Silverman, Kenneth. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

*Edward Countryman*

**ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION**    The Articles of Confederation were the first U.S. constitution, ratified in 1781. The Articles were a pragmatic compromise born of necessity in the American Revolution (1775–1783) and were in effect until replaced by a new constitution in 1789.

The Articles' principal purpose was to create a formal, limited authority for the wartime central government that at first was conducted informally by the Continental Congress. By July 1776, prior to the Articles, Congress had authorized the colonists to replace their British-created governments with new governments established "under the authority of the people"; appointed George Washington as the Continental Army's commanding general; provided for army staff appointments; and authorized the issuance of currency to raise war funds.

The Articles gave the United States exclusive power to conduct national military and foreign policy. They also established the relationship between the states and the central Confederation government. The Articles gave Congress power to appropriate funds for the "common defence or general welfare." They granted Congress power to make commercial treaties and gave it judicial powers in capture disputes, all disputes between states, and certain private interstate land disputes. States retained virtually all authority in domestic policy. The Confederation government was conducted by a unicameral Congress without a separate executive or judicial branch.

Under the Articles, the United States had limited successes. Congress managed the Revolutionary War, including the creation of foreign alliances and the financing of the costly conflict, subsequent peace and commercial treaty negotiations with Great Britain and other European governments, and the beginning of land distribution from the national domain. In 1787 Congress created the first major U.S. territory, the Northwest Territory. Nevertheless, by 1787 many Americans had concluded that the Articles contained profound flaws.

Although confederation proposals had been made as early as 1775 by Benjamin Franklin and others, Congress was unwilling to consider confederation until after it had adopted its resolution declaring American independence on 2 July 1776. The Articles were not adopted by Congress until 15 November 1777 because war pressures and fundamental disagreements prevented completion of the document until it became apparent that completion would assist the United States in obtaining an alliance with France and in controlling wartime inflation.

### THE DICKINSON PLAN

On 22 July 1776 Congress began debate on a 12 July proposal reported after a month of deliberation by a committee chaired by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, whose other members included Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts. That proposal, commonly known as the Dickinson plan, reflected the committee's views on a draft apparently prepared by Dickinson, a wealthy lawyer trained in England.

Dickinson's draft, which granted Congress broad powers in military and foreign affairs, would also have limited state powers in important areas. For example, the draft protected both religious dissenters' rights and existing commercial rights and privileges against state interference and provided that

Congress could raise troops without local participation.

Dickinson's proposals on religious dissenters and raising troops were rejected in committee. The panel's proposal nevertheless contained important limits on state powers. Its motives for this approach are uncertain but may have been mixed. Some delegates may have sought to eliminate as many sources of discord within and between the states as possible in order to strengthen the war effort, while others may have wanted to limit state interference in existing social and economic relations.

After debate by the full Congress, a revised version of the Dickinson proposal was ordered to be printed for the delegates on 20 August 1776. This draft omitted all limits on state power over commercial rights (later partially restored). There was no agreement among the delegates on several other essential provisions. Although the Articles were debated sporadically by Congress over the next year, little progress was made. Completion of the Articles became urgent only after the U.S. military victory at Saratoga, New York, on 17 October 1777, which made alliance with France a realistic possibility, in turn requiring a government that possessed formal legal authority to enter such an alliance.

### MAJOR DISPUTED ISSUES

The four most heavily disputed issues concerning the Articles were the structure of congressional representation, the method for allocating national expenses to the states (that is, taxation), control over western lands claimed by states, and the relationship between state and Confederation powers. Debate on these issues was complicated by threats from delegates that unless their position was accepted, their states would not join the Confederation.

The Dickinson plan had proposed that each state would receive one vote in Congress. Large states, however, vigorously sought proportional representation based on wealth or population, but the "one-vote rule" was adopted, largely because failure to adopt it might have resulted in certain states rejecting the Confederation.

Debate over the taxation formula was similarly heated. During a 30 July 1776 debate on a motion by Samuel Chase of Maryland to exclude slaves from the taxation allocation formula, strenuously opposed by John Adams of Massachusetts and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, a southern delegate threatened that if slaves were not treated as property, "there is an end" to confederation. Congress agreed instead to use the value of land and improvements in

allocating taxation, an impracticable system palatable to slaveholding states.

The compromises on representation and taxation reflected the leadership of statesmen from different regions. They included Richard Henry Lee of Virginia and John Adams, who recognized that compromises, even regarding important principles, were necessary to enable wartime national unity.

The Dickinson plan had proposed giving Congress the authority to fix the boundaries of states, some of which had vast western land claims extending to the "South Sea," and to dispose of lands in the national domain. These proposals were anathema to states like Virginia that had large claims, but were vociferously supported by "landless" states such as Maryland on revenue and growth grounds. The Articles denied Congress power to limit state land claims. (However, continued controversy later led several states to make large land cessions to the United States.)

Congress also debated the boundaries of state sovereignty. Thomas Burke of North Carolina attacked the Dickinson plan as an infringement on state autonomy. Burke successfully added a provision to the Articles preserving state sovereignty and retaining for the states every power not "expressly delegated to the United States."

Once these issues were resolved, congressional adoption followed quickly. By July 1778, after Congress had defeated thirty-six state-proposed amendments, most states agreed to ratify. Through January 1779, all but Maryland had done so; Maryland made it unanimous in 1781.

### GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONFEDERATION

For much of the period from 1781 to 1789, economic conditions in the United States were poor: prices and real wages were falling; there was a seriously adverse trade balance; indebtedness was growing; and related civil unrest, such as Shays's Rebellion of 1786–1787, was emerging. The Confederation government was unable to compel either the states or Great Britain to comply fully with the peace treaty of 1783. Congress could not effectively resolve interstate territorial disputes, such as those arising in Pennsylvania and from a separatist movement in Vermont. In 1784 Spain closed the Mississippi to American navigation, and in 1786 Congress disagreed along sectional lines over the U.S. foreign policy response. Americans increasingly questioned whether the Confederation's limited government could successfully meet the growing country's domestic and foreign policy problems.

In 1787 progress occurred on one important front. Congress adopted the Northwest Ordinance, which permitted the creation of new states in ceded lands north of the Ohio River (the Northwest Territory) and provided that slavery would be prohibited in the Territory.

By 1787, however, advocates of a stronger central government felt that the Confederation had very important weaknesses and needed fundamental reform. They argued that it lacked essential powers, such as those over taxation and interstate commerce, and was unable to pay its debts, including those owed to its war veterans. It could act only through the states and therefore could not enforce its laws or judicial decisions directly against individuals; nor, as a practical matter, could it do so against disobedient states. Many of its most essential decisions could be made only with the consent of nine states. Its Articles could be amended only with the unanimous consent of the states, and thus important amendments proposed during the 1780s to strengthen congressional powers over taxation and commerce failed despite widespread support. Finally, it had no ability to prevent abuse of economic, judicial, or other state powers that had interstate impact or to protect states against domestic violence.

### THE ARTICLES IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Many of the Articles' flaws stemmed from their creation as a unifying measure to address the urgent necessities of wartime government. The Articles reflected a desire on the part of some to limit centralized government that arose both from colonial experience with Great Britain and from the belief that liberty and political power were inherent enemies. At the same time, however, as a pragmatic wartime compromise that sought a broad consensus and resolved only those issues requiring immediate resolution, the Articles provide only a limited insight into contemporary Americans' evolving views of freedom and government.

The Articles nevertheless serve as an exceptionally useful benchmark for understanding the fundamental changes in American government later made by the Constitution's establishment of national, majority control of areas such as federal taxation, commerce, and military appropriations, its creation of a federal separation of powers, and its authorization of enforcement of federal laws directly against individuals under a powerful regime of federal law supremacy, while at the same time preserving a significant constitutional role for the states.

*See also* **Annapolis Convention; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Continental Army; Currency and Coinage; Federalist Papers; Shays's Rebellion; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact*: *The Lost World of the American Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Jensen, Merrill. *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation*, *1781–1789.*New York: Knopf, 1950.

———. *The Articles of Confederation*: *An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution 1774–1781.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interests*: *Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union, 1781–1789.* New York: Harper and Row, 1987.

Onuf, Peter S. *The Origins of the Federal Republic*: *Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States 1775–1787.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics*: *An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

———. *Original Meanings*: *Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution.* New York: Vintage, 1997.

*George Van Cleve*

**ASYLUMS** The first dictionary definition of "asylum" is "an institution for the care of people, especially those with physical or mental impairments, who require organized supervision or assistance"; the second is "a place offering protection and safety; a shelter." The first meaning highlights control, confinement, and supervision (under the rubric of "care"); the second is a synonym for "refuge," connoting freedom and security. The founders of American almshouses, lunatic asylums, and orphanages all faced the problem of how to justify the confinement of the impaired and the destitute with the ideals of freedom and equality that underpinned the Revolution and the birth of the new nation.

### ALMSHOUSES FOR THE POOR

Poverty was not uncommon in the colonies and the new nation. Many theologians in the eighteenth century believed that poverty, like mental illness, was simply a part of God's design; thus most of the needy were cared for in community households, where they were not stigmatized as a "problem" population. However, vagabonds or the "wandering poor" were made ineligible for all kinds of relief and were "warned out" of town, as the towns' responsibility for poverty extended only to the community within a town's boundaries.

A few communities did establish separate institutions to serve the needy. Many cities, primarily in the North, built almshouses throughout the eighteenth century. The earliest almshouses were often minimally renovated farmhouses. Residents, who wore no distinguishing clothing, had undergone some personal crisis or illness, or had faced insurmountable difficulties as a result of periodic wars, economic fluctuations, and especially the turn-of-the-century transition to commercialized agriculture and early industrialization. Women consistently far outnumbered men: the special burdens associated with single motherhood accompanied by the paucity of economic opportunities for women made them especially vulnerable to all of the other social forces that induced downward mobility.

By the Jacksonian period, the almshouse had gained a dominant position in public policy toward the poor. In 1821 and 1824, Massachusetts and New York conducted formal studies of the causes of poverty and the condition of the poor; both studies recommended a formal network of almshouses where work, especially farm labor, would be compulsory for all the able-bodied. (A number of almshouses dating back to the late eighteenth century had made this a requirement of residency.) Other states followed suit: approximately sixty new almshouses were constructed from 1820 to 1840, and dozens of existing ones were refurbished and expanded. In keeping with the reform movements that led to the construction of penitentiaries and insane asylums, proponents of these new institutions stressed that poverty was not a divinely ordained condition, and that individuals were, under the right social conditions, perfectible. Accordingly, each of these institutions emphasized discipline, order, and cultural reprogramming that led inmates away from the slothful and vicious behavior (with drink at the top of the list) thought to be responsible for their degraded condition.

### INSANE ASYLUMS

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the mentally ill who could not be cared for at home were often housed in almshouses or jails and were sometimes chained in attics or cellars if they became un-

manageable. But these "mad" inmates were increasingly viewed as a bad influence on—or worse, a physical threat to—the virtuous or reformable sane inmates. Eventually, mental health crusaders like Dorothea Dix (1802–1887) insisted that the poor treatment and unmet medical needs of the mentally ill in the almshouses made separate institutions for the insane a national imperative. The rather undifferentiated population of the almshouse inmates began to be sorted out, and from the early 1830s onward the insane were systematically removed to the new state-run institutions that specialized in treatment of the mentally ill. The roots of this practice reach back to the eighteenth century, both in Europe and America.

Insanity, like poverty, was not considered a "social problem" through much of the 1700s. Those whose behavior was considered sufficiently odd often came under the care of doctors, who might bleed them or subject them to a regime of purgatives or laxatives; but these procedures were typically conducted in the home, unless the patient was violent enough to warrant confinement elsewhere. In Europe, however, a new medical paradigm known as "moral treatment" took hold. This system purported to restore sufferers to reason and light by immersing them in a carefully controlled environment where they would be under the supervision of a physician and where all perverting influences were expelled. The leading exponent of this movement, the French physician and asylum-keeper Philippe Pinel (1745–1826), claimed that his new field of asylum medicine was a logical outgrowth of the French Revolution, in that it guaranteed all the mentally ill the right to humane treatment rather than neglect or abuse.

The first American hospital established exclusively for the insane was the Virginia Eastern Lunatic Asylum, founded in Williamsburg in 1770 to house thirty-six patients. Pennsylvania's experiment, however, was better known. In 1751, under a petition of civic leaders including Benjamin Franklin, the newly formed Pennsylvania Hospital began receiving a large number of vagrant, and violent, "lunatics." In the first decades, patients were often restrained by chains and straitjackets; but, at the urging of the physician Benjamin Rush, they were moved in 1792 to a separate wing, where they could be cared for more effectively and humanely. Rush, though, still favored "heroic" medical treatments—bloodletting, purging, physical restraint, chastising, and stimulation of terror as shock therapy—over the holistic "moral" ones being developed in Europe.

In the early nineteenth century, a number of religious and charitable organizations founded private asylums, generally run on the moral treatment paradigm, that catered primarily to elite populations who were afflicted with insanity. (Each did, however, have provisions for caring for a certain number of indigent patients.) In such asylums as McLean (Massachusetts, 1818), Bloomingdale (New York, 1821), and Hartford Retreat (Connecticut, 1822), the moral treatment took hold, with reportedly spectacular effects. Physicians claimed cure rates as high as 90 percent; this, along with the vigorous campaigning of Dix and others, persuaded many state legislatures to fund state institutions. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1833, almost every Northern state allotted major funding for elaborate institutions to care for patients from all social ranks. However, the cure rate was later exposed as exaggerated, and the actual treatment of patients was considerably more harrowing than the stated ideal.

### ORPHANAGES

Unlike insane asylums and almshouses, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries orphanages remained strongly associated with private and religious organizations. And whereas the other institutions were managed exclusively by men, women tended to run orphan asylums, where they were expected to take on mothering roles with their young wards. But as with the response to poverty and insanity, the relief of large numbers of bereft children took place within institutional settings only after the 1830s. In the colonies, two orphan asylums, one Lutheran and one Methodist, opened in what is today Georgia in 1738. The first to be publicly managed was established in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1790, but by 1830, when approximately fifteen orphanages had been established, the overwhelming majority was still religiously oriented. Not all of the children were strictly parentless: some had one living parent, and some had been abandoned.

In orphanages, as in other types of asylums, managers emphasized the importance of developing daily routines and rudimentary training in how to live as productive, law-abiding citizens. Several orphanages, including the Boston Female Asylum (established 1800), provided more regular and rigorous schooling than would have been available to poor children on the outside. There, school was held six hours a day, six days a week, and featured lessons in arithmetic, reading, writing, sewing and domestic skills; Sundays were given to religious worship. Play time, however, was not considered important to development.

Almshouses and insane asylums suffered a downward trajectory through the nineteenth century. These institutions deteriorated as their utopian mystique was eroded and the public lost its faith in them. Conditions at orphanages, by contrast, tended to improve.

*See also* **Alcohol Consumption; Childhood and Adolescence; Disability; Hospitals; Mental Illness; Orphans and Orphanages; Penitentiaries; Poverty; Reform, Social.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gamwell, Lynn, and Nancy Tomes. *Madness in America: Cultural and Medical Perceptions of Mental Illness before 1914.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Hacsi, Timothy A. *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Katz, Michael B. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America.* Rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 1996.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Rev. ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.

Smith, Billy G., ed. *Down and Out in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

*Benjamin Reiss*

**AURORA** The *Philadelphia Aurora* began as the *General Advertiser* and changed its name in 1794. It was virtually a national daily for the followers of Thomas Jefferson until about 1808, when the *Washington National Intelligencer* began to eclipse it. During the early national period, the *Aurora* proclaimed Jeffersonian principles, but it grew increasingly extreme and eventually pleased only radical Jeffersonians.

During the 1790s, guided by its editors Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Duane, the *Aurora* opposed the Washington and Adams administrations. The paper denounced Alexander Hamilton's financial system, Federalist alliances with Britain, and especially the Alien and Sedition Acts. Instead, the *Aurora* supported the French Revolution, democratic and local governance, and economic policies hostile to the concentration of wealth.

After 1800 none could ignore the *Aurora*. As the Federalists declined, the followers of Jefferson split over what their victory should mean. The *Aurora* called for sweeping reforms, seeking a more demo-cratic society. It denounced the independent judiciary and opposed constitutions since they could prevent popularly elected majorities from implementing majority will. The paper excoriated common law and insisted that only statutes enacted by popular legislatures should govern a democracy. The *Aurora* frightened moderate Jeffersonians by insisting that majority will should intervene in the economy to preserve what it called "the happy mediocrity of condition." By 1805 several Jeffersonian newspapers had emerged to argue with the *Aurora*, and by 1810 the paper was in decline. Duane sold the paper in 1822 and left for South America, seeking what he considered real democracy.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Democratic Republicans; Democratization; Federalist Party; Federalists; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Phillips, Kim Tousley. *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Garland, 1989.

Rosenfeld, Richard N. *American Aurora: A Democratic-Republican Returns: The Suppressed History of Our Nation's Beginnings and the Heroic Newspaper that Tried to Report It.* New York: St Martin's, 1997.

Shankman, Andrew. *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

*Andrew Shankman*

**AUTHORSHIP** In the new United States the meaning of authorship underwent major changes. Colonial authors had seen themselves as craftsmen and editors, vehicles for preexisting truths, instruments of a muse, a god, or sometimes of the state. They often published their work anonymously or circulated it in private manuscript networks, sometimes to avoid censorship, sometimes to avoid the appearance of arrogance and the social stigma of publication. But by the late eighteenth century, authors began to see themselves instead as writers, individuals with unique voices and original views.

Several factors in the post–Revolutionary United States made it possible, even desirable, for writers to embrace a larger and more public sphere for their work. Most significant among these factors was a relatively high rate of literacy. Partly the result of the growth of common schools, roughly three-quarters

of American families included at least one adult reader by the 1820s.

Readers created potential markets, and several economic factors came together to turn authorship into a viable profession by the 1830s. Books and periodicals became increasingly affordable. Technological changes in papermaking reduced the cost of paper significantly in the 1830s and again in the 1850s. A shift from apprentice to wage laborers in the late eighteenth century reduced printing costs. Initially, the development of stereotyping in 1811 allowed for cheaper reprints. As power-driven presses replaced hand presses by the 1830s, larger print runs could be produced more quickly and economically.

Expanded distribution mattered as much as production to the economic viability of authorship. In the late eighteenth century the number of circulating and social libraries in urban areas increased. Further, the Congress made the post office the only nationalized industry, and the federal government built a comprehensive postal network more quickly than any European state. The post office had discount rates for printed materials, and publishers had substantial tax advantages as compared with their peers in Great Britain or France. Growing networks of roads and canals meant books, periodicals, and manuscript materials could find readers throughout the new Republic.

Changes in the law also encouraged writers. The first amendment to the Constitution provided for freedom of speech and of the press. By 1790 an emerging debate on copyright established that an author's words were property entitled to legal protection.

Complementing the economic and legal changes that made it more possible to earn an income as a writer, a series of cultural shifts early in the nineteenth century provided new audiences, both secular and religious, and affirmed new roles for writers. Popular penny papers, lurid pamphlets, and dime novels developed along with a literature of moral reform. Romanticism revolutionized literary aesthetics, challenging writers to express their individuality in new genres rather than imitate classical forms. Growing literary nationalism called for American writers who would rival the best European authors. The new United States came to view authorship as the quintessential expression of the individual.

*See also* **Art and American Nationhood; Autobiography and Memoir; Fiction; Nonfiction Prose; Women: Writers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Charvat, William. *The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800–1870.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Rice, Grantland S. *The Transformation of Authorship in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

*Pattie Cowell*

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIR** Autobiography and memoir, an author's narrative of his or her past experiences and present reflections, emerged as a popular genre during the early years of the Republic. Historians and literary critics have struggled to define these texts alongside other staples of Western letters—novels, poems, diaries, and "eyewitness" accounts. Unlike fictional narratives, autobiographies are rooted in verifiable circumstances. Yet these texts, unlike official or present-tense accounts, enable the author to select which themes to highlight, what significance to attach to persons or events, and what overall tone or interpretation to give the story. Thus such stories can tread a fine line between fiction and nonfiction. However defined in terms of style, intent, and veracity, however, autobiographies and memoirs serve two functions that might account for their popularity. First, they allow individuals room for self-invention, thus reflecting and reinforcing a belief in the fluidity of the American social order. Second, they lend the United States itself—which lacks the religious, racial, and ethnic commonalities of other nation-states—a set of shared memories, stories, traditions, and history.

Before the formal emergence of autobiography, North American immigrants used personal accounts to express spiritual longings and to defy various forms of oppression. The diary, a register of day-to-day experiences, gave Protestants the medium for revealing doubts, fears, and desires that Catholics found in confession. Diaries were particularly common among Puritan New Englanders, who used their literacy to define themselves against the American wilderness and the "savages" who lived there. New England settlers also read "captivity narratives," in which the authors' imprisonment by Indians and subsequent "redemption" to white society mirrored the quest for personal salvation. The best-known example, Mary Rowlandson's *The Goodness and Sovereignty of God* (1682), ranks as one of the first best-sellers in North America.

For the majority of immigrants who came to colonial America as indentured servants or slaves, illiteracy and day-to-day coercion made self-narration impossible. But a few gained control of the written word and bore witness to their suffering. Olaudah Equiano, an African who was shipped to America as a slave in the 1750s before buying his freedom and moving to Britain, described his ordeal in an *Interesting Narrative*, first published in London in 1789. His recollections of the Middle Passage—men, women, and children packed into ship holds, their breath, sweat, and feces producing "a scene of horror almost inconceivable"—helped to fuel the British movement to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Equiano died in 1797, ten years before that movement bore fruit. His story helped to shape the later slave narratives of the nineteenth century.

In the Revolutionary period national identity and autobiography rose concurrently. American printers used personal accounts of British injustices to inflame Revolutionary passions. After the War of Independence, biographies of Patriot heroes (especially George Washington) provided newly minted citizens with guides to personal behavior in republican society. Writing, reading, and talking about individual lives encouraged Americans to question traditional forms of identity. Freed of ties to the monarchy, and filled with a phenomenally complex desire for "independence," Americans looked to carve their individuality out of the dense granite of family precedent, local obligation, and hierarchies of race and gender. Simultaneously, in the 1780s and 1790s, British and German writers identified "autobiography" as a new form of narrative. This genre immediately drew fire. One critic, quoted in Robert Folkenflik's *Culture of Autobiography* (1993), dismissed autobiographies as the self-obsessed drivel of self-deceivers, "women who also coquette with posterity," and historians (p. 3). Yet these texts would provide early Americans with a new means of understanding their lives and establishing their identities.

Several hundred Americans who were born after the Revolution published autobiographies; countless more perished along with their authors. The widespread circulation of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* in the 1810s helped to standardize the genre. The texts generally began with the author's earliest memory, thus underlining the intention to give a complete and truthful rendering of his life. The author then recorded a (lowly) background and (burdensome) duties. While reflecting on liberation from these powerful forces, the author might move from past to present tense and from description to evaluation. The incidents that the autobiographer featured, and the turning points around which the story was built, revealed not so much the memories that were self-consciously "chosen" as the memories that were available and comprehensible to the author at the time of writing. Common themes in early autobiographies include the escape from the farm, the fight against physical handicaps, and the search for a satisfying, distinctive "career." These were, in short, narratives of struggle—against fate, against inheritance, against an agrarian economy and a traditional society.

The memoir as a biography written by an intimate acquaintance of the subject became another medium for constructing lives through texts. From just twenty-seven during the 1790s, the number of memoirs surged to 270 during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Sometimes written by a husband about his late wife, these stories reveal the prized virtues of "Republican Womanhood": piety, fidelity, and devotion to the good of the nation.

During the early years of industrialization, autobiographies and memoirs poured out of printing presses for consumption by an increasingly literate public. Indeed, these texts captured the enlarged scope and vast diversity of American life during the 1830s and 1840s. Many celebrated social and geographic mobility, helping to make upward striving something of a national ethic. (This ethic also served to hide the high incidence of financial failure in a full-blown capitalist economy.) Memoirs proclaimed that virtue grew best in the free soil of the American Republic. But other narratives revealed quarrels with the institutions, mores, and values of the United States. Like Equiano, escaped slaves—Frederick Douglass was the most prominent—wrote stories about themselves to illustrate the brutality and duplicity inherent to the "peculiar institution." Slave narratives also indicted northerners for their indifference and bigotry. Whatever their tone or purpose, autobiographies and personal memoirs remained popular because of the special axis they created between author and reader, between subject and nation. In the privacy of their parlors, readers could judge their own desires and intentions through the prism of another person's life. Both readers and writers, in turn, could use these texts to set rules for and make sense of a society that often seemed ungovernable.

*See also* **Authorship; Book Trade; Fiction; Historical Memory of the Revolution; History and Biography; Nonfiction Prose; Women: Writers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Appleby, Joyce, ed. *Recollections of the Early Republic: Selected Autobiographies.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997.

Carretta, Vincent, ed. *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano.* Rev. ed. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Casper, Scott E. *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Folkenflik, Robert, ed. *The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self-Representation.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

*J. M. Opal*

**AUTOMATION**   *See* **Manufacturing.**

**AWAKENINGS**   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

# B

**BACKSLIDING**   A temporary reversion to sinful behavior or lapse into unbelief following a spiritual conversion is known as backsliding. The concept of backsliding, biblical in origin, emerged in the theology of Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), which emphasized human free will in the acceptance or rejection of Christ's salvation. The ability to freely embrace or, by extension, spurn redemption implied the risk of backsliding. Arminianism was first accepted in American religion through the ministry of John Wesley (1703–1791) and his Methodist followers, who arrived from England in the wake of the transatlantic religious revivals of the 1730s, popularly known as the Great Awakening (and later as the first Great Awakening). Arminian beliefs became accepted among many Baptists as well in the early national period as the second wave of religious revivals drew in converts from Maine to the backcountry of Kentucky and Tennessee. The earlier revivals, concentrated in New England, were strongly associated with Calvinism, which assured elect believers that they, by virtue of the doctrines of predestination and perseverance, could not fall from grace.

The possibility of backsliding stimulated both a high degree of insecurity and self-scrutiny among the converted. They devoted themselves to prayer, scriptural study, fasting, and active church fellowship as expressions of faith but also to protect themselves from backsliding. Some reassurance was taken from Scripture that suggested backsliders were not forever lost to divine grace. Baptist and Methodist hymnals in the 1790s included songs for backsliders in the process of regaining their faith and both churches permitted some offenders to rejoin their church communities after a public expression of repentance. Despite the human responsibility implied in their conception of salvation, preachers and laypersons expressed concern in their journals and memoirs that for no overt reason and against their will, they might nonetheless yield to temptation or become insensible to their sins and fall from grace. Many laid the blame for their fear of backsliding squarely on Satan and believed their dread to be one of his insinuations. Some testified that the devil's stratagems extended to assuring believers that they could not fall from grace and need not fear temptations at all. Wesleyan theology did allow for the possibility of achieving a permanent state of sinless perfection, termed "sanctification," but this divine gift of grace was thought to be reserved for the most saintly adherents. The concept of backsliding in effect prevented believers from fully trusting in the authenticity of their conversions even while it motivated an exacting spiritual self-discipline.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of
the Bible Belt.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Holifield, E. Brooks. *Theology in America: Christian Thought
from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War.* New Haven,
Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

*Ann Kirschner*

**BALLOONS**   The brothers Joseph Michel Mont-
golfier and Jacques-Étienne Montgolfier launched the
air age on 4 June 1783 when they flew a hot air bal-
loon measuring thirty-five feet in diameter from the
town square of Annonnay, France. Over the next
seven months, one spectacular ascent followed an-
other, culminating in the first free flight of human
beings from Paris in both a hot air balloon (21 No-
vember 1783) and a hydrogen gas-filled balloon de-
veloped and flown by Jacques Alexandre César
Charles (1 December 1783). A number of Americans
in France, including Benjamin Franklin and the other
diplomats negotiating the Treaty of Paris ending the
American Revolution, witnessed these events and
spread the news in letters and pamphlets sent to
friends and family across the Atlantic.

American newspapers carried the first articles de-
scribing these pioneering flights as early as Novem-
ber 1783. Dr. John Foulke, recently returned to Phil-
adelphia from Paris, launched small balloons to the
delight of the crowds attending his lectures in May
1784. Peter Carnes, a lawyer and innkeeper from
Bladensburg, Maryland, unveiled his American
Aerostatic Balloon in June 1784. Standing thirty-
five feet tall, the craft was too small to lift the portly
inventor. He did, however, send thirteen-year-old
Edward Warren up on a tethered flight from Balti-
more on 24 June. Just a month later, the *Massachu-
setts Spy, or, Worcester Gazette* (22 July 1784), re-
ported that "the taste for *Air Balloon* matters has
grown to such an extravagant pitch that nothing can
pretend to have any intrinsic value in it, unless it has
this name as an appendage."

Dr. John Jeffries, a Boston-born Loyalist living
in England, became the first American to make a free
flight on 30 November 1784, when he ascended from
London, England, with the French aeronaut J. P. F.
Blanchard. The two men made the first balloon flight
across the English Channel on 7 January 1785. Blan-
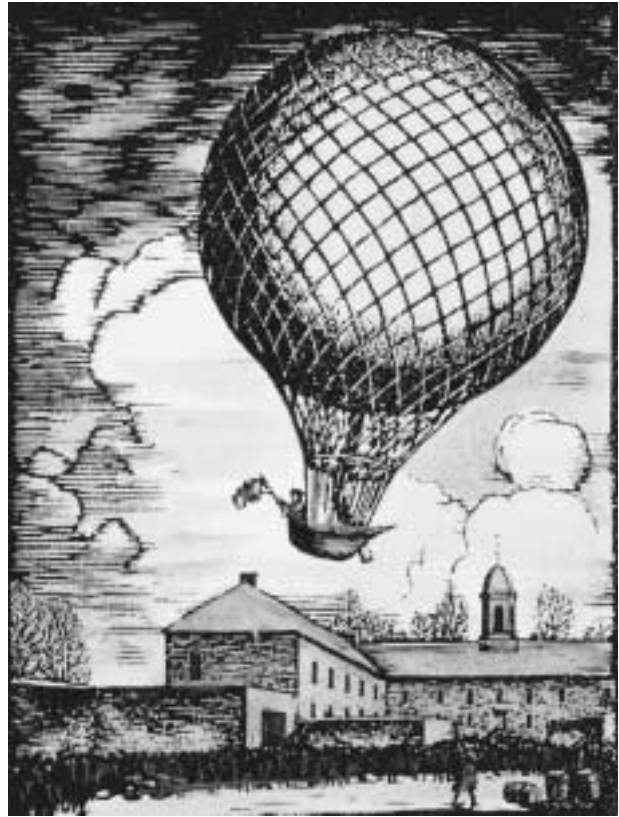


**America's First Balloon Flight.** French aeronaut J. P. F.
Blanchard made the first untethered balloon flight in the
United States when he ascended from a prison yard in
Philadelphia on 9 January 1793, before a large crowd that
included George Washington. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW
YORK.

chard later made the first free, or untethered, flight
in the United States, ascending from Philadelphia on
9 January 1793 before a large crowd that included
President George Washington and members of his
cabinet. Blanchard traveled to a safe landing in
Woodbury, New Jersey.

The French created a military balloon corps that
saw active service from 1794 to 1799. As early as
1804, Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac ascended to an alti-
tude of over twenty thousand feet to study condi-
tions in the upper atmosphere. In antebellum Ameri-
ca, Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian
Institution, encouraged the use of balloons to study
meteorology and as aerial observation platforms in
time of war. For the most part, however, ballooning
remained the province of itinerant aerial showmen
who traveled across the nation, performing feats of
aerial derring-do, or setting off on long-distance bal-
loon voyages whenever and wherever they could col-
lect a crowd of paying spectators to witness an as-
cent.

The popularity of ballooning as mass entertainment was established by European aeronauts, notably Louis-Charles Guille and Eugene Robertson, who toured the United States between 1819 and 1834. Charles Ferson Durant, a native New Yorker who understudied Robertson, emerged as the first American-born aeronautical professional. He inaugurated a "golden age" of ballooning in the United States with a number of notable ascents in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and elsewhere from 1830 to 1834. Pennsylvanian John Wise, who made some 463 ascents during forty-four years as an aeronaut, and Thaddeus Sobieski Constantine Lowe, who organized and led a balloon corps that operated with the Union Army from 1861 to 1863, were the best-known American airmen active before 1860.

*See also* **Travel, Technology of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Crouch, Tom D. *Eagle Aloft: Two Centuries of the Balloon in America.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.

Rolt, L. T. C. *The Aeronauts: A History of Ballooning, 1783–1983.* New York: Walker, 1966.

*Tom D. Crouch*

**BALTIMORE** Baltimore became the third-largest city in the United States during the era of the early Republic. Founded in 1729 as a port for Baltimore County's growing iron and tobacco trade, Baltimore Town began to flourish during the 1740s, when farmers and millers from western Maryland and southern Pennsylvania began sending grain and flour there for shipment. Baltimore Town prospered during the 1760s when the demand for food in the Atlantic world rose dramatically. By the time of the Revolution, Baltimore was a bustling grain and flour port of nearly six thousand people.

The Scots-Irish merchants of Baltimore played a vital role during the struggle for independence, first as leaders of the resistance to British authority and later as suppliers of food for the French and American armies. These merchants profited handsomely from Baltimore's good fortune during the war. By war's end, Baltimore was the leading port town of the Chesapeake.

Baltimore's fortunes continued to rise during the early years of the Republic as merchants and mechanics flocked to town to take advantage of opportunities offered by its booming commercial econo-my. Baltimore merchants shipped grain, flour, corn, iron, and lumber to other American seaports, Mediterranean Europe, and the West Indies. They also sent Maryland and Virginia tobacco to continental Europe, chiefly France and the Netherlands. In return, Baltimore's merchants handled the extensive trade in European imports for the entire Chesapeake region. A growing community of commerce-related craftsmen operated shipyards, ropewalks, sailmaking lofts, flour mills, breweries, and bakeries to meet the needs of the booming shipping trade. Luxury craftsmen—clockmakers and watchmakers, silversmiths and jewelers, and cabinetmakers and chairmakers—began arriving in Baltimore during this period, testifying by their presence to the town's new wealth and sophistication.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was pivotal for Baltimore. The town population nearly doubled during this period from 13,503 residents in 1790 to 26,514 by 1800, making Baltimore the third-largest urban center in the United States. Economic growth and international turmoil fed this expansion. Baltimore's lucrative trade with the West Indies thrived as town merchants took advantage of commercial opportunities created by the wars of the French Revolution. Revolutions in France and the French island colony of Saint Domingue sent hundreds of French refugees to Baltimore, where both Catholics and slave owners could feel welcome. Hundreds of free people of color fled to Baltimore from Saint Domingue, joining the town's rapidly growing free black community. Slaves and free blacks lived and worked together in Baltimore, but freedom, not enslavement, was on the rise as the young port town entered the nineteenth century. By 1820 the free black population of 10,326 outnumbered the slave population of 4,357.

Town merchants and mechanics played influential roles in early national politics. In 1788 they strongly supported ratification of the Constitution. In 1797 they gained substantial control of town governance when they won approval from the Maryland General Assembly for a charter of incorporation for the city of Baltimore. With the emergence of the first party system in national politics, Baltimore's leadership embraced the anti–British politics of the Democratic-Republican Party. They helped elect Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800 in the hope that a Democratic-Republican administration would more forcefully address the problem of British interference with American shipping.

Baltimore remained a Democratic-Republican stronghold throughout the years of the Jefferson

*187*

and Madison administrations (1801–1817). At the start of the War of 1812 (1812–1815), Republican partisanship reached a fevered pitch. In July 1812 a Republican mob brutally attacked Federalist editor Alexander Contee Hanson and his Federalist supporters for Hanson's denunciation in his newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, of Congress's declaration of war. This mob assault, which resulted in the death of a Revolutionary War veteran and the maiming of several others, shocked the nation and led to universal condemnation of the city. The people of Baltimore, however, soon redeemed themselves. Between 12 and 14 September 1814, they successfully withstood the bombardment of Fort McHenry and repelled British troops attempting to invade the city. The successful defense of Baltimore halted the northward advance of British troops following the burning of the nation's capital and won the gratitude of the American people.

After the War of 1812, Baltimore's fortunes shifted. With the arrival of peace in the United States and Europe, city merchants lost important markets and opportunities. And as the center of American trade moved from the West Indies to the industrializing economy of England, Baltimore merchants lost their competitive advantage to the better-situated ports of New York and Philadelphia. Adding further to the city's woes, the Panic of 1819 led to the bankruptcy of many leading city merchants.

During the 1820s city merchants began to look westward to establish connections with the trade of the newly settled western states and territories. Baltimore's leaders had always believed that the city's geographic position as the westernmost port among the major eastern cities had given it a unique advantage for capturing western commerce. The success of the Erie Canal, which opened in 1825, quickly dispelled that illusion and sent Baltimore merchants searching for an alternative means of transportation. They found one in the primitive railroad technology developed in England to haul coal out of mines. In a bold and visionary step, they committed their funds and the city's future to the development of a new form of freight and passenger transportation. In April 1827 city merchants organized the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In so doing, they gave birth to a new form of transportation and, ultimately, a second American Revolution.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Chesapeake Region; City Growth and Development; Mid-Atlantic States; Railroads; "Star-Spangled Banner"; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Browne, Gary Lawson. *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Cassell, Frank A. *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839.* Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971.

Phillips, Christopher. *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

*Tina H. Sheller*

**BANKING SYSTEM**    The first financial institution created in the United States was the Pennsylvania Bank (1780–1781), founded at the behest of Philadelphia's merchant community with the ardent support of pamphleteer Thomas Paine and Continental Army colonel Alexander Hamilton. The need for such a bank was acute. The new nation, still fighting for its independence, was burdened with expenses and unable to supply or pay its soldiers. A scarcity of silver and gold specie (money in coin) made it impossible for states to effectively collect taxes; their treasuries were nearly empty. Meanwhile, the paper currency printed by the colonies and the Continental Congress proved to be wildly inflationary, driving merchants to trade bills of exchange among each other rather than use actual money.

The Pennsylvania Bank, it was hoped, would solve this problem by circulating a reliable currency, aiding both the war effort and the nation's commercial stability. However, the bank proved inadequate, never becoming anything more than an institution for purchasing military goods. The Pennsylvania Bank was soon absorbed by the Bank of North America, which Congress created on 31 December 1781, shortly after British forces surrendered at Yorktown in October. With offices in Boston, Philadelphia, and Virginia, the new bank was expected to unify the country by circulating a national currency and aiding commerce along the Atlantic coast.

Though new to the United States, the Bank of North America was hardly a novel creation in the Atlantic economy. It mirrored its British and European predecessors in many ways: it was incorporated, enjoying a government charter that permitted it to issue shares of ownership (stocks), assemble a board of directors who would govern its actions, and act as an actual (corporate) person in court, allowing the bank to take part in lawsuits and exist as a legal entity. The bank could both accept deposits and make loans, and was required to hold a reserve of its depos-

its in coined specie. It was also limited in the amount of capital that it could accumulate ($400,000), preventing the bank from exercising undue influence over the affairs of government or becoming a powerful concentration of wealth in the new Republic. Thus, while a legislative charter vested a bank with public authority, it was also a regulatory device that limited its activities.

Even some of its Congressional supporters, however, questioned the national government's powers to create a bank. There also remained widespread public mistrust of banks in general; people often viewed banks as vestiges of aristocratic authority. These concerns led the Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island legislatures to pass laws of their own to authorize and supervise the Bank of North America's operations. With the support of the bank's new directors, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania granted the bank a charter of incorporation to fully ensure its legitimacy.

### BANK "DISCOUNTS" IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Economically, the Bank of North America proved a stunning success, rewarding its shareholders with annual returns of nearly 10 percent and proving popular among local merchants. But with only three offices, the bank's reach was limited. Headquartered in Philadelphia, the bank's directors were the object of suspicion among many Boston merchants who preferred to have a locally controlled institution in their city. In New York, an economic center where credit and capital were in growing demand, the Bank of North America's absence only highlighted the city's financial needs.

The personal nature of banking in the early Republic made local banks preferable to larger, multicity institutions. The purpose of a bank, as stated by Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton in a 1791 letter to President George Washington, was straightforward. "The simplest and most precise idea of a bank," Hamilton wrote, "is a deposit of coin or other property as a fund for circulating a credit upon it which is to answer the purpose of money."

The short-term loans, or discounts, offered by banks were usually made for thirty days at an interest rate of 6 percent. These discounts were personally approved by bank directors, not the managers and cashiers who comprised the banks' small staffs. Because the bank's note, once issued, could be used as cash to pay merchants, other banks, or state taxes, it was essential that the bank closely guard its reputation. The decisions to grant loans or exchange

notes for cash were therefore made in secret and often seen as arbitrary. Lending involved risk, however, and directors hesitated to chance their bank's capital on persons with whom they were unacquainted. Although some accused directors of favoring a select group of merchants and "monied elites," there was no other mechanism to protect bank depositors and shareholders from the risks of lending.

### REACTION TO THE BANK OF NORTH AMERICA

Attempting to emulate the Bank of North America's success and create financial networks of their own, merchants in Baltimore (1782), New York (1784), and Boston (1784) pressed to establish banks in their cities.

The Bank of New York, Massachusetts Bank, and Bank of Maryland replicated the Bank of North America by adhering to Hamilton's vision; they provided credit and currency to those engaged in commerce. They followed, in form and function, the Bank of North America. Perhaps inadvertently, this first bank had established a model of behavior among early financial institutions. Though denied a charter by the state legislature, the Bank of New York operated under a constitution drafted by Hamilton that made it both effective as a financial instrument and consistent with principles of republicanism.

Funded with both public and private capital, and owned by private shareholders and state governments, banks were mixed-economy enterprises in that they attempted to reconcile the public good with private interests. Hamilton expressed his hope that they would "increase public and private credit . . . [for] the former gives power to the state for the protection of its rights and interests, and the latter facilitates and extends the operations of commerce among individuals." "Industry is increased," he continued, "commodities are multiplied, agriculture and manufactures flourish; and herein consists the true wealth and prosperity of a state." Although only a few might directly participate in banking, Hamilton reasoned, its benefits would be shared by all.

### REACTION TO THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

Even after the successes of the first state banks, most people remained suspicious of them, leading bank directors to vigilantly safeguard their institutional reputations. Nearly all agreed that bank competition could have a disastrous effect on the nation's fragile economy; thus the first banks held de facto monopolies in their home cities.

This structure was challenged, however, when Hamilton introduced a plan to establish a federal Bank of the United States with branches in the nation's largest cities. To state bank advocates, Hamilton's agenda favored industrial and big commercial interests over farmers and small merchants. Hamilton and his allies dismissed the objections of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, who believed that a national bank was unconstitutional and instead supported an expansion of state banking.

Intended to be local engines of commerce without national ambition, state banks were created in response to local needs for capital and credit. Proponents feared that the Bank of the United States and its branches would absorb state banks. They harbored concerns that the circulation of more currency would cause inflation and speculation, potentially disabling the economy.

Confronted with federal competition, states embarked on a bank-chartering boom. There were just five state banks prior to the 1792 opening of the Bank of the United States, thirteen by the end of the year. By 1801 the number had grown to twenty-eight.

Once again, the most active proponents of these banks were merchants and members of the "monied elite"—the attorneys, financiers, and industrialists with the greatest need and use for capital. Even after this new generation of banks was established, banking privileges remained exclusive. Few people needed access to the typical bank's small office suite, often located above street level in a city's mercantile district. Regularly elected by shareholders, bank directors were at the nexus of politics and finance; each director could create a subsidiary network of credit among his peers and associates.

As the number of banks grew to accommodate credit demands, they began to reflect nascent political divisions. Among all but the most elite citizens, the act of patronizing a particular bank could be a declaration of political allegiances. Such was the case following the founding of the Bank of the Manhattan Company (1799), which played an essential role in delivering a Republican victory in New York City for Thomas Jefferson during the election of 1800.

Instead of making banks irresponsible, partisan banking normalized banking practice, bringing heightened scrutiny to banking activities and deterring interference from politically hostile legislatures. As chartered banking became the norm, legislatures created new banks at a staggering rate. By the time Congress created a second Bank of the United States in 1816, there were more than 246 state banks spread across the nation.

## ENTHUSIASM FOR STATE BANKS

There were two chief reasons for this enthusiasm on the part of state legislatures. First, banks had proven their utility as commercial financial instruments, assuaging many legislators' anxieties about their economic propriety. This partial legitimization was quickly followed by the discovery that taxes levied on banking activities could provide lucrative public revenues. Additionally, states were more inclined to exercise options to purchase bank shares, allowing the government to collect dividends and appropriate those funds toward state projects.

The second reason for states' newfound affinity for banks was defensive: legislatures sought to protect their internal economies in anticipation of the 1811 expiration of the charter for the Bank of the United States. If Congress failed to renew the charter, the national bank would be forced to shut its doors. This forced legislatures to plan for a scenario in which their state banks would be forced to act as independent mini-national banks, underwriting both state and federal debts, facilitating commercial exchanges, and acting as an emergency lender if the government was beset by unforeseen expenditures.

Just as was true for the national bank, state banks were only partially controlled by their state governments and continued to be regulated by the provisions of their charters during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Some were wholly owned by the state at their moment of incorporation, but most were partially owned. States usually bought shares in the banks but were sometimes vested with them. Both arrangements allowed states to take advantage of market conditions by timing the purchase and sale of bank stocks, raising public revenues from the profits.

Banks were typically taxed on their overall capital, but states also targeted deposits, dividends, and profits. Occasionally, banks paid the state a flat fee, or bonus, for the right to conduct business within a geographic area or industry. Although these taxes were quantitatively insignificant before the wider democratization of commercial banking in the later 1810s, they became major sources of public revenues soon thereafter. In Massachusetts, for example, a 1 percent annual tax on bank capital enacted in 1812 provided nearly one-half of all state revenues needed between 1820 and 1860, entirely eliminating property and poll tax collection in many years. Some states, such as Maryland and Delaware, dedicated bank taxes to particular expenditures, using them to fund internal improvement projects such as turnpike roads, or creating special accounts to establish free

public schools that were funded exclusively by bank taxes.

The practice of owning and taxing banks by legislatures fundamentally altered the relationship between banks, the public, and the government. The advent of more liberal bank incorporation practices by legislatures, accompanied by growing ambitions for public works, led to a thirst for public revenues that relied on banking rather than public taxation. It was politically preferable to levy taxes on those who were privileged enough to patronize state-created institutions, that is, banks, that were created to generate profits. This redistributed a portion of those profits to the public en masse, which was thought appropriate given that banks, as mixed-economy enterprises, were chartered in the public's name and to serve the "public good."

Yet the lure of public revenues did not silence all bank critics, forcing proponents to sometimes devise creative ways to build legislative majorities in favor of bank charters. On occasion, some charters were outright deceptions, offering banking privileges to seemingly benign institutions by hiding the operative language deep within legislation. In the 1802 charter for the Kentucky Insurance Company, for example, "banking" is nowhere mentioned, but the legislation includes phrases that were standard in other bank charters. This episode mirrored the 1799 furor over the charter granted to the Manhattan Company in New York, which was intended primarily to function as a water utility. Yet the deception was repeated in the April 1803 creation of the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati by the Ohio legislature. The company's charter granted a right to "dispose of the funds of the company in such manner . . . most advantageous to the shareholders." These words conferred all the authority necessary for company directors to open an office of discount and deposit weeks later, much to the surprise of some legislators.

### THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES EXPIRES

Increasingly during the first decade of the nineteenth century, these machinations became less necessary to win approval for bank charters as the expiration of the First Bank of the United States drew near.

Although he was willing to expand the national bank into the newly purchased Louisiana Territory with a branch at New Orleans, President Thomas Jefferson never became convinced of its constitutionality. That opinion, shared by many Jeffersonian Republicans who came to power in 1801, did not waver despite a mutually beneficial relationship between the government and the bank during Jefferson's two terms of office.

Anticipating an uphill battle for the charter's renewal in 1811, in January 1808 the Bank of the United States shareholders petitioned Congress to consider the issue. Amicable feelings for the bank, which was the government's chief financial agent, failed to move Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin to make a recommendation to Congress until the end of Jefferson's term in 1809. His delay led Congress to defer the renewal issue until 1810; by then, enemies of the bank formed a sufficient coalition to bring about its demise. The bank's reputation was damaged by its large number of British, albeit nonvoting, shareholders, and Federalist directors. It was labeled an "English bank" just as the United States was about to embark on a second military war against Britain. Rechartering eventually failed by a single vote in each chamber of Congress, with the preceding debate principally focused on the legality of a federal bank.

### A NEW WAR AND A NEW BANK

Surprising even Treasury Secretary Gallatin, the dissolution of the First Bank of the United States was accomplished with relative ease. Branches were liquidated among local bank proprietors like financier Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, who was the national bank's largest stockholder. However, without the monetary regulation of the central bank, state banks were left free to issue their own notes, causing dramatic inflationary spikes that doubled the total amount of currency in circulation between 1811 and 1816. Specie shortages, an inability to collect debts, and a lack of access to credit once again became commonplace.

After the outbreak of military conflict with Britain, it became clear that the federal government was the party most compromised by the lack of a national bank. Forced to negotiate loans with dozens of smaller state institutions, the federal government had no ready source of funds in either paper or specie, nor could it safely convey such money to where it was most needed. Variations in state discount rates made it impossible to efficiently fund a war on different parts of the continent, and the Treasury was unsuccessful in soliciting financial support by selling shares of loans to banks and citizens in the nation's cities.

Faced with defaulting on several of these undersubscribed loans, the Treasury Department, under the helm of Alexander Dallas, petitioned Congress in 1814 to create a second federal bank. Congress first

rejected the idea but then passed legislation that President James Madison vetoed because he disagreed with a few of the bill's provisions. Finally, a compromise created a bank on 10 April 1816, two years after the signing of a peace treaty with Britain to end the War of 1812. This second central bank would, in Madison's words, restore a "uniform national currency" among the state banks. Unlike previous congressional discussions about federal banking, constitutionality was accorded a minor role in the 1814–1816 debate. Instead, the extent of the bank's regulatory and monetary power was at issue, particularly in defining the relationship between the central bank and the proliferation of state banks.

### THE PANIC AND THE LEGALITY OF THE BANK

That relationship faced its first test early after the opening of the second Bank of the United States, when the bank ordered the first of a series of suspensions of specie payments, assuming control of state bank deposits. Having expanded and then contracted the nation's availability of credit among a set of largely uncooperative state banks, the bank inadvertently contributed to a recession, and then panic, that struck in 1818–1819. The price of cotton and other commodities plummeted as European import demands diminished, and the migration of specie to western territories left many state banks, along with the federal bank, deeply indebted. The central bank had more than $22 million in liabilities, but just $2 million on hand, a dangerous 10:1 debt-to-cash ratio.

In this moment of weakness, many state legislatures began levying heavy taxes on the federal bank to protect their own institutions and financially punish the bank. A $15,000 tax applied to the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States by the state of Maryland was judged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), a decision that not only established the legality of the central bank but greatly expanded federal power in general.

### THE 1820S: STABILITY AND THE JACKSONIANS

Throughout the 1820s the bank, under the leadership of Nicholas Biddle, managed debt and currency circulation throughout the country as its burgeoning trade fostered interregional networks between Western agrarian interests and coastal commercial centers stretching from New Orleans to Boston. Facilitating international monetary exchanges on behalf of state banks, the bank was active in handling southern cotton as a commodity, moving it to

northern and British manufacturers. Private merchants and foreign banking houses, however, retained a prominent role in trading both bank stock and federal debt, owing an unfavorable balance of trade that the United States could not overcome so long as it imported goods of greater value than it exported.

Still, despite the stability of the state and federal banks as a functioning monetary system, both state bank supporters and antibank activists found an ally in Andrew Jackson, who opposed the concept of a central regulatory mechanism in favor of a laissez faire federal monetary policy. His election in 1828 signaled a renewed opposition to the national bank, culminating in his veto of its renewal in 1832.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Federalism; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; McCulloch v. Madison; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodenhorn, Howard. *State Banking in Early America: A New Economic History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hamilton, Alexander. *Hamilton: Writings.* Edited by Joanne B. Freeman. New York: Library of America, 2001.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Klebaner, Benjamin. *American Commercial Banking: A History.* Boston: Twayne, 1990.

Lamoreaux, Naomi R. *Insider Lending: Banks, Personal Connections, and Economic Development in Industrial New England.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Mints, Lloyd W. *A History of Banking Theory in Great Britain and the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

Wright, Robert E. *Origins of Commercial Banking in America, 1750–1800.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

*Brian Phillips Murphy*

**BANK OF THE UNITED STATES** Banking in the antebellum United States was dominated by commercial banks, which were chartered by the indi-

vidual states and limited in their operations to the state in which they were established. These banks typically accepted deposits, lent primarily to merchants, traders, and agricultural producers, and issued banknotes redeemable in specie (money in coin) on demand. Most loans were short-term, providing bridge funding to businesses. For example, merchants would typically borrow funds to purchase inventory, anticipating that the sale of those goods would enable them to repay the loan; or farmers and planters would obtain funds to cover the costs of planting and cultivation, repaying with the proceeds of the harvest. Often, loans were made in the form of banknotes, although increasingly draft accounts became part of the process. The exceptions to this general characterization of the period were the First and second Banks of the United States. These were institutions chartered by Congress for the purpose of operating both as a bank for the government and simultaneously as exceptionally large commercial banks serving the public throughout the nation.

## THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

The initial Bank of the United States was established in 1791 as a central component of Alexander Hamilton's vision for stabilizing the new nation's finances and for establishing a framework for the future development of the country's economy. The bank was given a twenty-year charter, and its structure followed the recommendations of Hamilton's *Report on Banks*, which in turn drew heavily from the model provided by the Bank of England. Capitalized at ten million dollars, of which 20 percent was subscribed by the federal government and a substantial portion of the remainder by foreigners, the bank provided financial services to the government, including holding tax receipts, making payments, and issuing debt. Thus the government was both an important owner of the institution as well as its most important customer.

As a federally chartered institution, the bank could extend its commercial operations across state lines, something denied to state-chartered banks. Thus branches were established throughout the nation. Its size and large holdings of state banknotes, combined with its ability to rapidly transfer state banknotes between branches and redeem them for specie when desired, enabled the bank to exert control over the entire banking system, ensuring that state banks did not overextend their note issue. The bank's ability to operate as a central bank, although used sparingly, ensured some stability to the system, but may also have served to retard the expansion of com-

mercial banking in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

As the time for the bank's charter to lapse approached, pro- and anti-bank elements began a debate that would foretell events of the 1830s. In support of the bank, Albert Gallatin, who had been secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, prepared a report on its operations and proposed a reorganization both to strengthen its role and to counter many of the concerns of those opposing the bank. Gallatin stressed the importance to the government of the central bank's functions, addressed the issue of foreign ownership, and proposed an expansion of the bank's capital, including encouraging states to subscribe in return for branches to be opened within their boundaries. Gallatin's report illustrates that at least some leading Jeffersonians had come to respect the wisdom of the arch-Federalist Alexander Hamilton, who had been the moving force behind the bank.

In spite of their best efforts, supporters of the bank failed to renew the charter when the vice president voted "no" to break a tie vote in the Senate. This failure had both political and economic foundations. Politically, the Jeffersonian Democrats' ideological fear of big government, of the bank's concentration of economic power, and of foreign ownership of bank stock were a powerful block to the bank. A general distrust of banks and a desire for hard currency or specie further strengthened their case against the bank. Economically, state-chartered banking interests saw much to gain by removing both a competitor and an overseer.

The void created by the disappearance of the national bank was quickly filled by state-chartered banks. The number of state banks increased from 117 in 1811 to 143 in 1812, or 22 percent in the first year after the First Bank of the United States wound up its affairs. By 1816 the number of state chartered banks grew to 232, or almost double the 1811 total.

## THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

With the outbreak of war in 1812 and the drying up of tariff revenues, the absence of a national bank forced the Treasury to rely on bond sales and the issue of Treasury notes to finance the war effort. Neither proved easy, and following the capture of Washington by the British in 1814, a general suspension of specie payment swept the country. This further devastated federal government finances, since it was forced to receive its revenues in depreciated state banknotes and Treasury notes. By the end of the war, Treasury operations were in disarray, and the nation's currency was composed largely of de-

preciated, noncontrovertible state banknotes. As a result of the disruptions during the war, supporters of a national bank seized the initiative. They were able, after seven tries including one veto, to overcome the objections of the hard money interests and create a federal institution capable of operating multiple branches across the nation and powerful enough to establish a uniform currency to serve the Treasury's needs and to ensure control of circulation. Congress created the second Bank of the United States in April 1816, and in early 1817 banking operations began. The second bank's charter was constructed much like that of the first bank's, including a twenty-year time limit. One important difference was its capital of thirty-five million dollars, or over half of the total legal tender in circulation, thus making it the nation's dominant financial institution.

Under the incompetent management of William Jones, the new bank quickly moved to begin operations, restore confidence in the currency, and bring order to Treasury deposits and payments. Although stock in the new bank had been fully subscribed, little of the proceeds were in the form of specie. In addition, at the Philadelphia and Baltimore branches payments for the stock were made using balances from the bank itself. Those balances, in turn, had been created on the security of the bank's stock being purchased. Such corrupt actions damaged the new bank tremendously.

The inadequacy of specie across the country became clear on 20 February 1817, the date by which Congress required that all payments to the Treasury should be made in specie, Treasury notes, notes of the Bank of the United States, or in notes of banks payable on demand in specie. State banks were reluctant to resume specie payments but were persuaded to do so by the bank, which agreed in return to expand discounts for its customers by four million dollars in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and in Virginia.

Although the resulting convertibility was neither universal nor genuine, the bank did live up to its promises to expand loans. This action, combined with growing commerce across the nation and widespread land speculation in the South and West, meant the second Bank of the United States moved its portfolio into a position that would ultimately produce a panic in financial markets. Difficulties arose because of the bank's attempt to redeem at par the notes of all its branches wherever presented, the speed and extent of the loan expansion, and the reality that much of the increase took place in the rapidly developing areas of the Old Northwest and in the cot-

ton-producing South. As a result of the rapid extension of credit by the second bank, state banks in the developing areas felt little pressure to contract credit and retire notes. In addition, Treasury receipts from taxes on an expanding import trade and the proceeds from speculative land sales were building credits in southern and western branches of the bank. The Treasury ultimately had to transfer credits from these debtor areas in order to satisfy their creditors in the East.

The result was a massive flow of banknotes from west to east. The situation reached crisis proportions in mid-1818, when eastern branches of the Bank of the United States refused to redeem in specie any notes but their own issues, including notes of other branches of the second bank. Meanwhile, the directors of the second bank instituted a policy of reducing discounts by five million dollars at the Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and Norfolk offices. With this move, the Panic of 1819 soon followed as the public lost confidence in the banking system.

With a monetary contraction under way, the Treasury Department continuing to repay debt, and as markets for American staples collapsed, the economy slid into a depression. Under a cloud, Jones resigned and Langdon Cheves became president of the bank in March 1819. Cheves directed two actions that strengthened the bank but hurt the economic recovery. First, he acted aggressively to increase reserve holdings, particularly in 1820. To the extent these reserve holdings were excessive, they retarded the expansion of the money supply at a time when such expansion was most needed. Second, rather than redeeming the bank's notes at any branch, he implemented a policy of making payments in state banknotes whenever possible. This protected the bank's specie holdings and did not expand its liabilities, but meant control over state banks was compromised at a time when restoring confidence in the system was critical.

### NICHOLAS BIDDLE AND THE BANK WAR

In 1823 Nicholas Biddle was named president of the bank and moved to assume the bank's responsibilities for controlling the currency and stabilizing the economy by resuming the issue of notes and presenting the notes of state banks for redemption immediately upon receipt. These actions meant that state banks could not easily over-issue notes. Given the size of the second bank and its role as the bank for the federal government, it was continually receiving the notes of state banks and presenting them for payment in specie. Further, owing to the size of the sec-

ond bank and its nationwide branches, its notes soon became a national currency, providing the bank with the ability to control this important element of the currency stock. As a result, the following decade was one of stability for the banking system and for the economy as a whole.

Despite its successes, the bank had many enemies. Among them was President Andrew Jackson, who upon his election in 1828 put the bank on notice that he opposed its being rechartered in 1836, the end of its initial twenty-year charter. Biddle, hoping to blunt Jackson's attack by making the bank an issue in the 1832 presidential campaign, pushed for a rechartering of the bank in the summer of 1832. Jackson responded by vetoing the recharter bill, which Congress sustained, and making opposition to the bank a focus of his reelection campaign. Vindicated by his victory, Jackson moved quickly against the bank by ordering government deposits removed and placed in selected state banks, the so-called pet banks. With its large federal deposits gone, the bank was forced to reduce its activity and contract loans. Although Biddle may have pushed the reduction further than needed in hopes of forcing a reconsideration of the charter, the impact was relatively mild because specie inflows from abroad offset much of the bank's currency contraction.

With its government business gone, the bank continued to operate as just another large commercial bank until its charter ran out, at which time it became a state bank chartered by Pennsylvania. During this time an economic boom began, driven in part by land speculation, particularly in the West. Prices skyrocketed, and in an attempt to stem the land speculation Jackson issued the *Specie Circular* in August 1836, requiring all purchases of public land be paid for in specie. The Panic of 1837 brought the rampant speculation to a temporary halt, although action picked up again the next year. Finally, in 1839 a financial crisis led to large-scale suspension of specie payment by banks and ushered in an almost decade-long economic downturn. The Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania was one of the many banks that failed during this period.

### THE IMPACT OF THE BANK WAR

The coincidence of the Bank War and subsequent destruction of the second bank, with the economic boom and following economic collapse, points to a critical role for the Biddle-Jackson battle. Yet economic analysis suggests more fundamental sources for the events of the period. During the period of the Bank War, the money supply increased dramatically as specie and capital flowed into the country from Mexico and England in response to political instability in Mexico and relatively higher U.S. interest rates. In addition, indemnity payments from France further increased the money supply. Changes in the lending behavior of state banks added little to the growth as they maintained their ratio of reserves to liabilities, while declining public confidence in banks worked to slow the growth of the money supply as the public decreased its use of banknotes.

With the economy booming and the money supply growing, the Specie Circular has often been pointed to as the cause of the Panic of 1837. Yet, analysis suggests that it was not Jackson's decision, but the action of the Bank of England to raise interest rates to cut the outflow of capital that played the critical role. A fall in the price of the nation's most important export, cotton, and the rise in interest rates combined to frighten banknote holders and lead to panic. The Bank War was not a direct cause of the panic, but it did change the public's confidence in the banking system, making it more susceptible to the shocks from abroad.

With the end of the second bank, the nation entered a period of free banking. Beginning in 1837, a number of states passed banking laws that enabled anyone meeting certain criteria to establish a bank. This free entry created the possibility of wildcat banks, fraudulent institutions established with little or no capital and designed to issue notes with no intention of redeeming them. Without the second bank to oversee the money supply, some suggest that the years prior to the Civil War were characterized by financial instability. Economic analysis indicates that, while for some periods in some states bank failures were important problems, the overall loss from bank failures was small, amounting, according to one estimate, to a transfer from note holders to wildcat bankers of less than one-hundredth of 1 percent of national income for the entire period. Offsetting these losses from free banking was an increase in competition resulting in lower cost for intermediation and an increased access to credit for many.

Although the demise of the second bank may have increased the cost of holding paper money as well as uncertainty, thereby retarding economic growth in the post-bank era, markets consisting of state and private banks and exchange brokers moved to replace many of the bank's functions. Measures such as the convergence of interregional interest rates suggest they succeeded. What markets could not ensure was an elastic currency, a money supply that could be changed with the needs of the econo-

my. But acting as a true central bank was not something that leaders of the second bank fully understood nor had the means of accomplishing, given the bank's commercial banking business.

*See also* **Banking System; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Federalism; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bodenhorn, Howard. *A History of Banking in Antebellum America: Financial Markets and Economic Development in an Era of Nation-Building.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Green, Edward J. "Economic Perspective on the Political History of the Second Bank of the United States." *Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago Economic Perspectives* 27, no. 1 (1st quarter 2003): 59–67.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Kaplan, Edward S. *The Bank of the United States and the American Economy.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Nelson, John R., Jr. *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Perkins, Edwin J. "Langdon Cheves and the Panic of 1819: A Reassessment." *Journal of Economic History* 44 (1984): 455–461.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War: A Study in the Growth of Presidential Power.* New York: Norton, 1967.

Rolnick, Arthur J., and Warren E. Weber. "New Evidence on the Free Banking Era." *American Economic Review* 73 (1983): 1080–1091.

Sushka, Marie. "The Antebellum Money Market and the Economic Impact of the Bank War." *Journal of Economic History* 36 (1976): 809–835.

Temin, Peter. *The Jacksonian Economy.* New York: Norton, 1969.

*Clyde Haulman*

**BANKRUPTCY LAW**   Bankruptcy is a legally defined status, conferrable on the select few only by formal adjudication. Debtors can be bankrupt only when statutes exist that prescribe the qualifications for bankruptcy, which for most of American history was the case only sporadically. With infrequent exceptions before the twentieth century, insolvent debtors could not be declared bankrupt unless they followed certain commercial occupations, amassed debts in excess of a large minimum, and committed statutorily defined acts of bankruptcy. Once they qualified, however, they were eligible for the brass ring of bankruptcy—a discharge from liability for their debts. For creditors, bankruptcy resolves the competition to determine who among them will be paid in full, in part, or not at all by distributing the debtor's property among them in proportion to their debts, so that they share in the losses equally.

In the eighteenth century, debtors and creditors alike appreciated the value of the bankruptcy process. Every colony and state permitted imprisonment for debt. Colonies and states occasionally experimented with insolvency statutes that released small and middling debtors from jail and apportioned their assets among their creditors but did not discharge them from liability. Experiments with true bankruptcy discharges were few.

Not surprisingly, calls to abolish imprisonment for debt went hand in hand with proposals to enact bankruptcy legislation. From the first published argument for bankruptcy discharges in 1755, bankruptcy was promoted as a benefit for creditors as well as for debtors. It would allow creditors to intervene and preserve the debtor's assets for all creditors, while the availability of discharge would induce debtors not to waste their assets in futile efforts to avoid debtors' prison. Merchants in particular favored bankruptcy legislation because they knew that insolvency was the downside of entrepreneurial risk.

**COLONIAL AND STATE LAWS**
Except for brief experiments in Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1714 and 1715, respectively, the first true bankruptcy statutes in the colonies were a product of the economic dislocations of the French and Indian War in the 1750s and 1760s, which demonstrated that economic failure need not imply moral failure and thereby swept aside the principal objection to discharging debts. Between 1755 and 1757 New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts enacted bankruptcy systems that distributed insolvent debtors' assets among their creditors and discharged them from further liability on their debts. Connecticut followed suit in 1763. Three of the statutes—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—were voluntary, meaning that debtors could apply. Only New York passed an involuntary act, initiable only by creditors. Three—Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York—applied to noncommercial as well as commercial debtors. Only the Massachusetts act was limited to commercial debtors. The experiments were short-lived or restrictive or both in

their application. Each one expired or was repealed. Their mere existence, however, marked a change in popular attitudes toward insolvency.

That change became even more marked after the Revolution, when the decline of prices, the scarcity of cash, depreciation, competition from British manufactures, obstacles to establishing export markets, and efforts by British creditors to collect prewar debts all contributed to postwar depression and a wave of business failures. As failure became the potential common fate of all merchants, merchants lobbied for bankruptcy laws. A Pennsylvania bankruptcy statute enacted in 1785 announced its commercial purpose in the preamble, that a bankruptcy law was "necessary and proper as well as conformable to the usage of commercial nations," thus assuming as fact an identity as a commercial nation that was hotly disputed in the debates over national bankruptcy legislation in the next decade. The law was nominally involuntary and limited to commercial debtors. New York experimented fleetingly in 1784 and again in 1786 with a voluntary bankruptcy law that applied to both commercial and noncommercial debtors.

### THE CONSTITUTION AND FEDERAL LAW

Against this background, delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 agreed on Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, which empowered Congress "to establish . . . uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States." James Wilson, one of the proponents of the clause, argued at the Pennsylvania ratifying convention that a federal bankruptcy law would be more in keeping with the interstate nature of commerce and the credit relations on which commerce rested. James Madison agreed, writing in *The Federalist* no. 42 that the "power of establishing uniform laws of bankruptcy, is so intimately connected with the regulation of commerce . . . that the expediency of it seems not likely to be drawn into question."

After this seemingly uncontroversial beginning, the question of national bankruptcy relief languished. Proposals for "uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies" arose and died in each Congress from the very first one through the 1790s. As Congress took up bankruptcy bills in the those years, no one disputed that commercial creditors and debtors alike wanted a federal bankruptcy system that would sort out claims, distribute assets, and provide a discharge. Agrarian interests, however, rightly feared that a bankruptcy law would expose farmers and planters to the seizure of their land. They argued

that the new nation was an agrarian society in which commerce was too undeveloped to require bankruptcy. Further sharpening the debate, Federalists saw a federal bankruptcy system as essential to expanding the authority of the national government, of a piece with proposals to enlarge the judiciary and extend a national network of turnpikes. Bankruptcy thus became part of the ideological divide between commerce and agriculture, and between nationalism and federalism.

What finally tipped the balance was the collapse of large-scale land speculation schemes in 1797, when for the first time numerous prominent men found themselves imprisoned for their debts or fugitives from their creditors. Their presence in the pool of insolvent debtors gave new urgency to the debate over bankruptcy. That debate culminated in the Bankruptcy Act of 1800, the first national bankruptcy law, which passed in February only by the deciding vote of the Speaker of the House. The Act was not a law for the common debtor. It applied only to merchants, bankers, brokers, factors, underwriters, and marine insurers who owed at a minimum the substantial sum of one thousand dollars.

Debtors imprisoned in New York joyously celebrated news of the law with a series of toasts to "this Godlike act." Others were not as enthusiastic. Congress repealed the statute in December 1803 after barely three-and-a-half years, a victim of the new Jeffersonian ascendancy. Thereafter, ambiguous U.S. Supreme Court decisions and the expectation that Congress would preempt the field discouraged most states from even attempting to establish bankruptcy systems. Congress did not enact a permanent bankruptcy law until 1898.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coleman, Peter J. *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607–1900.* Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

*Bruce H. Mann*

**BAPTISTS**   Baptists in the British colonies were a scattered, tiny, and counterculture people. Even in Baptist Rhode Island, the refuge of Roger Williams, the two early congregations of Roger Williams and John Clarke attracted few. Ministers drew support

from farming or doctoring and Baptists left formal theological education to the Congregationalists and Anglicans. Early Baptists, mostly immigrants from England or Wales, clustered in New England, Virginia, and the Philadelphia area—including nearby New Jersey. Willing to suffer the jailings, whippings, and fines levied by Massachusetts and Virginia authorities in order to hold their own services, Baptists earned a reputation as fanatics and agitators, a people critical of the dominant culture.

## GREAT AWAKENINGS

Baptist numbers grew rapidly in the 1740s, when the first Great Awakening, a series of evangelistic revivals, followed traveling preachers across New England and in the 1750s spread south through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In each region hundreds of converts joined the older Baptist churches and some organized new congregations. The ministry of Shubal Stearns illustrates how the geographic mobility of Baptists helped spread the movement. A Connecticut New Light Baptist, Stearns in 1754 moved to the North Carolina backcountry, where his preaching resulted in mass conversions and new Baptist churches. By 1758 he had baptized nine hundred converts. Stearns's brother-in-law, Daniel Marshall, also a powerful preacher, assisted in these revivals before moving south to Georgia, where in 1771 he organized the first Baptist church in that colony.

Another Connecticut convert, Isaac Backus, was also a leading preacher and organizer of Baptists. He awakened to God's grace during a 1741 revival and joined his town's Congregational church—but not for long. Convinced that the Bible mandated a stricter, separate church, Backus moved through two strict Congregational churches and then, in 1756, founded a Baptist church, where adult conversion and believer's (not infant) baptism were prerequisites for membership. Like Roger Williams and John Clarke, Backus and his generation of awakened Baptists agreed on the need for adult conversion and baptism and emphasized each believer's duty to study and discern God's revelations in the Bible. This early emphasis on individual "soul liberty" made Baptists natural democrats. It also made lay preaching common—even, on occasion, by slaves and women.

Revivals continued in waves, each feeding converts into old and new churches. Between 1740 and 1804, the number of congregations in the formal network of Baptist associations in New England had grown from 25 to 312. In Virginia, Baptists enjoyed similar growth, aided greatly by a visitor from Massachusetts, John Leland. During his years in Virginia (1773–1791), Leland preached over three thousand sermons, baptized more than seven hundred, and strengthened and founded several churches. Despite this growth, Baptists remained a marginal people; most Baptists came from the lower ranks of society—African American slaves, women, or poor farmers—and as such lacked direct influence on community institutions. Despised as uneducated loudmouths by elites in Congregationalist Massachusetts and Anglican Virginia, the ease with which Baptists pulled newcomers into worship, membership, and church leadership was disturbingly democratic. In fact Baptists allowed women and men, regardless of social standing, to speak and vote in church. And their popular style of singing and baptism by immersion were particularly attractive to Africans and African Americans.

## FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Many credit Baptists for the provision in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution for separation of church and state and freedom of religion. Baptists exerted this influence on the emerging American culture through their rising numbers and through two leaders, Isaac Backus and John Leland, the New England ministers best known for their preaching tours, many converts, and assistance in reviving or organizing congregations. As political leaders for a minority group, Backus and Leland were fearless. Asserting that their authority and direction came from God, these preachers ignored laws requiring them to obtain a preaching license in each town they visited.

It was John Leland who during the Revolutionary period urged Baptists to sign petitions for religious liberty. These documents flooded the Virginia legislature in the 1770s and 1780s as Baptists (joined by Presbyterians) protested against laws providing tax support for the Anglican Church. Decades earlier, however, Massachusetts and Connecticut Baptists had protested similar laws in support of the Congregationalist state church. And Baptists in Virginia were also long accustomed to petitioning local and state authorities for religious liberty. This experience of protesting the church tax and appealing for religious liberty, historian Harry S. Stout has argued, prepared Baptists and other New Light revivalists for the campaign against British control that led up to the American War for Independence.

Much of this lobbying for religious liberty was organized in the regional annual meetings of Baptist associations, the first of which took place in Philadel-

phia during 1707. With support from the Philadelphia Baptist Association, an earlier generation of New England Baptists had petitioned the Massachusetts government and the British Crown for religious liberty. Virginia Baptists also turned to Philadelphia for counsel and financial aid when suffering the jailing and fining of church leaders. By the 1770s, many Baptists considered freedom from British rule their best chance for religious liberty. Working through the association network, Baptists sent Isaac Backus to the first Continental Congress in 1774 so he could press the case for protecting religious as well as political liberty. In Philadelphia and New England, earlier generations of Baptists had allied with Quakers in support of religious liberty. In turn Philadelphia Baptists supported Baptists in other colonies, including in Virginia, where Baptists worked with Presbyterians to lobby for religious liberty. One result was the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, passed in 1786 and later a model for the first amendment that made up the Bill of Rights. Sharing the Baptist interest in liberty, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were receptive to pleas from Leland, whose conversations with Madison emphasized the need for constitutional protections of freedom of religious belief and practice.

In the early Republic, Baptists continued to oppose the dominant view, now represented by the Federalists, on the issue of church-state separation. In the presidential contest of 1800 between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, Adams and other Federalists represented the view that a tax-supported church in each state of the Union would provide needed stability. The Baptists opposed this position as they voted overwhelmingly for the alleged atheist, Jefferson. Rejoicing in Jefferson's triumph, several Baptist associations sent formal congratulations to the new president, and Baptists from Cheshire, Massachusetts, sent the most notable present, a giant cheese, delivered by John Leland.

### MISSIONS

Seeing the need for schools where ministerial students would learn to emphasize the importance of religious liberty, evangelical preaching, and believer's baptism, leaders in the Philadelphia Baptist Association worked with New England Baptists to organize Rhode Island College (later Brown University) in 1764. After the Revolution other regional associations of Baptists created colleges in Hamilton, New York (1819), Waterville, Maine (1820), Washington, D.C. (1822), Georgetown, Kentucky (1829), and Newton, Massachusetts (1825). Presidents of these colleges, including Francis Wayland of Brown, stressed the importance of mission organizations, and none more so than the foreign mission society organized by Luther Rice.

While the colleges trained a new generation of leaders, it was the energy and zeal of Luther Rice that created a national denomination—something he urged Baptists to create if they wished to support the evangelical mission of Adoniram and Ann Judson in Burma. In 1812 a group of Congregationalists had commissioned the Judsons and Rice as missionaries to British India. But en route they concluded that the Bible taught adult baptism by full immersion—not the pedobaptism or sprinkling of infants practiced by most other churches. Accepting support from Congregationalists no longer seemed possible, so Rice returned to America to organize a Baptist mission society. Adapting the format of revival (and political) meetings, Luther Rice spoke in several states before calling Baptists in 1814 to Philadelphia to form the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions. Usually dubbed the Triennial Convention because it was held every three years, the new denomination formed a board of volunteers, the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, to handle business between conventions.

Rice found his work easier where he could build on preexisting regional organizations of Baptist associations. The "mother" association for American Baptists was formed in 1707, not surprisingly in Philadelphia, the home of the Society of Friends and freedom of religion. Founded by only five congregations from the region—three of them in New Jersey—the Philadelphia association by 1750 had grown so that its member churches included congregations as far south as Virginia and north to Massachusetts. Distances and the growing number of Baptists in each region made it advisable for the mother association to dismiss its farthest-flung churches to form their own associations. In 1766 Philadelphia leaders assisted in the forming of the Ketockton Association in Virginia. Also important in the building up of Baptist networks was the Warren (Rhode Island) Association, founded in 1767 for churches in Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Leaders encouraged subscribing to the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, the Massachusetts publication through which readers learned about overseas missions and regional revivals. The dramatic stories of mission work in Burma attracted many supporters, including some not Baptist, and increased the number of churches and local mission societies sending

funds to the Judsons and other missionaries. But resistance to this new movement was also stiff: antimission Baptists, very strong in Kentucky and Illinois, resisted any national or outside leadership. These local and regional leaders denounced the new Baptist organizations and their traveling ministers like Luther Rice for tricking less-educated people into giving funds to national rather than local church organizations.

### SLAVERY

The rise of an overseas mission movement also provided an opening for Baptists to revisit the issue of slavery. When in the 1760s hundreds of African and African American slaves began converting to the Baptist faith, white Baptists faced a dilemma. Some accepted the need to teach their slaves to read—after all, many were fellow Christians. That such education could create new difficulties is clear in the case of Lott Cary, an ordained preacher and member of the First Baptist Church in Richmond, Virginia. While the extraordinary Cary managed to buy his own freedom, he found his choices limited. For that reason, Cary reasoned, it was better to move to another kind of society. Commissioned and supported by both whites and blacks, Lott Cary left for Liberia, a missionary of the Richmond African Missionary Society, the American Colonization Society, and the Baptist Board of the Triennial Convention.

For most African Americans, freedom or missionary service overseas was not an option. Yet the Baptist faith continued to attract slaves and free blacks in large numbers. Initially, the interracial relationships that resulted raised concerns about the awkwardness, and perhaps even immorality, of Christians holding other Christians in slavery. In most places Baptists, white and black, met together for worship, although in the 1770s, separate "African" Baptist churches began meeting in slave districts like Williamsburg and Petersburg, Virginia (1776); Silver Bluff, South Carolina (1773); and Savannah, Georgia (1778). Not until 1808 did black Baptists further north form a separate congregation, the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City.

These separations, usually occurring with the assistance of sympathetic whites, suggest how quickly antislavery sentiment dissipated among white Baptists after the American Revolution. Earlier concern about the ethics of Christians holding other Christians in slavery were undercut by the economic profitability of slavery and by the desire among the white Baptists to move into a place of influence in their communities. Queries about slavery disappeared from the minutes of association meetings, with Baptists channeling any reservations about slavery into support for colonization of free blacks outside the country. In this regard white Baptists moved into the mainstream of American Protestantism, agreeing to view slavery as an evil and a burden, but one less pressing than the evil of disunity, which would distract from the broader missionary enterprise.

Increasingly organized, American Baptists by the 1820s had added to their foreign mission operation a tract and publication society, more newspapers and schools, and new leaders. Among the most prominent was John Mason Peck, appointed in 1817 a missionary to the West, headquartered in St. Louis. Traveling to dozens of frontier communities, Peck assisted local leaders in forming Sunday schools, churches, and mission and Bible societies. In 1828 he founded a newspaper that merged his religious and political interests, the *Pioneer of the Valley of the Mississippi*, and in 1832 Peck organized the American Baptist Home Mission Society so that there would be a national organization focused on missions in the West. Sectarian Baptists continued their criticisms of Peck and other mainstream Baptists. But growing interest in the mission enterprise had a unifying impact on American Baptists in general. By the 1820s Baptist churches and mission workers enjoyed support from a network of local, regional, and national voluntary associations. No longer forming a sectarian counterculture, Baptists continued to evangelize faster than the population grew, by 1820 boasting a membership that in denominational rankings was second only to Methodists.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Religion; Disestablishment; Frontier Religion; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Professions: Clergy; Religion; Revivals and Revivalism; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buckley, Thomas E. *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Essig, James D. *The Bonds of Wickedness: American Evangelicals against Slavery, 1770–1808.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982.

Isaac, Rhys. "Evangelical Revolt: The Nature of the Baptists' Challenge to the Traditional Order in Virginia, 1765–

1775." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 31 (1974): 345–368.

Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Mulder, Philip N. *A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Stout, Harry S. "Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 34 (1977): 519–541.

Torbet, Robert G. *A History of the Baptists.* 3rd ed. Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1973.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "The Antimission Movement in the Jacksonian South: A Study in Regional Folk Culture." *Journal of Southern History* 36 (1970): 501–529.

*Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven*

**BARBARY WARS** The Barbary Wars (1801–1815) resulted from interference by the Barbary States of Tripoli, Algiers, and Tunis with U.S. merchant shipping. Piracy had long been a source of income for the Barbary States, whose leaders ordered their ships to seize merchant ships and their crews and then hold them for ransom. Like many European nations, the infant United States adopted a system of paying tribute to the Barbary powers to ensure the safety of their shipping.

Beginning in 1796 the United States negotiated treaties with the Barbary States that freed American captives, protected U.S. mercantile trade against attack and seizure, and provided an annual tribute in naval stores. Despite these treaties, the situation in the Mediterranean deteriorated. Demanding a new arrangement with the United States that would increase payments, in May 1801 Yusuf Karamanli, the pasha of Tripoli, repudiated his treaty and declared war on the United States.

Meanwhile, President Thomas Jefferson found himself under domestic pressure to redress an insult to American honor when the dey of Algiers, Bobba Mustapha, in 1800 commandeered Captain William Bainbridge's frigate *George Washington* and turned it into a floating hotel and zoo under the Algerine flag for a voyage to the Ottoman sultan at Constantinople. Unaware of Tripoli's declaration of war but concerned about the deteriorating situation for the United States on that sea, in May 1801 Jefferson ordered a naval squadron to the Mediterranean. Commanded by Commodore Richard Dale, it consisted of only four ships. Dale's restrictive orders virtually assured that he would accomplish nothing. Ordered to pro-

tect American commerce in that sea, he had no authority to engage in combat unless he caught a warship in the actual process of trying to take a U.S. ship.

In late July Dale sailed to Tripoli and opened negotiations with the bashaw through an intermediary. Dale ruled out naval bombardment as a means of dealing with Tripoli. In truth he had too few ships for such an operation and lacked the specialized bombardment vessels, known as bomb ketches, that were highly desirable in such actions. Even had such vessels been available, bombardment would have required a sustained effort. Dale also lacked small shallow-draft vessels for work in shoal waters close to shore.

The Tripolitan War dragged on. In February 1802 Congress authorized Jefferson to use the thirteen frigates in the navy to defend the nation's commerce. Because naval enlistments were then limited to one year, Jefferson was obliged to send out another squadron to replace Dale's. He named Captain Richard Valentine Morris to command it. In the spring of 1802, with the enlistments of his seamen expiring and his ships in need of repair, Dale left for home.

Morris had at his disposal a more powerful squadron of six ships and financial resources not available to Dale. Unfortunately he proved a less than aggressive commander. Morris spent most of his time and kept most of his vessels at Gibraltar, one thousand miles removed from Tripoli, which he was supposedly blockading.

Morris was called home in the summer of 1803 and forced from the service. A third squadron, this one of seven ships led by Commodore Edward Preble, arrived at Gibraltar in mid-September. A far more aggressive and capable commander, Preble made a show of force at Tangier and met with the sultan, forcing Morocco, which was then threatening hostilities, to maintain the peace. Preble also actively blockaded Tripoli.

Preble's hopes of bringing the war to a successful conclusion were jolted by the loss of the frigate *Philadelphia*, his second-most powerful ship. It had run aground near Tripoli at the end of October and its crew was taken prisoner. The Tripolitans succeeded in refloating the frigate and towed it to Tripoli, where they began refitting it, threatening in the process to upset the naval balance of power in the Mediterranean. In February 1804, however, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur led a crew of volunteers on a daring raid into Tripoli harbor and burned the *Philadelphia* without losing a man. As a result of this action, De-

*Mediterranean Sea*

American gunboats

*Constitution* U.S. Squadron

Gunboat Battle

Castle Battery

*Tripoli Harbor*

Tripoli

Bashaw's Castle

*Intrepid* explodes 3 September 1804

*Philadelphia* *Intrepid* 10 February 1804

"English" Fort

*Kaliusa Reef*

*Philadelphia* runs aground 31 October 1803

**Barbary Wars**

Barbary States
Reef or shallow water
Barbary raids
Battle

TRIPOLI

ITALY
FRANCE
*ATLANTIC OCEAN*
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
NAPLES
Tangier
Algiers
Tunis
Rabat
Casablanca
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
*Mediterranean Sea*
TUNISIA
Tripoli
Derna 27 April 1805
EGYPT
TRIPOLI

N

0  0.25  0.5 mi.
0  0.25  0.5 km

0  200  400 mi.
0  200  400 km

catur became the youngest man in U.S. Navy history to be promoted to captain.

That summer Preble mounted a number of attacks against Tripoli, bombarding its ships and shore installations and capturing some smaller Tripolitan vessels. Meanwhile Jefferson sent out more ships and, although Preble had performed well, gave command to Preble's senior, Captain Samuel Barron. William Eaton, the former consul to Tunis, accompanied Barron and came up with a plan to end the war. The United States agreed to support Hamet Karamanali, brother of the bashaw, in an expedition from Egypt against Tripoli. In March 1805 Eaton set out with several hundred men, including eight U.S. Marines, across the desert. Finally reaching Derne,

they capture this second-largest Tripolitan city, and in June Bashaw Yusuf agreed to peace. He accepted a $60 thousand ransom for the release of the more than three hundred American prisoners but agreed to renounce all future tribute from the United States.

The Tripolitan War was inexpensive for the United States in terms of lives lost, claiming only thirty dead. The war created a strong esprit de corps in the young U.S. Navy and cemented in it traditions of discipline and pride. It also trained the leaders who would lead the navy in the far more difficult test with Britain that lay ahead.

In 1815 the United States again went to war with one of the Barbary States, this time with Algiers. In the summer of 1812 the British had encour-

aged the dey to seize American ships. With the end of hostilities with Britain, in March 1815 Congress authorized President James Madison to equip, man, and deploy such warships as he deemed necessary for operations against Algiers. The administration decided to send two squadrons to the Mediterranean, one under Captain William Bainbridge and the other under Captain Stephen Decatur. With ten ships, Decatur sailed first; his actions were decisive. Decatur arrived in the Mediterranean before Algiers could learn of the U.S. action and almost at once captured two Algerine warships. He then dictated peace to Algiers at the end of June. The terms provided for the release of prisoners, reparations to the United States, and an end to all tribute. On his own initiative, Decatur sailed to both Tunis and Tripoli and forced these two states to pay reparations for U.S. vessels that had been improperly seized and also to restore normal relations. Decatur's 1815 Mediterranean foray marked the end of troubles between the United States and the Barbary States and indeed the termination of the latter's piratical activities.

*See also* **Naval Technology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Chidsey, Donald Barr. *The Wars in Barbary: Arab Piracy and the Birth of the United States Navy.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1971.

Kitzen, Michael L. S. *Tripoli and the United States at War: A History of American Relations with the Barbary States, 1785–1805.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1993.

Tucker, Glenn. *Dawn like Thunder: The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the U.S. Navy.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs–Merrill, 1963.

Tucker, Spencer C. *Stephen Decatur: A Life Most Bold and Daring.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2004.

Whipple, A. B. C. *To the Shores of Tripoli: The Birth of the U.S. Navy and Marines.* New York: Morrow, 1991; Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2001.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

**BARTER**    Barter is a form of exchange in which goods and services are directly traded for one another without the use of a monetized means of payment, such as cash, checks, or commercial credit. There are two principal kinds of barter systems: commercial barter, in which the exchanging parties receive their desired goods and services simultaneously, and noncommercial barter, in which the parties enter into a continuing series of exchanges without simultaneous reciprocity and which therefore may or may not be in balance at any particular time. Both types were important to North American indigenous and European settler economies down to the nineteenth century.

During the period of European settlement, for example, commercial barter was central to the trade in furs, arguably the most important locus of economic interaction between indigenous North Americans and European settlers until the mid-nineteenth century. Initially at the armed forts and "factories" of enterprises such as the Hudson Bay Company and later at trading rendezvous where the interested parties met on a more egalitarian basis, indigenous trappers bartered hides and furs for a wide range of European manufactured goods. Similar institutions and relationships also characterized the slave trade, especially at its points of origin in Africa.

During the same period, noncommercial barter (characterized by delayed but direct reciprocities) and gift exchange systems (characterized by indirect reciprocities or competitive and ceremonial giving) were the dominant forms of everyday economic interaction within indigenous North American and European settler communities among both men and women. Little is known about the noncommercial and gifting systems in the many different indigenous societies encountered by European settlers and their descendants, though scholars agree that the introduction of European goods and practices ultimately undermined indigenous independence and traditional ways of life. Enough is known about the noncommercial barter systems of the European settler societies of North America, however, to conclude that until the nineteenth century, especially in the countryside but also in the cities, most of the goods and services exchanged among settler households, and even between households and many merchants, were part of a noncommercial barter system; that is, they were paid for with other goods and services, usually after a considerable delay but without marked interest charges. Money and monetary (or commercial) exchange also played a significant role in European and European settler societies during this period, of course, especially among mercantile and urban elites. But money did not begin to be readily enough available to function as a means of payment in most people's everyday transactions until the early nineteenth century.

The transition from a predominantly noncommercial barter economy to a predominantly monetized and commercial one depended, first, on the growth of new technologies and means of distribution capable of supplying the effectively insatiable

demand of consumers for an ever-increasing diversity of goods and services, and second, on the spread of deposit banking, banknotes, and other credit-based financial instruments that were acceptable means of payment in most circumstances and of which there was an essentially limitless stock (unlike, say, gold, tobacco, "made beaver," or any of the other material goods that otherwise served as a universal means of payment). It is important also to note that the Revolutionary War and U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's subsequent fiscal policies, concerned as they were to monetize the economy and ensure the central government of its ability to institute tax policies that could support a modern armed force and government service, provided a crucial fillip to the rise of a modern commercial economy in the United States and to the eventual decline of the noncommercial barter system.

*See also* **Banking System; Consumerism and Consumption; Economic Development; Hamilton's Economic Plan.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America*, *1685–1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life*, *1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard*, *Based on Her Diary*, *1785–1812.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

*Michael Merrill*

**BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS**   There were essentially three types of benevolent society in colonial and early national America. The oldest were mutual societies, such as the St. Andrew's Society (Charleston, 1729) and the Union Society (Savannah, 1750). Membership in them represented a form of social insurance, since it brought entitlement to benefits for those members unable to work. Membership in Hibernian Societies, German Friendly Societies, Hebrew Benevolent Societies, and Mechanics' Associations was, by its very nature, restricted to those of certain origins or professions, and all members were male, though widows of deceased members were sometimes eligible for assistance. Gradually, some of these societies expanded their role to provide assistance to nonmembers.

It was not until the last years of the colonial era that voluntary societies with more general humani-

tarian aims—constituting the second type of benevolent society—were founded, one of the earliest being the Society for Inoculating the Poor, founded by physicians in Philadelphia in 1774. After the American Revolution there was a rapid increase in the number of these societies, and while some, like the Amicable Society founded in Richmond, Virginia, in 1788, were run by men, the vast majority were operated by women. The Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Small Children (New York, 1797), the Female Humane Association (Baltimore, 1798), the Boston Female Asylum (1800), and the Savannah Female Asylum (1801) were only the first of hundreds of female-managed benevolent societies founded in the early nineteenth century. By 1830 nearly every town and city had a female benevolent society (often the only benevolent society in a particular community), and many had several. The women managing benevolent societies were normally from the wealthiest backgrounds, and they used their family connections to raise funds for orphan asylums and to provide outdoor relief (relief that was given to paupers either in their own homes or as boarders in other people's homes, as opposed to "indoor relief" in an institution such as a poorhouse) to the needy. The women who founded benevolent societies normally restricted their activities to the young, widows, and the care of orphaned and destitute children. Adult men were left to fend for themselves or seek assistance from state poorhouses.

The methods used by charitable women were at times intrusive. They visited applicants for aid in their own homes and only supported those whom they believed were living proper and decent lives. They required mothers seeking help for their children to surrender them entirely to control of the benevolent society, something poor women were sometimes not prepared to do, no matter how desperate their circumstances. The involvement of women in charitable work involved them in public life far more than previously, since they negotiated with city councils and state legislatures for land and money to support their aims and signed contracts with builders and employees. This intervention by women in what was really a matter of public policy was usually tolerated by men, who accepted it as an extension of women's natural roles as care providers and educators.

The national evangelical societies constituted the third type of benevolent society. They included the American Education Society (1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Tract Society (1825),

and the American Home Missionary Society (1826), all founded to promote a Christian lifestyle among the poor all over the nation. Their reach far exceeded that of other benevolent societies, with local branches existing in almost every town and city, though their greatest influence was in the Northeast.

The work of benevolent societies therefore complemented and significantly extended the state provision of welfare. The number of poor children who were educated before free public education became commonplace undoubtedly made a real difference, not only to their lives, but also to the communities in which they lived.

*See also* **Women: Women's Voluntary Associations.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boylan, Anne. "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797–1840." *Journal of American History* 71 (1984): 497–523.

Kuykendall, John W. *Southern Enterprize: The Work of National Evangelical Societies in the Antebellum South.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Nash, Gary B. "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia." *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 33 (1976): 3–30.

*Tim Lockley*

**BIBLE**   It would be difficult, if not impossible, to argue that there was a single written text more important to the development of British colonial America than the Bible. The Bible's initial importance in the colonies is primarily evident in the Northeast, where large populations of Puritans settled. The Puritans centered their religious beliefs on the Bible, taking it to be the standard by which they guided their private, social, and political worlds. So central was the Bible that as early as 1642, the colony of Massachusetts Bay put a law in place commanding that all children be taught to read. The Puritan commitment to the Bible inspired this law, for if the Bible was the standard by which one was to live one's life, one needed to be able to read it. New England would remain a stronghold for biblical literacy for more than two centuries. Other parts of the country would also have strong ties to the Bible, but in early American culture such ties grew weaker the farther one traveled either west or south from New England.

It should be no surprise that with the Bible so closely tied to American literacy and education, much of American literature has been deeply inflected with biblical resonances. The famous politician and orator Edward Everett (1794–1865) argued for the existence of a uniquely American literature in the early nineteenth century by pointing to the vast American corpus of religious writings. Whether these were sermons, poems, or histories, they were all rooted in the biblical text. The writings of such early American authors as Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), Catherine Sedgwick (1789–1867), James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), and Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880) were all inflected with the biblical narrative.

The Bible served as much more than simply a literary inspiration in early American culture. It functioned as kind of a cultural anchor—a text so well-known by so many Americans that it provided a common set of ideas, characters, and narrative conventions—well beyond the field of literature, as seen in its ubiquitous presence in American education, law, and politics. Many political debates are rooted in various views of the biblical narrative. Among others, the Bible influenced the debates over slavery, monogamy, qualifications to hold political office, temperance reform, and divorce. The Bible has also significantly influenced the rhetoric of political debate in the United States. Founders of the new American Republic such as John Witherspoon (1723–1794), Elias Boudinot (1740–1821), and Richard Stockton (1730–1781), as well as the subsequent president, John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), and Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) frequently invoked biblical references in their political rhetoric.

While various biblical interpretations and uses of the Bible have long exercised a profound influence on differing segments of the country's national, regional, and local life, it is critical to understand that, along with diverse biblical usage, there has also been diverse biblical production. The King James translation of the Bible was held under royal copyright until 1776, when the American colonies formally separated from Britain. Subsequently, American publishers began to produce their own editions of the Bible. Between 1776 and 1830 over seven hundred different editions of the Bible were printed on American presses.

While press runs of two thousand copies characterized American Bible production in the late eighteenth century, by the 1820s print runs of fifty thousand copies had become possible. Leading the way in this new era of Bible mass production was the American Bible Society, an interdenominational enterprise located in New York City. Changes in print-

ing technology, papermaking, stereotyping, and distribution allowed the American Bible Society to begin publishing more than 300,000 copies of the Bible per year in the late 1820s. In 1829 the American Bible Society set for itself the goal of providing every American household with a Bible within a span of three years. This goal was never reached, but that the Society believed it possible and important enough to pursue this goal says volumes about both the advances in American publishing and the importance of the Bible in early American culture.

As different American Bible editions appeared, it is critical to note that they had varied formats, illustrations, appended material, and perhaps most important, translation work. Beginning with Charles Thomson's impressive translation of the Septuagint version of the Bible in 1808, six American translators would by 1830 provide their compatriots with portions of the Scriptures, often inflecting God's word with pronounced denominational and theological biases. These different translations have often exercised a profound influence over how the core biblical text is interpreted, spawning new social movements and religious traditions such as Unitarianism and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormonism).

Over half a dozen publishers had produced some fifteen Catholic Bible editions by 1830. Bibles could also be found in a number of different European, as well as Native American languages such as Cherokee, Mohawk, and Delaware in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The United States may have long held the Bible as its most central text, but it is a text of infinite complexity both in terms of its core narrative, and how that narrative reached millions of early Americans.

*See also* **Religion: Overview; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Publishing.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gutjahr, Paul C. *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Hatch, Nathan O., and Mark A. Noll. *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Hills, Margaret. *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible and the New Testament Published in America, 1777–1957.* New York: American Bible Society, 1961.

Nord, David Paul. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Wosh, Peter J. *Spreading the Word: The Bible Business in Nineteenth-Century America.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

*Paul C. Gutjahr*

## BILL OF RIGHTS

**BILL OF RIGHTS**    The Bill of Rights, as the twelve proposed amendments submitted by Congress to the states were called at the time and as the ten ratified in 1791 have been called since, came in the twentieth century to symbolize American liberty. At the time of their drafting and ratification, however, and for over a century thereafter, their significance was understood to be highly limited; their draftsmen thought them unnecessary; and those who had insisted on the necessity of amendments considered the twelve that Congress drafted to be entirely inadequate.

### BACKGROUND

The history of bills of rights in the English-speaking world dates to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the subsequent succession of William III and Mary to the English throne. The Stuart dynasty, to which Queen Mary was related, had experienced nearly constant friction with Parliament in the seventeenth century, and James II's expulsion was understood as having solved both the issue of the Protestant succession and the question of the relationship between the crown and Parliament. From 1688, Parliament was sovereign in England.

The English Bill of Rights of 1689, then, can be understood as a set of conditions to which William and Mary were required to subscribe before they could assume the throne. Had they refused, Parliament likely would have sought a new monarch elsewhere. Unlike American bills of rights, the English Bill of Rights included a series of severe limitations on royal authority. Specific provisions prevented future monarchs from emulating their Stuart predecessors in raising taxes without Parliament's consent, creating new courts without agreement from Parliament, attempting to rule without calling Parliament into session over a number of years, or refusing to hold new parliamentary elections over a long period of years.

When the American Revolutionaries set about creating republican governments for themselves in 1776, many of them looked to the example of England in this regard. In Virginia, which adopted the first American Declaration of Rights in 1776, George

Mason, that document's chief draftsman, styled himself "a man of 1688." As he understood things, the Bill of Rights must be antecedent to the Constitution, because it must include an explanation of the ground on which the Constitution rested and guarantees of the basic rights intended to be protected by the Constitution. Thus, Virginia's Declaration of Rights opened with a Lockean assertion that all men were created free and equal. Section 1 continued by saying that when men entered into a state of society, they could not divest themselves of certain of their natural rights. The Virginia Declaration included references to, among others, the freedoms of speech, assembly, press, and—in a formula that later would be replicated in the federal Bill of Rights—the "free exercise of religion."

Reflecting the struggles over liberty and executive power that led to the Glorious Revolution, the Virginia Revolutionaries first adopted their Declaration of Rights and only then adopted their constitution. As James Madison, one of the men responsible, later put it, "In Europe, charters of liberty have been granted by power. America has set the example . . . of charters of power granted by liberty." What did the Declaration of Rights mean to Virginians? To the dismay of Thomas Jefferson, it was what lawyers call "hortatory language." That is, while it set a standard for the commonwealth to try to meet, it seemingly did not have legal effect, as the General Assembly repeatedly ignored it in responding to the exigencies of the day. James Madison considered the Virginia Bill of Rights to be a "parchment barrier" that had little power to prevent governmental abuse. This is why, for this reason and others, Jefferson called from 1776 to the end of his life a half-century later for a revised Virginia constitution including enforceable guarantees of individual rights and other limitations on legislative power. Other Virginians, however, did not slight the Declaration of Rights in the same way. While it may not have had the legal effect Jefferson wanted it to have, their Declaration had a significant political effect, within Virginia and without.

While Mason's was the first bill of rights of the Revolutionary epoch, several colonies had adopted statements regarding rights before the Revolution. Probably the most famous was William Penn's Pennsylvania Charter of Liberties of 1682. Like the English Bill of Rights, which was written seven years later, Penn's included extensive attention to questions of the structure of government, not merely to individual liberties. More pertinent to this discussion, perhaps, was the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641, which guaranteed twenty-five of the twenty-eight rights mentioned in the federal bill of rights.

## CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND RATIFICATION

By the time the Philadelphia Convention that drafted the federal Constitution convened on 25 May 1787, bills of rights—many patterned on Virginia's—had been adopted in several states. The issue of including a bill of rights in the draft federal constitution was raised at Philadelphia by Elbridge Gerry, a delegate from Massachusetts, and by Virginia's Mason. Connecticut's Roger Sherman responded that a federal bill of rights was not needed, and other delegates considered the idea to be contrary to their general goal of strengthening the central government. By ten states to none, the motion was defeated. For Mason, it seems to have been a particularly sore point, although he also had other significant reservations about the Constitution. In the end, Gerry, Mason, and Virginia governor Edmund Randolph were the only delegates to stay to the end of the Convention and then refuse to sign the Constitution. In explaining his reservations to the Virginia General Assembly, Mason began by noting, "There is no Declaration of Rights." In Virginia and elsewhere, that soon came to be a capital objection.

When the Constitution was sent to the states for their ratification, a number of them ratified right away. Soon enough, however, significant contests had developed in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, among other states.

One of the common themes of the Constitution's opponents in the several states was the absence of a bill of rights. The Massachusetts convention, which convened on 9 January 1788, featured a sizable number—perhaps initially a majority—of anti-Federalists, and the popular governor, John Hancock, refused to commit himself. Finally, desperate Federalists lit upon a strategy, which they proposed to Hancock. Governor Hancock was told that if the Constitution was ratified, the Federalists would help enjoin Massachusetts's members of the First Congress to propose a series of amendments. If Hancock sponsored those amendments, Federalists would not oppose his coming bid for reelection, would support him for vice president, and—in case Virginia should not ratify—would point to him as the logical alternative to George Washington for president.

The Massachusetts Plan of unconditional ratification joined to recommended amendments and injunction of congressmen to press those amendments to immediate adoption became a popular gambit for

Federalists in other states as well. Ultimately, this same strategy was adopted in the battleground states of New York (where a largely anti-Federalist convention had been elected) and Virginia (over strenuous opposition).

Alexander Hamilton of New York famously addressed calls for a bill of rights in *The Federalist* No. 84. First, Hamilton noted that some state constitutions lacked bills of rights, and he asked why no hue and cry was heard over those omissions. Then, harkening back to the Glorious Revolution and to the contents of the English Bill of Rights of 1689, Hamilton said that the unamended Constitution already was a bill of rights. It included numerous guarantees, such as the right to the writ of habeas corpus; a ban on ex post facto laws; a ban on granting titles of nobility; and a general plan for the proceedings of government, which was the main point of the English Bill of Rights. If some other traditional rights were not explicitly protected by the Constitution's language, Hamilton said, that was because the Constitution did not empower anyone to violate rights such as the freedom of the press, the right of petition, and freedom of religion.

In Virginia, the most populous and prestigious state in the Union, ratification was achieved only narrowly. The Constitution's chief advocate there, James Madison, subsequently saw his candidacy for the First Senate defeated through the efforts of anti-Federalist leader Patrick Henry in the General Assembly. Madison only narrowly won election to the First House, and that only after pledging to Baptists in his native Piedmont region that he would work to ensure that their religious liberty was protected via a constitutional amendment.

### FIRST CONGRESS

In the First Congress, however, virtually no one sympathized with Madison's proposal for a bill of rights. Madison's fellow House members believed that the other business they had to attend to, such as the creation of executive departments and the establishment of a judicial branch, should take precedence. Many, in fact, mocked Madison's single-minded advocacy of a bill of rights, seeing it as a crassly political matter of home-state fence-mending. In a sense, the cynics were right. Madison had been among those who were skeptical of the utility of a bill of rights. Madison believed that as in Virginia and, notoriously at that time, in Pennsylvania, so in the new Union, a majority might as easily circumvent the plain language of a bill of rights.

Jefferson, away in France, responded to his friend's misgivings by saying that "a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no government should refuse, or rest on inference." While a legislature might ignore a bill of rights, Jefferson noted that it would empower the judiciary to protect the people against abuses. Madison went along, largely in hopes of cementing the support of people such as Jefferson and Mason who had supported federal power in the past but who were concerned about the question of a bill of rights for the new government.

Only Virginia elected opponents of the Constitution to the First Senate. Those senators, William Grayson and Richard Henry Lee, were disappointed by the twelve amendments Congress ultimately sent to the states for ratification in October 1789. As they reported to Henry, there was nothing in the twelve to reduce the jurisdiction of the federal courts, to define the powers of Congress more clearly, to limit the congressional taxing power, or to weaken the new federal government—that is, to reinforce the position of the states in the federal system—as the Constitution's opponents had desired.

In short, leading anti-Federalists understood the Bill of Rights as essentially useless. Madison also expected the Bill of Rights to be essentially without value. (He had tried to use the amendment process to empower the federal courts to supervise state legislatures in some respects, but his colleagues in Congress rejected the idea.)

### EARLY INTERPRETATIONS

President Washington in 1791 asked his cabinet for opinions on the constitutionality of a congressional bill chartering a bank, which had been adopted by Congress at the request of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton. Washington knew that Madison had called it unconstitutional in Congress. In response to Washington's request, Secretary of State Jefferson wrote that since there was no explicit grant to Congress of power to charter any kind of corporation, much less a bank, and since the Tenth Amendment said, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the bank bill was unconstitutional.

Hamilton, in response, denied that the Tenth Amendment had such force. He argued that a wide variety of powers was implicitly granted to Congress by the Constitution and that the power to charter a

bank was among them. Washington, accepting Hamilton's argument, signed the bill.

The Jeffersonian Republicans responded to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 by insisting on their unconstitutionality in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and the Virginia Report of 1800. In his Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, Jefferson wrote that the Sedition Act was unconstitutional. He argued that it violated the First, but far more prominently, the Tenth Amendment. He also claimed that the Tenth Amendment reflected the ongoing primacy of the states in the federal system; in Jefferson's draft, that primacy allowed the states to nullify laws they considered unconstitutional and dangerous.

With the election of 1800, Jeffersonians assumed control of the elected branches of the federal government. They would maintain that dominance for a quarter-century, and Jefferson attributed his party's success in the Revolution of 1800 to popular acceptance of the Principles of '98.

The Republicans' state-centered view of the Constitution and their emphasis on the Tenth Amendment repeatedly affected their stewardship of the federal government. Thus, for example, President James Madison in 1817 vetoed the Bonus Bill, legislation intended by House Speaker Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, to give effect to Madison's and Jefferson's repeated calls for a large-scale public works program. Madison's explanation of his veto was that the Tenth Amendment required that the Constitution's grants of power to Congress be read strictly, and that such a reading disclosed no power in Congress to appropriate money for the building of infrastructure. Before Congress could adopt such a law, the Constitution must be amended. This position prevented broad federal support for public works through the early Republican era.

In the case of *Barron v. Baltimore* (1833), the Federalist (and nationalist) chief justice John Marshall wrote, for a unanimous Supreme Court, that the Bill of Rights only applied to the federal government. Everyone had understood it that way at the time of its adoption, Marshall wrote, which explained why the First Amendment began by saying "Congress shall make no law" without any reference to the states. If the plaintiff wanted relief from a local ordinance that took his property without just compensation, in violation of the principle reflected by the Fifth Amendment's takings clause, he should look to his state or local government.

Because of this understanding of the Bill of Rights, no federal or state law was ruled unconstitutional on the basis of any provision of the Bill of Rights until after the Civil War.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Constitutional Convention; Constitution, Ratification of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* 3rd ed. 3 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1923.

Finkleman, Paul. "James Madison and the Bill of Rights: A Reluctant Paternity." In *Supreme Court Review 1990.* Edited by Gerhard Casper, Dennis J. Hutchinson, and David A. Strauss, pp. 301–347. Chicago: University of Chicago Law School, 1990.

Gutzman, Kevin R. C. "The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Reconsidered: 'An Appeal to the *Real Laws* of Our Country.'" *Journal of Southern History* 66 (2000): 473–496.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 19 vols. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

*Kevin R. C. Gutzman*

**BIOLOGY** The miniscule natural historical community in colonial America was widely regarded in the scientific centers of Europe as provincial and lacking in theoretical sophistication; with few exceptions, would-be American scientists acknowledged their subordinate status. Until well into the nineteenth century, most American natural historians were concerned only with the work of description and classification or with the applied work of medical and economic botany—important functions to be sure, but hardly at the leading edge. A few, like the Quaker botanists John Bartram (1699–1777) and Humphry Marshall (1722–1801), gained a measure of respect in Europe as collectors and suppliers of native plants and animals, but very few American scientists were admitted as intellectual equals.

In the midst of the political and social adjustments of the post-Revolutionary years, however, American natural historians sought to distinguish themselves from their European peers and to establish an approach to science that coincided with nationalist and republican principles. No area of natural historical research became more heavily emphasized than the study of the origins and relationships of human races. In part, the intensity of this focus grew out of scientific opportunism: Americans claimed that they, not Europeans, were daily presented with the opportunity to observe three races. But inevitably, American race science was tied up in the struggle over political and social power in the new nation and in debates over slavery and the racial order. Above all, it offered the alluring prospect of revealing a natural, stable, and predictable social order.

### RACIAL DIFFERENCES: VARYING VIEWS

Although race was a fairly flexible concept, encompassing aspects of what in the twenty-first century would be considered nationality, creed, and ethnicity, most theorists accepted the typology of the German scientist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), who distinguished five races, each with its own characteristic skin color and physical traits: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, American, and Ethiopian. In American practice, these races were often conceived as representing stages in the evolution of human culture, with the more primitive, "savage" races—those that relied upon hunting for subsistence—progressing through a historical process into pastoral and agricultural stages and ultimately into the "civilized" world of commerce.

From the 1770s, the key priorities for American racial theorists were to determine how racial differences originated, how the races related to one another and to the scale of cultural progression, and whether they were permanently fixed or could progress or degrade through time. Two discrete but cross-fertilizing polarities guided their inquiries: the first, environmentalism (racial traits seen as the product of factors in the environment and thus could change) versus innatism (race regarded as an inherent and unchanging factor), and the second, monogenism (the belief that all human races share a common origin) versus polygenism (the view that the races have separate origins).

Drawing authority in part from the Christian scriptural belief that all humanity descended from the Garden of Eden, monogenism and environmentalism were particularly influential during the 1780s and 1790s. Advocates like the moral philosopher Samuel Stanhope Smith (1750–1819) or the physicians Benjamin Rush (1746–1813) and Benjamin Smith Barton (1766–1815) often tended toward a rationalist, anti-evangelical epistemology, citing anatomical, physiognomic, behavioral, or linguistic evidence to support the claim, in Barton's words, that "the physical differences between nations are but inconsiderable." To the long-standing question of the origins of American Indians, for instance, Barton presented linguistic evidence to show that Indians were a single race, possibly related to "Asiatics," although he left open the possibility that some of them might have descended from the lost tribe of Israel or from a wayfaring Welsh prince.

Differences in skin color, environmentalists argued, were the result of exposure to different environmental conditions after the time of creation, with the color varying in proportion to the "heat" or other factors in the native climate. Stanhope Smith attributed the dark skin of Ethiopians to an excess of bile caused by the "putrid exhalations" of the tropical environment, while Rush argued that blackness resulted from endemic exposure to leprosy. In either case, blackness was a function of the environment, and although it might be a sign of cultural inferiority, it was potentially "curable."

American polygenism and innatism may be traced at least to Bernard Romans (c.1720–c.1784), and before him to the Scottish Enlightenment figure Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782). In his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1775), Romans bluntly asserted that considerations of both behavior and biology suggested that the races were species apart and that "there were as many *Adams* and *Eves* . . . as we find different species of the human genus" (p. 55). Indians were entirely unlike Caucasians and were "incapable of civilization," while race was so deep-seated that even the bones of Africans were black.

### INNATISM PREDOMINATES

In making race a fundamental, innate, and unalterable characteristic of humanity, Romans prefigured the approach that dominated American racial science after the turn of the century, propelled by the entrenchment of slavery and the fears inspired by the Haitian revolution. Influenced by phrenological theory, physicians such as Charles Caldwell (1772–1853)—a onetime pupil of Rush—focused increasingly on racial differences in intellect and the mind, culminating in the craniological work of Samuel George Morton (1799–1851), who amassed statisti-

cal evidence to demonstrate that Caucasians had larger skulls, and were therefore more intelligent, than other races. The so-called American School of Ethnology used scientific authority to demonstrate that Africans occupied the lowest rungs in the scale of civilization and Caucasians the highest, and for many such theorists, slavery and the extirpation of Indians could be seen merely as a reflection of the state of nature and the will of God.

Yet while polygenism offered powerful support for slavery and racial inequality, many proslavery writers objected to its apparent conflict with Scripture, while some polygenists rejected slavery purely on ethical grounds. On the other hand, despite their belief that race was mutable, few white monogenists ever questioned the inferiority of nonwhites. The plasticity of biological argumentation made race science supremely adaptable and resilient, the influence of its conclusions often lasting long after its specific contentions had been rejected. Thomas Jefferson epitomized the situation in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) when he claimed that regardless of whether "blacks" were created separately or had become black through time, he considered them clearly "inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."

*See also* **Proslavery Thought; Racial Theory.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dain, Bruce. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Melish, Joanne. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1998.

Romans, Bernard. *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida.* New York: Printed for the author, 1775.

Smith, Samuel Stanhope. *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species.* Philadelphia: n.p, 1787; reprint of 1810 ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Stanton, William R. *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–59.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Stocking, George. *Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Essays and Reflections.* Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2001.

*Robert S. Cox*

**BLACKFACE PERFORMANCE** Blackface minstrelsy—comedic performances about African American culture by white men in burnt cork makeup and exaggerated costumes—is the best known example of American blackface performance. It is usually said to have begun during the years from 1828 to 1831. But its performance progenitors long antedated the Jacksonian era.

### ON STAGE

Black characters on stage, played by white men and women costumed in blackface makeup, occurred as early as the fourteenth century in English Christmas pageants. The first notable British scenic designer, Inigo Jones (1573–1652), had the queen of Denmark blacken her face to participate in playwright Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605). Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (published as a novel in 1688 and later adapted after Behn's death as a play) and William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604) both featured actors in blackface and centered their stories around South American and North African characters respectively.

In pre-Revolutionary America, the practice of theater was condemned by the Puritans. It is therefore not surprising that the first black character in an American drama did not appear until 1767. The play, *The Disappointment, or, The Force of Credulity*, featured the character Raccoon, played by a white actor in blackface. It is not clear which came first, the racial epithet "coon" or this character, but in any case, the die was cast. From then on, servant and slave characters in early American dramatic plays were sometimes black. Since the descriptions often did not specify the race of the character, theater scholars have identified black characters primarily through a unique and manufactured form of "black" stage diction based on mispronunciation, malapropism, and word misuse. The blackened white men who performed these roles played this diction (not a dialect) to the hilt to garner more laughs, and the playwrights would write more ridiculous examples of poor diction for the actors to recite, so that the language degenerated into the almost indecipherable. In this way, the "force of darkness" that the blackface performer had been in English drama became, in early American drama, a stock character of humor. In *Demons of Disorder* (1997), music historian Dale Cockrell documented the following stage productions as those featuring a blackface character that were most often performed on the American stage (date of first American production in parentheses): *Othello* (1751); *Jonathan in England; or, John Bull at Home* (1828); *The Forest Rose; or, American Farmers* (1825); *The One Hundred–Pound Note* (1827); *Laugh When You Can* (1799); and *The Irishman in London*

(1793). All of these works are comedic with the exception of *Othello*, though parodies of Othello were a great favorite on the minstrel stage. The last work Cockrell lists, *The Padlock* (1769), is actually a comic opera with a servant character named Mungo. Mungo sings and dances to please his white owners. Cockrell makes the important point that blackness on the early American stage connected comedy with low culture, and that this connection could be illustrated through black servant characters or low-culture characters who were not marked as African or African American or Anglo African but who were performed in blackface.

### OFFSTAGE

Black makeup was used as a means and a sign of transgression, harkening back to the English use of blackface before the 1700s. The American spin on the English tradition is that both whites and blacks donned blackface to perform in the streets. The Mardi Gras Carnival of New Orleans is the most prominent and longest lasting of the traditions above.

The Code Noir (Black Code) of Louisiana, first enacted in 1724 and continually revised until the passage of the 1991 Mardi Gras Ordinance, required that the riders of the carnival floats be whites and the torchbearers (*flambeaux*) be Creole or African American. The floats themselves could and did serve as platforms for derogatory commentary through the use of blackface by the white participants. As a counternarrative, African Americans, Native Americans, and African Indians masked (using makeup or papier mâché) "Indian" on the fringes of the carnival route beginning in the 1790s. Playing upon white fear sparked by uprisings like those in Haiti at that time and later by the First Seminole War in Florida (1817–1818), those barred from free and open participation in carnival enacted what performance scholar Joseph Roach has called "scene[s] of defiant counter-entitlement" ("Carnival and the Law," p. 59). There is evidence that these Mardi Gras Indians performed in blackface in order to heighten their dramatic intentions. The Mardi Gras Indians represented the most common use of blackface in the early American period: an interweaving of blackface, political commentary, and humor in performance, on or off the stage.

*See also* **Theater and Drama.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cockrell, Dale. "Blackface Performance on the Early American Stage." In his *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World.* New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Hatch, James V. "Two Hundred Years of Black and White Drama." In *The Roots of African American Drama.* Edited by Leo Hamalian and James V. Hatch. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

Roach, Joseph. "Carnival and the Law." *TDR* (*The Drama Review*) 37, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 42–75.

*Annemarie Bean*

**BLOUNT CONSPIRACY**   The Blount Conspiracy involved an attempt by U.S. senator William Blount to give control of the Old Southwest to Britain. For violating American neutrality and jeopardizing diplomatic relations with Spain, Blount became the first person expelled from the U.S. Senate.

A native of North Carolina, Blount (1749–1800) entered politics to advance his economic interests and was one of the signers of the U.S. Constitution in 1787. After helping to found Tennessee, he was elected to the U.S. Senate from that state in 1796. Blount made commitments to purchase millions of acres of southwestern land before values collapsed when war broke out between Great Britain and Spain in 1796. In North Carolina, Blount was pursued by creditors and only escaped debtor's prison by pleading his senatorial immunity. Fearing that politically and socially unstable France would gain control of the Mississippi River, the Federalist senator entered into a conspiracy that sought to join the Old Southwest to Britain, which had guaranteed U.S. navigation of the river in the Treaty of 1783. The plan involved three expeditions that would attack the Spanish Empire at New Madrid, New Orleans, and Pensacola in the autumn of 1797. Blount would head the New Orleans forces, consisting of white frontiersmen and Choctaws.

A letter written by Blount on 21 April 1797 revealed his involvement with the British. The administration of President John Adams received the document in mid–June 1797. On 3 July, Adams sent a message to Congress about Blount. While Blount sat in the Senate, the letter was read aloud. Called upon by Vice President Thomas Jefferson for an explanation, Blount turned visibly pale and asked for time to consult his papers. The Senate gave him twenty-four hours. Blount then took flight and failed to appear on 4 July to answer questions. By 5 July, news of Blount's letter had become public knowledge, and he returned to Philadelphia on 6 July in the midst of a nationwide outcry. On 7 July the House of Representatives voted the first impeachment in the nation's history. On 8 July the Senate voted 25 to 1 to expel

Blount for acting contrary to his public trust and duty. Sometime in late July, a warrant was issued by the federal district court for Blount's arrest. The senator avoided the marshal and struck out for Tennessee on 2 August.

Blount then became the first man to face impeachment in the United States. On 25 January 1798, the House charged him with five articles of impeachment, including conspiring to conduct a military expedition from U.S. soil against Spain in violation of the Neutrality Act (1794) and inciting Indians to commence hostilities against Spain in violation of Pinckney's Treaty (1795). The impeachment did not hurt Blount at home, where the immensely popular politician won election to the Tennessee legislature later that year. On 14 January 1799, the Senate voted to dismiss the impeachment on the grounds that it lacked jurisdiction. The exact reasons for dismissal were never made clear. Blount died a hero to Tennesseans in 1800.

*See also* **Mississippi River; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Conspiracy; Tennessee.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cayton, Andrew R. L. "'When Shall We Cease to Have Judases?': The Blount Conspiracy and the Limits of the Extended Republic." In *Launching the "Extended Republic": The Federalist Era.* Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Melton, Buckner F., Jr. *The First Impeachment: The Constitution's Framers and the Case of Senator William Blount.* Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998.

*Caryn E. Neumann*

**BOOK TRADE**   The history of the book in eighteenth-century America is by no means the history of American books. Although the first printing press in British North America was established as early as 1639 (at Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts) and while eighteenth-century American printers managed to churn out extraordinary numbers of shorter items such as newspapers and pamphlets, a chronic lack of capital would seriously hamper the domestic American production of books to the early decades of the nineteenth century. As a result, most of the books by far that were sold and read in colonial America and the early Republic were imported books, mainly from England (London) and to a lesser extent from Ireland (Dublin) and Scotland (Glasgow and Edinburgh). With the exception of more specialized works of divinity and science (which often found their way to America through private channels of religious and scholarly affiliation), Americans would read what colonial booksellers could import. In practice this meant that the Anglo American book trade was determined much less by the intrinsic value of the book than by the mechanics of the commodity market in general; demand and supply, cost base, and profit margins primarily determined what books made it to the bookshelves of general readers and circulating libraries in America—not their aesthetic quality, scholarly content, or canonical status.

### THE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE

The book trade between London and America was sluggish until the middle of the eighteenth century. The demand for books was generally low in what was still an overwhelmingly agricultural society; though literacy rates were relatively high in some regions, notably in Puritan New England, these readers tended to limit their consumption of print to a confined canon of religious works. The supply side of the trade was equally weak, with the London traders being discouraged by the high risks and costs of transatlantic shipping and the modest and uncertain profit margins. In the final analysis it was the entrepreneurial structure of the London publishing world that imposed the most serious constraints on the transatlantic book trade. The heavily capitalized publishing business in London was dominated by an exclusive fraternity of booksellers, and so long as they refused to sell to the colonial retailers at a wholesale price that was significantly below that of the going "gentleman's price" in London, the American trade remained weak. A few booksellers operating on the margins of the London monopoly, particularly James Rivington and William Strahan, attempted to undercut London book prices using a variety of market strategies, including the trade in pirated editions with false London imprints and in "rum books," unmarketable titles and random volumes that were sold in batches with a few attractive titles mixed in as a bait.

The only significant pressure on the London book tycoons came in the course of the 1760s and early 1770s from competitors who, because they either refused to recognize English copyright law (the Scots) or were outside of the jurisdiction of English law altogether (the Irish), could undersell their London rivals. This led to a marked increase in the transatlantic book trade. It has been calculated that in the period from 1770 to 1775, the total annual shipment of books from Britain to the mainland American col-

onies may have amounted to around 120,000 separate volumes and printed items, which was approximately 4 percent of the total British annual output. However, the Revolutionary crisis would soon interrupt the transatlantic commerce in books.

### CHANGES AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The post-Revolutionary period saw a rapid increase in the secularization of the reading public's taste, and in the wake of that a phenomenal growth of the demand for print in general and for prose fiction in particular. Several factors contributed to this development. Fundamental changes were taking place in the marketing and dissemination of print. Thus, booksellers began to adopt more commodity-driven market strategies similar to those used by later publishers, and this redefined the relationship between booksellers and readers as one between producers and consumers of print. An even greater impact on the reading public's taste and hence on the consumption of print was the exponential rise in the number of circulating libraries in the second half of the century, most notably in the 1790s, when the number tripled while the growth of the population only doubled. The proportion of fiction in the catalogues of circulating libraries rose from 10 percent in the 1750s to over 50 percent around 1800. By the late eighteenth century, Americans were largely a novel-reading public. However, paper, type, and money remained in short supply in post-Revolutionary America, so that when trade with Britain was resumed after the Treaty of Paris of 1783, bookselling in the early Republic remained largely a matter of book importing. Although some American book traders managed to get a stake in the lucrative piracy market, even the more successful American importers were only small players in the transatlantic book trade—which after the Act of Union (1801), joining Ireland and Britain into a single kingdom, was dominated even more than before by London book tycoons. In Britain there had been a rise in the number of cooperative bookselling firms and partnerships from the 1780s onward, but in the United States such a consolidation in the market did not take place till later, notably between 1800 and 1840. As a result of this uneven competition, of the hundreds of colonial and early Republican printers-publishers, only Mathew Carey's business survived into the nineteenth century. This meant that for much of this period, American readers continued to read what the London printers provided.

See also **African Americans: African American Literature; Almanacs; Children's** Literature; Free Library Movement; German-Language Publishing; Nonfiction Prose; Poetry; Religious Publishing; Women: Women's Literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amory, Hugh, and David D. Hall, eds. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Botein, Stephen. "The Anglo-American Book Trade before 1776: Personnel and Strategies." In *Printing and Society in Early America.* Edited by William L. Joyce et al. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

*Wil Verhoeven*

**BOSTON**  Throughout much of the colonial era, Boston, founded by the Puritans in 1630, was the largest city and preeminent port in British North America, gaining its wealth primarily by shipping and fishing. However, the city was plagued with economic difficulties throughout the middle of the eighteenth century, and by the 1750s New York and Philadelphia had passed Boston in population and wealth. Boston was governed by a town meeting, with a board of selectmen acting as a sort of executive body. Sensitive to imperial intrusion, the city had a long-standing tradition of mob action. These traits ensured that Boston would play a prominent role in the resistance to Great Britain that culminated in the American Revolution.

### BOSTONIANS AND BOSTON LIFE

Boston's European population was overwhelmingly English. Its African population reached a high of 10 percent of the total population of 15,730 in 1752, and remained steady at over 1,000 throughout the Revolutionary era. The total population hovered around 16,000 throughout the middle third of the century, with war and epidemic disease counteracting natural increase and immigration.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Boston was physically a small town. It encompassed a 750-acre peninsula joined to the mainland by an isthmus known as the Neck. It boasted the oldest public school system in the colonies, but the nearest college, Harvard, was across the Charles River in Cambridge, just to the west. The main social pillar was the Congregational Church, with nine congregations by 1800, of which the Brattle Street Church was generally regarded as the most fashionable. Faneuil Hall, the center of the town's civic life, was constructed in

***State Street,*** **1801.** The square was the site of the Boston Massacre in 1770. © BURNSTEIN COLLECTION/CORBIS.

1742 as a public market, but long-standing hostility to such a project turned the building into a meeting hall. Boston made its living off shipping, carrying cod to the West Indies, Spain, and Great Britain, lumber to Great Britain, and finished goods from Europe to the colonies. Attempts at a linen manufactory failed in the 1750s, but the town did engage in some industry, such as distilling rum and manufacturing rope.

### THE SEEDS OF RESISTANCE

James Otis, a prominent attorney and moderator of town meeting, led the first stage of resistance to British rule. In 1761 he argued against the writs of assistance, and in 1764 he wrote a pamphlet denouncing the Sugar Act. The Stamp Act provoked violent action in 1765, when in August a mob led by Ebenezer MacIntosh sacked the home of stamp commissioner Andrew Oliver and destroyed the home of Oliver's brother-in-law, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson. By that year political leadership of the

town had passed to Samuel Adams, a member of the Boston Caucus, former tax collector for Suffolk County, and representative in the General Court; and John Hancock, a wealthy merchant. Both were leaders of the Sons of Liberty, secret organizations formed in opposition to the Stamp Act. The repeal of the act brought great celebration to Boston, but Adams warned against complacency.

The Towshend Duties, passed in 1767, brought the Sons of Liberty back into action. On 14 August 1767 they held a rally denouncing this new act. On 4 March 1768, ninety-eight Boston merchants called for the nonimportation of British goods. On 7 April British customs agents boarded the *Lydia*, owned by John Hancock, but Hancock refused to let them go below. In February the colonial General Court issued a circular letter to the other colonies calling the Townshend Duties unconstitutional. Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, demanded the General Court rescind the letter. In August the House of Representatives voted 92 to 17 to defy the order. Fearing

that Boston was in open revolt, the British government sent two regiments of troops, which arrived in October 1768.

### THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE

The arrival of four thousand British troops into a city of about fifteen thousand ushered in the most violent period of resistance before the outbreak of the American Revolution. To prepare, the town meeting advised stockpiling weapons, ostensibly to be used in case of war with France. When the troops camped on Boston Common, town officials tried to arrest them for vagrancy. When that failed, Bostonians tried to get the soldiers to desert. On 5 September 1769 a customs agent beat James Otis nearly to death. In February 1770 a mob stormed the home of another customs agent, and one Boston youth was killed in the fracas. On 2 March a group of soldiers seeking work went to a ropewalk in the South End, where they clashed with locals.

Each of these small incidents led up to the Boston Massacre of 5 March 1770. That evening about ten soldiers harassed a group of Bostonians. This prompted a larger crowd to turn out to confront the soldiers. By half past eight the crowd had the soldiers pushed back to the barracks, and the first stage of the conflict ended by nine o'clock. Soon after, two boys started taunting a British captain. After being chased off, they went to throw snowballs at the soldiers. One rang the bell of the First Church, bringing another crowd into the street. A private was hit with a club, causing him accidentally to fire his musket, killing Crispus Attucks. The other soldiers began firing, killing two more and shooting two others who would later die of their wounds. The next day, about four thousand gathered at Faneuil Hall in an emergency town meeting. On 13 March Captain Thomas Preston and the soldiers involved were indicted for murder; the Sons of Liberty approved of John Adams and Josiah Quincy as counsel for the defense. The court acquitted Preston on the grounds that he did not give the order to fire and found that the other soldiers acted out of legitimate fear for their lives. By July the last soldiers stationed in Boston had been removed. On the day of the Boston Massacre, Parliament repealed the Townshend Duties, and Boston ended its nonimportation on 12 October 1771.

### THE TEA ACT

In order to maintain vigilance, Samuel Adams helped organize the committees of correspondence in 1772. He hoped for a pretext to test how far Great Britain would go to suppress resistance. The Tea Act of 1773, which gave the East India Company a monopoly on the distribution of tea in the colonies, provided that pretext. A mass meeting on 5 November demanded that the tea consignees resign. The first ship, the *Dartmouth*, arrived on 27 November, and the *Beaver* and the *Eleanor* arrived soon after. A meeting of "the Body of the People" on 29 November pressured the master of the *Dartmouth* to stay out of the port. Governor Hutchinson, however, demanded that the tea be unloaded and the tax paid by 17 December. On 16 December, five thousand Bostonians gathered at the Old South Church to plan action. After learning that Hutchinson would not relent, Samuel Adams adjourned the meeting. Some members of the crowd, disguised as Mohawks, went down to the wharf to destroy the tea. Many of those involved in this action, which came to be known as the Boston Tea Party, were members of the Sons of Liberty, but their exact number and identities are unknown. By nine o'clock that night, ninety thousand pounds of tea worth over £9000 lay in the harbor.

Parliament responded by making an example of Boston. The Intolerable Acts, also known as the Coercive Acts, closed the port of Boston as of 1 June 1774, moved the capitol of Massachusetts to Salem, and ordered that rebels would be brought to Great Britain for trial. To enforce these acts, General Thomas Gage, commander in chief of British forces in North America, arrived as the new governor in May 1774. Four regiments arrived in August, and by the outbreak of war twelve regiments were camped in Boston. In May Samuel Adams drafted a Solemn League and Covenant for another nonimportation but was blocked by a group of eight hundred Boston merchants. The Continental Congress, which convened in September, rallied to Boston's defense.

### THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

War might have come at any time. The annual Massacre Day oration in the Old South Church in 1775 nearly turned into an armed clash. On 16 April 1775, Gage received orders to move against the Provisional Congress at Concord. Paul Revere, Samuel Prescott, and William Dawes rode out to warn them. The first British troops left Boston Common by sea early on the morning of 19 April. A relief column marched out through Boston Neck around nine o'clock. The British were turned back at Concord, and by evening were trapped in Boston. On 23 April, Patriots were allowed to leave the city. The British, under General William Howe, attempted to break the siege on 17 June, assaulting the Patriot position on Breed's Hill. After the third assault, the British took Breed's Hill

***The Bloody Massacre.*** This famous engraving of the Boston Massacre by Paul Revere, after a sketch by Henry Pelham, was issued on or about 28 March 1770. The image helped ignite public outrage after it was copied and widely distributed throughout the colonies. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

**Plan of Boston.** This plan of the town and harbor of Boston and the surrounding countryside, made by J. De Costa in 1775, shows the road from Boston to Concord, the site of an early engagement between British and American forces. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY.

and Bunker Hill, chasing the Patriot army to Cambridge; however, the British sustained heavy losses, and their victory in the Battle of Bunker Hill—which served as a morale booster for the gallant Patriots— failed to break the siege. The Patriots still held the heights around Boston.

General George Washington arrived to take command soon after the battle, and in January 1776 Colonel Henry Knox arrived at Framingham with the cannon from Fort Ticonderoga in New York. In March Washington placed the cannon at Dorchester Heights. Howe, believing he could not hold the city, evacuated Boston on 17 March 1776. Bostonians returned to a ruined city, with the common torn up and houses torn down for firewood. Nevertheless, Boston resumed its place at the center of Massachusetts politics, serving as the site of the state constitu-

tional convention in 1779 and of the federal ratifying convention in 1788.

### THE CITY IN THE NATIONAL ERA

The task of rebuilding the city fell to the architect Charles Bulfinch, a member of the Board of Selectmen from 1791 to 1795 and again from 1799 to 1817. During that time he redesigned Boston's public and private spaces. His two most famous public buildings were the new State House and the reconstruction of Faneuil Hall. The State House was built on land on Beacon Hill that had belonged to the painter John Singleton Copley. The top third of the hill was torn down and used for fill in the Mill Pond and other places. Paul Revere and Samuel Adams laid the cornerstone on 4 July 1795, and the building was completed in January 1798. The new State House transformed grazing land on the fringe of the

city to the political center of the state and the most fashionable neighborhood in the city. In 1805 Bulfinch doubled the size of Faneuil Hall and added a third story. Bulfinch also built homes for Boston's mercantile and political elite, including three houses for Harrison Gray Otis, a nephew of James Otis and a leading figure at the Hartford Convention in 1814.

Politically, Boston was solidly Federalist. All of Boston's congressmen from 1788 to 1828 were Federalists, and Democratic Republican candidates for governor carried Boston only twice. Economically, Boston thrived on overseas trade, exporting fish, whale oil, and lumber. Frederick Tudor pioneered the export of ice. Boston also provided the ships to carry products from other states and the West Indies to Europe. Beginning in the 1780s, Boston merchants traded with Asia, particularly China. Thomas Handasyd Perkins was Boston's leading merchant, and by 1825 he was the largest American opium trader in China. The Embargo of 1807 hit Boston particularly hard, fueling opposition to President Thomas Jefferson and his secretary of state, James Madison. The end of the Napoleonic Wars closed off much of the old shipping business.

In 1813 Francis Cabot Lowell and Nathan Appleton founded the Boston Manufacturing Company, which built textile mills in Waltham and the Merrimack Valley. The Boston Associates, as they were known, launched the industrial revolution in the United States. Daniel Webster, who moved to Boston in 1816, served as their advocate in Congress.

By the early nineteenth century, Boston's physical setting and population outgrew its form of government. In the 1790 census Boston's population was 18,038; in 1810 it was 33,787; in 1820, it had grown to 43,298; and in 1830 the population reached 61,392. Physically, the city expanded onto reclaimed land in the North End and along the waterfront, and in 1804 annexed Dorchester Heights, renamed South Boston. After 1776 several proposals to replace town meeting with a mayoral system failed. In 1820 some eight thousand people were eligible to attend town meeting, but few did so, and those who arrived first tended to dominate. A split in Boston's Federalists accelerated change. The Central Committee, led by Harrison Gray Otis, represented Federalist orthodoxy. Josiah Quincy broke with the Federalists over the admission of Maine as a state, and forged a movement of dissident Federalists and Republicans. The Central Committee reluctantly embraced the move for a new charter, approved by town meeting on 7 January 1822, in order to control the process.

In the first mayoral election, Otis faced Quincy, leader of the "Middling Interest." Neither could win a majority, and both agreed to a compromise candidate, John Phillips. The next year Quincy won the first of his six one-year terms, during which he consolidated the powers of the old town boards into the mayor's office, eventually absorbing the functions of the school department and using a disastrous fire on Broad and State Streets as an opportunity to abolish the old fire wards and establish a professional fire department in 1825. In 1826 he built a new market near Faneuil Hall, now called Quincy Market. As Quincy accumulated power he also accumulated enemies; in 1828 Otis defeated him for reelection and went on to serve as mayor until 1831. He planned to use the mayor's office as a stepping-stone to the governor's office but never succeeded. His most durable legacy was the banishment of cows from Boston Common in 1830.

*See also* **Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Bunker Hill, Battle of; Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; Industrial Revolution; Intolerable Acts; Massachusetts; New England; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Sugar Act; Tea Act; Townshend Act.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Crocker, Matthew H. *The Magic of the Many: Josiah Quincy and the Rise of Mass Politics in Boston, 1800–1830.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Kirker, Harold, and James. *Bulfinch's Boston, 1787–1817.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

O'Connor, Thomas H. *The Hub: Boston Past and Present.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001.

Warden, G. B. *Boston, 1689–1776.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.

Zobel, Hiller B. *The Boston Massacre.* New York: Norton, 1970.

*Robert W. Smith*

**BOSTON MASSACRE** On the evening of 5 March 1770, British troops and Boston townspeople clashed on the street in front of the customhouse. This skirmish, known as the Boston Massacre, marks the first blood to be shed in the American Revolution.

**The Boston Massacre.** This page from the 12 March 1770 edition of the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* includes an article describing the Boston Massacre, along with illustrations of coffins bearing the initials of four men who died: Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks. A fifth man, Patrick Carr, died later. © CORBIS.

On 1 October 1768, British regulars had arrived to support American customs officials. Bostonians, already hostile to demonstrations of imperial rule in general and standing armies in particular, reacted angrily to their presence. Over the next eighteen months, civilians and soldiers physically and verbally abused each other. The city was suffering an economic recession, and relations between soldiers and civilians were harmed by underpaid soldiers who supplemented their small stipends by moonlighting and by British officers who delayed paying bills to tailors and other artisans. When rope workers got into a fight with soldiers looking for work in the beginning of March, several days of off-and-on brawling ensued. Then, on 4 March, some officers performed an unauthorized search of a rope factory, looking for a missing sergeant; they feared he had been kidnapped, although in fact he had spent the night in a brothel. For several days before the Massacre, gossip circulated between men and women in kitchens and parlors that events would soon come to a head. Rumors spread that the soldiers planned to take their revenge on the next night.

Early on the evening of 5 March, a wigmaker's apprentice taunted the customhouse guard by scoffing that the regiments' officers were no gentlemen, as at least one of them did not pay his bills. The sentry swung his musket at the boy, who ran off crying. Someone rang the nearby church bells as a fire alarm, and soon a large mob formed around the guard, who yelled for support. Captain Thomas Preston led seven grenadiers from their barracks. The crowd jostled closer, throwing ice chunks and oyster shells and taunting the soldiers with, "Fire, fire, you durst not fire." Preston ordered his soldiers not to fire, but in the confusion, five of them discharged their guns. Three townsmen died instantly; two more died later. One of the five was Crispus Attucks, a free mixed-race sailor.

Governor Thomas Hutchinson forestalled more violence by issuing a warrant for Preston's arrest that night and by moving the soldiers out of the city of Boston. Radicals and Loyalists alike rushed to get their version of events into print. Samuel Adams immediately dubbed the event a "horrid massacre," and with other Sons of Liberty he appointed a committee to take depositions from sympathetic witnesses. The city of Boston published the depositions and claimed to have sent all the copies to London, but many of them were kept for potential jurors to read. At the same time, Henry Pelham created an inaccurate but highly inflammatory drawing of the event. Without Pelham's permission, Paul Revere copied and widely distributed the drawing as an engraving entitled "The Bloody Massacre."

Preston and the soldiers stood trial for murder in the fall of 1770. John Adams and Josiah Quincy Jr.

defended them; Josiah's brother Samuel argued the case for the prosecution. Despite their radical politics, Adams and Quincy believed that all men were entitled to a legal defense. Three years later, Adams recorded in his diary that his defense of the soldiers was "one of the most gallant, generous, manly and disinterested Actions of my whole Life, and one of the best Pieces of Service I ever rendered my Country." Their legal aid was approved by the Sons of Liberty, who were convinced of their guilt and yet wanted to ensure that the trials were not tainted by charges of partiality.

Preston and the soldiers were tried separately. The lawyers mounted two different defenses: for Preston, they argued that he had not given an order to fire; for the soldiers, they argued self-defense against a threatening mob. Due to this skillful strategy and a jury that was comprised of men entirely from outside the city of Boston, Preston and six of the soldiers were acquitted. The two others were convicted of manslaughter rather than murder. As the result of a legal privilege called "benefit of clergy," they were branded on the thumb and released.

Samuel Adams, alert to the propaganda value of the riot, arranged to have 5 March celebrated as an annual day of mourning. From 1771 through 1784 (when it was replaced by 4 July), orators such as John Hancock and Joseph Warren inveighed on the anniversary of the massacre against the tyranny of the British ministry and the evils of a standing army.

*See also* **Boston.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John. *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams.* Edited by L.H. Butterfield. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

———. *Legal Papers of John Adams.* Edited by L. Kinvin Wroth and Hiller B. Zobel. Volume 3. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Shy, John. *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press,1965.

Zobel, Hiller B. *The Boston Massacre.* New York: Norton, 1970.

*Serena R. Zabin*

**BOSTON TEA PARTY**  The Boston Tea Party of 16 December 1773 is an iconic event in American history, revealing the nature of American resistance and bringing severe retaliation from the ministry of Great Britain. The Tea Party was a brazen and radical action that demonstrated the organization and resilience of Boston's waterfront community. By precipitating the Intolerable Acts, the tea action helped to accelerate the dissolution of the British Empire in North America.

Boston was already in a ferment in 1773 over a proposal to pay the Massachusetts civil list from customs revenues and over the publication of royal governor Thomas Hutchinson's letters, which recommended curtailing American liberties. In the midst of this turmoil, the North American seaports learned of the passage in the spring of 1773 of the Tea Act, which granted the East India Company the ability to undersell its competitors (often American smugglers) while still paying the hated Townshend duty on tea shipped to America. As the seven ships bearing the East India Company tea sailed across the Atlantic Ocean, Boston and other seaports took steps to ensure that the duticd tea would not land.

Bostonians tried to force the tea consignees to resign their commissions and return the tea. By law, however, the tea could not be re-exported to England. On 28 November 1773, the *Dartmouth* was the first of three tea ships to arrive in the harbor. The following day the people of Boston crowded Faneuil Hall to plan a course of action, while the consignees fled to Castle William in the harbor for safety. Negotiations continued without success: the customs officers and the governor would not allow the tea to be sent back to England. If the duty was unpaid by 17 December, British customs officers could seize the tea and then sell it at auction.

Thus, on 16 December some five thousand people from Boston and its surrounding towns met at the Old South Meeting House. As day turned into evening, Governor Hutchinson refused one final time to allow the *Dartmouth* to leave the harbor. The crowd gave shouts of defiance, and a group of about 150 men hastened to Griffin's Wharf where the tea ships were docked. Under the guns of the Royal Navy, these men began heaving the tea into the harbor. Many disguised themselves as Indians or blackened their faces to avoid recognition. The men aboard the tea ships represented all ranks of society: apprentices and journeymen as well as artisans, merchants, and Patriot leaders. With speed, order, and discipline, they destroyed ninety thousand pounds of tea worth £9,659.

The Boston Tea Party aroused opposite reactions on the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Bostonians celebrated the action, as did many other American radicals. The British citizenry, meanwhile, saw this

action by the rebellious Bostonians as a slap in the face. Although New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston had also prevented the dutied tea from landing, only in Boston had Americans taken the drastic step of destroying the East India Company tea, and so it was Boston that the ministry singled out. Since it proved impossible to name specific individual participants in the Tea Party, the ministry resolved to hold Bostonians collectively responsible for indemnifying the property of the East India Company. The Boston Tea Party demonstrated the government's loss of control over Boston, and the Boston Port Act of March 1774, in conjunction with the other Intolerable Acts of that year, aimed to reestablish parliamentary authority on a firmer footing in Massachusetts.

*See also* **Boston; Intolerable Acts; Tea Act.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Labaree, Benjamin Woods. *The Boston Tea Party.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon, 1999.

*Benjamin L. Carp*

**BOTANY**  Botany, the study of plants, was the most actively pursued observational science in the late colonial and early national periods. The practice occupied the minds, filled the gardens, and guided the travels of hundreds of university-educated and self-taught men and women. This period witnessed the founding of botanical gardens; the publication of books, articles, and manuals for learned and popular audiences; the establishment of botany as a mainstay in college curricula; and the application of botanical knowledge toward an efficient and more bountiful agriculture. The period also saw American botanists enhance their position in the international botanical community from backwater collectors for foreign patrons to full-fledged, contributing members of the discipline, respected the world over.

Botany was practiced by a few men living in North America during the colonial period, primarily as collectors and agents of European naturalists and scientific societies looking to acquire samples for rare plant gardens and natural history cabinets. Pennsylvania's John Bartram (1699–1777), New York's Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776), and South Carolina's Alexander Garden (c. 1730–1791) laid the foundation of professional American botany through correspondence and sample and seed trade with Eu-

ropean naturalists, particularly Peter Collinson and the Royal Society in London. At the same time Bartram, Colden, Garden, and others also drew on neighbors' and farmers' knowledge of local plants, suggesting that careful attention to plants was not an exclusively elite pursuit. Beginning in the late twentieth century, scholars have noted that much botanical information also came from women and slaves, which prompts an opportunity to revisit dominant narratives about the history of science and exposes rich new veins for future scholarship.

The years following the American Revolution (1775–1783) witnessed an efflorescence in botanical activity with the publication of new books, the creation of professorships at universities, the founding of professional scientific and medical journals covering the subject, and the establishment of the nation's first botanical gardens. Animated by nationalist zeal, botany enthusiasts sponsored exploratory expeditions into the interior of the continent—the expedition of Lewis and Clark, most famously—and encouraged ordinary citizens to describe plants in their neighborhoods and report their findings to the emerging scientific centers in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Charleston. Proponents of botany urged American citizens to scour forests and fields for plants that could be used for food, dyes, manufactures, and medicines; they suggested that, along with a financial windfall to the individual, the American who discovered a plant that could aid the growth of the nation was a true patriot. Benjamin Smith Barton (1766–1815), professor of botany at the University of Pennsylvania, urged readers of his *Collections for an Essay towards a Materia Medica of the United States* (1798) to consider that "the man who discovers one valuable new medicine is a more important benefactor to his species than Alexander, Caesar, or an hundred other conquerors." Barton's other textbook, his *Elements of Botany* (1803), became a discipline standard.

American-born botanists, however, were disappointed to observe that the most successful botanists studying North America were foreign-born and that their publications dominated the first years of the nineteenth century. In 1803 the French father-son team of André and François-André Michaux published *North American Flora*, the first general account of North American botany. In 1814 Frederick Pursh, the German traveler-botanist, published his two-volume *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*, the most comprehensive American botany text to date. American-born botanists redoubled their efforts and quickly rose to the forefront of botany in their native land.

Amos Eaton (1776–1842), John Torrey (1796–1873), and Asa Gray (1810–1888) each published important botanical texts in the decades that followed—the latter two becoming the nation's preeminent botanists of the nineteenth century. These texts comprised naming, classifying, and describing the flora of the United States, and their authors spared little ink as they debated the merits of rival classificatory systems, the correct scientific and common names for plants, and the assignment of credit for the discovery of individual species.

Interest in plants was not confined to the academic elite. Unfortunately, historians know little about what might be termed "garden botany," local knowledge and experience of plants that went unrecorded by ordinary Americans. Only tantalizing glimpses of such knowledge can be found in the correspondence of credentialed botanists and in the conversations between those botanists and the ordinary Americans described in their botanical texts.

See also **Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement; Education: Colleges and Universities; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Natural History; Nature, Attitudes Toward.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Daniels, George H. *American Science in the Age of Jackson.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University, 1984.

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1956.

*Andrew J. Lewis*

**BREWING AND DISTILLING** *See* **Alcoholic Beverages and Production.**

**BRITISH ARMY IN NORTH AMERICA** When Paul Revere set off on his famous ride to warn Patriots of a British advance on Lexington and Concord (19 April 1775) in Massachusetts, he almost certainly cried out "The regulars are coming." Revere referred to the "regular establishment" of the British army; soldiers were administered in accordance with laws and regulations governing such things as pay, promotion, and retirement.

In 1754 about four thousand regulars served in North America. They were too scattered to act effectively and had long been neglected by the home government. Two British battalions arrived in Virginia in March 1755 to participate in Braddock's Expedition. They suffered staggering losses in the Battle of the Wilderness (9 July 1755) at the Monongahela River. Subsequent defeats along the frontier prompted the home government to expand greatly the regular establishment in America.

Recruiting proved difficult. During the first two years of the French and Indian War, some seventy-five hundred Americans enlisted in British regiments while only forty-five hundred regulars came from Britain itself. Following the official declaration of war against France in the summer of 1756, recruiting efforts in Britain were more successful. Some eleven thousand regulars were sent from Britain to America in 1757. Simultaneously, the flow of colonial recruits diminished to a trickle. Setback and defeat in 1757 marked the nadir of British fortune. James Abercromby's appointment as commander in chief in North America in early 1758 brought reform and improvement in an army that grew to twenty-three battalions. The year 1758 marked the turning point of the war and the restoration of the British regulars' prestige.

The British regulars in their red coats stimulated a wide range of emotional responses among Americans. After the Peace of Paris in 1763 that ended the French and Indian War, the regular establishment in the colonies was set at ten thousand men. Americans living on the frontier welcomed their presence as security against the Indians. Americans who had to pay taxes for the war debt and for the expenses of maintaining the regulars disliked them. In places like Boston, this dislike turned to hatred after the so-called Boston Massacre (5 May 1770). For them the British regulars were Bloody Backs, a derisive term referring to their severe discipline, which included lashing. Tolerated or hated, the British regular of 1775 was a highly disciplined professional soldier.

He and his officers were contemptuous of the fighting prowess of the colonials and the ability of their leaders. Regulars regarded provincials as ungrateful, second-class citizens. Even those who, like George Washington, sought approval and acceptance within the regular establishment, encountered discrimination. The poor performance of many colonial units during the French and Indian War, combined with the proclivity of America militia to break and run during Revolutionary War battles, reinforced the British sense of superiority. Consequently,

***Journée de Lexington.*** This engraving (c. 1784) by François Godefroy depicts British regulars under the command of General Thomas Gage retreating from charging American militia in April 1775 during the Battle of Lexington, a key early battle of the Revolutionary War. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

many British commanders acquired an overconfidence that ultimately contributed to some shocking setbacks.

### ORGANIZATION

The infantry regiment made up of a single battalion was the era's tactical building block. Each regiment had three field officers—colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major—along with a small staff numbering five men. However, the colonel was a titular officer, so the lieutenant colonel often acted as brigade commander. Frequently, though, both he and the major were detached for special assignment, which meant that the senior captain commonly commanded the regiment while on campaign. The field officers were also nominal commanders of a field company. Consequently, lieutenants commanded their three companies while on campaign. The net effect of this organizational practice was a reduction in the number of officers present on campaign and in battle.

Twelve identical companies composed a regiment, but two of them were recruiting depots, one permanently stationed in England and one in Ireland. Two of the companies were so-called "flank" companies: the grenadier company, composed of the largest men, and the light company, selected for agility. The flank companies were elite formations and were habitually detached from their parent regiments to form provisional grenadier and light battalions. While this practice gave British leaders elite combat formations, it deprived the remaining line, or "battalion companies," of their best men.

Each company had 3 officers, 2 musicians, 6 noncommissioned officers, and 56 privates. At full strength and minus the flank companies, the regiment numbered 514 men. Because of sickness, desertion, battle loss, and men assigned to detached duty, a regiment never entered battle at full strength.

Warfare in Europe shaped the British organization. Here the emphasis was on close order, meaning the soldiers packed elbow to elbow in order to maintain the discipline and solidity required to conduct a bayonet charge. Accordingly, formal doctrine called for the British infantry to deploy in three ranks, although the third rank's fire was inefficient. Experience in North America demonstrated the superiority of a looser deployment in two ranks. The two-rank deployment became standard tactical doctrine.

Soldiers wore a woolen red coat with voluminous folds buttoned back to form lapels. A cocked hat, stiff stock, waistcoat, small clothes, and gaiters reaching just above the knee completed the standard uniform. A foot soldier carried about sixty pounds of equipment, including a cartridge box, knapsack, haversack, blanket, canteen, musket, and ammunition.

The standard Brown Bess smoothbore flintlock musket weighed fourteen pounds. It had an effective range of three hundred yards but was wildly unreliable at more than one hundred yards. In order to maximize firepower, regiments deployed into line. At ranges as close as forty yards, the opposing lines traded volleys in massed group fire. Repeated close-order drill instilled the ability to load and fire quickly, absorb losses, and close ranks as losses thinned the firing line.

The hallmark of the British infantry was the ability to deliver a bayonet charge. Soldiers fixed the one-pound, fourteen-inch-long socket bayonet over their gun's muzzle, and at their officers' command advanced on their foe at the quick step. A charging line of bayonet-wielding redcoats presented an imposing scene and often proved tactically triumphant.

## PRIVATES AND OFFICERS

Eighteenth-century soldiers most often joined the British army for economic reasons. The onset of the industrial revolution brought enormous social change. Destitute common laborers, unemployed textile workers, and displaced artisans joined the army to escape poverty. A private soldier received eight pence per day from which there were numerous required deductions. Privates seldom had much if any coin in their pockets to supplement their poor diet or afford any recreations. Even officers' pay failed to keep up with wartime inflation.

Commissions in the army were bought and sold. The purchase system hampered men of moderate means from ascending very high, regardless of their military talents. Most regimental officers up to the rank of major came from the middle class. Only sons of the nobility—William and Richard Howe, Thomas Gage, John Burgoyne, Henry Clinton—could afford high command. They had to be politicians as well as soldiers to become senior generals.

The common soldier usually enlisted for life. Army service was not popular, and the government had difficulty in filling the ranks. The Scottish Highlands and Ireland had long been a fruitful recruiting ground. Because of emigration to America and unusual Irish prosperity, fewer recruits were available when the American War for Independence began. This led to the employment of some thirty thousand German mercenaries along with numerous additional Germans who served in British units. Various bounties attracted some recruits in the British Isles, but after three years of war the government increasingly had to turn to impressment. This measure brought vagrants and the extremely poor into the ranks. Jails released debtors and criminals. Yet field battalions continued to be under strength.

When the Revolution began, the paper strength of the Royal Army stood at some 48,647 men, including 39,294 infantry, but its real strength was closer to 20,000. Some 7,000 served in North America, including those assigned to garrison Canada. By 1781 the number of effectives in North America had risen to about 40,000. Americans helped fill the ranks, but most Tories preferred to serve in Loyalist units. Numerous Continental deserters also took the king's shilling.

## STRATEGIC PROBLEMS

During the age of sail, supporting an army operating three thousand miles from its home was a daunting technical challenge. The government annually concluded contracts to furnish a complete daily ration

for every soldier in America. Transport carried the provisions across the Atlantic, but hungry redcoats found them to be inedible. Commissary generals repeatedly complained about the delivery of moldy bread, weevily biscuit, rancid butter, sour flour, worm-eaten peas, and maggoty beef.

Distance from its home and the colonial environment made the army's task to crush the rebellion very hard. The negligence, corruption, and inefficiency of its administration, particularly in the provisioning and transport services, enormously compounded that difficulty.

France's entry into the war in February 1778 changed the strategic calculus. Unchallenged command of the sea was gone. The French fleet could deliver enemy soldiers anywhere at a time when the British army was widely dispersed from Canada to Florida and in the West Indies. In fact, the crown valued the West Indies more than the rebellious colonies. The need to retain the islands greatly diminished the resources available to fight the rebels.

The king was even willing to concede that New England, the birthplace of the rebellion, might be beyond reconquering. However, the supposed presence of thousands of Loyalists in the southern colonies helped turn attention toward the Carolinas. The result was the last British strategic offensive. It opened with the capture of Charleston (May 1780) and ended with the surrender at Yorktown (October 1781).

A notable feature of the southern campaign was the participation of large numbers of Loyalist units. Indeed, except for the British commander, the strategically critical Battle of Kings Mountain (7 October 1780) was exclusively an American fight. Yet in the end the Loyalist turnout was disappointing to the British. The British infantry remained the key to battle. The redcoats continued to fight bravely, but their numbers steadily dwindled. Lord Cornwallis's pyrrhic victory at Guilford Courthouse (15 March 1781) cost him too many irreplaceable men and compelled him into his ultimately disastrous march into Virginia.

Although poorly fed and cared for and often poorly led, the redcoats time and again performed courageously. For example, the ability of the British infantry to suffer two repulses with heavy losses and then mount a third, decisive charge up the blood-soaked slopes of Breed's Hill (17 June 1775) was a remarkable martial achievement. Regimental pride and discipline go far to explain such sterling conduct.

## THE WAR OF 1812

The Revolutionary War ended with the British army having lost some of its imposing reputation. But it retained a presence in North America, and those soldiers garrisoning certain forts on the Great Lakes became one of the causes for a new conflict, the War of 1812 (1812–1815).

The War of 1812 began at a time when the British army was absorbed in a death struggle against Napoleonic France. Since the American Revolution, the British infantry had formally converted from fighting in three ranks to two, which greatly improved its firepower. But the disciplined bayonet charge remained its tactical trump.

At war's start only a small regular force defended Canada, but it was sufficient to repulse the uncoordinated American invasion. Thereafter, major conflict occurred along the Niagara frontier, which the redcoats fought with their customary steadiness.

Napoleon's fall from power in 1814 released British veterans for service in North America. They easily defeated the mismanaged Americans at Bladensburg (24 August 1814) in Maryland and proceeded to capture Washington. However, their frontal charge against well-led Americans at New Orleans (8 January 1815) was a costly defeat. Napoleon's return from exile in 1815 refocused the army on the war against France. In sum, for the British army, the War of 1812 was very much a sideshow.

*See also* **French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Military Technology; Revolution: Military History; Revolution: Military Leadership, American; War of 1812.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brumwell, Stephen. *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Curtis, Edward E. *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution.* New York: AMS Press, 1969.

Fortescue, J. W. *A History of the British Army.* 13 vols. New York: AMS, 1976.

Frey, Sylvia R. *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Mackesy, Piers. *The War for America, 1775–1783.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

*James R. Arnold*

# BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

**BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD** In 1754 tensions between British and French colonies in North America had reached a breaking point. These colonies lay in defined, neighboring patterns: the British in a coastal arc from Georgia to what would become Maine, France in the bordering territory from the St. Lawrence River down to what became the state of Louisiana. While it can be said that the immensity of the continent should have led to the realization that there was enough land and potential for all, the continent's great size paradoxically also meant that each side wanted this unrealized potential all to itself. In the summer of 1754, a British fort at the headwaters of the Ohio River was demolished by French troops, who promptly rebuilt it and named it Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of French Quebec.

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The combination of French armed forces with Indian assistance threatened the British colonies, particularly at the edges, so an impassioned plea was made to the royal government by representatives of seven colonies at a conference in Albany, New York, in 1754. Faced with the loss of prestige within its empire, as well as the possible loss of its interests in North America, Britain responded with troops and preparations for war.

For Britain, the war in North America was a disaster until 1757, when the royal government appealed to the colonial assemblies for further assistance with the promise of increased spending and generous reimbursement for assistance. The necessity of reversing the direction of the war forced the British government into a much more cooperative policy. Military spending increased hurriedly, and the increased funding and the nimble strategy of William Pitt the Elder, the new prime minister, turned the tide. By 1759 the British had scored substantial Atlantic victories from Canada to the Caribbean islands. Subsequent victories proved to Britain that cooperation with the colonies was to their advantage, though at a high price—a debt that Britain would spend decades trying to pay off, with the colonies used as an increasing source of funds.

### BRITAIN'S NEW POLICY: THE REASONS

The decade after 1754 saw Britain make significant changes in relations with its Atlantic possessions; moving from a hands-off policy to a much greater and active supervision. In addition to the British debt, the accession to the throne of George III in 1760 and the Paris Treaty of 1763 were also major reasons for the changing British attitude. The "king-in-Parliament" was determined to manage the empire personally and more closely than before, as evidenced by his dissatisfaction with and replacement of a series of prime ministers and administrations, none of which appeared to satisfy him. The rapid turnover of administrations meant that more responsibility fell to senior bureaucrats, who tightened control over colonial affairs. Legally, the colonies were chartered, protected bodies subject to control by the crown, but in the early eighteenth century, the empire was content to let the colonies fend for themselves with little interference. Thanks to the Hanoverians and the stretched imperial economy, uniformity and consolidation of control soon became the focus of colonial policy.

The colonies were becoming both an increasing source of revenue and a corresponding drain on imperial finances. From 1747 to 1765, the value of colonial exports to Britain doubled from about £700,000 to £1.5 million, and the value of imports also doubled, from £900,000 to £2.0 million. Exports from Britain to its various outposts were rising at a staggering amount as well: between 1750 and 1772, the tonnage of exports from British ports nearly doubled. The population of British North America doubled also from 1750 to 1770, from approximately one million to two million. In 1700 the American population was one-twentieth of Britain's and Ireland's combined; in 1770 it was one-fifth.

From its beginnings, the foundation of the British Empire lay in mercantilism, a system designed to gain imperial and political strength from trade and commerce. Mercantile theory held that the wealth of a nation is found in its supply of precious metals (thus justifying the empire's firm grasp on the minting of coin in its colonies) as well as from a favorable balance of trade. The prevailing attitude among Britons was that America existed merely for the economic benefit of Britain, and they claimed that the benefit would increase if private investors and tradesmen were left to their own devices. Sir Walter Raleigh's words from two centuries earlier still held the day: "Whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself." Small wonder that economic expansion was called "the only justifiable Reason that can be given . . . of making Settlements and planting Colonies" by Sir William Keith, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania from 1717 to 1726, who later was one of the very first administrators to suggest the idea of a stamp tax on the colonies.

## A CHANGE IN COLONIAL POLICY

In 1763 the British Parliament changed its philosophy; from now on, regulations regarding North American trade would be imposed not just to regulate colonial commerce, but also to keep the trade solely in the hands of the British, protecting a significant source of revenue for the empire, which in turn could be used for its increasingly costly defense.

The change took the form of a series of increasingly strict and unwelcome statutes. The Proclamation Act of 1763 forbade North American expansion westward past a rough line drawn approximately along the Appalachian Mountains. This law was odious to the colonists since the colonies were in danger of losing a great deal of potential western property, particularly the Virginia colony. (The fact that Nova Scotia and Georgia were expanded by the act was of small consolation). The Sugar Act of 1764 extended and replaced the Molasses Act of 1733. More items would be taxed, and enforcement would be more vigorous. The Stamp Act of the following year was the final straw, pushing the colonies from resentment to active resistance, and later rebellion. All colonial documents, including legal forms, official proclamations, and even newspapers, had to be stamped. Also, a fee had to be paid to collectors, who were not under the control of the colonial governor and therefore prone to committing abuses and fraud.

The various revenue acts also led to greater British organizational control, including the creation in 1767 of the American Board of Customs Commissioners, responsible for strict enforcement and collection. Disputes brought to the board were almost exclusively resolved in favor of the British government. Vice admiralty courts claimed to prosecute vigorously smugglers but were widely corrupt—customs officials falsely accused ship owners of possessing undeclared items, thereby seizing the cargoes of entire vessels, and justices of the juryless courts were entitled to a percentage of the goods from colonial ships that they ruled unlawful. Writs of assistance and blanket search warrants to search for smuggled goods were liberally abused. John Hancock, the wealthy New England merchant, had his ship *Liberty* seized in 1768 on a false charge, incensing the colonists. Charges against Hancock were later dropped and his ship returned because of the fear that he would appeal to more scrupulous customs officials in Britain.

Britain's desire for increased colonial control mirrored the realization that the Atlantic Ocean was becoming more than a barrier to be crossed—it represented a complex new system of interaction, over which Britain desired control for itself. The creation of the African slave trade a century earlier had established a triangular Atlantic network, through which trade in raw materials (such as timber, tar and tobacco), finished goods (such as the precious items traded to African tribal chiefs) and slaves surged. Portugal, Holland and France had also established similar trade systems, and these burgeoning Atlantic routes would shortly form a complete new "Atlantic World" dynamic that was essential to the survival of all Atlantic colonial enterprises.

## TURMOIL IN BRITISH POLITICS

Stability of administration in the colonies was not enhanced by the extremely turbulent political climate at home. There were fifteen prime ministers between 1754 and 1783, with widely disparate measures of success. They included Thomas Pelham-Holles, the hypochondriac duke of Newcastle (1754–1756, 1757–1762), who resigned twice due to an incompetence that almost lost the war with France; John Stuart, earl of Bute (1762–1763), who served a mere eleven months, could not appear on the streets without a disguise, and was frequently burned in effigy while in office; and Frederick North, Lord North (1770–1782), who doggedly supported the oppressive policies of George III, even when faced with evidence of their failure, and therefore presided over the loss of the American colonies.

George Grenville, the prime minister from 1763 to 1765, provided the greatest spark to colonial tensions; in order to increase his popularity at home, he lowered taxes, shifting the burden to the colonies in the measures noted above. One of the rare capable administrations of this era was that of William Pitt the Elder (1757–1761, 1766–1768), who actively spoke out against colonial policy in America, realizing that the colonists were being pushed toward a breaking point.

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

The face of the British Empire in North America was represented by the royal governors, who were appointed by the crown to each royal colony; or, in the case of the proprietary or chartered colonies of New England, elected by the colonies themselves. The primary administrative responsibility of the British Empire in the Atlantic fell to the governors, who acted under royal prerogative and held wide-ranging if not always well-defined power. The royal prerogative of these governors meant that they had the same powers, and in some cases extensions of the powers, as held by the crown in Britain: the governor was

captain-general (and vice admiral) of the provincial military forces; was empowered to appoint justices and establish courts as he saw fit; was authorized to make laws with the consent of the council and assembly; and had wide-ranging "minor" powers, such as granting pardons and appointments to ecclesiastical positions. The duties of governors in the proprietary colonies were much the same as the royal appointees, though they tended to act with more individual latitude, causing the crown (and other colonies) to argue for a uniform royal standard throughout North America.

**Types of governors.** Invested with broad powers, the governors of the eighteenth century unfortunately fell for the most part into two categories. One group comprised intelligent and ambitious men who desired to make something of themselves and eagerly sought colonial positions; many of them became corrupt, insensitive leaders. The other group was made up of those who could not succeed in Britain and were therefore shipped out as reward for loyalty to the crown, exiled away from their failings at home, or rewarded for their financial support—in all cases without the colonists' consent or with their best interests in mind.

By 1763, the colonies were divided into three groups, according to how they were governed: the seven "royal" colonies, in which the governor was appointed directly by the Crown, based on a recommendation from the Board of Trade; the "charter" colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, who chose their own governors; and the private or "proprietary" colonies—Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware—whose relationship with the crown was ill defined and often contentious. Thankfully, the unwieldy system of "personal unions," in which colonies were combined under the administration of a single governor, had been abandoned by then.

**Ineffectiveness and corruption.** Most governorships were patronage appointments, given to men like Francis Bernard, governor of New Jersey in 1758, and then Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769. A well-educated, unassuming man, he obtained the post by virtue of connections to the king through his uncle, and he pursued appointment in the colonies only to meet the financial needs of his ten children. "I am assured that I may depend on a quiet and easy administration. I shall have no points of government to dispute about . . . with a very pretty place to retire to." Bernard quickly found the demands of governorship to be much more difficult than he was able to handle, and he left his post to his successor, the unfortunate Thomas Hutchinson. Although he opposed the Stamp Act and was at first determinedly sympathetic to the colonies, Hutchinson nevertheless became the object of the hatred directed at the policies of George III and Parliament.

Abundant examples exist of the ineffectiveness of the royal governors and their administrations, though simple incompetence was not always the reason. The men sent to govern—profiteering administrators, with no head for understanding the political climate—were quite unfit to deal with the awakenings of political consciousness in the colonies. The British government was frustrated by the lack of talent on the ground, but the system of royal patronage appointments continued. Authority to grant land was vested in the governor on terms laid down in his instructions from the crown, but the crown's expectations for quick settlement and fair grants were frustrated by governors' efforts to subvert the system for their own gain. In contrast, the carefully constructed and executed land grant scheme of the British West Indies spurred development ahead of many of the North American colonies.

Corruption by colonial officers was not simply a matter of outright stealing from colonial treasuries, though there was certainly quite a lot of that. By 1765, according to one estimate, systematic smuggling, graft, extortion, and bribery in the colonies cost the British treasury some £750,000 per year. The deeper problem, however, was that colonial appointees largely viewed the purpose of their positions as being personal advancement, including the accumulation of personal wealth. Eliseus Burgess, who was appointed royal governor of Massachusetts in 1715 but remained in England, is said to have sold his governorship for £1,000. One-third of the seizures and forfeitures of vessels for violation of the seventeenth-century Navigation Acts went into the governor's personal coffers. And in Delaware, the property of persons dying intestate was granted to the governor. It is small wonder that to most colonial governors, the growth of the colonies and the freedom of their constituents ran a losing battle against personal gain.

The manner in which the governors were paid their salary varied among the individual colonies and was linked to the constant controversy over where the governor's allegiance should lie. Governors paid from the treasuries of the colonial assemblies, it was argued, should be accountable to the assemblies, not the government in Britain. Such was rarely the case, however.

Proprietary governors also struggled with their duty to their benefactors. Horatio Sharpe, governor of Maryland from 1755 to 1761, wrote of his frustration with this dual accountability: "If my hands had not been tied up by such Instructions as empty Coffers seem to have dictated I should many Months ago have had a Regiment of Maryland Troops under my Command and in all probability have been enabled to prevent any Incursions of Indians into this Province."

More governors than not were scorned and feared by the colonists. Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, royal governor of New Jersey from 1702 to 1708, treated his subjects, in the words of the New Jersey assembly, "not as Free-Men who were to be Governed by laws, but as Slaves, of whose Persons and Estates he had the sole power of disposing."

Rarely, but with increasing frequency in the eighteenth century, gubernatorial appointments were drawn from the colonists themselves, and in those cases, the results were, not surprisingly, to the benefit of the colony. Upon his appointment, the first royal governor of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, serving from 1741 to 1767, was greeted with enthusiasm by the colonial assembly as a governor whose "interests mixed with theirs." Wentworth, though, like other governors, was fiercely loyal to the crown, and he dismissed the assembly in 1765 for its protests against the Stamp Act.

There were examples of effective colonial leadership. William Burnet, governor at various times during the 1720s of New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, was noted in particular for his conscientious and unselfish governance. However, the governorships and the powers invested in them allowed too much potential, in the eyes of the colonists, for corruption and manipulation, and the negative examples were seized upon as instances of the unfairness of British domination of the colonies.

### DENIAL OF REPRESENTATION AND RIGHTS

Regardless of the personality or suitability of the governor, in the eyes of the colonists the most repellent aspect of the imperial system was that they helped pay for the maintenance of the empire without corresponding representation. Britain responded with the argument that like the American colonists, "all British subjects are really in the same [condition]; none are actually, all are virtually represented in Parliament." This virtual, not actual, representation—accountability to Parliament, without any say in its policies or governance—caused the deepest colonial resentment.

Another source of contention in the colonies was the application of law. Were colonists governed by English law or could they adapt the legal system to their particular needs? Realizing the similarities of the situation in the Atlantic with that of Ireland, some in Parliament suggested that Poyning's Law (1494), which restricted the Irish Parliament from taking action on any law that was not approved by the English throne, be applied to the American colonies as well.

Most historians refer to the American Revolution as marking the end of the first British Empire, and it was royal attempts to consolidate and organize imperial power in the Atlantic that may have brought about this end. The inferiority of the men entrusted with governance contributed, but the overriding factor may simply have been the colonists' belief in British liberties and natural rights, a belief that the home government failed to recognize, with fatal consequences for their Atlantic empire.

*See also* **Constitutionalism: American Colonies; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Origins of American Politics.* New York: Knopf, 1968.

———. *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Burrows, Edwin G. "Corruption." In *The Reader's Companion to American History.* Edited by Eric Foner and John A. Garraty. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1991.

Carrington, C. E. *The British Overseas: Exploits of a Nation of Shopkeepers.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Churchill, Winston. *History of the English-Speaking Peoples.* New York: Dodd, Mead, 1965.

Greene, Evarts B. *The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1898.

Greene, Jack P. *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Hall, Hubert. "Chatham's Colonial Policy." *American Historical Review* 5 (1900): 659–675.

Henretta, James A. *"Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration under the Duke of Newcastle.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Home, William Douglas, ed. *The Prime Ministers: Stories and Anecdotes from Number 10.* London: W. H. Allen, 1987.

Hunt, William. *The History of England, from the Accession of George III to the Close of Pitt's First Administration (1760–1801).* New York: Greenwood, 1969.

James, Lawrence. *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire.* London: Little, Brown, 1994.

Mises, Ludwig von. "Senior's Lectures on Monetary Problems." *Economic Journal* 43 (1933): 525–530.

Murdoch, D. H. "Land Policy in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire: The Sale of Crown Lands in the Ceded Islands, 1763–1783." *Historical Journal* 27 (1984): 549–574.

Steele, Ian. "The Anointed, the Appointed, and the Elected: Governance of the British Empire, 1689–1784." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire.* Volume 2, *The Eighteenth Century.* Edited by P. J. Marshall. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Thackeray, Frank W., and John E. Findling, eds. *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998.

Ubbelohde, Carl. *The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607–1763.* New York: Crowell, 1968.

Watson, Alan D. "The Quitrent System in Royal South Carolina." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 33 (1976): 183–211.

Winch, D. N. "Classical Economics and the Case for Colonization", *Economica*, Vol. 30, No. 120 (Nov. 1963): 387-399

Wood, Gordon S. *The American Revolution: A History.* New York: Modern Library, 2002.

*Doug Krehbiel*

---

**BUILDING TECHNOLOGY**  *See* **Civil Engineering and Building Technology; Construction and Home Building.**

---

**BUNKER HILL, BATTLE OF**  The Battle of Bunker Hill (17 June 1775) unfolded as a spectacle before thousands of onlookers, searing their memories along with those of future Americans. In this first pitched battle of the American Revolution, the finest troops of the British army stormed a hill occupied by exhausted, disorganized, inexperienced New Englanders. Both sides experienced heavy casualties. As a result, the British would prove more cautious in their subsequent movements against Americans, while Americans came to realize their need for organized leadership now that they had begun an open, violent revolt.

During the two months after the Battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the Massachusetts provincial government assembled an army of fifteen to twenty thousand New Englanders around British-occupied Boston. General Thomas Gage, royal governor of Massachusetts, had done nothing during this time to dislodge these forces or extend his effective control beyond Boston. On the night of 16 June 1775, fearing a British movement, Colonel William Prescott and his detachment of New Englanders occupied an important position atop Breed's Hill on Charlestown peninsula (though the Massachusetts Committee of Safety had ordered them to Bunker Hill, for which the battle was named). This untrained army, insufficiently equipped with artillery, could not hope to hold the hill, yet did so for two and a half hours on 17 June.

The battle gave three British generals their first taste of fighting against Americans: the cautious William Howe; the tenacious yet unheeded Sir Henry Clinton; and the self-important John Burgoyne. The commanders unwisely decided to throw a frontal assault against the New Englanders' lines when flanking maneuvers would have dispatched the Americans more effectively. The British troops attempted the defensive fortifications three times, and the Americans cut them down in droves with sustained musket fire. Meanwhile, the Royal Navy cannonaded the empty town of Charlestown, reducing it to cinders. The New Englanders demonstrated remarkable resolve as they held their position without ever receiving reinforcements. As the New Englanders ran out of ammunition, the British finally routed the defenders with a bayonet charge and commanded the heights of Charlestown peninsula.

General Clinton described the battle as "a dear bought victory, another such would have ruined us." About half of the 2,200 British troops (including 92 officers) sustained wounds or died, compared to approximately 400 of their American enemies killed or wounded. The British came to the sickening realization that quelling the American rebellion would come with a terrible price in casualties. Any hopes for reconciliation, or, alternatively, for military occupation of inland Massachusetts, were now fading.

Americans, meanwhile, lamented their failure to occupy the peninsula and the death of Patriot leader Dr. Joseph Warren, who fell during the battle. They howled with outrage at the destruction of Charlestown; Benjamin Franklin disingenuously accused the British of having "barbarously plundered and burnt a fine, undefended Town." The authors of the Declaration of Independence would later explicitly list such destruction among their grievances against the king. The Battle of Bunker Hill marked out heroes, cowards, and martyrs, giving both sides much to
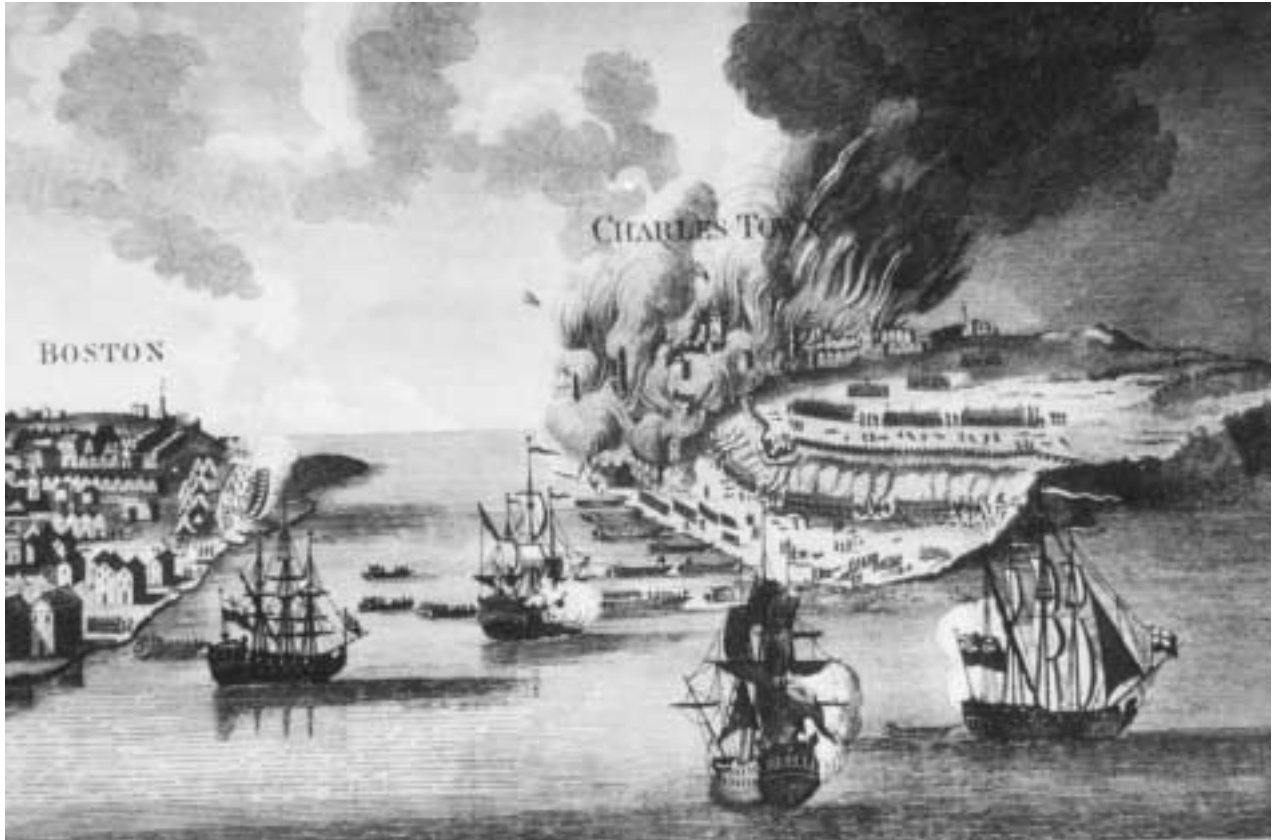
**The Attack on Bunker Hill.** The Battle of Bunker Hill, shown here in John Lodge's *View of the Attack on Bunker Hill, with the Burning of Charles Town, June 17, 1775* (1783), was actually fought on nearby Breed's Hill. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS & PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION.

ponder during this first year of the American Revolution.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ketchum, Richard M. *Decisive Day: The Battle for Bunker Hill.* New York: Holt, 1974.

Purcell, Sarah J. *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

*Benjamin L. Carp*

**BURNED-OVER DISTRICT**   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BURR CONSPIRACY**   After two centuries, the Burr Conspiracy (1804–1807) remains among the most mysterious events in American history. Other than Aaron Burr and, perhaps, a few of his closest friends, no one at the time could determine precisely what Burr intended, and no one since has definitively established his thinking.

Burr had been a leader of the Democratic Republican Party in the 1790s and played a crucial role in its victory in the election of 1800. But his behavior during the final stage of that election—as the House of Representatives worked to break the electoral deadlock between him and Thomas Jefferson—had badly damaged his standing in the party and with the new president. By the fall of 1804, Vice President Burr seemed to have little political future. That year he had failed in his bid to become governor of New York and killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, for which he was indicted for murder in New York and New Jersey.

As his vice presidential term came to an end early in 1805, Burr apparently began shaping a plan to revive his fortunes in the West, probably in association with James Wilkinson—an ally from the Revolution, a leading figure in Kentucky's famed Spanish Con-

spiracy, a paid Spanish spy, and the highest-ranking general in the U.S. Army. If Burr had a single plan, he enveloped it in secrecy and mystery by telling different people different things. To some, he suggested that the ultimate goal was a division of the American Union at the Appalachian Mountains and the erection of a new, and more energetic, nation on both sides of the Mississippi Valley. To others, he revealed a plan to invade Spanish Mexico, liberate its colonists, and establish a new empire. Usually, he told potential supporters that this plan depended upon a war between the United States and Spain, occasionally even hinting that men high in the administration approved of his preparations. At other times, he insisted that the government knew nothing of his plans.

Before leaving Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1805, Burr used his remaining influence to have Wilkinson appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory. That summer and fall he traveled throughout the West, lining up supporters. The following winter he returned to the East and unfolded different versions of his plan in secret meetings with the British and Spanish ministers, hoping to secure financial and perhaps even military assistance. Over the summer of 1806, Burr's agents began recruiting men and procuring supplies and boats in preparation for his return to the West. A series of perfectly legal projects provided cover for his activities: winning election to Congress from a western state or territory, constructing a canal around the falls of the Ohio River at Louisville, and settling an immense tract of land in the Orleans Territory (the modern state of Louisiana).

Over the summer of 1806, relations between the United States and Spain verged toward war. Jefferson sent Wilkinson and the army to the disputed border between Louisiana and Texas and Burr decided to set his plans in motion, apparently trusting in events to decide which part of his plan to pursue. In October 1806, Wilkinson found himself forced to de-cide between his conflicting loyalties to Spain, the United States, and Burr. He apparently decided that Burr's "conspiracy" could not succeed and betrayed it to Jefferson, disguising his involvement as well as he could. As Wilkinson's letter raced to Washington, Burr's preparations crumbled in the face of hostile public opinion and various legal challenges. By late December, when his supporters converged at the mouth of the Cumberland River, Burr had just ten boats and less than one hundred men. On 10 January 1807 he learned of Wilkinson's treachery and Jefferson's call for his arrest when he came ashore above Natchez. He surrendered himself for a trial in the Mississippi Territory. After it proved abortive, Burr was taken to Richmond, Virginia, where he was tried for treason and for the misdemeanor of organizing an expedition against Spanish Mexico. The trial played out over seven months. Favorable rulings by Chief Justice John Marshall on evidentiary matters secured Burr's acquittal on both charges in September 1807.

Whether it existed or not, and whether it involved treason or not, the Burr Conspiracy was made to serve various political purposes. It was used by Republicans—in the administration, the major newspapers, and the West—to show the intensity of western loyalty, to demonstrate the energy of republican (and Republican) government, and to blast the patriotism of most Federalists. Federalists, in turn, presented Burr and his friends as victims of Jeffersonian persecution.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abernethy, Thomas Perkins. *The Burr Conspiracy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Lomask, Milton. *Aaron Burr.* 2 vols. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979, 1982.

Melton, Buckner F., Jr. *Aaron Burr: Conspiracy to Treason.* New York: Wiley, 2000.

*James E. Lewis Jr.*

## CABINET AND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

In 1787 the Constitution created a federal government with broad powers. But if the Constitution stated what that government *could* do, it did not state *how* it should do it. Creating a practical means for implementing the Constitution would become the daily task of the president, his cabinet, and a small but far-reaching federal workforce reporting to the executive. The federal government exercised limited powers within the states themselves; thus daily operations within the executive responded primarily to foreign relations or to matters concerning the territorial periphery.

When the first federal officials—President George Washington, Vice President John Adams, members of the House and Senate, and a small clerical staff—reached the new capital in New York in 1789, they arrived without any clear mandate for how best to distribute power within the federal government. Participants at the Constitutional Convention had spent little time on the subject of practical policymaking, nor had it been a dominant subject in the debate over ratification. Some federal leaders believed that the advice and consent clause of the Constitution not only permitted but required extensive Senate involvement in direct management of any federal bureaucracy. Others, working primarily from their belief in Washington's own leadership ability, assumed that the president himself would take direct charge of the men who served him.

Federal leaders eventually agreed that both approaches were impractical, requiring either a level of centralization that no man could run effectively and a tyrant might use dangerously, or a level of inefficient decentralization that would result from direct congressional involvement. The executive and Congress together crafted a system of cabinet officials clearly within the executive that drew most of its inspiration from European—especially British—models. But it did break from the British system in one important way. Unlike the parliamentary system operating in London, where cabinet ministers usually held seats in Parliament, the Constitution's requirement for a separation of powers prohibited service in both the cabinet and Congress.

The structure established in the Washington administration (1789–1797) underwent few changes throughout the early Republic. The administration initially consisted of State and Treasury Departments and a War Department that controlled both the small federal army and a nonexistent navy. Although technically part of the cabinet, the attorney general functioned as a legal advisor with only limited administrative duties outside the capital. Meanwhile, the Postmaster General reported to the State Department

but enjoyed quasi–independent status within the cabinet because of its considerable budget and nationwide reach. The only major changes to the cabinet structure came almost a decade later. First, as the United States mobilized a fleet at sea in 1797, Congress created a separate Navy Department. Second, the open rift between President John Adams (1797–1801) and his vice president, Thomas Jefferson, replaced the dynamics within the Washington administration, where Adams chafed at the limited constitutional powers of the vice presidency but nonetheless remained an important policymaker through his personal relationship with Washington.

The situation only intensified after the election of 1800. Jefferson never forgave Aaron Burr, his own vice president during his first term (1801–1805), for his failure to disavow a last-minute bid for the presidency in 1800. Not only did this situation inspire the Twelfth Amendment, which created the system of official presidential and vice presidential candidates, but it also prompted Jefferson in his second term (1805–1809), as well as Presidents Madison (1809–1817) and Monroe (1817–1825), to choose as their running mates aging politicians of limited dynamism whose primary benefit would be to deliver regional votes.

### RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE CABINET

The distribution of power inside the cabinet revealed a consistency that mirrored structural arrangements. After the president, the secretary of state was first among equals. In addition to its current role in foreign policy, the State Department also oversaw direct administration of the federal territories (later assigned to the Interior Department), authority over U.S. attorneys (eventually housed in the Justice Department), and liaison responsibilities with Congress and state governors (now the responsibility of a variety of White House officials). Only the Treasury Department—and its leadership—came close to rivaling the State Department.

Leading political figures naturally gravitated toward this office, and presidents recognized that the State Department was a logical appointment for their closest allies. All of the Democratic Republican presidents (Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams) served prior to their own presidencies as secretary of state for other presidents. Only the last Democratic Republican secretary of state, Henry Clay (serving under John Quincy Adams from 1825 to 1829), failed in his bid for the presidency.

Only secretaries of the Treasury came close to matching the influence of their colleagues from the State Department. This was the obvious case in the Washington administration, during which Alexander Hamilton (serving from 1789 to 1795) battled with Jefferson for influence with the president and for control over the national agenda. Likewise, during his lengthy tenure in office, from 1801 to 1814, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin remained one of President Jefferson's and President Madison's closest confidants. William Crawford of Georgia also proved influential during his own extended tenure as secretary of the Treasury from 1816 to 1825. He left the office after coming in third out of four candidates in the divisive presidential campaign of 1824.

In sharp contrast, the War Department exercised relatively little direct influence on policymaking, this despite the United States Army's status as the largest single source of federal employment and, accordingly, the largest item in the federal budget. Henry Knox, who served as secretary of war for Washington from 1789 to 1795, and his successors concerned themselves primarily with administrative matters, implementing policies usually developed in collaboration between the president, the secretaries of state and the Treasury, and other confidants. This arrangement was also in keeping with efforts to preserve civilian authority over the military. Although John C. Calhoun brought unprecedented political power to the War Department during the Monroe administration (1817–1825), he was the exception that proved the rule. Calhoun also oversaw the final transfer of most of the State Department's responsibility for Indian affairs to the War Department. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams seemed eager to dispense with Indian affairs, part of Adams's own efforts to reorganize procedures within the State Department. Calhoun was able to use the War Department as a stepping-stone to the vice presidency (1825–1832) under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

If political relationships within the cabinet remained consistent, relations between the executive and Congress varied. After sharing a general consensus on many policymaking issues during the first and second Congresses, the emerging Jeffersonian opposition in Congress actively resisted the executive during the 1790s. This situation reversed itself from 1801 to 1804, after the Republicans took control of the executive but before they constructed a majority in Congress. Yet partisanship alone did not dictate these problems. Members of both parties challenged the constitutionality of executive action in negotiating the Louisiana Purchase, questioned the prudence

of the Embargo of 1807–1809, and openly challenged military planning during the War of 1812.

## MANAGING THE CABINET AND FEDERAL AGENCIES

Whatever the developments within the federal capital, the daily reality of executive operations was more often a product of external developments both at home and abroad. The cabinet offices that saw the greatest changes were the army and the navy, and for obvious reasons. Throughout most of the 1790s and the early 1800s, the army underwent regular restructuring and a general increase in size as the federal government struggled to establish or preserve racial supremacy over the Indians of the western frontiers. The Quasi-War with France and the embargo led to short-lived increases to the army. But it was the War of 1812 that caused the largest and most sustained military buildup in the early Republic. Equally important, the disastrous military campaigns in 1812 and 1813 led officials in Congress to demand a series of administrative reforms within the army that continued into the 1820s. The navy saw similar increases during the Quasi-War, the Tripolitan War of 1801–1805, and the War of 1812.

The State Department experienced its own growing pains. The ongoing federal governance of the Old Northwest and the subsequent acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase, the Gulf Coast, and the Florida Peninsula required the consistent expansion of the territorial system. Managing those frontier territories also forced the State Department to become actively involved in asserting white control over Indians, slaves, and free people of color in places where that power seemed most tenuous. Meanwhile, increasing commercial engagements overseas led Congress to authorize a growing number of foreign ministers and consuls.

In all these cabinet agencies, the number of administrative staff officials in the various federal capitals remained small even as the number of officials serving at home and abroad continued to grow. Weeding through the vast number of applicants seeking federal patronage was a major task for all members of the cabinet. Managing those officials after they received their appointments was no less taxing. Federal patronage also became one of the most potentially politicized activities of government. The use of patronage as a political tool only increased in the antebellum era as politicians increasingly looked on federal appointment as a means to achieving strategic party goals.

Indeed, the changing attitude toward the use of patronage represented one of the most important shifts from the Age of Jefferson to the Age of Jackson.

*See also* **Congress; Constitutional Convention; Constitution: Twelfth Amendment; Embargo; Louisiana Purchase; Presidency, The; Quasi-War with France; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crenson, Matthew A. *The Federal Machine: Beginnings of Bureaucracy in Jacksonian America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Cunningham, Noble E. *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801–1809.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Ketcham, Ralph. *Presidents Above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

White, Leonard D. *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History.* New York: Macmillan, 1948; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

———. *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801–1829.* New York: Macmillan, 1951.

*Peter J. Kastor*

## CAIN RIDGE   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

## CAMP FOLLOWERS

**CAMP FOLLOWERS**   At Yorktown, Virginia, the site in 1781 of the last major battle of the American Revolution, Sarah Osborn remembered that she took her stand "just back of the American tents, say about a mile from the town, and busied [herself] washing, mending, and cooking for the soldiers, in which [she] was assisted by the other females; some men washed their own clothing." While her "husband was there throwing up entrenchments . . . [she] cooked and carried in beef, and bread, and coffee (in a gallon pot) to the soldiers in the entrenchment." When General George Washington stopped her on one of these trips and asked her if she "was not afraid of the cannonballs," she replied, "No, the bullets would not cheat the gallows. It would not do for the men to fight and starve too."

Sarah Osborn belonged to the army, but she was not enlisted, and she was no "whore," an undeserved reputation accorded to "camp followers." Premodern armies had commissaries but no quartermaster corps. Instead, they relied on civilians to meet the soldiers' needs. Most often they were the soldiers' wives and daughters, and many times they brought their children, who also provided for the troops. Sometimes they were men too, and civilian men and women served as deputies, clerks, wagoners, conductors, nurses, sutlers, artificers, and laborers, and were paid as designated "retainers to a camp . . . persons . . . serving with the armies of the United States." Color did not matter, nor did social status. Camp followers were black and white, freedpeople and slaves. Many times they were refugees whose lives had been destroyed by the British army and who followed American troops for protection and employment. This tradition of relying on civilians came from European armies, and Americans had used it in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

During the course of the Revolution, General Washington recognized the indispensability of camp followers and issued rations at the rate of one retainer for every fifteen soldiers. The rest of the retainers would have to provide for themselves by contracting their services directly to soldiers. Women and some men in this position most often served a "mess" of three to four troops. Male and female, adult and child, these retainers formed a community with their soldiers, and together they fought and won the American Revolution.

*See also* **Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dann, John C., ed. *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Mayer, Holly A. *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

*Paul Douglas Newman*

**CANADA**   In 1749 a small fleet of British ships anchored in Chebucto Harbour and disembarked 2,500 passengers to begin the establishment of Halifax as the new capital of Nova Scotia and as the North American base for the Royal Navy. In Newfoundland, Captain George Brydges Rodney, governor and naval commodore posted to the island for the fishing season, undertook a major overhaul of the system of naval governance. Back in Britain, Parliament held inquiries on the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), with a particular focus on whether it was fulfilling its charter obligations to search for the Northwest Passage.

These simultaneous developments reflected a heightened British interest in overseas enterprises, particularly after Britain's poor showing in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). They also represented policies originating in Britain, whether from the Ministry, Parliament, or the Admiralty, and that were implemented in colonies acquired in the eighteenth century, such as Nova Scotia, and commercial enterprises, such as the fishery and fur trade. This trend of overseas involvement became even more pronounced and widely applied after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but in the older colonies settled in the seventeenth century the metropolitan government met serious resistance. Acceptance of those policies or resistance to them reflected two distinct political geographies in British North America. One encompasses the colonies settled in the seventeenth century, which became the United States. The other encompasses the commercial territories and the colonies acquired by conquest in the eighteenth century, which eventually became the modern state of Canada.

## A REMADE IMPERIAL LANDSCAPE

At the start of the Seven Years' War, which unofficially began in the Ohio River Valley in 1754, Britain held more territory than France in the northern half of North America. France's control of Canada (the colony along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes) and Île Royale (or Cape Breton), however, made it the dominant power. Britain's control over Nova Scotia had remained tenuous since its conquest in 1710 and its cession in 1713. By 1754 the number of English-speaking, Protestant settlers had declined to approximately 2,000, although supplemented by 2,500 "Foreign Protestants." The French-speaking, Catholic Acadians were numerically dominant at approximately 15,000 persons. The native peoples in the region numbered around 2,000, but remained a redoubtable military power. Newfoundland had over 5,000 permanent settlers, but they were scattered in outports along hundreds of miles of coastline and were oriented to a transatlantic, not continental North American, world. The Hudson's Bay Company, despite its detractors, was a remarkably stable

***A View of the Taking of Quebeck by the English Forces Commanded by Gen. Wolfe, Sep 13, 1759.*** This engraving from a 1760 issue of *London Magazine* shows the fall of Quebec to the British in 1759, a conquest that added thousands of French-speaking Catholic residents to the British Empire. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

British presence in North America. All of its trading forts, however, were on the shore of the bay, and it assiduously avoided involvement in military conflicts either as allies of native peoples or against the French. Thus these northern British territories were no match for the more integrated parts of New France, particularly the port of Louisbourg on Île Royale, the commercial and administrative centers of Quebec and Montreal surrounded by their well-populated agricultural parishes, and the extensive network of military and trading forts in the St. Lawrence–Great Lakes watershed.

With the outbreak of Anglo–French hostilities in 1754, British officials in Nova Scotia decided to attack Fort Beauséjour, which the French surrendered in June 1755, along with two other forts in the region. Governor Charles Lawrence then issued orders for the deportation of Acadians to colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. By 1756, when war was declared in Europe, a new British imprint was impressing itself on the cultural and political landscape of the Northeast.

Deportations of Acadians continued from 1755 to 1762, leaving vacant thousands of acres of fertile farmland along the Bay of Fundy. After the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, Governor Lawrence invited New Englanders to move to Nova Scotia, and by autumn 1760 approximately 7,000 had settled either on vacated Acadian lands or in South Shore fishing ports. Meanwhile refugee Acadians, both those who eluded deportation and those who returned, settled in remote areas, such as the upper reaches of the Saint John River, on the north shore of Cape Breton, and along the Bay of Chaleur. Large communities of Irish Catholic fishermen congregated in Halifax and Canso, while Irish Protestant farming families settled among New Englanders, along with immigrants out of Yorkshire. In Lunenburg, German and Swiss Protestants put down deep roots.

The Island of St. John (renamed Prince Edward Island in 1799) was added to Nova Scotia in 1763, but politicking in Britain resulted in its division into 20,000-acre townships and their distribution by lottery to wealthy proprietors, who agreed to settle the island. They then asked to be separated from Nova Scotia, which the Ministry agreed to do in 1769 if the proprietors agreed to finance the colonial government through quitrents (land taxes paid to proprietors). By 1775 approximately 1,500 tenants from Scotland, Ireland, and England had settled on the island. To the north in Newfoundland, the permanent population grew to over 12,000 by 1780, dividing itself between Irish Catholics along the Avalon Peninsula and West Country settlers along Conception, Bonavista, and Trinity Bays.

The fall of Quebec and Montreal in 1759 and 1760, respectively, added approximately 70,000 French-speaking, Catholic residents to the British Empire, as well as thousands of native peoples, many of whom had previously been allies of the French. The British devised distinct policies for inhabitants in these newest territories of the empire, articulated most prominently in the Proclamation of 1763 and the 1774 Quebec Act. Native peoples were to be self-governing, and their right of occupation on the land could not be extinguished except through an agent of the Crown. The Quebec Act provided for the continuation of French civil law and thereby the seigneurial system of landholding, and it allowed Catholics to hold public office and the Catholic Church to collect tithes.

A few Britons and British Americans moved into Quebec, most prominently Highland Scots who quickly came to dominate the ownership and management of the Montreal-based fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company had anticipated that the French defeat in North America would attenuate fur trade competition. Instead, the Highland Scots proved to be every bit as, if not more, aggressive than their French predecessors. The Montreal-traders pushed northwestward around Lake Winnipeg, traveled west along the Saskatchewan River system (even though they were on lands included in the HBC charter), and by 1778 had crossed into the Arctic watershed. This aggressive expansion finally forced the HBC to establish inland posts after a century of trading from forts on the Bay.

The American Revolution reconfigured the cultural landscape of North America once again. Approximately 100,000 Loyalists chose to leave the United States, half of whom resettled in the northern loyal colonies. Approximately 35,000 came to Nova Scotia, 20,000 of whom settled in peninsular Nova Scotia. The other 15,000 landed in ports in mainland Nova Scotia and by 1784 persuaded the British government to set them off as the colony of New Brunswick. Among them were 3,000 free blacks, who soon learned that freedom did not bring equality in the distribution of land, in political rights, or in treatment by the courts. In 1792 over a thousand left for Sierra Leone, part of the first resettlement of free blacks in West Africa. Another 15,000 Loyalists settled south and west of Montreal, and soon were agitating for an elected assembly and English common law rather than French civil law. In 1791 Parliament obliged them by passing the Constitutional Act, which divided Quebec into Lower Canada and Upper Canada, the former predominantly French Canadian and the latter English Canadian. In Newfoundland, privateering during the American Revolution disrupted the migratory fishery, prompting a rise in permanent settlement on the island. Similar disruptions during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) effectively ended the migratory fishery.

Unrelated to but simultaneous with the American Revolution was the third and last exploratory expedition of James Cook to the Pacific (1776–1780). Among the expedition's significant landfalls was Nootka Sound on the coast of Vancouver Island, where western Europeans got their first glimpse of the highly lucrative but short-lived trade in sea otter pelts. Reports from the expedition unleashed a race for the Pacific, both by water routes and across North America from Montreal. In 1793 an overland expedition led by the Highland Scot Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific, and his published account influenced Thomas Jefferson's decision to commission an American overland expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

### POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

At the turn of the nineteenth century, there were seven British North American colonies. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada were established jurisdictions. In 1841 the Canadas were combined as one colony with two halves, Canada East and Canada West. Cape Breton became a separate colony in 1784, but political dissent and attempts at imperial economy prompted the British government to reunite it with Nova Scotia in 1820. Newfoundland had long had more inhabitants than some colonies, but not until 1824 did a governor reside on the island year-round and oversee the institutionalization of a more comprehensive colonial government.

Rupert's Land, the Mackenzie Basin, and the Oregon Country were under the administration of the HBC after 1821. In 1811 the Scottish earl of Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, received a grant from the HBC of 116,000 square miles south of Lake Winnipeg to establish the colony of Assiniboia (or Red River). The arrival of Scottish and Swiss settlers prompted armed resistance from the North West Company and the local Métis community, that supplied pemmican and buffalo meat for the fur trade. The conflict contributed to the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, when Red River came under HBC governance. Although the settlement did not initially attract immigrants, it became a major settlement of Métis and retirees from the HBC.

Political culture in post–1783 British North America was strongly influenced by the decision of the British government to enhance the executive powers of governors. Colonists were soon agitating for greater access to political power. As noted above, the complaints of Loyalists in Quebec resulted in the division of the colony with the 1791 Constitutional Act and the establishment of assemblies in both Lower Canada and Upper Canada. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the coming of extended peace, colonists became outspoken, and at times militant, critics of executive powers. Governors and executive councils controlled contracts for public works—such as roads, canals, post offices, and schools—as well as the distribution of public lands, which became a significant issue with the surge in immigration after 1815. Gubernatorial control of executive council appointments also institutionalized biases, particularly ones based on ethnicity, religion, and family connections.

In Lower Canada and Upper Canada, political pressure for reform erupted in armed uprisings in 1837 and 1838. After the suppression of the rebellions and the transportation of some of the French Canadian rebels to Australia, the British government dispatched Lord Durham to the Canadas to investigate the causes of the uprisings and possible solutions. His famous *Report on the Affairs in British North America* (1839) recommended the legislative union of the Canadas, which occurred in 1841, with the untenable objective of assimilating French Canadians to Anglophone (English–speaking) culture. He also recommended implementing responsible government, in which the executive council would be appointed from elected members of the provincial assemblies. Nova Scotia received responsible government in 1847, the Canadas in 1848, Prince Edward Island in 1851, New Brunswick in 1854, and Newfoundland in 1855.

Movements for political change in British North America were more progressive than similar movements in Europe, and generally more conservative than movements in the United States. But in some respects the British North American colonies were more liberal than their neighbor to the south. Most particularly, they eliminated slavery before the empire abolished it in the 1830s and decades before the United States abolished it in the 1860s. Nineteenth-century British North Americans were also aware that their relevant standards of comparison for social change were in Britain, other white settler colonies in the empire, and the United States. Thus while societal changes in both the United States and British North America suggested that their development was converging, the particularities of their histories reaching back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often proved more determinative of distinctive identities than their shared occupation of North America.

*See also* **Acadians; Exploration and Explorers; French; Fur and Pelt Trade; Immigration and Immigrants: Canada.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bannister, Jerry. *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom, and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699–1832.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Baskerville, Peter A. *Ontario: Image, Identity, and Power.* Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Buckner, Phillip A., and John G. Reid, eds. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Bumsted, J. M. *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History.* 2nd ed. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2003–2004.

Dickinson, John, and Brian Young. *A Short History of Quebec.* 3rd ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Gentilcore, R. Louis, ed. *The Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. 2: *The Land Transformed, 1800–1891.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Harris, R. Cole, ed. *The Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginning to 1800.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Mancke, Elizabeth. "Early Modern Imperial Governance and the Origins of Canadian Political Culture." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 32, no. 1 (1999): 3–20.

*Elizabeth Mancke*

**CAPITAL PUNISHMENT**  "You shall be hanged by the neck till you be dead" were the final words pronounced by the judge in capital cases where the jury delivered a guilty verdict. Newspapers recounted scenes of the individual, followed by a coffin, marched through town, often past crowds assembled for the public spectacle. The condemned ascended the steps of the scaffold, where a clergyman offered absolution before the noose was placed around the neck, and the floor dropped from beneath the feet of the hapless individual. The still-living body jerked and choked; the bladder and bowels evacuated upon death. Broadsides and pamphlets completed the execution, warning what awaited anyone who transgressed the rules of the new social order.

Capital punishment continued, despite the new nation's claims to a successful revolution that resulted in, among other things, independence from England's sanguinary penal code. Although the new states used the death penalty for fewer offenses than England, it continued in a nation that prided itself on being a republic ruled by reason and law. In virtually all cases, states, not the federal government, determined under what circumstances capital punishment was appropriate.

Some of the founding generation loathed seeing a body swinging from the gallows, and though they could not bring themselves to advocate its complete abolition, their voices prevailed in diminishing its use. The primary proponents of the death penalty were the clergy, who quoted the Old Testament in justifying it. The Society of Friends, however, was the first and most visible group to oppose capital punishment. In 1792 Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, published a treatise of considerable importance in the movement to reduce the use of capital punishment. He was followed in 1793 by William Bradford, attorney general for Pennsylvania, who wrote that hanging was an unnecessary deterrent. These thinkers and the Society of Friends had been influential in establishing the first prison in the United States, designed to replace corporal and capital punishment with rehabilitative incarceration.

After independence, there were fewer crimes for which an individual could be executed. After 1783 adultery, sodomy, and witchcraft were no longer capital crimes. Pennsylvania was at the forefront of the movement to reduce the number of capital offenses. In 1790 it started punishing lesser crimes with imprisonment instead, and in 1794 Pennsylvania became the first state to use the death penalty for first-degree murder only. Northern and Midwestern states followed Pennsylvania's lead, while southern states continued the death penalty for many offenses, especially those committed by enslaved people.

While every state provided for capital punishment, Virginia outstripped all other states in its use, officially executing 521 people, most of them enslaved, between 1754 and 1829. Through the colonies and then the states more men than women, and more black women than white women, received the ultimate punishment. Women were most frequently executed for committing murder, arson, and infanticide. Also executed were some of the few remaining Native Americans.

Every state inherited designated crimes for which only enslaved people could be executed. In the North, death penalty codes drew sharp distinctions along racial lines until 1780, when Pennsylvania began the process of abolishing slavery and in the process eliminated racially specific penal practices. In southern states, such as Virginia, whites were not usually condemned to death for theft, but enslaved people accused of the same crime fell victim to the hangman until 1785. Between 1785 and 1829 enslaved people constituted the vast majority of Virginians put to death.

Literature about the condemned came in a variety of forms. A few convicts sentenced to death told their stories from the gallows, though most did not. Their narratives were posthumously published and distributed by those desiring to ensure social order and assert the power of government in the new Republic. Execution sermons, which originated in colonial Massachusetts, initially served to edify congregations assembled in church on Sunday, or gathered on the day of the hanging where the condemned person stood before them. By the time the new Republic was established, execution literature had become increasingly secular and rather formulaic: the condemned confessing sins, thanking judges, warning others not to follow in their footsteps, praying for salvation, and describing tragedies they had encountered in life. The purpose of these tracts was to make available to readers of the early national period the authorities' perspectives on social conditions and social order. Unfortunately, one cannot know with certainty the true thoughts of the condemned, but recently some of their stories have been salvaged from court records and other documents.

Capital punishment continues into the twenty-first century, but by the end of the nineteenth century it had disappeared from public view, to be carried

out only behind penitentiary walls and before a selected audience.

*See also* **Corporal Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Law: State Law and Common Law; Law: Women and the Law; Police and Law Enforcement; Professions: Lawyers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Banner, Stuart. *The Death Penalty: An American History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bradford, William. *An Enquiry How Far the Punishment of Death Is Necessary in Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: Dobson, 1793.

Brown, Irene, and Richard Brown. *The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler: A Story of Rape, Incest, and Justice in Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Davis, David Brion. "The Movement to Abolish Capital Punishment in America, 1787–1861. *American Historical Review* 63, no. 1 (Oct. 1957): 23–46.

Friedman, Lawrence M. *Crime and Punishment in American History.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Hindus, Michael. *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice, and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767–1878.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Masur, Louis P. *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Rush, Benjamin. *Considerations on the Injustice and Impolicy of Punishing Murder by Death.* Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1792.

Vila, Bryan, and Cynthia Morris, eds. *Capital Punishment in the United States: A Documentary History.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997.

*Leslie Patrick*

**CARTOGRAPHY**   In North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was intense rivalry between France and Britain for possession of North America. The European description and representation of the New World was never innocent of political implications. Therefore, geographic representations of the New World were always tied to the claiming of the New World.

In 1718, the same year that a French merchant company founded the city of New Orleans, Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726), whose official title was premier geographe du roi (first royal geographer), produced his map, "Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipi." In the map, "La Louisiane" is placed in broad letters across the entire Mississippi River basin. Delisle's map was immensely influential and was used as a template for almost fifty years. Thomas Jefferson had a copy of the map, and it was an important source of information for the Lewis and Clark expedition (1803–1806).

In direct response to Delisle's map of 1718, Henry Popple (d. 1743), clerk to the Board of Trade in Britain, was commissioned to make a new map of North America that reflected British interests. His huge map, printed in 1733, is one of the largest maps of the entire eighteenth century, measuring ninety-three by eighty-nine inches. As the rivalry between Britain and France increased, the Board of Trade in 1750 asked John Mitchell (1711–1768) to prepare a map of the British colonies in North America. Mitchell was a cartographer, physician, and botanist. He emigrated to Virginia in 1725, returning to England in 1746. The map was first drawn in 1750 but corrected and improved until it was published in 1755. Mitchell's map became a base point for subsequent British cartographic representations of North America. Twenty-one editions were published between 1755 and 1791. The fourth edition of Mitchell's map lay across the negotiating table for the Treaty of Paris (1783) and was used to draw up the boundaries between the United States and its neighbors. Later versions of the map were used by the Lewis and Clark expedition.

**MILITARY MAPS AND MAPMAKERS**
The maps of Delisle, Popple, and Mitchell provided only a general picture of geopolitical alignments and claims. Some of the earliest detailed maps emerged from the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The British sent a large number of surveyors and mapmakers to North America at the beginning of the war to prepare better maps and surveys. Military surveyors and engineers, such as Samuel Holland (d. 1801), John Montresor (1736–1799), and Francis Pfister, became part of a sustained cartographic endeavor. After the war ended they continued to produce accurate maps and detailed surveys, many of them subsequently printed by commercial publishers.

To conduct war, it is essential to have accurate maps. In 1777 Washington wrote to Congress that the lack of good maps was a great disadvantage to the Continental Army. Congress agreed, and later that year it appointed Robert Erskine (1735–1780) as geographer, who in turn employed Simeon DeWitt (1738–1834). Under Erskine's leadership many maps were drawn, consisting of almost three hundred separate sheets and accurate road maps. DeWitt

returned to New York to become the state's first surveyor general in 1784. In that post he had an illustrious career that involved producing a detailed map of the state in 1802, a map of the route of the Erie Canal (1808), and a map of Manhattan in 1811. The Manhattan map laid down the system of streets and avenues that guided the subsequent development of the city, giving it a distinctive grid alignment.

### EXPLORING THE WEST

Before expansion could properly take place, the new nation needed to understand what lay in the blank space of the West, called "unexplored territory" on many maps published in the late eighteenth century. The answer was to conduct surveys and make maps. From 1800 to 1838, much of the mapping of the national territory was undertaken by the military on an informal, ad hoc basis. The resulting maps were essentially claims to territory, paper trails in a quest for imperial expansion.

Federal mapping of the unexplored territory was a spasmodic affair. Survey teams were sent out on an irregular basis with differing aims, methods, and agendas. The most famous is the Lewis and Clark expedition, sent out by Jefferson to find a trade route to the Pacific. The manuscript map by William Clark
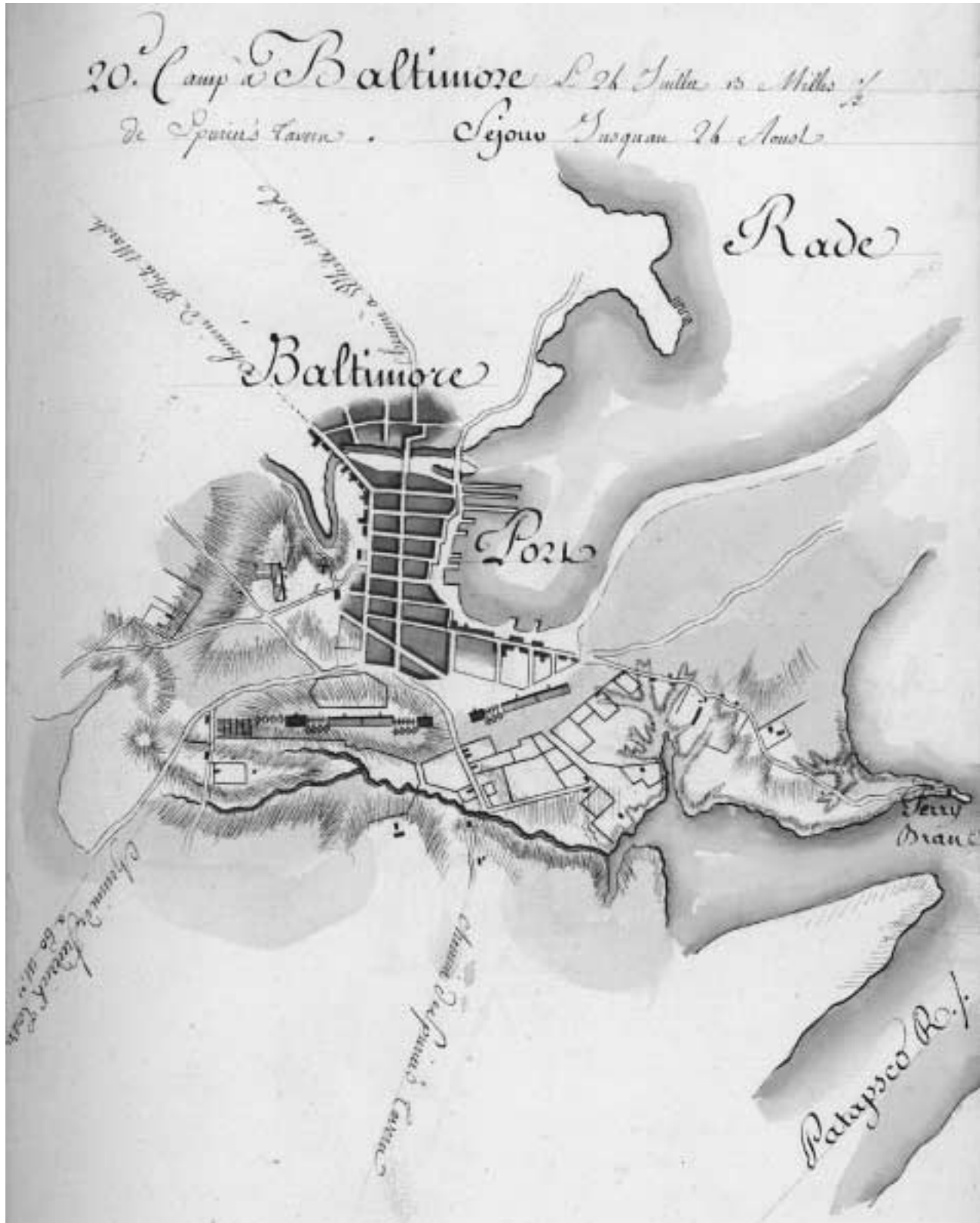
***Camp à Baltimore.*** This ink and watercolor map of Baltimore, Maryland, was drawn in 1782 by French engineers accompanying troops under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

(1770–1838) of the territory was engraved by Samuel Lewis in 1814, and this printed map became an important key to unlocking the territorial mystery of the American West. There were other mapping expeditions. Jefferson also sent out William Dunbar (c. 1750–1810) to Louisiana in 1804, and in 1819 Lieutenant Stephen Long (1784–1864) explored the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi in an eighteen-month expedition. His later expedition in 1823 traveled to the St. Peter's River in his exploration of the Red River, the forty-ninth parallel and the Rainy Lake district. In 1832 the Schoolcraft–Allen expedition went to search for the source of the Mississippi River. The western exploration was soon organized into a more rational pursuit when, in 1829, Colonel John James Abert (1788–1863) was placed in command of the Topographical Bureau in Washington. In 1838 the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers was established by Congress and charged with the exploration and development of the continent with particular attention to the problems of transportation and the construction of a scientific inventory of the vast territory.

### MAPPING AND CLAIMING THE LAND

The mapping of land is essential for making legal claim to it. Maps justify, reflect, and embody deeds to land. Maps are essential for acquiring land and selling land. In May 1785, two years before the Constitution was drafted and proposed to the states, the Continental Congress passed the Land Ordinance, which covered the Northwest Territory (of the Ohio River). Its full title was "Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing lands in the western territory." To sell the land, however, it first had to be surveyed. Always the mathematical rationalist, Thomas Jefferson proposed dividing the land into geographical square miles oriented north–south and east–west. A square division was simple, easily undertaken, and cheap to survey. Under the Land Ordinance and successive pieces of legislation, the land was surveyed into a rectangular grid that ran on a north–south (township) and east–west (range) system. The sheer size of the country meant that baselines had to be established; otherwise, the curvature of the earth would have caused the more northerly townships to be smaller. New baselines were established for every six to ten townships in lower latitudes and for every four to five townships in higher latitudes. Each township survey involved the compilation of field notes and the production of three manuscript maps: one copy was retained by the surveyor general, eventually becoming the property of the state; a second copy was deposited in Washington; and a third was used in the local land office. The maps in those offices became an important resource for land agents and for private sellers and buyers of land.

The very first surveys were not encouraging. Survey costs were high and receipts were disappointingly low. Better terms could be had from the private land companies. The need for revenue, however, forced the government back into the land-selling business in 1796, when the land parcel size was reduced so that in some places sections (640 acres) could be sold. Over the years the minimum size of a purchasable lot was reduced, in 1800 to a half-section (320 acres) and four years later to a quarter-section (160 acres). This steady reduction in size, along with liberal purchasing arrangements, democratized land sales—in principle if not always in practice. The appropriation of the vast new lands of the Republic was not restricted to the rich and the few. Land was opened up to the modest and the many. In the wake of the Land Ordinance and subsequent land legislation came the greatest transfer of land in the history of the world.

Mapping was also used to settle boundary disputes between the United States and its neighbors. Jay's Treaty of 1794 was an agreement between the United States and Britain to establish commissions to settle the northwest and northeast boundaries. The former never met and the latter fixed the boundary at the Saint Croix River. Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 fixed the border between Spanish West Florida and the United States at the thirty-second parallel.

But, maps were not always accurate. Land sales in upstate New York in the 1780s to people who had fought in the Revolutionary War used maps that cited nonexistent land. Maps marked areas as Great Desert that were in fact fertile. Maps were often used but not always to be trusted.

### NATIONAL MAPS

The new Republic already had a popular geographical work, *Guthrie's Geography*, which was produced in England. This large text, first published in 1769, continued to be popular and appeared in successive editions until as late as 1842. However, *Guthrie's Geography* was written from the British perspective. The 1793 edition has a general map of North America including the United States, what became Canada, and part of Mexico. Although Canada is noted, the United States is not named. The latter is pushed up against a clearly depicted Canada and a vast wilderness beyond the Mississippi. The individual states have indistinct boundaries, with no obvious claims nor connections to the vast western lands, which

have Spanish or English names. The map depicts the United States as a ragtag group of small states clustering along the eastern seaboard. It exaggerates the size of Canada and the West and shrinks the new Republic to minor significance. The map is full of Indian names, especially in the West, which is depicted as peopled and filled with potential allies and trading partners. It is not an empty wilderness ripe for U.S. expansion but a populated land, a place already inhabited.

In 1794 Mathew Carey (1760–1839), an Irish immigrant to the United States, attempted to set the record straight by publishing *Guthrie's Geography* with a new text, one more favorable to the new Republic. He also had new maps drawn for the book, and these subsequently formed the basis of the first proper atlases of the Republic: Carey's *American Atlas*, published in 1795 with twenty-one maps, and *Carey's General Atlas*, published in 1796 with forty-seven maps. Both *Carey's American Atlas* and *Carey's General Atlas* contained maps of the different states, bringing them all together in one volume for the first time. It is not too fanciful to suggest that both books assisted in the unification of the newly independent states, placing the emphasis more on "united" and less on "states."

A central figure in the creation of a new national geography for the United States was John Melish. Born in Scotland in 1771, he settled in Philadelphia in 1811, where he remained for the rest of his life and became an important figure in the city's vigorous book and map publishing business. He published his first large map of the United States in 1813 at a scale of one inch to one hundred miles. In 1816 Melish produced another map of the United States. At one inch to fifty miles it was a massive map. Melish was the first mapmaker to show the United States in continental context from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The map was an act of geopolitical dominance; the new Republic had found its epic cartographic representation, which was to shape and inform subsequent westward expansion. In 1820 he produced a beautifully engraved map, designed to be hung on a wall, as a public statement of a nation in the making. This map depicts the national territory as a continent full of the promise of the new West: huge, vacant, and inviting. The general statistical table, located in the bottom left of the map, lists the population then as 18,629,903, yet Melish asserts that it is capable of supporting 500 million people. This map is not only a geographical description; it is a national celebration of a nation becoming a continental power, a map re-

flective of continental exploration and indicative of continental expansion.

*See also* **Exploration and Explorers; Geography; Land Policies; Northwest; Surveyors and Surveying; West.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, P. E. *Mapping the West: America's Westward Movement, 1524–1890.* New York: Rizzoli, 2002.

Cumming, William P. *British Maps of Colonial America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Goetzmann, William H. *Army Exploration in the American West 1803–1863.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959.

Harley, J. B., Barbara Bartz Petchenik, and Lawrence W. Towner. *Mapping the American Revolutionary War.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Price, Edward T. *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Ristow, Walter William. *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century.* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1985.

Schwartz, Seymour I., and Ralph E. Ehrenberg. *The Mapping of America.* New York: Abrams, 1980.

Short, John R. *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States.* London: Reaction, 2001.

Swift, Michael. *Historical Maps of the United States.* London: PRC, 1998.

Wheat, C. I. *Mapping the Transmississippi West.* 6 vols. San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957–1963.

*John Rennie Short*

**CARTOONS, POLITICAL** Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1775) defined caricature as drawings "intended as humour, satire, and comment." Political cartoons fit this bill as well. The first American-made example is credited to Benjamin Franklin. Originally produced to urge intercolonial union at the 1754 Albany Congress, this engraving of a dismembered snake emblazoned "Join, or Die" became the ubiquitous symbol of colonial unity during the Revolutionary period. Not until the ratification battle over the U.S. Constitution in the late 1780s did Americans begin to use cartoons as part of political discourse. Even though crudely drawn, these cartoons commented—at times through savagely direct dialogue, at other times by using pointed allegorical imagery, or both—on the intrigues, schemes, and decisions that shaped politics. For example, "Cong-ss em-

***Join or Die.*** Benjamin Franklin's woodcut for the 9 May 1754, issue of Philadelphia's *Pennsylvania Gazette* became a symbol of colonial unity during the Revolutionary period. © CORBIS.

bark'd on Board the Ship Constitution of America," engraved in 1790, criticized attempts to locate the new nation's capital in Philadelphia. As their ship travels from New York, a devil lures members of Congress, led by Pennsylvania senator Robert Morris, toward certain death at the foot of a waterfall located just outside Philadelphia, while an unobstructed waterway leads to the proposed Potomac River location. Another contemporary cartoon depicts Morris carrying Congressional Hall on his head to Philadelphia.

British cartoons such as those produced by William Hogarth or, later, James Gillray clearly served as models for the American form. But it was the American tolerance for dissent that permitted political cartooning to flourish in the early nineteenth century. During the Adams, Jefferson, and Madison administrations, cartoons by the opposition grew particularly rancorous. Jefferson's alleged pro-French sentiments, for example, aroused his critics who portrayed him as a madman or worse. An illus-

tration entitled "The Providential Detection," dating from between 1796 and 1800, shows him on his knees before a fiery "Altar to Gallic Despotism," wrestling the Constitution away from the American eagle to consign it to the flames. A flood of negative cartoons attacked both the Americans and the British during the War of 1812. William Charles, an artist who emigrated to America from Scotland in 1806 and signed his early work "Ansell" or "Argus," created as many as three dozen cartoons during the war, many of which feature the figure of John or Johnny Bull to represent the English.

Cartoons sometimes appeared in newspapers or magazines but most often were printed as separate broadsheets and distributed in bookshops or by peddlers. With the advent of lithography in the 1820s, political cartoons were created in larger numbers and enjoyed a wider distribution. Reportedly, during President Andrew Jackson's scandal-plagued second term, as many as ten thousand copies of E. W. Clay's

"The Rats Leaving a Falling House" were produced in Philadelphia.

Few early cartoons survive, but examples can be found in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the American Antiquarian Society.

*See also* **Humor; Newspapers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blaisell, Thomas C., and Peter Selz. *The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776–1976.* Berkeley, Calif.: University Art Museum, 1976.

Hess, Stephen, and Milton Kaplan. *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons.* Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1975.

Weitenkampf, Frank. *Political Caricature in the United States in Separately Published Cartoons: An Annotated List.* New York: New York Public Library, 1953.

*Kym S. Rice*

**CATHOLICISM AND CATHOLICS** Non-Catholic Americans have sometimes imagined Roman Catholicism ill-suited for the American experiment. Authoritarian, dogmatic, ritualistic, and tradition-driven, the Catholic faith for some has stood in the face of the liberalism and individualism of American culture. Such a dichotomy, however compelling in theory, does not do justice to the actual history of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, particularly in the era of the American Revolution. Roman Catholics were among the nation's most ardent patriots. They not only celebrated America's democratic and republican culture, but also sought to adapt their religious practice to it. Faith in the holy Catholic Church did not diminish the passionate support of Catholics—both clerical and lay—for American ideals.

The earliest Roman Catholic growth in the New World principally followed Spanish and French colonization. In the St. Lawrence River Valley and in Florida, Louisiana, and the Southwest, Roman Catholic priests served as the religious arm of their respective empires. Although formidable in the seventeenth century, by the middle of the eighteenth century such mission work was drawing to a close owing to British supremacy in eastern North America, where the Roman Catholic presence was far weaker. Spanish Franciscan missions in Florida and French Jesuit missionary activity in Canada effactually ended in 1763 when the British gained control of these regions after the Seven Years' War. The Spanish retained a hold farther west for another half-century, allowing the Franciscans to establish dozens of missions stretching from Texas to San Francisco. But even this sovereignty ended in 1833 when an independent Mexico took over the region.

In contrast to the strategic and sometimes violent presence of the Spanish and French in the New World, English-speaking Catholic settlement in the mid-Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems comparatively benign. Religious minorities who had found a small colonial niche in an increasingly Protestant empire, Catholic settlers would plant the seeds for a religious tradition that by the late nineteenth century emerged as the United States' largest. But growth was slow during the colonial and early national periods. On the eve of the American Revolution, Catholics comprised less than 1 percent of the European-stock population of British North America. They had clustered primarily in and around Maryland, the only colony founded by a Roman Catholic (Sir Cecil Calvert in 1634). Small pockets of Roman Catholic settlement also appeared in New York in the seventeenth century and Pennsylvania in the eighteenth. In general, Catholics settled wherever a commitment to religious liberty dampened the prevalent hostilities toward their faith.

The American Roman Catholic Church faced significant challenges in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As several scholars have shown, anti-Catholicism was a leading feature of British nationalism during this period. Not surprisingly, British Americans shared this prejudice. Despite the prominence of several leading Catholics in the Revolutionary generation, including Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, they were unable to escape the opprobrium associated with their faith. Even Maryland was not immune, and periodically Protestants there had tried to place bans on public displays of Catholic devotion. Added to this persecution, a crisis in European Catholicism provoked Pope Clement XIV in 1773 to dissolve the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), an order responsible for training and supporting the vast majority of America's small body of clergy. This institutional crisis was ameliorated only when American independence allowed the European hierarchy to appoint John Carroll the "superior of the missions" in 1784, an appointment that Benjamin Franklin, a deist, had recommended.

The American Revolution, and the political independence it achieved, was a watershed for Roman

Catholics in America. Most, in fact, supported the Revolution, and some even helped to enlist the French in the Revolutionary cause. Like other marginal groups in the new American nation, Catholics looked to the new government for permanent provisions of citizenship. While the national polity did much to expand religious freedom, eventually leading to disestablishment in all the states, Catholics remained politically marginalized in most regions during much of the nineteenth century. Several of the early state constitutions, for example, contained anti–Catholic prescriptions, limiting office holding to Protestant "Christians."

The church experienced modest growth in the early Republic. To meet the needs of an expanding population, Georgetown University was founded in Maryland (in what later became Washington, D.C.) in 1789, and two years later St. Mary's Seminary was founded in Baltimore. For the first time, too, Rome allowed the election of an American bishop, John Carroll. Carroll helped articulate a distinct American Catholic identity, one that advocated Enlightenment ideals such as democracy, progress, and toleration as well as the relative self-governance of the national church. The historian Jay Dolan portrays this period in American Catholic history as one in which the American church shed its aversion to modernity. A chief exemplar of this Americanized Catholicism was Mathew Carey, a leading Philadelphia publisher responsible for many Catholic as well as Protestant books including the first U.S. edition of the "Catholic Bible," the Douay-Rheims version, in 1790. Carey's Catholic faith sought common ground both with Protestantism and with strains of Enlightenment thinking. So, too, the Catholic convert Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, America's first saint, mixed traditional Catholic practices with elements derived from her Protestant upbringing. From 1808 to 1810 Seton founded the Sisters of Charity as well as a Catholic school for girls that combined rigorous discipline with evangelical reformism.

The American Catholic hierarchy's commitment to republicanism was soon put to the test, however, when laity and clergy battled over the long-established trustee system of church management. The trustee system was a brilliant accommodation to a colonial situation in which resources were modest and clergy few. Ecclesiastical temporalities, in accordance with American law, were exclusively controlled by the laity, which meant that the laity had powers over church finances (including salaries) and the hiring and firing of employees. Thus empowered, the laity naturally pressed for the right to select their pastors or dismiss them when it proved expedient. In the early nineteenth century, bishops and clergy successfully suppressed lay opposition by appealing both to American ideals of separation of church and state as well as to notions of authority in which power descended downward from Rome. Clerical victory was assured by the migration to America of French clergy and bishops with distinctly Old World Catholic sensibilities. In the end, the lay-trustee controversies stimulated both a tradition of nativism among American Protestants and a strong suspicion of lay authority within the Roman Catholic hierarchy both in America and Europe.

An increase in immigration to the United States after 1820 profoundly altered the shape of American Catholicism. New immigrants crowded together in cities and swelled the proportion of Roman Catholics on the American religious landscape. Many of the new arrivals were impoverished Irish and German Catholics, who practiced their faith in ways that struck both American Protestants and some Americanized Roman Catholics as dangerously foreign. Nativists would focus their anti–Catholic polemics on this new wave of Catholic immigrants in the 1830s and 1840s.

*See also* **Immigration and Immigrants: Ireland; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Professions: Clergy; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religion: Spanish Borderlands; Religious Tests for Officeholding.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dolan, Jay P. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Hennesey, James J. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Light, Dale B. *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.

*R. Bryan Bademan*

**CEMETERIES AND BURIAL** In the colonies burial grounds were unsightly, haphazard places. They functioned solely as a means to dispose of the dead in which commemoration played no part. Most

tions of death's inevitability and life's ephemerality—*memento mori* (remember death), *tempus fugit* (time flies). Later, white marble markers declared themselves "Erected to the memory of" those who lay beneath. The traditional depiction of a death's head yielded to cherubs and then the weeping willow. By the end of the eighteenth century, the symbol of the urn and other neoclassical details represented death. Mourning pictures, embroidered or reproduced in varied artifacts, many with patriotic themes, depicted idealistic, naturalistic burial landscapes that simply did not exist. Thomas Jefferson designed his graveyard at Monticello to reflect the "picturesque" landscapes of great eighteenth-century English gardens, which featured ruins and monuments amid luxuriant plantings epitomizing an Enlightenment reverence for "Nature."

The desire to ensure the perpetuity of graves dates from after the Revolution, when Americans began to worry about the impermanence of property. The loss of farms or estates could result in private family graveyards being plowed under. James Hillhouse cited this concern in founding New Haven's New Burying Ground in 1796. He shared his era's desire to provide a more tranquil burial site away from the hubbub of daily life, where citizens could purchase "inviolable" family lots. However, in many growing cities graveyards took up valuable estate. Many cities accepted the necessity of moving graves to peripheral sites. In 1806 Baltimore permitted the exhumation of the Eastern Burial Grounds in the city's center and reinterment at a site more than a mile away. By the 1820s most of Manhattan's old graveyards had been exhumed and reinterred elsewhere or simply built over.

Boston's population tripled between 1776 and 1825, prompting the city to ban burials in individual graves in 1816 and increasing building of brick-lined shaft tombs and chamber tombs. Elite families with tombs knew that their funerary property would probably be sold or given to another family. They often heard of unscrupulous sextons or gravediggers who "speculated in tombs," erasing names on markers, emptying vaults, or compacting decayed remains. Bostonian William Tudor complained in 1820 that New England graveyards left no room for enduring commemoration; burials were "indecently crowded together, and often, after a few years disturbed." Vagrants found shelter in tombs, harassing passersby. Even the remains of General Joseph Warren, hero of the Battle of Bunker Hill, had been lost—twice—in Boston's Old Granary Burial Ground. If such was the postmortem fate of a Revolutionary



**Tombstone of William Wadsworth.** This ornate stone marks the grave of William Wadsworth, who died in 1771 and was interred in the Old Burying Grounds in Hartford, Connecticut. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

burials were in earthen graves, although the elite began to construct chamber tombs above- or underground.

Because the Puritans refused to sanctify burials by placing graves next to a church, New England had few churchyards. Bostonians were outraged in 1688 when Edmund Andros, governor of the Dominion of New England after revocation of the Puritan Commonwealth charter, placed the Anglican King's Chapel on part of the first burial ground. Such sentiments lingered in New England for over a century. By contrast, in New York and Philadelphia Protestants and Catholics created denominational burial grounds.

Philip Freneau's long poem "The House of Night" (1786) was the first American literary celebration of new notions about death in the context of nature and human history. The iconography, style, and material of gravestones began to reflect changes in ideas about remembering the dead. Formerly, gray slate gravestones had been inscribed with stern admoni-

hero, how much worse was that of ordinary citizens?

Elsewhere in the nation, the graves of heroes as grand as George Washington were failing as permanent memorials. Washington's simple, rural Mount Vernon tomb (1799) was falling to ruin by the 1820s. The family refused to exhume and reinter the first president in the national Capitol; not until 1831 did Washington's executors direct construction at Mount Vernon of a simple brick family vault and neoclassical marble sarcophagus to which the hero's remains were moved in 1837.

The new sensibility regarding the importance of commemoration was not the only reason for the reform of burial methods and sites. Such reform was also spurred by public health concerns. In early-nineteenth–century New York, many believed that "malignant epidemic fevers" were spread by "noxious effluvia" emanating from churchyard cemeteries. Trinity (Episcopal) Churchyard held 120,000 bodies by 1822, some in graves less than two feet deep, with the stench obvious for blocks, causing mass evacuation of the living. Burials in Manhattan's dense tip were eventually banned, owing more to economics—space was at a premium—than to mistaken theories about disease.

The term "cemetery" entered American usage with the founding and design of Mount Auburn Cemetery (1831), a "rural" Massachusetts burial ground that was at the same time a nondenominational urban institution. Designed as a pastoral, picturesque setting close to the city of Boston, Mount Auburn sold family burial lots, establishing the "rest-in-peace" principle with legal guarantee of perpetuity of burial property. It served as a model for the creation of many other "rural" cemeteries in urban and suburban locations in the next decades. Many families moved remains to them from older graves and tombs through the antebellum era.

*See also* **Death and Dying; Health and Disease; Widowhood.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benes, Peter. *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689–1805.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977.

Dethlefsen, Edwin, and James Deetz. "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." *American Antiquity* 31, no. 4 (1966): 502–510.

Linden-Ward, Blanche. *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989.

Schorsch, Anita. *Mourning Becomes America: Mourning Art in the New Nation.* Clinton, N.J.: Main Street Press, 1976.

Vinovskis, Maris A. "Angels' Heads and Weeping Willow: Death in Early America." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86 (1976): 273–302.

*Blanche M. G. Linden*

**CHARACTER**    In the world of the early Republic, every man active in politics worried obsessively about his "character," although not in the sense in which one would use that word in the twenty-first century. In the eighteenth century, character referred almost entirely to one's public reputation—an extrinsic, rather than intrinsic, quality. Character was something that one fashioned and held, so that one would speak of "acquiring" a character. In the early years of the new nation, the word took on tremendous political importance as leaders attempted to construct a distinctly American political tradition.

The founders' political reliance on notions of character was the product of the American Revolution, which had tarnished their most important political model, Great Britain. After spending much of the century striving to become more like their English cousins, Americans found themselves thrust into a political wilderness of their own making. The Revolution added a further stumbling block to their efforts to create a new political world. The unity of the Revolutionary cause, always problematic given that roughly a third of the population remained loyal to England, at least at the beginning of the war, had given way to the bickering and squabbling of thirteen individual states with differing and sometimes conflicting ideas about what sort of nation they were creating. But the founders still clung to the ideal of unity and continued to have exalted ideas about the necessity of working toward the public good. This Revolutionary legacy gave them a repugnance for politics as usual. Politicians and party politics were anathema to their ideas of good government, and they expressed disgust with the idea that they had risked their lives to found a nation that would become the tool of self-interested and self-serving politicians.

### ACQUIRING CHARACTER

In this atmosphere, character became inordinately important as a means of insuring that only the right sort of men would stand at the helm of the ship of state. But how did one gain the proper character? That in itself was part of the problem. There really

were no clear standards or codified rules. At the most basic level, political leaders were supposed to be gentleman, but even this standard proved problematic in an American context. Unlike their British counterparts, who could count on the aristocracy to provide a continuous standard to which other British gentlemen aspired, American society was much more fluid, and the differences between the highest and lowest of society were not that large. Because of this, young, ambitious, talented men such as Alexander Hamilton (a penniless newcomer who was an illegitimate child) could rise to prominence in just a few short years through their service during the war and could be accepted as men of character. Even as men such as Hamilton were accepted into the political leadership, though, many, including Hamilton himself, began to complain that the door had been thrown open too wide and that men without the proper character were becoming political leaders. In addition, people argued about which qualities constituted the proper character. At stake was nothing less than what sort of political world they were trying to create as well as how inclusive the political realm would be.

Losing one's character was as problematic an issue as gaining it. One could certainly lose one's character through obvious acts of corruption, such as stealing public money, although even areas like this were more ambiguous than might be imagined. At the time, there was no clearly established boundary between public and private life, which is one of the reasons why character itself was so important and yet so problematic. Robert Morris, the superintendent of finance for the Continental Congress during the early 1780s, used his position for both the public good and private profit, something that loose eighteenth-century notions of conflict of interest allowed.

Despite their abhorrence of politics as usual, political leaders necessarily became enmeshed in political activities, such as organizing allies, attacking foes, counting votes, and contesting elections. Yet even as they strayed from their ideals in their own actions, the founders would have bridled at the suggestion that they were politicians. For most, this tension between word and deed led them to cling to and insist on their own characters even more fiercely and to denounce the characters of their enemies even more viciously. One of the reasons that other founders repeatedly criticized Aaron Burr as a scoundrel unfit for public life was that he not only dirtied his hands in politics but reveled in it and did not even make an attempt to hide his delight.

## NATIONAL CHARACTER

Further complicating the issue, when the founders talked about character, they were talking not only about their own personal character but about the character of the nation as well. The founders were obsessed by the challenge of how to establish a proper character for the nation. They believed that the success of the nation hinged on these efforts. As George Washington warned in 1783 after the Treaty of Paris had ended the war, "this is the moment to establish or ruin . . . national Character forever. . . . It is yet to be decided, whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse: a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn Millions be involved."

Eventually, this reliance on character gave way to an acceptance not just of politics but of politicians and even political parties. Character came to be seen as largely dependent on one's actions in private life. And politicians would be rewarded or punished by how well they served the party's interest. Common origins were celebrated, not shunned, and the door to political life was thrown open to all—at least ostensibly.

*See also* **Fame and Reputation; Politics.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, Douglass. *Fame and the Founding Fathers.* Edited by Trevor Colbourn. New York: W. W. Norton, 1974.

Freeman, Joanne. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

Trees, Andrew S. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.

*Andrew S. Trees*

**CHARLESTON** Founded in 1670, Charleston—spelled Charles Town in the colonial era—was the only major city south of Philadelphia during the colonial period. Ideally situated upon the Atlantic coast at the mouths of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Charleston grew steadily, achieving a population of approximately six thousand by 1740. This population had doubled by the early 1770s, making Charleston the fourth-largest city in British North America.

More impressive than the population growth was the demographic and economic rise of the city. Originally settled by the English, Charleston's eco-

nomic opportunities and tolerant religious and political policies attracted significant numbers of French, Scots, Irish, Germans, Catholics, and Jews, establishing it as the most cosmopolitan city in British America. Crucially, the most important source of population was Africa, as black Charlestonians—slave and free—always represented a significant proportion of the population and were a majority by 1750.

By 1770 Charleston was arguably the wealthiest city in British America. Benefiting from British policies and bounties, rice and indigo production made fortunes for the planters who produced the crops and for the Charleston merchants who marketed them. The institution of slavery provided a major cornerstone of this wealth and the leading Charleston merchants and planters were among the wealthiest men in the colonies. Charleston was the critical entry point in the North American slave trade, as hundreds of thousands of Africans landed there before being sold to the interior plantations, where they contributed their expertise and labor to rice, indigo, and, later, cotton cultivation.

Despite the economic benefits of the British connection, Charlestonians were generally supportive of the Revolutionary movement and, led by Christopher Gadsden and John and Edward Rutledge, were active in opposition to British policy from the time of the Stamp Act of 1765. Indeed, a major American victory was recorded at Charleston on 28 June 1776, when a combined British expedition under Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Sir Peter Parker was defeated before the defenses of Sullivan's Island. Charleston, however, would later be the site of the greatest American defeat of the war, when on 12 May 1780, General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered the city and over 5,500 men to Clinton to conclude a forty-two day siege. Charleston suffered under British occupation for the next two and one-half years, before the British evacuated the city on 14 December 1782.

Charleston's joy at American independence and the end of the occupation was tempered by a series of new and difficult problems. Devastated by a vicious civil war, South Carolina prepared to rebuild without the labor of the approximately twenty-five thousand slaves whom the retiring British had carried off. Additionally, during the occupation, the mercantile leadership of the city had swung to Loyalists and British merchants, as the British had allowed only those who took the oath of loyalty to engage in trade. That these merchants now stood to monopolize the windfall profits from reconstruction caused serious rioting in the city. Finally, the collapse of the price of indigo, which had relied upon British boun-

ties, now withdrawn, for its profitability, contributed considerably to the postwar depression of the 1780s.

With indigo in decline, planters turned their attention to the production of cotton. The development of the cotton gin in 1793 allowed the mass production of cotton and the revival of the fortunes of mercantile Charleston, bringing to the city a prosperity which surpassed even that of the earlier rice and indigo boom. Unfortunately, however, the cotton boom also contributed to future problems. As cotton production became "king" in the Deep South, the need for a cheap and unskilled labor force made slavery "queen." White Charlestonians had always been concerned by the large numbers of black residents who had dwelt among them. Nevertheless, from 1803 to 1808 the city was the main port of entry for the African slave trade, and approximately 40,000 slaves were imported during this brief period. Now, as the slave proportion of the population continued to grow and as the northern states abolished slavery and grew increasingly critical of the institution, Charlestonians grew more suspicious of the black population, particularly the free black seamen who visited from the North and regaled black Charlestonians with stories of their lives in the northern seaports. Thus, the hysterical reaction to the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822 is more easily understandable, as is the transformation of Charleston from the most open and tolerant to the most closed and intolerant of American cities.

As Charleston found itself increasingly upon a collision course with the developing northern commercial interests after 1820, it also witnessed its own decline as a major port. Geographically, Charleston was not well situated to control the cotton trade as the plantations expanded westward. Increasingly closed-minded and suspicious of outsiders, Charleston lagged in the development and utilization of new opportunities and technologies in business and trade. For example, Charleston built a railroad line to the interior in 1830, yet instead of running the railroad directly to the wharves, the line was built only to the city limits, necessitating an expensive transfer to wagon transport to the docks. With the advantage of rail transport negated, Charleston soon saw itself eclipsed by New Orleans, Mobile, and Savannah in the export trade.

*See also* **City Planning; Cotton; Revolution: Military History; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; South Carolina; Vesey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Fraser, Walter J., Jr. *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Rogers, George C., Jr. *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Walsh, Richard. *Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763–1789.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959.

*Daniel McDonough*

**CHEMISTRY**  The birth of the new American Republic and the origins of modern chemistry both occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Although these two revolutionary transformations seem very different, there are a few connections.

The immigrants who settled the North American colonies brought with them a broad range of chemically based arts and crafts. These included cooking, tanning, dyeing, brewing, metallurgy, and the manufacture of ceramics, glass, soap, cosmetics, medicines, and potash. But these technologies were largely based on experience and tradition, with little understanding of or interest in the scientific principles involved.

In the colonies, chemistry could not compete with natural history. Most of the investigators mentioned in Raymond P. Stearns's *Science in the British Colonies of America* (1970) focused on the botany, zoology, geology, and geography of the New World. The strongest motivation for studying chemistry apparently came from physicians, and the first professor of chemistry in the colonies was Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) of the College of Philadelphia. Rush, who had received his medical training in Edinburgh, analyzed various American mineral waters and reported on their medicinal properties. He was also one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, whose chief author, Thomas Jefferson, called chemistry "among the most useful of sciences, and big with future discoveries for the utility and safety of the human race."

It is ironic that the American Chemical Society has adopted as its icon Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), who lived in the new nation only for the last ten years of his life. Priestley, who was born in Yorkshire, was a Unitarian clergyman who wrote voluminously on religion, history, rhetoric, law, education, politics, philosophy, and chemistry. His contributions to chemistry include the isolation and characterization of at least ten gases, most of them previously unknown. The most noteworthy of these was oxygen, which he first prepared in August 1774. The name he chose, "dephlogisticated air," reflects his adherence to the phlogiston theory, which held that combustible materials contain a principle of flammability called phlogiston.

Priestley's support of both the American and French Revolutions and his unorthodox religious beliefs made him a victim of verbal and physical attack. Finally, in 1794 he fled England with his family for the United States. He declined an invitation to become professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and instead settled in Northumberland, a small town on the Susquehanna River. There he did little original chemistry, rather concentrating his scientific writings to a defense of the phlogiston theory. His influence probably slowed American acceptance of the new "French chemistry."

Although the founder of this new chemistry, Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794), never visited America, he is linked to the New World and to Joseph Priestley. Lavoisier learned of Priestley's new gas from its discoverer, and after some investigations of his own, the French chemist concluded that the gas was what today is called an element. He named it "oxygen" and included it in the list of thirty-three "simple substances" that appears in his *Traié elementaire de chimie* (1789), arguably the first modern chemistry book. Lavoisier correctly interpreted burning as the combination of the fuel or elements in the fuel with oxygen, not the loss of phlogiston. Thus, oxygen was literally a key element in what came to be known as the Chemical Revolution.

Lavoisier, like Priestley, was a man of wide-ranging intellect and interests. Among his many public duties was membership in the Gunpowder and Saltpeter Administration. As a commissioner, he had an apartment and laboratory in the Paris Arsenal near the Bastille. From Lavoisier's laboratory came a series of brilliant chemical discoveries; from the Arsenal came gunpowder of unprecedented quality, some of which was used by the American colonies to win their independence. One of Lavoisier's assistants was Éleuthère Irénée du Pont, the son of a family friend, Pierre-Samuel du Pont (1739–1817). Lavoisier was a member of the Ferme-Generale, a company of investors that contracted with the French government to collect taxes. Not surprisingly, this organization was unpopular, and participation in it proved fatal during the Reign of Terror that accompanied the French Revolution. Lavoisier and his fellow "tax farmers" went to their deaths on the guillotine on 8 May 1794. In 1799 Pierre du Pont and his two sons fled

their troubled native land for the young United States. Éleuthère brought with him the principles of Lavoisier's new chemistry and his procedures for making munitions. He put both to use in the gunpowder factory he started on the banks of Brandywine Creek in Delaware, and proposed to call "Lavoisier Mills." That factory became E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company or, more familiarly, DuPont—one of the world's great chemical manufacturing corporations. Thus, it can be argued that chemistry contributed more to shaping the new American nation than the young country contributed to chemistry.

*See also* **Science.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Newman, William R. *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Stearns, Raymond Phineas. *Science in the British Colonies of America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

Struik, Dirk J. *Yankee Science in the Making.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1948.

*A. Truman Schwartz*

**CHEROKEES**   *See* **American Indians: Southeast.**

***CHESAPEAKE* AFFAIR**   On 22 June 1807, off the Virginia Capes, the *Leopard*, a fifty-gun ship of the British navy, opened fire on the *Chesapeake*, a forty-gun frigate of the U.S. Navy. During the previous summer, two French warships had sought refuge in the Chesapeake Bay, and British ships had then taken up station off the coast. The proximity of their ships to land led a number of British seamen to desert, and some found their way aboard U.S. Navy ships, including the *Chesapeake*. British authorities were aware of this and complained to American authorities to no avail.

On the morning of 22 June 1807, the *Chesapeake*, under Commodore James Barron, commander designate of the U.S. Mediterranean Squadron, departed Hampton Roads for the Mediterranean. Barron had visited the *Chesapeake* only twice prior to its sailing,

and Master Commandant Charles Gordon had actual responsibility for the ship and preparing it for sea. Barron and Gordon were certainly not expecting any trouble.

As the *Chesapeake* tacked to get off shore, HMS *Leopard* came up and hailed the American ship. Its captain, Salusbury Humphreys, said he had dispatches for the Americans. As it was common at the time for ships to carry mail of other navies, Barron did not become suspicious, even though the *Leopard* had its gun ports open and the tompions out of the guns. Barron failed to call his crew to quarters upon the British ship's approach as regulations required, but such practice was not regularly observed.

The "dispatch," presented to Barron by a British lieutenant, turned out to be a general circular from Vice Admiral Sir George Berkeley, the British commander in North America, ordering his captains to search for deserters from specified British warships. Humphreys did his best to avoid confrontation but insisted on the right to muster the *Chesapeake*'s crew for deserters. Barron said that all his seamen were Americans, and he rejected the search of a U.S. Navy warship.

After some forty minutes of discussion, Humphreys recalled his lieutenant and ordered his men to open fire. The *Chesapeake* was wholly unready for combat. Equipment was piled high on the gun deck and guns were unprimed. The British fired at least two broadsides into the American ship, killing three of its crew and wounding Barron and seventeen others (one of whom later died). The crew of the *Chesapeake* managed to fire only a single shot before Barron ordered the colors struck to spare further bloodshed. Humphreys refused Barron's surrender of the *Chesapeake* as a prize of war, but he mustered the crew, took off four men identified as deserters, and sailed away. The badly damaged *Chesapeake* then limped back into port.

An explosion of indignation in the United States followed the event, and some legislators called for war. President Thomas Jefferson opposed war and merely ordered British warships from American waters. Barron was made the scapegoat. Court-martialed, he was found guilty only of neglecting to clear his ship for action and suspended from the navy for five years.

The affair led to a U.S. Navy order ending the recruitment of foreigners on its ships. It also soured U.S.-British relations. Ultimately London admitted that a mistake had been committed and returned the two survivors of the four crewmen taken off the *Chesapeake* (one man had already been tried and

hanged and the other had died in captivity). Although the U.S. Navy achieved a measure of revenge in the encounter between two other ships, the *President* and the *Little Belt*, on 18 May 1811, the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair continued to rankle, increasing Anglophobia in the United States. Soon after, anti-British sentiment intensified, leading to the War of 1812.

*See also* **Naval Technology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Emmerson, John Cloyd. *The Chesapeake Affair of 1807: An Objective Account of the Attack by HMS Leopard upon the U.S. Frigate Chesapeake off Cape Henry, Va., June 22, 1807, and Its Repercussions.* Portsmouth, Va.: Privately printed, 1954.

Tucker, Spencer C., and Frank T. Reuter. *Injured Honor: The Chesapeake-Leopard Affair, June 22, 1807.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

**CHESAPEAKE REGION**    The region of the Chesapeake Bay is located along the mid-Atlantic coast and is bordered by the states of Maryland and Virginia. The Chesapeake hosted the first permanent settlement by the British in the New World—Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607—and other early settlements, such as St. Mary's, Maryland, in 1634. Those early settlements were the first on the North American mainland to use, justify, and become dependent upon the institution of racial slavery. In the nineteenth century, the Chesapeake (also known as the Upper South) became a middle ground between North and South, between free and slave.

The Chesapeake Bay is the largest estuary, where fresh and salt water mix, on the North American continent and provides more crabs and other fresh seafood to the United States than any other body of water. Though the bay itself comprises just under 3,230 square miles of water, the Chesapeake ties together a vast geographical area through its watershed, which covers sixty-four thousand square miles spread over six states—Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York—and the District of Columbia.

**ECONOMIC DIVERSITY**

During the eras of the Revolution and the early Republic (1754–1829), the Chesapeake was an economically, politically, and strategically important region. In the eighteenth century, its main economic activity was the cultivation of tobacco. Tobacco shaped many of the characteristics of Chesapeake society, including the prominence of its landed gentry, the dispersed settlement pattern organized around plantations, the limited number of towns and cities, and the reliance on enslaved labor. Between 1690 and 1770, planters imported 100,000 people of African descent to the Chesapeake to work in the tobacco fields. By the 1740s, planters were less reliant on the slave trade as the size of the enslaved population became large enough to reproduce itself naturally. The African American population in the Chesapeake was therefore probably the most acculturated plantation society, meaning that the enslaved peoples adapted to and adopted aspects of the dominant Anglo culture.

Although the Chesapeake had what one historian has called a "tobacco culture," tobacco was not the Chesapeake's only economic activity. By the 1750s, the Chesapeake was also an important producer of grains, especially wheat. Virginia alone exported 600,000 bushels of wheat annually by 1774. In addition, the Chesapeake annually exported tons of iron to England. Plentiful and accessible deepwater shipping, waterpower provided by falls, and abundant raw materials combined to make the Chesapeake the leading exporter of iron during the eighteenth century. This diversity before the Revolution helped the Chesapeake feed and arm the Continental Army during the war, earning the region the nickname of "the breadbasket of the Revolution."

**THE REVOLUTION: UNDER ATTACK**

The region's wealth, population, political activism, and location made it a target of constant raiding and fighting by the British during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783). In 1774 residents of Annapolis, Maryland, staged their own tea party and Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, dissolved the House of Burgesses for criticizing Britain's punitive policy in Boston. Chesapeake political leaders like Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington, among others, led the Revolutionary effort and organized associations, boycotts, and the Continental Congress. These leaders played key roles in declaring independence on 2 July 1776 and forming a new nation. The Chesapeake saw heavy fighting and raiding in 1777 and between 1779 and 1781. Campaigns by Lord Dunmore and General Sir William Howe in 1777, Admiral Richard Howe in 1779, and Benedict Arnold in 1780 and 1781 resulted in the burning and plundering of the Virginia towns of Portsmouth, Suffolk, Norfolk, Pe-

tersburg, and Richmond, among others. The Revolutionary forces achieved victory in two crucial battles that took place in the Chesapeake. The Battle of the Chesapeake was a naval battle that occurred near the mouth of the bay on 5 September 1781 between Rear Admiral Thomas Graves's British fleet and Rear Admiral Comte de Grasse's French fleet. The French were victorious, preventing the Royal Navy from resupplying Lord Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, and ensuring that George Washington would receive reinforcements from New York through the Chesapeake. As a result of this defeat, the British under Cornwallis were compelled to surrender at the Battle of Yorktown on 19 October 1781 and to recognize the independence of the United States. In 1783 Congress ratified the Treaty of Paris ending the war while convened in Annapolis, seat of the new federal government.

### AFTER THE REVOLUTION

After the war, citizens of the new nation began to build the institutions and infrastructure necessary for a new nation. The region's inhabitants continued to deemphasize tobacco, especially in Maryland, in favor of grains and industry; built a variety of internal improvements; and developed more towns and cities. Though slavery remained important, wheat agriculture required fewer laborers than tobacco. Virginians therefore played a significant role in the development of the internal slave trade with the Deep South. Due to the region's strategic importance, shipbuilding became an even more prominent industry after the Revolution. The Norfolk Naval Shipyard, founded in 1767 and burned by the British in 1779, became the Continental Navy Yard in 1801, two years after the creation of the Navy Yard in the new national capital of Washington. Fells Point and St. Michaels in Maryland were important centers for building the famous Baltimore clipper ships.

Trade stimulated urban growth and internal improvements after the war. Baltimore (founded 1729, incorporated 1796), Norfolk (founded 1682, incorporated 1736), and Richmond (founded 1737, incorporated 1742, and became Virginia's capital in 1780) grew significantly and became leading supply centers. Smaller towns, like Chestertown in Maryland and Alexandria, Charlottesville, and Leesburg in Virginia, also expanded. Entrepreneurs and investors built new roads, turnpikes, and canals, like the James River and Kanawha and the Potomac in the 1780s and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the 1820s.

After tense debates, Congress followed President Washington's suggestion to place the capital of the new nation on the Potomac River on lands donated by Maryland and Virginia. In 1791 the planning, surveying, and construction of the District of Columbia began. The federal government moved from Philadelphia to Washington City in 1800. Hostilities once again erupted between Great Britain and the United States in 1812, and in 1814 British troops burned Washington's public buildings and besieged Baltimore. The burning of Washington helped cement the federal government's home there and the city was quickly rebuilt and expanded. The British shelling of Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor was the last time a foreign navy fired in the Chesapeake region; the attack prompted Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner," which later became the national anthem.

*See also* **Agriculture: Overview; Revolution: Military History; Revolution: Naval War; Shipbuildng Industry; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; Slavery: Overview; "Star-Spangled Banner"; War of 1812; Washington, Burning of; Washington, D.C.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bowling, Kenneth. *The Creation of Washington, D.C.: The Idea and Location of the American Capital.* Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1991.

Breen, T. H. *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Carr, Lois Green, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds. *Colonial Chesapeake Society.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Crothers, A. Glenn. "Agricultural Improvement and Technological Innovation in a Slave Society: The Case of Early National Northern Virginia." *Agricultural History* 75 (2001): 135–167.

Grumet, Robert. *Bay, Plain and Piedmont: A Landscape History of the Chesapeake Heartland from 1.3 Billion Years Ago to 2000.* Annapolis, Md.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000.

Kulikoff, Allan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Middleton, Arthur Pierce. *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Muller, Charles G. *The Darkest Day: The Washington-Baltimore Campaign during the War of 1812.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

*Laura Croghan Kamoie*

**CHILDBIRTH AND CHILDBEARING** When the English settled in North America, they brought with them English birthing traditions. The most prominent of these customs was the midwife, who relied on the camaraderie of laboring women's female neighbors and relatives for assistance. Historians refer to this longtime practice of women gathering for hours and days under the auspices of a midwife as "social birth." Birth was not a private medical event during the colonial and early national periods, but a quasi-public social event albeit for women only. Birth networks were not universal, however. In isolated rural areas, women often found themselves alone during birth or with only their husbands for support.

Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, women customarily excluded husbands as well as physicians from the birthing chamber. Midwives summoned doctors only during difficult deliveries. Eventually prompted by the interest and expertise of men like William Shippen, who trained in Europe and taught the first midwifery classes for physicians in the North American colonies, women in urban areas began to invite physicians to attend births in the 1760s. Physicians' presence at normal births increased gradually throughout the nineteenth century, although other childbirth traditions remained static. Women often gave birth in birthing chairs (a chair with a hole in the seat), or leaning against another woman in either the sitting or standing position. Until birth moved from women's homes to the hospital in the twentieth century, it remained an event controlled by women even in the presence of a male physician.

As long as birth remained in the home, midwives and physicians treated birth in virtually identical ways: they spent the bulk of their time comforting laboring women and waiting for babies to be born. Medical interventions were minimal, although doctors, unlike midwives, did have at their disposal a greater array of obstetric instruments, most notably forceps. The first British record of forceps use appeared in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Despite the availability of these instruments, however, most doctors (and all midwives by law) limited their medical activity to periodically examining the cervix, lubricating the perineum to aid stretching and avoid tearing, "catching the baby" ("catching babies" was the trademark phrase used by midwives to describe their vocation), and tying the umbilical cord.

Birth was a communal female affair in the South as well as the North. It was common in the South for black and white women to attend each other's births. In letters and diaries, white women occasionally expressed appreciation for a slave's assistance during birth, and white women apparently reciprocated when slaves were in similar need. Unmarried sisters appear to have been the most valued birth attendants in the South, although birth networks were large and bonded married women to each other.

Following the example of women in the urban Northeast, some wealthy southern women began to rely on male physicians before the Civil War, although this change in primary birth attendant occurred more slowly in the South than in the North. Physicians and midwives also probably cooperated to a greater extent in the South; even when physicians were present at a birth, their casebooks indicate that a midwife was usually there too.

Pregnancy, childbearing, and breast-feeding dominated most women's lives during the colonial and early national periods. In 1800 white women of childbearing age gave birth to an average of 7.04 children, and women often wrote of the strain of unrelenting childbearing. As Abigail Adams observed in 1800 of a young relative, "It is sad slavery to have children as fast as she has." Partly as an effort to space pregnancies, mothers customarily breast-fed their children for several years. Lactation tends to suppress ovulation; in an era without readily available contraception, prolonged lactation often served as the only method of birth control. Women who did not breast-feed, or who breast-fed minimally, gave birth annually. Women who practiced extended breast-feeding gave birth every two to five years.

Extant midwives' records indicate that the maternal death rate in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries was one maternal death for every 200 births, or one-half of 1 percent of births. Although this is 62 times higher than the maternal death rate in the early twenty-first century, it is vastly lower than early Americans' notions of the maternal death rate. Women believed the possibility of death during birth was so great that they spent considerable time worrying about and planning for that possibility. Some historians speculate that women feared birth as "potential death," despite the small number of actual deaths, because Puritan ministers stressed the chance of death in childbirth. When women did die in childbirth, either hemorrhage or postpartum infection usually caused the deaths.
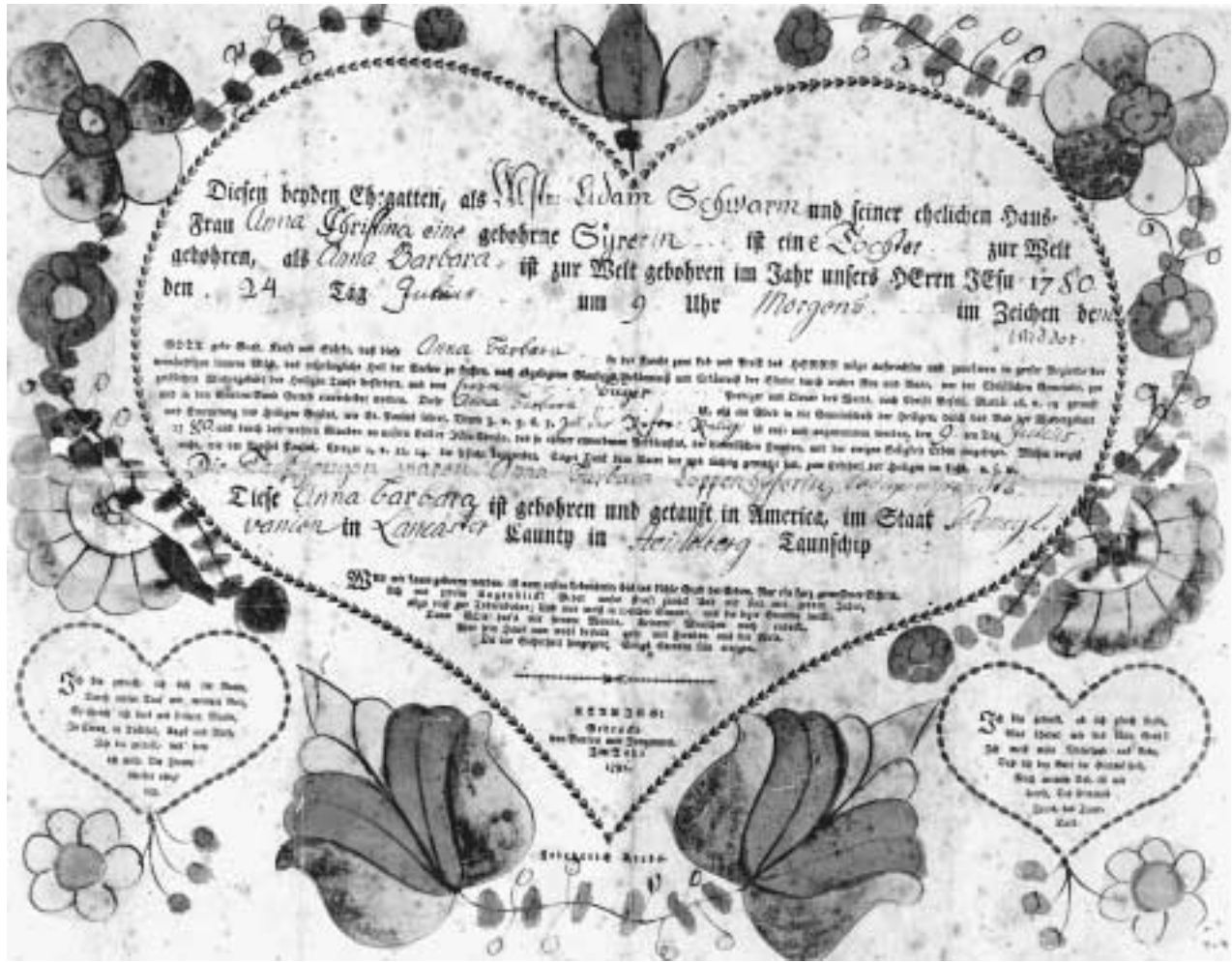
**Birth Certificate for Anna Barbara Schwarm.** This watercolor and ink drawing by German-American artist Friederich Krebs marks a birth that occurred in 1780 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Native American families were considerably smaller than white families, and the fewer pregnancies experienced by Native American women likely translated to significantly lower maternal mortality. Indian women gave birth to roughly half the number of children that white women had, probably owing to heavy physical labor, diets low in fat, and lengthy periods of breastfeeding, all of which contributed to fewer menstrual cycles. There is also evidence that Native Americans had knowledge of herbal abortifacients (substances that induce abortion)—juniper berries, slippery elm bark, pennyroyal, tansy, peppermint, spearmint, rosemary, and catnip—and probably shared that knowledge with white women whose birth rate declined throughout the nineteenth century. Native Americans also practiced infanticide to limit their numbers, and some tribes forbade sexual intercourse with lactating women, effectively limiting population in these ways. African American slaves also seemed consciously to limit births. Physicians occasionally reported that slaves miscarried more often than white women, either because of excessive work or, as plantation owners complained, because slaves deliberately aborted fetuses as a form of resistance.

English observers often remarked on the apparent ease with which Native American women gave birth. According to white observers, Native American women preferred giving birth alone (and largely in silence), although there is evidence that relatives closely monitored the progress of women's labors. A host of herbal remedies also seems to have been available to Indian women to reduce pain during labor. Given their knowledge of pain remedies, cultural prohibition on expressions of pain, and relaxed attitudes toward childbirth, Indians deemphasized the pain of childbirth. In sharp contrast, European

Americans considered pain the salient characteristic of birth.

The varied experience of women living in North America during this era is evidence that birth is an event influenced as much by culture and cultural expectations as by biology and medicine.

*See also* **Biology; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Marriage; Medicine; Sexual Morality; Sexuality; Women: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hibbard, Bryan. *The Obstetrician's Armamentarium: Historical Obstetric Instruments and Their Inventors.* San Anselmo, Calif.: Norman Publishing, 2000.

Kass, Amalie M. *Midwifery and Medicine in Boston: Walter Channing*, M.D. *1786–1876.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002.

Leavitt, Judith Walzer. *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America*, *1750–1950.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

McMillen, Sally G. *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy*, *Childbirth*, *and Infant Rearing.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Plane, Ann Marie. "Childbirth Practices among Native American Women of New England and Canada, 1600–1800." In *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings*, 2nd edition. Edited by Judith Walzer Leavitt. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

Scholten, Catherine M. "'On the Importance of the Obstetrick Art': Changing Customs of Childbirth in America, 1760–1825." *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (1977): 426–445.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard*, *Based on Her Diary*, *1785–1812.* New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

*Jacqueline H. Wolf*

## CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

It is hardly an exaggeration to observe that the character of a nation is formed in its nurseries. What is so striking about the nurseries of America are the differences among them. At least three distinct childhood cultures can be discerned, sources of intranational conflict as well as whatever richness such diversity may contribute to the country.

### INDIAN CHILDHOOD

Indian children were born at approximately four-year intervals as a result of protracted breast-feeding, prohibitions on sexual relations while nursing, and abortion. A 50 percent death rate among the children, partly due to infanticide, stabilized the size of the population.

The aim of Native American parents was to train male hunter-warriors, who would be required to act individualistically yet always conform to the demands of a communal, conservative, homogenous society. Females were instructed as planter-gatherers and had to possess wilderness survival skills as keen as the males.

An Indian mother fondly cared for her child. For three years or even longer she nursed, and in the case of her death the father might be expected to assume the feeding. She kept her offspring close to her, usually transported on a cradle board. In these early years the child was unlikely to experience the intrusion of a sibling.

The world of young Indians changed dramatically at the age of three, when they were thrust onto their own resources and expected to discover their own ways, neither coerced by parents nor struck by them, a permissiveness that Europeans found amazing. Nevertheless, these young children must have remained under the watchful eyes of their parents and, probably, of the whole village community. With the mother as a secure base, the child could explore any strange situation, which is what it was expected to do by way of building confidence and moving toward autonomy.

Along the way, children were fit into clearly defined gender roles. Girls learned games that led to the performance of household duties, while boys' activities—ball games, archery, and fishing—were antecedents to a hunter-warrior occupation. Scantily clad in winter, boys hardened their bodies as they did their minds; their elders expected of them self-control and absence of womanly emotion. The example of parents, especially warrior-fathers, repudiating corporal punishment must have contributed to the exercise of restraint by their children, particularly sons.

In a social environment that placed a premium on the ability to withstand suffering without flinching, pain could not be used as a coercive force. Not only did children thus feel protected from punishment by their families, but—being specially linked to the spiritual world—they received kindness and respect. Furthermore, the patience and stoicism fostered by an infancy in the cradle board made the Indian child receptive to an indulgent early training.

Self-restraint and stoicism were closely linked to the development of autonomy, a major adult goal. In the Indian cosmos, power was invisibly gained and lost; it was best to avoid others for fear of antag-

**Children of Commodore John Daniel Danels.** A portrait of the children and two servants of John Danels, a Baltimore merchant, ship owner, and naval officer (c. 1826). THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

**Portrait of Ann Proctor.** Six-year-old Ann Proctor displays her favorite doll in this portrait, painted in 1789 by Charles Willson Peale. Ann's doll was later exhibited with her portrait in the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, Maryland. © KEVIN FLEMING/CORBIS.

onizing. Thus, the presentation of a stoical exterior was linked to autonomy. Psychological literature at the turn of the twenty-first century leaves no doubt that the absence of corporal punishment nurtures autonomy.

Education of the young was not only imparted by the example of elders but also was explicitly transmitted by storytelling. This oral literature was entertaining, but more important it conveyed cultural beliefs and practices.

The transit from childhood to adulthood was well defined. For girls there were sometimes rituals surrounding the onset of menstruation. For boys, whose passage through puberty was less biologically evident, there were more elaborate ceremonies: the huskinaw and the vision quest. Both involved isolation as well as sensory deprivation and stimulation. The purposes were to begin life on a new course, though without forfeiting the training of childhood,

or to locate through visions the spirits that dominated the young person's life.

### EUROPEAN AMERICAN CHILDHOOD

The Europeans who settled along the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century were mostly English. They established themselves in villages and on isolated farms. New England was distinguished by a patriarchal religion that was duplicated by the commanding presence of the father in a large, stable nuclear family. In the Chesapeake region a high mortality rate led to constant reshaping of the household in a smaller form. In both regions the neonate was swaddled for about three months, whereas breast-feeding continued through the first year. When it ceased, conception became easier and probably occurred within the next several months.

Until the baby walked it was carried in the arms of its parents, one or both of whom could be expected to die early in the life of the Chesapeake child. The trauma of parental loss in the Chesapeake was paralleled in New England by the drama of breaking the child's will, a systematic suppression of early attempts at self-assertion accomplished by a mental manipulation of the youngster that was sanctioned by religious ideology.

Corporal punishment, an English inheritance, was pervasive in both regions, administered to boys and girls by either parent. Clothing was a badge of age and sex. At seven or eight years old, boys moved from skirts into breeches, marking their entrance to manhood as well as into the workforce. Girls remained skirted, symbolizing their continuing—indeed, lifelong—subordination to males; they were also initiated into chores appropriate to their gender. Church membership was customarily not granted until young adulthood, though the age was lowered as church elders became worried about the salvation of youth and the future of the church.

Apprenticeship was directed at older children, and so was education. Masters, like fathers, were required to feed and clothe as well as teach their charges. Among the New England Puritans, reading was considered a necessary complement of childhood, since it provided access to Scripture. Such issues as spirituality, leaving the home, and education, focused as they were on youth, helped to create a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood that, by the late seventeenth century, can be called adolescence.

The eighteenth century was characterized by the growth of population and wealth, the latter contributing significantly to the lengthening of childhood.

Non-English immigrants—Dutch, German, and Scots-Irish—flowed into the colonies, another development that altered childhood.

Those colonists who remained deeply influenced by religion, most typically members of nuclear families living in isolated rural areas, can be labeled Evangelicals; they persisted in believing that children were depraved and in attempting to break their wills. A new secularism, often associated with the Enlightenment as well as the emerging world of commerce, enabled other mothers and fathers, more moderate than the Evangelicals and most often found in affluent farming villages and commercial towns, to deal in a gentler way with the young, expecting responsibility without demanding submission. Yet a third group of parents, genteel in their circumstances with a prosperity based on landownership and slaveholding, indulged their children, not in order to nurture them, but out of indifference to them.

But all European American households shared the belief that children must be controlled, even if the War for Independence both reflected and contributed to some loosening of household authority. Far more than the American Revolution, the industrial revolution altered domestic life in the United States. During the early nineteenth century, the movement from traditional agricultural communities into industrial towns and cities was characterized by the emergence of two distinctly different sorts of childhoods—middle-class and working-class—a process that was only beginning in 1829, primarily in the Northeast.

The urban middle-class household was characterized by the absence of the father, now at his office or factory, and the dominance of the mother. Her emphasis was less on corporal punishment than on internal control of her children, often enough through the employment of guilt (whereas shame had been the instrument of social control in traditional rural society). Insular though this family was in the new mass society, upward social mobility was a goal to be accomplished through education outside the home. Schooling took on a new urgency, and the age-graded classrooms that emerged in the cities reflected and intensified division in all aspects of a society once organically unified.

In the working class, the factory replaced the home as the place of employment. Children had always toiled as part of the household. Now they became wage earners and major supporters of families struggling simply to survive. Although still dominated by their parents, they were less susceptible to control, especially in immigrant families where children grasped American culture unburdened by the

Old World past and, thus, appeared wiser than their parents.

## AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDHOOD

Most of the Africans brought to North America originated in west and west-central Africa, where women nursed their children for two to three years and abstained from sexual intercourse until weaning was complete, yielding a birth interval of three to four years in the manner of Native Americans. There were few African American children until several decades into the eighteenth century, when the slave population began to reproduce itself naturally. Then nursing lasted only a year, suggesting that slaves acculturated to European American practices or were forced by work requirements to adjust.

On the plantation, only one of several slave experiences, mothers were expected to return to work soon after giving birth. They had either to take their infants into the fields or return to the slave quarters three or four times a day to feed them. The death rate of black infants was exceptionally high compared to that of their white counterparts.

Once weaned, babes were under the watch of other children, frequently siblings, only a few years older than themselves. (Babysitting chores usually ended at seven or eight.) This child-care practice was sanctioned by African tradition. But while in Africa these child caretakers were part of the village social structure, in America they were largely unsupervised and cannot have been trustworthy.

On the plantation, then, the mother was frequently inaccessible to the African American child. Such separation must have engendered fear in the youngster, although the presence of a familiar companion–caretaker in a recognizable place probably mitigated the bad feelings.

In the Chesapeake area, mothers appear not to have been separated by sale from their young children and so could expect to see them in the evenings. On large plantations, over half the fathers might also be present. Other fathers and older, working children were likely to reside on nearby farms. Furthermore, a kinship network appeared during the course of the eighteenth century similar to that in Africa, allowing most children to live in the presence of familiars.

The games slave children played were the consequence of a dawning recognition of their enslaved condition. Whipping and auction provided ways of acting out so as to neutralize the real events. Also a portent of the future was the way meals were served to them: in troughs, as though they were animals.

The diet was poor and did not improve until they were adult workers. The master treated them less as stock than as his little pets (though he treated his own children similarly), spoiling them while their parents attempted to enforce discipline by whipping them in anticipation of their future.

African American parents were training chattel slaves to be submissive workers, conforming (at least in appearance) to the demands of house mistresses, drivers, and owners who felt free to interfere in the child-rearing process. Some historians believe that parents were able to instill self-esteem in children, but given the limited time old and young spent together, this seems unlikely.

Despite the beatings and perhaps because of the patronizing attitude of the master, childhood did not demand more than light work until about the age of twelve, when many of the children left home and the harsh field life began. Even the cushioning effect of the kinship system could not protect the young at this point, which surely marked the movement from childhood into adulthood. It was an abrupt change. The separation of the child from his or her family as a pre-adolescent could only intensify the fears of early childhood, a situation that served the interest of the slaveholder if only by investing the alternative, escape, with terror. Separation would have served as an obstacle to the normal socialization of a young person.

Of the three separate childhoods described here, it was the European American variety that changed most from 1754 to 1829, and that transformation was prompted by shifting economic conditions. The European Americans were dominant in North America, not only due to their numbers but also their economic, social, and political power. Their culture flourished, and they consciously suppressed the cultures of the Indians and the African Americans. The model of domination-submission was learned in the nursery.

*See also* **Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Domestic Violence; Farm Making; Education: Education of African Americans; Industrial Revolution; Parenthood.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Axtell, James, ed. *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Bremner, Robert H., et al., eds. *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History.* 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970–1974.

Calvert, Karin. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Demos, John. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Greven, Philip J. *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America.* New York: Knopf, 1977.

Hawes, Joseph M., and N. Ray Hiner, eds. *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985.

Illick, Joseph E. *American Childhoods.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Schwartz, Marie Jenkins. *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

*Joseph E. Illick*

**CHILDREN'S LITERATURE** American children's literature was an embryonic concept in early America. As an outpost of the British Empire, colonial children principally read works imported from England. In the absence of copyright laws, colonial and early American printers freely borrowed whole titles or parts of books and bowdlerized British works liberally. Authentic American texts written exclusively for child entertainment did not appear until the 1820s. Seventeenth-century classics like John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and popular advice books such as Lord Halifax's *The Lady's Gift, or Advice to a Daughter* (1688) or Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) remained popular imports in the eighteenth century. Williamsburg bookshops sold chapbooks (small illustrated stories), advice books, and Anglican prayer books and catechisms to wealthy families. In New England the *New England Primer* and a variety of Protestant catechisms sold well in the eighteenth century. By the 1780s such children's classics as the *Tales of Mother Goose*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, and *Cinderella* were being printed in Boston by Isaiah Thomas.

English-language children's literature underwent significant redefinition in the works of London printer John Newbery (1713–1767). He closely adhered to the learning theories of John Locke, which stressed the ease with which children could soak up information rationally presented. Newbery reworked familiar folktales into instructive moral lessons like *A History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765) or *A Little Pretty Pocketbook* (1744). Newbery often

introduced his books with a short essay directed to parents, admonishing them to use every daily event and life experience as a teaching moment. American printers imported Newbery books, but Hugh Gaine of New York and Isaiah Thomas also produced their own versions of his popular titles, adding maxims or additional stories to known titles at will. Not until 1790 did the U.S. Congress pass a copyright law giving authors the exclusive right to their own work for fourteen years, an act that stimulated American publications.

Regardless of legislation in colonial Massachusetts requiring that schools be established in all towns (1642), schooling and literacy remained sporadic and was the responsibility of parents or masters. The *New England Primer*, first published about 1690, remained the principle instructional text, whether children memorized it at home or in a school setting. It introduced children to the alphabet through memorized couplets, then presented simple phrases and proverbs, until students could read the Apostle's Creed and a catechism. Some versions of the *Primer* included a lengthy dialogue among Christ, the Devil, and a young man.

American printers accommodated to the changing political tenor of the New World by changing British references in the *Primer.* For example, "Our King the good" became "Kings should be good"; after the Revolution, that same line became "The British King / Lost States thirteen." Parents, tutors, and schoolroom teachers all relied on the *New England Primer* or one of the lesser known dissenting church primers, such as the one written by Quaker activist John Woolman in 1766, which focused on nature themes rather than biblical ones. Two English authors compiled grammar exercises that sold well in America: *A New Guide to the English Tongue*, by Thomas Dilworth, and *English Reader*, by Lindley Murray.

With the boycott of British imports during the 1770s and beyond, American booksellers were thrown upon their own devices to supply the classroom and the small market of book buyers. American civic leaders like Benjamin Rush, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams began to call for increased educational opportunities for children so as to ensure the success of the new Republic. Arguing (in a letter to John Canfield in 1783) that America "must be as independent in literature as she is in politics," Noah Webster produced a set of progressively difficult volumes for reading instruction that emphasized republican virtue, proper behavior, and standardized spelling. The first work in this series, the *American Spelling Book* (1783), was affectionately dubbed the "blue back speller." It remained a standard in the American classroom for several generations. Webster's *The Little Reader's Assistant* (1790) included a question and answer section called the "federal catechism" that provided a basic civics lesson. Mason Locke Weems also stressed republican virtues in his *Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (1800), the first account to include the myth of George Washington and the cherry tree.

The first American to produce bona fide children's literature was Samuel Goodrich (1793–1860), who wrote under the pen name Peter Parley. Goodrich began his career as a printer in Boston and published *Tales of Peter Parley about America* anonymously in 1827. In it the elderly Parley conversed with children on their level, in simple sentences, while relaying tales about Indians or battles of the American Revolution. Later works profiled famous Americans from Captain John Smith to Benjamin Franklin. Goodrich drew a moral tale from every story and, like Noah Webster, replaced dependence on biblical injunctions with a generic civic morality, an approach that lingered in children's literature through the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Games and Toys, Children's; Patents and Copyrights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Avery, Gillian. *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books*, *1621–1922*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Murray, Gail S. *American Children's Literature and the Construction of Childhood.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998.

Rosenbach, A. S. W. *Early American Children's Books.* New York: Kraus Reprint Corp, 1966; New York: Dover, 1971.

*Gail S. Murray*

**CHINA TRADE**   The China trade formally began on 22 February 1784 with the voyage of the *Empress of China*, owned by a consortium led by Robert Morris. The ships carried a cargo mainly consisting of ginseng. In August, the *Empress of China* became the first American ship to reach Canton. The ship returned to New York on 11 May 1785 carrying tea, nankeens (Nanking cotton cloth), chinaware, and silk. Those items subsequently made up the bulk of Chinese exports to the United States. Samuel Shaw,

the supercargo, was appointed consul at Canton in 1786. All trade was conducted at Canton through the *cohong*, native Chinese merchants with a monopoly on foreign trade. The largest export item from Canton was tea. American merchants shipped between three and five million pounds per year during the late 1790s and reached over ten million pounds per year after the War of 1812. Most of the tea was reexported. New York became the center of the tea business. Silk was also a major export, surpassing tea in the trading seasons of 1822–1823 and 1830–1831. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the search for a product to sell to China ended with the introduction of opium. James and Thomas H. Perkins of Boston began trading in opium in 1806, and by 1825 their company was the largest opium dealer in China, dominating the American China trade along with Archer and Jonas Oakford of Philadelphia and T. H. Smith of New York.

*See also* **Foreign Investment and Trade.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Downs, Jacque M. *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844.* Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1997.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.

*Robert W. Smith*

**CHISHOLM V. GEORGIA** *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) was the first important decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, and during the early national period the most controversial. Reaction to the decision was so strong, and so negative, that it led to the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, which prevented the Supreme Court from ever hearing such a case again.

The facts behind *Chisholm* are relatively mundane. During the Revolution, Robert Farquhar, a South Carolina businessman, sold various goods to the state of Georgia, which then refused to pay its bills. Complicating this case was the fact that while he sold goods to Georgia, Farquhar himself was a Loyalist, which may explain why Georgia refused to pay him. This fact, and the fear that other Loyalists would sue the states, may also explain Georgia's adamant hostility to the Supreme Court taking jurisdiction in the case. Alexander Chisholm, who was Farquhar's executor, sued Georgia to recover the

money. He brought suit under the clause in Article III, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, which gave jurisdiction to the federal courts in suits "between a State and Citizens of another State." Georgia refused to send counsel to the Supreme Court to even argue the case. Georgia simply denied that the Supreme Court had jurisdiction over the matter.

Justice James Iredell of North Carolina agreed with Georgia that the federal courts had no jurisdiction to hear the suit of a private citizen brought against a state. The rest of the Court disagreed. Justice James Wilson believed the case went to the heart of what a nation was. He rejected the idea that the states were sovereign, and thus they could not be sued against their will. Chief Justice John Jay agreed, asserting that the Constitution "recognizes and rests upon this great moral truth, that justice is the same whether due from one man to a million, or from a million to one man."

The Court found in favor of Chisholm and entered a default judgment for him. This set the stage for a trial on the actual damages. But that trial never took place. Even if it had taken place, Georgia's governor, Edward Telfair, made it clear that his state would never submit to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court on this matter. However, Georgia ultimately settled the case out of court, and the legislature appropriated money to Chisholm.

The most important result of the case was not Georgia's initial refusal to abide by a Supreme Court decision but the almost universal rejection of the holding by American politicians. The Supreme Court issued its decision on 17 February 1793. Within two days of the decision U.S. senators were considering an amendment to the Constitution to prevent citizens of one state from suing other states in federal court. Within a year of the decision both the House and Senate had voted in favor of such an amendment. By 7 February 1795, almost exactly two years after the decision, the amendment had received the support of three-fourths of the states and was thus in theory ratified. However, for reasons that are not entirely clear, the amendment did not officially become part of the Constitution until 8 January 1798. This was the first change in the Constitution since the adoption of the Bill of Rights. But unlike the first ten amendments, the Eleventh Amendment dealt with the restructuring of the original Constitution. The amendment simply declared that the judicial power of the federal courts did not "extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State."

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Orth, John V. *The Judicial Power of the United States: The Eleventh Amendment in American History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

*Paul Finkelman*

**CHOLERA**   *See* **Health and Disease.**

**CHURCH AND STATE**   *See* **Disestablishment.**

**CINCINNATI**  Cincinnati's beginnings can be traced to 1788, when a New Jersey judge and speculator, John Cleves Symmes, purchased one million acres of land north of the Ohio River, between the Great and Little Miami Rivers. Losantiville, one of the three settlements planted on Symmes's purchase, derived its name from Greek, Latin, and French words meaning "village opposite the mouth" in reference to its location on the northern bank of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of Kentucky's Licking River. Losantiville's strategic location offered great commercial promise, and it eventually became the most significant of the three settlements. But before that promise could be realized, Losantiville settlers would have to contend with the Ohio Indians for rights to the land.

In the dawn of its days, Losantiville had an uncertain existence. Residents lived under the constant threat of attacks by Native Americans. Not even Fort Washington, built by the U.S. government around the village in 1789, could protect or stabilize the community. It was only after General Anthony Wayne defeated the Native American confederation at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 that the walls of Fort Washington came down, signaling the end of all significant challenges to white settlement on the land. The name of the village was promptly changed to Cincinnati—a name borrowed from the Society of the Cincinnati, a renowned Revolutionary War veterans group. With the new name came a new destiny. What had begun as a humble garrison settlement became a symbol of western, if not American, aspirations by the 1820s.

Cincinnati is slightly older than the state of Ohio, which was admitted to the Union in 1803. In 1790 the governor of the Northwest Territory, General Arthur St. Clair, made Cincinnati the seat of Hamilton County, organized its civil and criminal courts, and appointed judges. The first courthouse, church, and school all opened at around the same time. A newspaper appeared before 1800, and by 1807 the city had its first bank. Cincinnati was recognized as a township by the territorial legislature in 1802 and incorporated as a city in 1819. Residents received municipal services, including water, city lights, and fire and police departments in the 1810s.

**EARLY GROWTH**

Early Cincinnati was a city of many faces. It was a northern city in its geography, a southern one in its culture, and a western city by its economic aspirations. It was the southernmost northern city, the northernmost southern city—all while being, as it was known, the Gateway to the West. These simultaneous, multiple identities created a distinct character and tone and also defined the destiny of the young city.

Cincinnati's early history and development cannot be divorced from its relationship to the Ohio River. The young city's extraordinary economic growth in its first fifty years can be attributed to its strategic location along this critical waterway. As the primary access route to the West in early America, the Ohio River linked the city to principal markets east and west. Because the river also fed into the Mississippi, Cincinnati additionally had access to southern markets and eventually became a major provider of goods to southern slave owners. Furthermore, the construction of the Miami and Erie Canal (1825–1845) created a faster way to convey goods between Cincinnati and other Ohio cities. The intersection of all these commercial highways near Cincinnati facilitated extraordinary economic growth. Although the port city had benefited from a relatively robust commercial economy since the days of its pioneers, the steamboat revolution in the 1820s ushered in an era of unparalleled prosperity in commerce and manufacturing. The advent of faster, more efficient transportation dramatically increased the volume of goods moving to, from, and through Cincinnati. The city emerged from the decade as the national leader in steamboat production and pork packing. In fact, the pork-packing capital was given the nickname Porkopolis—a name that could also refer to the great numbers of pigs that freely roamed the streets of Cincinnati. Reflecting its position as the leading man-

ufacturing and commercial power in the West, Cincinnati was also known as the Queen City of the West by 1830.

The Queen City's economy offered unbounded opportunities, drawing thousands of migrants each year. The city had about 500 residents in 1795; by 1810 its population had multiplied five times to over 2,500. Ten years later, 9,841 persons were living in Cincinnati. By 1830, after just four decades of existence, Cincinnati's population had ballooned to 24,831, eclipsing that of every other major western city. In 1840 its population of 46,339 was more than twice that of Pittsburgh and almost three times the population of St. Louis. In fact, by then Cincinnati was also the sixth-largest city in the nation.

### POLITICAL HISTORY

Cincinnati politics were driven by economics for decades. City leaders, careful to maintain delicate trading relations with southern states, sometimes made decisions that were decidedly proslavery. Until the antebellum era, slaveholders had free rein to bring slaves with them as they did business in Cincinnati. The culture in Cincinnati not only tolerated slavery, but often tried to repress activity that might jeopardize relations with the South, including abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. Cincinnati had one of the strongest anti-abolitionist communities in the country, and for years city officials ignored their activities.

Much of the city's business and leadership class was affiliated with the National Republican and, later, the Whig Party. The National Republican Party hoped to use national institutions like the national bank to encourage the acquisition of private capital. The party attracted merchants, bankers, large retailers, and others who favored a robust market economy. The Tafts, Beechers, and Longworths were leading Republican families in the city.

As demographics changed in Cincinnati, so too did its political bent. The influx of Irish immigrants in the 1840s broadened the Democratic foothold, and the subsequent rise of the Democratic journal the *Cincinnati Enquirer* signaled an end to Whig dominance in city politics.

### THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI

Most striking about the population demographics of early Cincinnati is its relatively high number of northeastern- and foreign-born residents. Germans were the largest immigrant group in Cincinnati between 1830 and 1870 and also comprised a significant portion of the city's total population. For exam-

ple, in 1840, 28 percent of the population was German. As the German population increased, so did its influence on the political and social culture of the city. As a testament to that influence, the German language was spoken and taught in many of Cincinnati's schools throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Another group, significant in spirit if not numbers, was Cincinnati's African American population. In a state that prohibited slavery, the Queen City offered many incentives for African Americans to settle there, not the least of which was jobs. The black population hovered between 3 and 4 percent until 1829, when it spiked to over 9 percent. Despite the implicit promise of freedom from slavery and racism, a riotous, anti-black, anti-abolitionist spirit gripped the city, many of whose white residents after 1829 tormented African Americans and, at times, their allies. For example, in the summer of 1829 the threat of an impending riot directed against the black community precipitated a mass exodus of over one thousand African Americans. In 1836 anti-abolitionist rioters destroyed the press of an abolitionist weekly, *The Philanthropist*. Despite such a climate, after 1836 Cincinnati was home to one of the most effective branches of the Underground Railroad and hailed as one of the nation's strongest abolitionist communities.

Because so much of the city's economy was invested in its waterways, it was natural and inevitable that the bright star of Cincinnati dimmed once railroads and national roads replaced steamboats as the principal conveyers of goods through the West in the 1850s. Shortly thereafter, the Queen City of the West was forced to relinquish the crown—although not the name—to other western cities like Chicago and St. Louis.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; American Indians: Old Northwest; Antislavery; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Immigration and Immigrants: Germans; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Ohio; Steamboat.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aaron, Daniel. *Cincinnati: Queen City of the West, 1819–1838.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992.

Drake, Daniel. "Memoir of the Miami Country, 1779–1794." *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 18, nos. 2 and 3 (1923): 39–117.

Federal Writers' Project. *Cincinnati: Highlights of a Long Life.* Cincinnati: Cincinnati Office of the Works Progress Administration, 1938.

Ford, Henry A., and Kate B. Ford. *History of Cincinnati*, *Ohio with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches.* Cincinnati, Ohio: L. A. Williams, 1881.

King, Rufus. "When, and by Whom Was Cincinnati Founded?" Address presented to the Pioneer Association of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, 7 April 1882.

Taylor, Nikki. *Frontiers of Freedom: Cincinnati's Black Community*, *1802–68.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005.

Trotter, Joe William. *River Jordan: African American Life in the Ohio Valley.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998.

Wade, Richard C. *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities*, *1790–1830.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

*Nikki Taylor*

**CIRCUSES**   The first recognizably modern circus, with its defining combination of horse trick riding, juggling, clowning, and acrobatics, was born in London in 1768 under the direction of an ex-cavalryman, Philip Astley. The circus traveled rapidly, however, to the United States through the figure of John Bill Ricketts, a Scotsman who had worked primarily with Astley's rival, Charles Hughes. By the time Ricketts set up his first American shows in 1792 in New York and Philadelphia, the circus had organized various disparate but long-standing forms of popular street and fairground entertainment into a distinctive theatrical genre. The founding act for the circus was equestrian trick riding, and indeed the parameters of the circus ring itself have always been set at forty-two feet in diameter because Hughes had found this to be the optimum size within which enough centrifugal force could be generated to keep a rider in the saddle.

Before Ricketts, John Sharp in Boston and New York (1771) and Jacob Bates in Philadelphia (1772) had both pioneered equestrian displays. Yet the rapid development from this to circus was initially hamstrung in the United States during the Revolutionary years, the Continental Congress having put an injunction on all manner of public shows. Once this ban was revoked (after the Revolution), however, Ricketts's performance—a series of burlesque acts and horse-riding stunts—laid the grounds for a form of circus that, though it may have begun with a European template, was to develop in new and distinctly American ways. As though to seal the importance of the form to the developing nation, President George Washington, an enthusiastic horseman, attended Ricketts's wooden amphitheater in Philadelphia on 22 April 1793.

In the early nineteenth century, the American circus developed its most distinctive form: the tented traveling show. Where European circuses had mainly moved between limited numbers of fixed wooden amphitheaters, in 1825 J. Purdy Brown of Delaware was the first of many circus entrepreneurs to see the economic advantage of transporting the circus by horse and wagon and setting up tents in many more small and far-flung rural locations than had previously had access to a circus. Therefore, the "rolling" circus, though frequently based in Somers, New York, can be seen as a response to and an outgrowth of the dispersed and itinerant American nation in its early years. In the same period, the traveling menagerie also became integrated into the sense of what a circus was. Although Captain Jacob Crowninshield had brought a Bengali elephant to display in New York on 12 April 1796, it was Hackaliah Bailey who invented the concept of the animal as star performer. He named his African elephant Old Bet and displayed her from town to town between 1815 and her death (by gunshot) in 1816. The fact that Bailey was an early inspiration for P. T. Barnum and that Old Bet was the first star of the tented shows of Bailey's partner, Nathan Hewes, demonstrates her centrality to a preeminent American entertainment, shaped during this period.

*See also* **Fairs.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Chindahl, George L. *A History of the Circus in America.* Caldwell, Ohio: Caxton, 1959.

Culhane, John. *The American Circus: An Illustrated History.* New York: Holt, 1990.

Davis, Janet M. *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Stoddart, Helen. *Rings of Desire: Circus History and Representation.* New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Thayer, Stuart. *Annals of the American Circus*, *1793–1860.* Vol. 1: *1793–1829.* Manchester, Mich.: Rymack, 1976.

*Helen Stoddart*

**CITIZENSHIP**   Citizenship meant much to first-generation Americans who had consciously cast off their identities as subjects of the British monarch and declared themselves members of a republic. This would, however, intersect with traditional notions of status that defined privileges and duties locally and hierarchically. Citizenship, with its suggestion of a

national, egalitarian identity was thus a concept central to the Revolutionary enterprise yet often subjugated in the early Republic to local determinations of status that doled out privileges and duties unequally.

### SUBJECTSHIP IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

American colonists at the close of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) thought of themselves as subjects of the British monarch. The legal doctrine of subjectship had been articulated over a century earlier by English jurists. Only subjects of the king could own property and bring suits in the king's courts. Aliens may have owed temporarily allegiance by their residence in England, but they lacked the privileges of subjects unless Parliament naturalized them. All those born in the realm of England were natural-born subjects, immediately enjoying the protection of the monarch and owing allegiance in kind. This doctrine of allegiance was a reflection of divinely ordained hierarchies, similar to the filial bond of a child to a parent, and was as such natural and perpetual. Although allegiance involved reciprocal rights and duties, it was not a contractual bond. Neither subject nor monarch nor both together could, of his or her own volition, cast off the bond.

John Locke challenged this notion in his *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (1690). Rather than hierarchical inequality enshrined in feudal bonds of allegiance, Locke argued that the bond between governors and governed stemmed from man's perfect freedom in the state of nature and was thus a consensual bond. This implied that governors were limited in their power, which left to the governed the absolute rights to life, liberty, and property that they had not consented to turn over to the government. Independent of Locke's natural rights were the political rights of freeborn Englishmen, which included the right to petition the king with grievances, to hold free elections, to have recourse to the writ of habeas corpus, to receive a trial by jury, and to consent to taxation, along with a host of other privileges. These rights were repeatedly asserted during the seventeenth century and became a centerpiece of the constitutional settlement of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in the English Bill of Rights.

Elements of both these theories worked their way into British law. William Blackstone separated the reciprocal rights and duties of subjects and monarch from the absolute rights of people in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769). Absolute rights, however, did not govern the law of persons. More important in determining someone's status was the common law relations of husband and wife, master and servant, parent and child. Corresponding duties of protection and obedience marked each of these relationships, enforcing a patriarchic legal regime.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the 1750s and 1760s, the question of subjectship in the British Empire arose. Notions of the rights of freeborn Englishmen collided with the ascendancy of the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty and the reality of administering an empire, particularly during war with France. To deal with a rebellion in the Scottish Highlands, the British Parliament in the Militia Act of 1757 deprived all Scots of the right to raise and regulate a militia. The Stamp Act of 1765 established an internal tax on the colonists to which they had not directly consented. The Massachusetts Government Act—part of the Intolerable Acts of 1774—annulled its charter and put the colony under military rule. While these actions of Parliament engaged a number of complicated constitutional issues, they impacted broadly the question of what kinds of privileges and immunities were enjoyed by British subjects outside the realm of England.

The thirteen colonies responded in 1776 to the imperial crisis by withdrawing their allegiance and drawing up independent constitutions. This had the revolutionary effect of changing subjects into citizens by transforming allegiance from an incident of feudal relations to an expressly consensual bond. This doctrine of consent suffered practical difficulties with the large number of British Loyalists resident in every state who did not elect to join the new polity in wartime. The states responded by treating Loyalists as citizens or as conquered subjects. Eventually, however, every state adopted a legal doctrine of elective membership in the polity.

### NATURALIZATION LAWS

The U.S. Constitution made almost no mention of citizenship other than to guarantee that the "Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States" (Article IV, section 2) and to require a uniform rule of naturalization. The First Congress moved quickly to provide this rule, passing a naturalization act in 1790 that set a minimal residency requirement of two years. Congress raised this to five years in 1795 and limited jurisdiction over naturalization to U.S. district and territorial courts. Heightened anxiety during the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800) prompted the Federalist Congress to pass a new naturalization act

in 1798 that raised the waiting period to fourteen years.

In 1802 the Democratic Republican–controlled Congress repealed the 1798 act and restored both the five-year residency requirement and the jurisdiction of any common law court, state or federal, over the naturalization process. This was, however, a Democratic Republican triumph over Federalist centralization rather than a commitment to freer immigration and naturalization. It was the states, not the national government, that placed restrictions on immigrants crossing their borders. In 1787 Georgia prohibited the immigration of any convicted criminal from either a foreign country or another state, and many states passed similar laws. After 1820, Massachusetts required shipmasters to provide security for passengers that might become paupers, and most states passed quarantine or registration laws that allowed them to refuse entry to foreigners deemed undesirable.

U.S. law stipulated in every case that naturalization was open only to "any alien being a free white person," a condition that eliminated Native Americans from consideration. While many agreed that Native Americans did not qualify as citizens of the new Republic, no single reason was cited. Some considered Native Americans' tribal allegiance as a barrier while others argued that Indians would forever be dependent on the superior intelligence of white men for their protection. Still, several treaties with Native Americans contemplated the possibility of future Indian citizenship. None of these treaties, however, achieved this goal.

Federal courts and officers generally concurred that Native Americans could not be naturalized under normal circumstances. Chief Justice John Marshall declared in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) that Indian tribes were not foreign states in the sense meant by the Constitution. Instead, they were "domestic dependent nations," an ambiguous term suggesting that tribes were like wards and that the United States was their guardian.

### REPUBLICAN CITIZENSHIP

The naturalization debate of the 1790s triggered anxieties about the nature of republican citizenship. Many congressmen argued that America needed to encourage immigration but some worried that an influx of European immigrants would undermine republican simplicity. James Madison argued as early as 1790 that it was not immigration that Congress needed to encourage, but attachment to the Republic. While everyone agreed with Madison in principle,

there was little agreement about how to accomplish it.

The stakes were high. Republics rose and fell, Americans believed, based on the interplay between virtue and corruption. America's ability to survive would depend on the general intelligence, public virtue, and moral worth of its citizens. Religion, the traditional guardian of public morality, was fractured into many different churches. The push by dissenters for disestablishment further complicated the ability of religious institutions to communicate a common message.

To correct this, republicans stressed education as the means of securing the proper values in citizens. Noah Webster (1758–1843), Benjamin Rush (1745–1813), and Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) all worked to establish elementary and higher education that would not only train people in the practical arts, but also prepare young people for the duties of civic membership in a republic. Education also promised a kind of equality based on independence and mobility. Educated citizens had the ability to improve themselves and this would, as Thomas Jefferson stressed, contribute to an equality of opportunity.

Women played a crucial role in education. Motherhood took on new meaning when it became infused with the duty of instilling the republican values of public virtue, integrity, and self-reliance— traits that women were now prompted to exhibit by example rather than just passively teach. This grafting of liberal civic duty onto traditional roles had revolutionary potential. Although they were duties exercised in the private home, they gave women new duties of citizenship. Still, women's status as citizens in the early Republic was unclear. Hampered by coverture, the legal doctrine that a woman's status was "covered" by her husband, married women had no independent legal identity and thus could not own property or bring suit in a court of law. In addition, most states barred women from officeholding, jury service, and voting regardless of their marital status.

While republic citizenship did redefine roles for men and women in the polity, loyalties throughout the Republic remained primarily local. Because the law defined people's rights and duties in terms of their membership in village, town, and state, United States' citizenship did not carry with it a host of privileges guaranteed by national law. Congressmen made clear during the naturalization debate that the Constitution's call for a uniform rule of naturalization did not grant uniform privileges. States separated civil protections, property holding, and suffrage

and distributed these privileges to their residents at their own discretion.

## DEMOCRATIC EXPANSION AND RESTRICTION

Despite the absence of a national policy, patterns in the course of citizenship emerged during the early Republic. One was the democratic expansion of suffrage. Jefferson's optimism about the abilities of the common man challenged classical republicanism's insistence that only the propertied and wealthy exhibited the independence necessary to direct affairs of state. Classical republicans held that wage earners, artisans, and servants would be dependent upon their employers and easily corrupted or controlled. Hence, every state at the time of the Constitution's signing had some kind of property qualification for suffrage.

The Democratic Republican victory in the election of 1800 signaled the end of this regime. With Jefferson's support, Democratic Republicans in the states worked to repeal property requirements for suffrage. Maryland passed a universal white male suffrage bill in 1801 and other southern states quickly followed suit. After the admission to the Union in 1820 of Maine, with its constitution guaranteeing universal white male suffrage, Massachusetts and New York dropped their property qualifications. By 1829 only Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had not adopted universal white male suffrage.

Despite these liberal tendencies, the legal regime of the early Republic retained the status distinctions inherent in the common law. This meant that one's relative privileges, immunities, and duties flowed from the law of persons. In addition, states retained through their police power wide discretionary authority over their inhabitants, including the ability to adjudge status and apply relative rights and duties. For instance, many states passed vagrancy laws after the Revolution that allowed justices of the peace and town overseers summarily to commit people deemed common vagrants, drunkards, and prostitutes to workhouses without benefit of a formal judicial hearing. In these cases, local status trumped any notion of universal citizenship.

Liberal democratic expansion had its own limits as well. Women found any voting rights that they possessed extinguished by universal manhood suffrage, as when New Jersey took away the right of propertied, single women to vote in 1807. Most southern states had forbidden free blacks from voting and performing civic duties such as serving on juries. Those states that granted privileges to free blacks revoked many of them after 1800, as Maryland did when it disenfranchised free blacks in 1810. Tennessee and North Carolina would restrict their generous provisions for free blacks in 1834 and 1835, respectively. Conditions in the North were little better. Outside New England, most northern states denied free blacks the suffrage. New York's revised constitution of 1826 both eliminated property qualifications for whites and increased them for blacks. As a result, only sixteen African Americans of a free black population of nearly thirteen thousand qualified to vote.

African Americans, enslaved and free, faced other impediments. In the North, free blacks not only found their commercial and political rights diminished, but also had their access to education restricted. Most northern and western states segregated schools by law or custom, and many appropriated no money for black schools. Conditions in the South were worse. Missouri's state constitution of 1820 forbade the immigration of free blacks. North Carolina required free blacks to wear a patch reading "FREE" on one shoulder and also to register with authorities, a policy adopted by other southern states. Free blacks throughout the South were required to carry proof of their status; blacks without papers were presumed fugitives from slavery. Some states denied blacks any kind of citizenship out of hand. Georgia's superior court declared in *Ex parte George* (1806) that "free negroes, persons of colour, and slaves, can derive no benefit from [Georgia's] constitution." James Monroe's attorney general, William Wirt, concluded in an 1821 opinion that free blacks could not be citizens because no person could be considered "in the description of citizen of the United States who has not the *full* rights of a citizen in the State of his residence." Wirt's logic implied that neither women nor minors were citizens, although he did not intend to draw this conclusion. What his position revealed was not so much doctrinal inconsistency, but rather that a variety of statuses existed at the state level and that they, rather than appeals to universal citizenship, determined membership, rights, and duties.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Alien and Sedition Acts; Education: Overview; Immigration and Immigrants: Immigration Policy and Law; Law; Politics: Political Thought; Voting; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Kerber, Linda. *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.

Kettner, James H. *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Neuman, Gerald L. *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Novak, William J. "The Legal Transformation of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America." In *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History.* Edited by Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Shklar, Judith N. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Smith, Rogers M. *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

*H. Robert Baker*

**Population of Leading American Cities**

| 1760 | 1830 |
| --- | --- |
| Philadelphia 23,750 | New York 202,589 |
| New York 18,000 | Philadelphia 161,271 |
| Boston 15,600 | Baltimore 80,620 |
| Charles Town 8,000 | Boston 61,392 |
| Newport 7,500 | New Orleans 46,082 |

**CITY GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT**   In the popular understanding of the early United States, what began as a republic of farmers became, within a century and a half, a metropolitan nation of cities. There is a measure of truth in this view. The first United States Census of 1790 classified only 5.14 percent of the total population of 3,929,214 as urban; there were only twelve places with 5,000 or more people. But the first American cities and towns did not grow as in Europe from agricultural villages or early military sites. Founded during the worldwide commercial revolution, they served the European powers as bases for the organization of the trade and commerce of empire. Regardless of their small size, they exercised complex economic and urban functions nearly from the start.

The four ports of Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston provided the major urban centers of early America and contained the bulk of the urban population. Boston was settled in 1630 by Puritan migrants led by John Winthrop, who sought to establish a "city on a hill" that would be a beacon to the world. The city represented in part a religious effort to reestablish the true Christian church. But

capitalistic enterprisers were a part of the Puritan effort. The growth of transatlantic trade made Boston the "mart town" of the Western Hemisphere and undermined the New England way of the small community organized around the church. Boston merchants early amassed the capital that financed much of the later rapid economic expansion of the United States.

William Penn, a Quaker, founded Philadelphia in 1682 as a holy experiment to establish a "green country town" that would provide a new ideal of commonwealth for the world. But as Philadelphia grew rapidly, Penn was disillusioned with his effort. In the eighteenth century Philadelphia became a thriving metropolis in the midst of a vast agricultural and town and village hinterland. By the time of the American Revolution it had also become a major cultural center of the British Empire.

In 1624 the Dutch had founded a trading center and named it New Amsterdam; in 1664 England seized it and changed its name to New York. Charleston, characterized by its large slave population, was established in the Carolinas (as Charles Town) in 1670 as a major port facility for the export of southern agricultural products. Newport, Rhode Island, also served as a major urban center but later declined in importance. Numerous smaller sites were tied to the new nation's four major cities as part of regional and metropolitan networks of trade.

Much of the unrest and agitation after the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) that led to the American Revolution centered in the cities. After 1763 towns that had achieved considerable governmental independence were threatened by the new British policies. British tax and trade measures particularly affected urban merchants. In their efforts to organize resistance to British policies, colonial leaders were able to capitalize on the class unrest that had developed among the lower classes of the towns and cities.

The United States Constitution of 1787, which permitted Congress to establish a capital district,

eventually created an important American city, Washington, D.C. A series of compromises in the early years of the new government resulted in a southern site for the capital. Southern leaders, who feared that the location of a capital permanently in a northern center such as Philadelphia would threaten the institution of slavery, may have influenced this decision.

The transportation revolution and settlement of the trans-Appalachian west sharply affected urban growth. The Erie Canal, built between 1817 and 1825 from Albany to Buffalo, contributed to New York City's first rank among American cities and led to the transformation of the villages of Rochester, Buffalo, and Cleveland into cities. Baltimore, the first American boom town, embraced the new technology of the railroad with the start of the Baltimore and Ohio in 1828. Steamboats on the interior Mississippi River system, following Robert Fulton's launching of the *Clermont* in 1807, contributed to the rapid rise of New Orleans. Contemporary authorities often viewed Baltimore or New Orleans as the potential American metropolis, but Baltimore was unable to exploit its early transportation advantage. The eventual pattern of the urban network following east-west lines of transportation continued to benefit the eastern ports. By contrast, New Orleans was tied to the interior river system, which had been the site of the first cities of the west such as Cincinnati and St. Louis.

By 1830 American manufacturing had begun to move from the countryside into the heart of cities. The diverse, compact city of small shops and tradesmen had begun to disappear. This change led to greater segregation and a more defined urban class structure.

*See also* **Boston; Charleston; Erie Canal; New York City; Philadelphia; Steamboat.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Bridenbaugh, Carl. *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776.* New York: Knopf, 1955.
Glaab, Charles N., and A. Theodore Brown. *A History of Urban America.* 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1983.
Pred, Allan R. *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790–1840.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

*Charles N. Glaab*

**CITY PLANNING**   City planning methods in colonial and post-Revolutionary America followed the European-inspired grid pattern of streets bisecting at right angles, a form made popular by William Penn in his pre-packaged city layout for Philadelphia in 1682. Most colonial cities of the era followed Penn's plan. A standard set by this style was the creation of parklike spaces designed for public recreation and, occasionally, marketplaces.

Savannah, Georgia, is considered a remarkable example of city planning that uses a more aesthetically appealing approach while facilitating traffic flow. Founded in 1733, Savannah was laid out by General James Edward Oglethorpe on a bluff overlooking the Savannah River approximately eighteen miles from the coast. What distinguishes this plan from previous ones is its repeated pattern of connected neighborhoods or wards consisting of picturesque squares amid grid street patterns with public spaces surrounded by private dwellings. The public squares were connected via main avenues laid out east to west from the banks of the Savannah River, with pedestrian and horse-powered traffic moving counter-clockwise around each square. This design and the inclusion of Savannah's numerous public squares within its layout gave the city the distinction of having the most open space of any urban plan in colonial America.

The District of Columbia, which became the nation's capital in 1800, initially was one hundred square and swampy miles along the Potomac River donated by Maryland and Virginia. In 1791 Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), a former engineer under General Marquis de Lafayette, won the commission to design the federal city in the District of Columbia after entering his plan in a competition. L'Enfant was difficult and short-tempered with the people surrounding him, and he was removed in 1792. Upon leaving, he took his plans along with him.

Following his resignation, Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806) took over the surveying of the capital. Banneker, a talented African American mathematician, astronomer, and surveyor, had assisted L'Enfant. Banneker was able to reproduce most of L'Enfant's plan from memory.

The layout of Washington, D.C., is notable for its network of wide boulevards radiating like spokes from connecting focal points that were the sites of significant public buildings. Open spaces and a grid pattern of streets oriented along the cardinal points of the compass proved an efficient enough plan that it remains the standard by which contemporary proposals for Washington, D.C., land-use changes are considered.

See also **Architecture: Public; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bacon, Edmund N. *Design of Cities.* Rev. ed. New York: Viking, 1974.

Mullins, Lisa C., ed. *Colonial Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic.* Harrisburg, Pa.: National Historical Society, 1987.

Savannah Guidelines Steering Committee. *Manual for Development in the Savannah Historic District; and Historic District Zoning Ordinance.* Savannah, Ga.: Chatham County–Savannah Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1997.

*Shaun-Marie Newcomer*

**CIVIL ENGINEERING AND BUILDING TECHNOLOGY** The decades surrounding the American Revolution, from the 1760s until about 1820, saw few advances in building technology. Where change occurred it was often small, local, and incremental. The buildings of the early nineteenth century look different from their colonial counterparts, a product of new republican sensibilities that stripped down the ornate detail of the classical Georgian style and replaced it with the simpler lines of the Federal style. Despite the change in appearance, though, buildings of the new American nation were constructed with the same traditional techniques that had been in use for generations.

**BUILDING MATERIALS**

The availability of timber and the early development of sawmills made wood the construction material of choice in early America. By the mid-eighteenth century, standardized conventions for size and quality of lumber facilitated long-distance transactions, and a complex system of sawyers, agents, and board yards moved wood from timber lot to the towns and cities where construction was taking place. Most builders fashioned their buildings from quick sketches and traditional mental templates, substituting creativity, intuition, and experience for more formal written drawings and designs. In the 1760s architectural design books from England became available in the colonies and encouraged a greater level of uniformity and standardization in high-style elite urban buildings. By the 1790s the patterns were being used by tradesmen of all classes, and English architectural conventions increasingly influenced vernacular building techniques and designs in the countryside as well.

Most wooden structures were framed with heavy hand-hewn posts and beams joined together by hand-carved mortise-and-tenon joints, covered over with sheathing and clapboards and roofed with hand-split wooden shingles. Frames were often fit together into subassemblies at the mill or carpenter's yard, then marked, disassembled, and shipped to the building site. At the site, builders would reconstruct the subassemblies, then supervise the raising, in which local townspeople would come together for a day to pull the sides up into place and attach the roofing frame. Raising a frame was dangerous business, so it was important that all involved understood how the framing was supposed to go together. Consequently, the house-raising tradition worked against innovations in framing. With advances in sawmill technology in the 1790s, sawn framing members increasingly replaced hewn timbers and helped fuel the building boom of that decade. Machine-cut nails, a cheap alternative to the hand-forged nails that had been in use for centuries, also became widely available in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The availability of both sawn lumber and nails resulted in a more economical braced-frame style of construction, which replaced some of the heavy timber framing with smaller, standardized studs attached by nails rather than hand-carved joints.

In the mid-Atlantic and the South, a significant amount of brick construction took place, particularly in cities like Philadelphia and Baltimore, where bricks were used to build whole blocks of residential row houses. There were few brick structures in the Northeast, largely due to the lack of the limestone that was necessary for both mortar and plaster. The exception was in chimney construction, where brick was in use everywhere from the late seventeenth century. Brick vaults, which had replaced rubble-stone foundations beneath chimney stacks by about 1800, provided both a stronger foundation and a built-in cellar storage area. Brickmaking was an ancient art, and this period saw few departures from the traditional production process, the only real innovation coming in 1815 with the burning of anthracite coal and wood in the kilns. The combination created slightly inferior bricks and mortar but greatly reduced the time and cost involved.

Most eighteenth-century foundations were constructed either of packed earth or loosely fitting stones and boulders bound together by mortar. In the 1790s improved quarrying and splitting techniques allowed builders to cap foundations with hewn granite slabs that greatly enhanced durability

and stability. Techniques for milling and cutting stone were also perfected in this decade, resulting in the increased use of granite and marble for both structural and decorative purposes.

### INDUSTRIALIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The 1820s and 1830s witnessed a dramatic transformation in building technology. Sawmills began to replace old up-and-down saws, which only cut on the down stroke, with the new and more productive continuously cutting circular saw. As a result, sawn frames, shingles, and lath for plaster all became much more inexpensive and widely available than their hand-fashioned antecedents. Steam-driven sawmills began to free sawyers from their dependence on seasonal water flow. New nailheading machinery made cut nails even more economical, and the invention of planing machinery greatly reduced the time and skill necessary for sizing boards and producing finish work. Carpenter-builders shifted from the scribe rule system of measurements, where individual framing members were trued up and fitted with respect to each other, to the square rule, which emphasized standardization and the interchangeability of framing elements. These technological developments, coupled with the need for fast and cheap construction on the expanding American frontier, led to the invention of balloon-frame construction. First used at Fort Dearborn, near Chicago in 1833, the balloon frame replaced the posts, beams, and braces with rows of smaller, lighter studs, rafters, and joists, wholly held together by nails rather than hand-carved joints.

Steam machinery facilitated hoisting and cutting operations in quarries, and slate became an increasingly popular roofing material, particularly in cities, where wood-shingled roofs had proven to be dangerous fire hazards. Mechanized brick making, the use of poured cement in construction, and iron-framed structures all began to appear in the late 1820s. The development of practical cast iron stoves in the early 1830s freed builders from the limitations on floor plans imposed by the earlier need for a fireplace in each room. More choices were available to builders, but the technology and the construction practices of the 1820s and 1830s were also transforming building from a traditional craft trade into a factory-style operation. Though in many places, particularly in the countryside, vernacular and hand-crafted building practices continued for much of the nineteenth century, the industrialization taking place at the end of the early national period produced more efficient and standardized building technologies that fit the needs of the rapidly growing nation.

*See also* **Architecture; Housing; Technology.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Condit, Carl W. *American Building: Materials and Techniques from the First Colonial Settlements to the Present.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Garvin, James L. *A Building History of Northern New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life: 1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

McAlester, Virginia, and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Rilling, Donna J. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

*David R. Byers*

# CLASS

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Overview*, *Development of the Working Class*, and *Rise of the Middle Class*.

## *Overview*

During the colonial period, Euro-Americans found themselves bound together in vertical networks of patronage and dependence. Living in patriarchal households and engaged in face-to-face economic exchange, most colonists experienced social stratification in direct and personal ways: fathers controlled children's economic prospects via inheritance and dowries; masters exacted violence upon servants, apprentices, and slaves; freeholders governed on behalf of women, transients, and propertyless men; landlords, shopkeepers, and merchants used credit to establish clientage relationships with poorer neighbors. For many Euro-American colonists, radical inequalities of wealth attested less to the competition of social classes or the impersonal workings of the economy and more to the proper functioning of what Gordon Wood, in his *Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992), has called "a monarchical society"—a world where the only meaningful horizontal division separated commoners from the gentry.

But with national independence and the intellectual dismantling of hereditary privilege, an increasing number of Americans refused the distinction between themselves and their superiors. Deference gave way to the celebration of republican equality among adult white male property owners. With the demise

of certain kinds of legal inequality (e.g., indentured servitude), the expansion of the franchise (the abolition of property requirements), and the opening of western lands to white settlement (thanks to the dispossession of native peoples), American political culture emphasized a generic equality rather than the specific and direct inequalities of colonial society. Even as the vertical dependencies of patriarchal households and local economies persisted and differences of wealth inevitably divided society into distinct classes, adult white men would celebrate their potential to transcend the rank of their birth. The American Revolution presumably created a society where orphans could become presidents or where impoverished immigrants could die as millionaires. Rare as such occurrences were, they enabled many commentators—then and now—to credit the American Revolution with the creation of a "classless" society.

Relative to Europe, the United States did offer adult white men greater opportunities for upward mobility. As the majority of adult white men would own land at some point in their lives, the United States remained overwhelmingly rural and was slow to develop the urban proletariat that had become the alarming characteristic of English cities. Karl Marx's tripartite class structure of European society (a politically powerful class of rural landlords, a rising class of urban entrepreneurs, and a great number of dispossessed agricultural and industrial laborers) did not apply in the United States. By many accounts, the typical American worker was a landowning farmer whose business acumen rivaled that of any urban merchant and whose independence mocked the degraded state of the European husbandman. This favorable comparison also helped to enshrine the notion that the United States was a classless society.

Regardless of the myth's origins, the early United States was not a classless society. The new nation may not have had an urban proletariat, but by 1810 it did incorporate 1.2 million enslaved African Americans whose coerced labor enriched the 33 percent of southern white households who owned human property. The United States had no legal aristocracy, but its political leaders—Federalists and Democratic

Republicans alike—overwhelmingly came from the ranks of the wealthy, staked their authority on the size of their landholdings, and legislated in their own financial interest. Common people may have had prospects of upward mobility, but the downward mobility of urban artisans generated a stream of strikes, riots, and political organizing that culminated in the workingmen's parties of the 1820s and 1830s. Cliometric data reveals growing wealth stratification among white men in the decades after 1790 and class fixity, not fluidity, as characteristic.

The most important class development in the early Republic was the emergence of the familiar tripartite structure of an upper, middle, and working class. Less a reflection of a vastly reorganized economy or real competition between groups for material resources, these horizontal strata were the creation of a self-conscious middle class whose champions touted the values, ambitions, and manners that made them different from the "improvident" poor below and the "decadent" rich above. Situated in communities immersed in the market relations of capitalism, members of the middle class valorized a private family realm where women guarded morality from the corruption of the public sphere and made the home a center of sentimental culture, child rearing, and tasteful consumption. This new middle class was so successful in universalizing its virtues of self-improvement and self-control that the vast majority of Americans ever since have identified themselves as middle class. Indeed, if the American class structure remains as obscure today as it was two hundred years ago, the best explanation is not a structural "classlessness," but rather the power of middle-class ideals to channel working-class discontent toward individualistic, not collective, expression and to mask upper-class privilege behind the presumption of a meritocratic society.

*See also* **Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Politics: Political Culture; Slavery: Overview; Wealth; Wealth Distribution; Women: Overview; Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Richard L. The *Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Pestana, Carla Gardina, and Sharon V. Salinger, eds. *Inequality in Early America.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999.

Soltow, Lee. *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Wood, Gordon. *Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Knopf,1992.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

*Seth Rockman*

## Development of the Working Class

When George Washington's administration took power in 1789, the United States had only a small working class in a structural sense, meaning free people whose only valuable possession was their ability to perform wage labor. Most of these were seafarers and urban laborers. But in Atlantic ports from Boston to Charleston, there were "workingmen" who were conscious of themselves as distinct from the rest of society. Many were artisans who expected in their own lifetimes to master the "mysteries" of a trade and, eventually, to own their shops, their tools, and the goods they produced until those goods were ready for sale.

### CRAFT PRIDE

These workingmen were heirs to English and European craft pride and craft organization, and they possessed a proud Revolutionary record. They celebrated both themselves, as craftsmen, and the history they had helped to make in great parades that marked the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, which most of them heartily favored. They knew that even the world-famous Benjamin Franklin still called himself a printer, though he had left his type and press behind decades earlier for the life of a gentleman intellectual and politician. In Boston they honored Paul Revere much more for his mastery of silverwork, his Revolutionary-era political engravings, and his latter-day copper foundry than for the ride he made to Concord in 1775 with the news that the British "regulars are coming out." Like Franklin, Revere was becoming a wealthy man. A blacksmith, house carpenter, or cobbler never would reach their heights, but such a person could see that these were men much like himself.

### OUTSIDE THE CRAFT SYSTEM

Among African Americans there were similar success stories, most notably, perhaps, that of the Philadel-
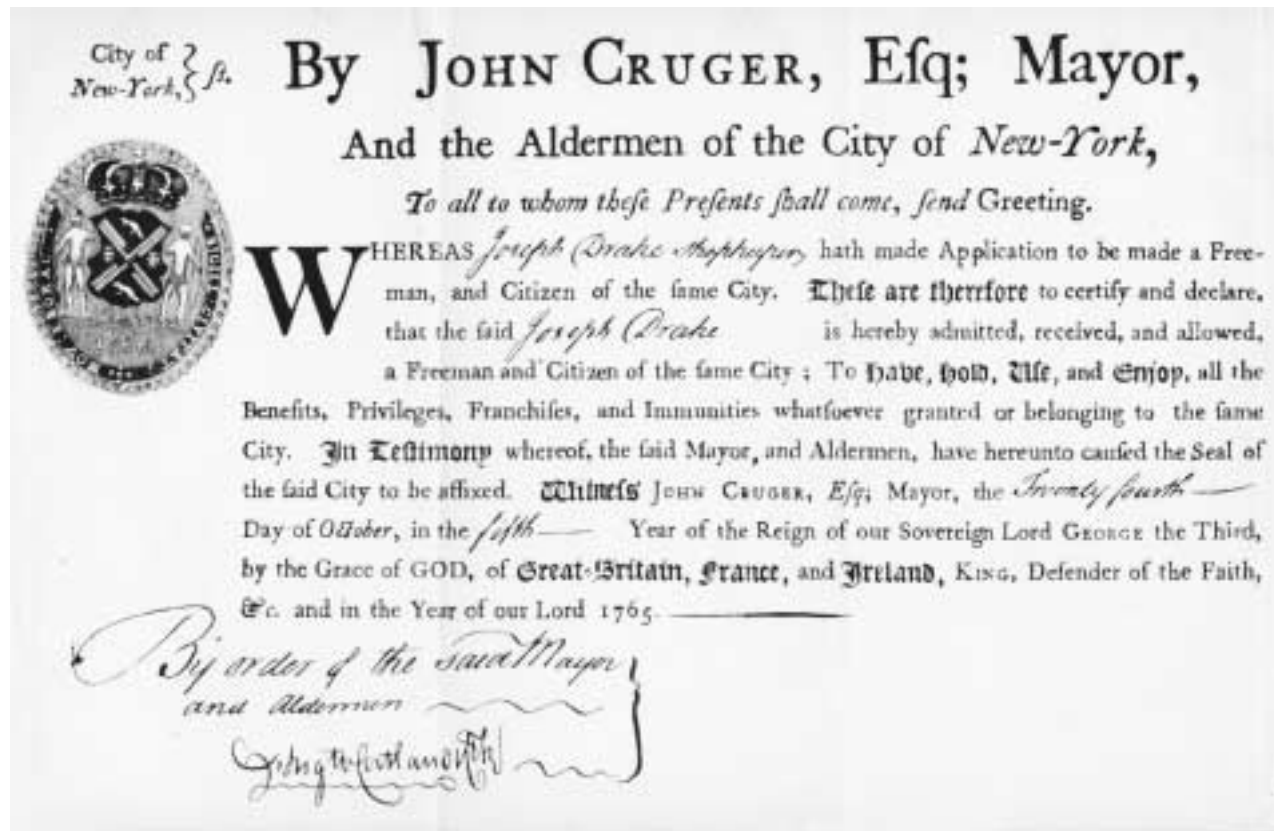
**Certificate of Joseph Drake.** In the colonial period freemanship entitled a member to operate a business, usually an artisan shop, which in turn allowed him to vote, thus giving artisans a significant say in politics. COLLECTION OF HOWARD ROCK.

phia sail maker James Forten. Forten, however, was an exception. Slavery was dying in his Philadelphia, but only in Boston among the major cities was it actually dead when Washington assumed the presidency in 1789. Many of the master artisans who paraded behind their craft banners owned slaves and intended to keep them, offering no hope that the slave would follow the owner's route from apprenticeship through journeyman status to full mastery. In the 1830s the young Baltimore slave Frederick Bailey learned the skills of shipbuilding. After he escaped and changed his name to Frederick Douglass, he found that nobody in New England shipyards wanted his skills.

A person did not have to be black to be permanently excluded from the full life course of a Franklin or a Revere. Shipbuilding was a complex business, which no single person could master. However skilled the shipwright, he could not expect to own his own yard. A man might master the art of smelting iron, but he was unlikely to amass the capital needed for his own foundry. In the 1790s the furniture maker Duncan Phyfe employed many woodworkers as skilled as himself. Unless they were slaves, such

workingmen were free to quit, but they could not expect to emulate Phyfe. Shoemaking remained a skilled craft until the mid-nineteenth century, but in the leather capital of Lynn, Massachusetts, craftsmen found themselves increasingly committed to contract work for others, often at deteriorating rates. Vast numbers of American women spun their own thread, wove it into cloth, and cut and sewed their families' clothes. Some, such as the Maine midwife Martha Ballard, made weaving into a business, hiring "girls" to work for them. Ballard worked hard all her lifetime, but as with almost all women, what she did was within the framework of the household.

**FACTORIES**

When New York State completed construction of the Erie Canal in 1825, much of these circumstances endured, but major changes were under way. The canal was a major part of the market revolution that brought, or promised to bring, goods produced at a far distance to people who consumed whatever they could buy. Beginning in 1791 in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, power-driven mills began to turn the spinning of thread from a household task into paid work,

often performed by women and children. Adopted New Englander Samuel Slater, who provided the knowledge for the first such American mill, had escaped in disguise from England, breaking its monopoly on emergent technology. In 1811 native New Englander Francis Cabot Lowell toured Britain's factories, memorizing the details of their much more advanced machinery. By 1825 American entrepreneurs were building large-scale factories of their own, often employing single women. Those women found new personal freedom, but their task was simply to tend the owners' machines. They were workers in the modern sense, and they were beginning to think of themselves that way. By the 1840s they had organizations and leaders of their own. They understood both strikes and political campaigns for better wages and shorter hours.

Large power-driven factories in newly built towns were only one form of emerging industrial America. In the ports and inland towns metropolitan industrialization meant reorganizing the rhythm and direction of old skills rather than ending those skills with new technology. Shoemaking would not become mechanized until the mid–nineteenth century. But well before the introduction of sewing machines, shoemakers were working for wages in central shops and some of the tasks were being put out on consignment to distant villages and isolated farms. Factory-made cheap cloth led to "sweated" labor by whole families laboring to turn consignments of fabric into finished goods. By no means was this transformation complete. In 1825, as in 1790, most white Americans still worked within a format of household production. Most still hoped for the "competency" (meaning the ability to meet their families' needs and stay out of debt) that owning their own shop or farm would bring. But a different future was taking shape around them.

### WORKERS AND POLITICS

Workingmen were political from the very beginning of the Republic. In 1829 New York workers organized their own Working Men's Party and sought political office. It proved short-lived, merging rapidly into the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson. Jackson promised small government and equal opportunity, which most workingmen wanted, but he was a major Tennessee slaveholder. The coalition that he assembled had no room for either the idea that slavery was wrong or that free black people, or women of any race, should be equal participants in what America offered. Structurally, a working class was taking shape. Worker consciousness that transcend-

ed craft, race, gender, and the confines of local community was another matter.

*See also* **Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Manufacturing; Manufacturing, in the Home; Shipbuilding Industry; Textiles Manufacturing; Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blewett, Mary H. *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Dawley, Alan. *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Laurie, Bruce. *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.

Rock, Howard B., Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher, eds. *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

*Edward Countryman*

## *Rise of the Middle Class*

The middle class simultaneously emerged out of and contributed to a complex, uneven, and contradictory process of political, economic, and social change. Although the middle class owed much to a Revolutionary legacy that attacked rank and privilege, it also contributed decisively to the hierarchies that came to mark the antebellum United States. It was defined not simply by its members' income or occupations, but also by their culture. Indeed, by the 1830s the definitive feature of the middle class may have been its insistence that class, defined as a set of permanent, hierarchical, social and economic categories did not exist at all. And while historians have begun to locate the emergence of an American middle class in a transatlantic context, eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century women and men insisted upon its distinctly American, republican character.

### ORIGINS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

Eighteenth-century American society was marked by rank and deference. The middling rank, which formed a rough precursor to the middle class, included artisans and small proprietors along with professionals and semiprofessionals, who took their places in a strictly ordered social hierarchy. While particular individuals might rise beyond their beginnings, the vast majority were expected to remain within

their rank. Strivers were viewed with enormous suspicion; indeed, the hallmark of successful striving was the ability to hide it altogether. But following the American Revolution (1775–1783), some men and women challenged the primacy of rank and deference by extending assertions of political equality to social and economic activities. Consequently, the early national period was marked by wide-ranging disputes over deference and hierarchy. These conflicts manifested themselves in battles between Federalists and Democratic Republicans over the degree of ceremony due the president. Such conflicts also registered among hired laborers who rejected the label "servant," insisting instead on new job titles free from degrading associations with dependency and servility.

## WORK AND DOMESTIC LIFE

Such political and cultural conflicts assumed greater urgency and significance in the context of economic development. The quickening pace of commerce, combined with the expansion of manufactures, created new opportunities for men of ambition and talent. Scores of farm boys, no longer content to follow in their fathers' footsteps, sought new careers, working as poorly paid clerks and schoolteachers while hoping for brighter futures. In cities, some master craftsmen transformed themselves into white-collared businessmen who supervised laborers and pored over account books. But the ranks of the middle class also included men who mixed farming with entrepreneurship and small businessmen whose daily work encompassed both managerial and productive labor. All these careers demanded literacy and numeracy; most of them also demanded at least a degree of refinement. More important, they required both initiative and risk taking. Certainly, middle-class Americans disagreed about the boundaries of respectable entrepreneurship, about the degree of ambition and the kinds of risks that were socially and morally acceptable. But in elaborating and celebrating the self-made man—a mythic figure who triumphed over a volatile market through the exercise of skill and wit—nineteenth-century Americans rehabilitated striving. Ironically, historians have discovered that the vaunted self-made man typically depended upon his natal family, whose members worked together to finance his early career. The money required for education and vocational training resulted from years of careful saving as well as from the supplemental income generated by mothers and sisters.

The celebration of the self-made man signaled more than the creation of new occupations. Instead, it was part of a broader transformation of the ways that early national Americans imagined the relationship between productive and nonproductive labor and between the public and private spheres. The transformation of the economy gradually undermined older barter systems and increased the importance of cash for daily transactions. Productivity became synonymous with paid work, which diminished recognition of the economic value of women's unpaid cooking, cleaning, nursing, and sewing. These tasks, which involved both making and saving, remained critical to middle-class families' economic strategies. But by the 1830s, the importance of women's domestic labor, once acknowledged as a crucial component of economic security, was eclipsed both by the ascendance of waged work and a new domestic ideal that emphasized families as affectional rather than as productive entities.

These kinds of distinctions were reinforced by a transatlantic domestic ideology that emphasized the separation of public and private spheres as an extension of the fundamental differences between women and men. Men's intellect, ambition, and vigor suited them to the public sphere and the worlds of work and politics; women's affect and innate piety suited them for the roles of wife and mother. If middle-class women were excluded from the public sphere, they were enshrined within homes that were imagined not as productive enterprises but as arenas for family life. Maternal influence gradually replaced patriarchal authority as the centerpiece of the domestic ideal. By casting new forms of work and family as the inexorable effect of masculinity and femininity, domestic ideologues on both sides of the Atlantic helped naturalize a radically innovative set of social arrangements and ideals. They also deflected attention away from the uneven correspondence between ideology and practice.

## THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The emergent middle class reshaped the public sphere along with the private. Both men and women, notwithstanding the latter's association with the private sphere, created a rich civic culture. Voluntary associations sprang up throughout the North. This flourishing associational life owed much to the evangelical fervor of the Second Great Awakening. Members of the middle class joined groups to ameliorate poverty, instill temperance, eradicate vice, and dispense Bibles and religious tracts. Taken together, these efforts reveal both a desire for self-control, which was necessary for success in middle-class parlors and workplaces alike, and a desire for social control, which

aimed to shape the behavior and values of immigrants and the working class. Early national civic culture was also shaped by the quest for self-cultivation. An expansive print culture, like the lyceum circuit, expanded the intellectual horizons of urban and rural Americans. At the same time, countless literary societies, debating clubs, and singing schools satisfied their penchant for refinement. These voluntary associations complemented the expansion of both public and private education in the North and helped consolidate the cultural hegemony of the middle class.

*See also* **Clothing; Furniture; Housing; Voluntary and Civic Associations; Women: Professions; Women: Women's Voluntary Associations; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Middle-Class Occupations.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bledstein, Burton J., and Robert D. Johnston, eds. *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City*, *1760–1900.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework*, *Wages*, *and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Kelly, Catherine E. *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County*, *New York*, *1790–1865.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

*Catherine E. Kelly*

**CLASSICAL HERITAGE AND AMERICAN POLITICS** The American founders were steeped in the classics of ancient Greece and Rome. The Western educational system that trained them emphasized a classical curriculum that changed little from the medieval period to the late nineteenth century. Boys typically began studying Greek and Latin at around age eight, reading Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Homer (eighth century B.C.), Xenophon (c. 431–c. 352 B.C.), and the Greek New Testament. The founders' classical training generally continued in college, where two or three out of the four years were devoted to further study of the classics. As a result, most of the founders developed both reverence and affection for them, urging their own children to study them and soundly defeating the efforts of those who sought to eliminate the classical language requirement in the schools. Many of the founders continued to read the classics even in retirement.

**CLASSICAL SYMBOLS**
The founders used classical symbols to communicate, to impress, and to persuade. The existence of a classical canon facilitated communication among the educated men of the Western world. With a single classical pseudonym or allusion, a gentleman could be certain of generating a chain of associations within the mind of his audience. These symbols also served a powerful legitimating function. To appropriate such emblems was to claim social status for oneself and the support of venerable authorities for one's cause. Classical symbols provided badges of class, taste, wisdom, and virtue. The most common classical symbol was the pseudonym. Drawn largely from the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch (c. A.D. 46–after 119), Alexander Hamilton's pseudonyms were carefully selected to reinforce the central arguments of his essays. For instance, Hamilton used "Phocion" for a 1784 open letter to the citizens of New York opposing a state law that would confiscate Tory property. Phocion was a fourth-century B.C. Athenian general famous for his decent treatment of prisoners of war. Hamilton was suggesting that his fellow New Yorkers emulate Phocion's wise magnanimity. Similarly, anti-Federalists adopted the pseudonyms "Brutus," "Cassius," and "Cato," in order to insinuate that the supporters of the Constitution were Monarchists.

Thomas Jefferson was a leader of the neoclassical movement in American architecture, combining the Greek column with the Roman dome in his designs for such structures as the Virginia Capitol, the U.S. Capitol, Monticello, and various buildings on the University of Virginia campus.

**MODELS OF CONDUCT**
Ancient history also provided the founders with important models of personal behavior, social practice, and government form. George Washington modeled himself after Cincinnatus (fl. mid–fifth century B.C.), the Roman hero who defeated the Aequians, a Latin tribe that threatened Rome, in sixteen days and then promptly resigned his dictatorship and retired to the plow. Proud of his position as the first president of the Society of the Cincinnati, an association of Revolutionary War veterans, Washington demanded reforms when popular fears of the hereditary nature of the organization threatened to destroy the image associated with its name. Washington also admired

Cato the Younger (95–46 B.C.), who died defending the Roman republic against Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.). Washington memorized various lines from *Cato*, a play by Joseph Addison (1672–1719) based on Plutarch's lives of Cato and Caesar, and employed them aptly at crucial moments in his career. John Adams emulated Cicero, the other great martyr of the Roman republic, throughout his life. Cicero's unwillingness to engage in party favoritism was especially influential for Adams.

In general, the founders embraced the classical theme of the lone-wolf hero (e.g., Socrates [470–399 B.C.], Demosthenes [d. 413 B.C.], and Cicero) who sacrifices short-term popularity, which can be purchased only by vice, for long-term fame, which can be purchased only by virtue—the aristocrat who saves the masses, often at the cost of his own life, from themselves. The founders also admired Spartan frugality, courage, and patriotism and Athenian freedom of speech. During the American Revolution they noted that the Greeks, unlike the British, had allowed their colonies complete independence. The founders were encouraged by the fact that a tiny band of Greek republics had defeated the greatest power of their own day, the seemingly invincible Persian Empire. Like his colleagues, Jefferson also frequently compared the United States with the early Roman republic, adding that Great Britain resembled the corrupt commercial city of Carthage. The founders were excited at the opportunity to match their ancient heroes' struggles against tyranny and their sage construction of durable republics—to rival the noble deeds that had filled their youth.

### ANTIMODELS

The founders' classical antimodels, those ancient individuals, societies, and government forms whose vices they wished to avoid, were as significant as their models. The most prevalent antimodels were Philip II of Macedon (382–336 B.C.), Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), Catiline (c. 108–62 B.C.), Julius Caesar, Tiberius (42 B.C.–A.D. 37), Caligula (A.D. 12–41), and Nero (A.D. 37–68)—men who had either overturned the revered Greek democracy and Roman republic or had ruled tyrannically following their demise. Some founders considered Greco-Roman slavery a model, others an antimodel. While Charles Pinckney based his defense of southern slavery on the Greco-Roman model, George Mason and John Dickinson emphasized the deleterious effects of slavery on the Roman republic. During the debates at the Constitutional Convention, Federalists repeatedly cited ancient Greek confederacies, such as the Amphicty-onic and Achaean Leagues, as examples of federal systems destroyed by decentralization, while anti-Federalists referred to the Roman republic as an example of a republic ruined by centralization.

The founders' scrutiny of the ancient republics frequently resembled autopsies, the purpose of which was to save the life of the American body politic by uncovering the cancerous growths that had caused the demise of its ideological ancestors. Unfortunately, the antimodels the founders encountered everywhere in their classical reading left them obsessed with conspiracies against liberty. The same visceral fear of conspiracies that instilled in the founders a passionate love of liberty and a proper recognition of its fragility also fueled the tendency to see a conspiracy behind every well-intentioned blunder, a conspirator in every opponent. For this reason, the early republican period was filled with acrimony between the political parties, each of which considered the other not merely mistaken but treasonous.

### MIXED GOVERNMENT AND PASTORALISM

In addition to symbols, models, and antimodels, the classics also provided the founders with mixed government theory. Referring back to the theory of Plato (c. 428–348 B.C.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), Polybius (c. 200– c. 118 B.C.), and Cicero that the best form of government balanced power among the one, the few, and the many, the framers of the U.S. Constitution balanced power among the one president (a powerful executive selected by the electoral college), an aristocratic chamber of senators (selected by the state legislatures for lengthy, six-year terms), and a democratic house of representatives (directly elected by the people for brief, two-year terms). Recognizing the theoretical basis of the Constitution, anti-Federalists either assaulted mixed government theory or denied its applicability to the American context. During the early national period, the Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison abandoned the theory in favor of representative democracy. Even then, most Republicans responded to the near-unanimous judgment of ancient political theorists against majority rule by resorting to the equally ancient and august tradition of classical pastoralism. Jefferson argued that it was safe to entrust the majority with the predominant power so long as the majority consisted of farmers, whose frugality, temperance, and independence made them the backbone of the republic. Following the lead of the poets Hesiod (eighth century B.C.), Theocritus (c. 310– 250 B.C., and Virgil, the historian Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), and the philosopher Aristotle, Jefferson considered the rural, agricultural

existence morally superior to the urban lifestyle. For this reason, Jefferson was willing to violate strict construction of the Constitution, one of his core principles, by purchasing the Louisiana Territory. In Jefferson's mind, the expansion of American territory was vital to the virtue and longevity of the republic because it supplied the land necessary for the maintenance of a society of Virgilian farmers.

### NATURAL LAW

The Greek theory of natural law also influenced the U.S. Constitution. This theory hypothesized the existence of a universal code of morality that humans could deduce from nature. The theory was suggested by the Pythagoreans, expanded by Plato, and emphasized by the Stoics. From it modern republicans deduced the theory of natural rights, which held that humans were born with unalienable rights to life, liberty, and property. (Jefferson's substitution of "the pursuit of happiness" for "property" in the Declaration of Independence was intended not to restrict the right of property but, rather, to broaden natural rights in general.) The theory of natural rights furnished the intellectual foundation of both the state bills of rights and the U.S. Bill of Rights.

The classics exerted a formative influence on the founders of the United States. Classical ideas provided the basis for their conceptions of government form, social responsibility, human nature, and virtue. The authors of the classical canon offered the founders companionship, solace, and a sense of identity and purpose. Classical republican ideology allowed them to cast the English king George III as Nero or Caligula, Washington and Jefferson as Cato and Cicero—in other words, to portray the king as the real rebel, the violator of that natural law which lawful patriots would die to defend. Without this sense of belonging to an ancient and noble tradition in defense of liberty, it is unlikely that the founders could have persuaded themselves and many other Americans to rebel against the mother country. The American Revolution was a paradox: a revolution fueled by tradition.

*See also* **Architectural Styles; Architecture: Public; Constitutional Convention; Education: Grammar, Elementary, and Secondary Schools, Education: Colleges and Universities; Natural Rights; Politics: Political Thought.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gregg, Gary L., II, ed. *Vital Remnants: America's Founding and the Western Tradition.* Wilmington, Del.: ISI, 1999.

Rahe, Paul A. *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Reinhold, Meyer. *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States.* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1984.

Richard, Carl J. *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Roberts, Jennifer Tolbert. *Athens on Trial: The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Sellers, M. N. S. *American Republicanism: Roman Ideology in the United States Constitution.* New York: New York University Press, 1994.

Wills, Garry. *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984.

Wiltshire, Susan Ford. *Greece, Rome, and the Bill of Rights.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Winterer, Caroline. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

*Carl J. Richard*

**CLOTHING** The heterogeneous mixing of cultures in America produced a rich tapestry of clothing styles. An individual's garments expressed cultural and religious affiliation, status, and personal style. But fashion aroused heated debate, for it could be manipulated to challenge social hierarchies and contest the boundaries of identity, provoking political protest and social unrest.

### NATIVE AMERICANS

Before European contact, the clothing of Indian groups in North America varied widely, but all had in common the use of animal skins, furs, body paint, and jewelry made of metal, beads, or bone. Hides rendered soft and wearable by laborious rubbing and smoking were the preferred material for clothing. The basic wardrobe of Indian men included buckskin breechcloths, fringed shirts, and leggings; women wore wraparound skirts and embroidered shirts. Northeast Indians, like the Abenakis, dressed in deerskin or moose hide, often elaborately dyed and quill embroidered, whereas Plains Indians, like the Sioux, relied heavily on buffalo for their clothing needs. Both sexes wore moccasins, hair jewelry, and headdresses, as well as furs and brightly colored woolen blankets as outerwear.

From the beginning of European settlement, Indians traded furs for European- and, later,

American-manufactured cloth. The introduction of these new products into Indian society resulted in intertribal economic competition that often led to war. Improved transportation networks like the Santa Fe Trail (1821) and the Erie Canal (1825) made factory-produced cotton and woolen cloth readily available to Indians, further affecting their style of dress. Indians adapted European garments to their own use, decorating shirts, shifts, hats, and coats with beadwork, embroidery, and other elements of Indian design. Native dress in turn influenced Hispanics and Anglos, who took to wearing moccasins, snowshoes, deerskin hunting shirts, and leggings on the frontier.

Dress became an important political issue for Indians struggling for autonomy against encroaching white settlers. Reform movements advocating resistance to Anglo-American influence emerged among groups like the Creeks and Cherokees in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Responding to the loss of their land, the rise of excessive alcohol consumption among the tribes, and missionaries bent on "civilizing" native society, some Indians rejected the white man's clothing and other articles. Most Indian groups, however, continued to blend Indian aesthetics and needs with Anglo-American materials.

### AFRICAN AMERICANS

Forced migration and enslaved labor left African Americans few opportunities to develop a sartorial identity. The clothing of slaves differed regionally and individually according to situation and occupation, but for the most part it was meager, coarse, and dull in color. Rough linen from Osnabruck, Germany, and coarsely woven woolens from Britain, known as "Negro cloth," were the distinctive fabrics worn by slaves. Garments were allocated seasonally and included loose, untailored goods such as wool jackets for winter, linen jackets for summer, and breeches for men, and short gowns, petticoats, shirts, and shifts for women. Palmetto straw hats and calico head-wraps were distributed along with crude brogan shoes produced in New England. Cheap cotton cloth became increasingly important by the turn of the century, and many slaves preferred this cool, breathable material over uncomfortable, rough wool. Sunday provided an exception to drab, daily wear, and slaves went to great lengths to acquire special "go-to-meeting" clothes such as calico dresses, ribbons, and soft leather shoes.

Slaves enlivened their appearance by using dyes made from bark and herbs, altering and patching their clothes, and supplementing their attire using money earned from labor, agriculture, or trade. This was far easier for skilled slaves and free blacks than for field hands and led to dramatic differentiation between these groups. Skilled or free blacks, especially in urban areas, were able to acquire fine cloth, felt hats, metal shoe buckles, shawls, lace caps, and other high-style items from purchase or owners. The clothing of field slaves became increasingly restricted over time; in places like South Carolina, slaves went nearly naked in summer. Masters manipulated African Americans' desire for individuation by using clothing as a reward for hard work or good behavior. Others, like George Washington, dressed their personal slaves in elaborate livery.

Cloth provision for slaves varied by circumstance and location. Many large plantations simply imported or purchased cloth for slaves, whereas on others the white women supervised slave weavers and seamstresses. Some owners preferred to let slaves sew their own garments, providing them with cloth, needles, and thread. Slave women bore the brunt of responsibility for maintaining the family wardrobe.

Like other oppressed ethnic groups, African Americans imbued their garments with individual and cultural meaning that challenged white control. They invented unique ways to wear standard-issue garments and produced contrasting colors and offbeat patterns that reflected an African American aesthetic. Through the artful tying of a head kerchief or a cloth wrapper, blacks used European textiles to fashion African American styles.

### WHITE WOMEN

Whether living on a farm or in a city, Anglo-American women's daily wear reflected their domestic and social roles as well as their economic status. Their standard garments included a linen shift, boned stays, petticoats, an apron, and a jacket-type garment called a shortgown. Some of these items might be homespun, especially during the boycotts of the American Revolution, or they might be imported from Europe. In public or among guests, women wore a gown of wool, cotton, or silk; hoops; a kerchief; and some sort of head covering, such as a cap. As the eighteenth century wore on, East Indian calicoes, chintz, and muslin became the preferred fabric for women's garments.

Women's dress in America changed dramatically after the French Revolution. Inspired by the fashions of ancient Greek and Roman republics, high-waisted, short-sleeved gowns made of white muslin, a lightweight cotton, became the vogue. Wide hoops and bold prints went out of style. Hairstyles, powdered

and voluminous in the colonial period, became short and frizzed. Women's fashion came under conservative fire, for the popular fabrics immodestly exposed both women's bodies and America's dependence on foreign countries for cloth.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century women's dress returned to formality and structure. Corsets became tighter, skirts widened, and sleeves inflated to balloonlike proportions. Although fashion now idealized a restricted, ornamental female body, many women challenged such constructions, becoming increasingly involved in reform movements, religious revivals, education, and wage labor during the 1820s and 1830s.

### WHITE MEN

In a world where the cut and cloth of a suit differentiated gentlemen from laborers, men paid careful attention to how they dressed. Powdered hair, breeches buckled at the knee, vests, tailored coats, and bleached white linen at the throat and wrists marked middling and elite men. Suits were cut to enforce an erect torso and made in a variety of bright colors. After the French Revolution romanticized the sansculottes (radical republicans so named because they were "without breeches"), men began wearing tight-fitting trousers, previously the domain of sailors and the working class. Coats fit more closely to the body and emphasized fine tailoring over fabric, hair was worn without powder, and middle-class business standards led men to renounce color in favor of sober black.

Advertisements seeking runaway indentured servants in early national newspapers depicted the distinctive garb of male laborers—loose trousers, short jackets, and felt hats. Their clothing tended to be old and made of durable material like leather. Absence signified, too, for workingmen left off the tight coats, cravats, and soft shoes of the upper classes. Sunday church clothes broke the monotony of working wardrobes; suits and hats made of finer materials were prized and bequeathed to subsequent generations.

The nineteenth century placed increasing emphasis on uniformity in dress as a response to urbanization and social disorder. Just as middle-class men began to adopt the dark three-piece suit en masse, prisons, almshouses, and houses of refuge broke with the colonial precedent of allowing inmates to wear their own clothes. Beginning in the 1790s, residents were issued uniforms and had their hair cropped short. The imposition of monochromatic or striped suits allowed authorities to regulate behavior and identify escapees from public institutions.

### IMMIGRANTS AND RELIGIOUS SECTS

Immigrants to North America enlivened the fashion landscape with unique styles and color patterns. Rural German and Dutch women wore black aprons, short petticoats, round-eared caps, and conical hats. Scottish immigrants sported Highland tartans with checked patterns and Scots bonnets. Religious sects like the Quakers were known by their wide-brimmed hats and toned-down versions of dominant styles. On Shaker settlements, members gave up their worldly clothes and adopted a uniform dress as a way to express spiritual unity and social equality. Although most immigrants eventually adopted the dress of the region in which they lived, they preserved their ethnic traditions in quilts and embroidery.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; American Indians: Overview; Cotton; Domestic Life; European Influences: The French Revolution; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Immigration and Immigrants: Overview; Manners; Quakers; Slavery: Slave Life; Wealth; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baumgarten, Linda. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in association with Yale University Press, 2002.

Copeland, Peter F. *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977.

De Marly, Diana. *Dress in North America.* Vol. 1: *The New World, 1492–1800.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990.

Lapsansky, Emma Jones, and Anne Verplanck, eds. *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Smith, Billy. "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750–1800." In *Material Life in America*, 1600–1860. Edited by Robert Blair St. George. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

White, Shane, and Graham White. *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Wolf, Stephanie G. *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

*Linzy A. Brekke*

**COERCIVE ACTS**   *See* **Intolerable Acts.**

**COINAGE ACT OF 1792**   The Coinage Act of 2 April 1792, establishing both a coinage system and the National Mint, was the culmination of coinage activity that had taken place in the colonies and states for many years. Although discussions of a national mint had taken place earlier and pattern coins had been produced in 1783, no legislation had been put in place for an actual coinage facility.

The coinage system established by the 1792 legislation was expressed in dollars and decimal points. The weight and fineness (metallic purity) of each denomination was also established, from the copper half cent to the gold eagle ($10). These statutory specifications remained in effect until superseded by the another law passed on 28 June 1834. In later years they were modified numerous additional times. Also, other denominations were added and branch mints were established (beginning in 1838 with facilities in New Orleans; Dahlonega, Georgia; and Charlotte, North Carolina); many other changes were made as well. However, the Coinage Act of 1792 set the stage for the coinage system as it is known today.

On 31 July 1792, a small ceremony was held in Philadelphia, then the seat of the federal government. A foundation stone for the new Mint building was laid in the presence of the Mint director, David Rittenhouse, and President George Washington. By that time fifteen hundred silver half dismes (*disme* being the early designation for dime) had been struck on the request of Thomas Jefferson, using Mint equipment set up temporarily in the workshop of John Harper.

On 2 April 1992, a special bicentennial observance of the original Coinage Act was held. The location was the Philadelphia Mint (by then in a modern building occupied in 1967). Displays and historical discussions were part of the observance.

*See also* **Currency and Coinage.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bowers, Q. David. *The History of United States Coinage, as Illustrated by the Garrett Collection.* Los Angeles: Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, 1979.

Breen, Walter. *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1988.

Bressett, Kenneth E., ed. and comp. *Guide Book of United States Currency: Large Size, Small Size, Fractional.* 3rd ed. Atlanta, Ga.: Whitman, 2004.

*Q. David Bowers*

**COLONIZATION MOVEMENT** Led by the American Colonization Society, an organization founded in 1817 and predicated on the notion that free blacks and whites could not live together peaceably in the United States, a colonization movement arose to alleviate the problem of racial conflict by promoting African American emigration. Colonizationists argued that the experience of slavery and the corrosive power of white prejudice had so debased the character of African Americans as to render them unfit for citizenship. Rather than challenging racial prejudice directly, which they considered too deeply rooted in human nature, colonizationists advocated the voluntary emigration of free blacks to a territory on the West African coast, a benevolent enterprise, they believed, that would unburden the United States of an allegedly degraded population while offering African Americans a place to develop free of the damaging effects of racial discrimination. They promised that the colony would bring additional benefits as well, such as the promotion of transatlantic commerce, the spread of Protestant missions, the weakening of the slave trade, and the clearing of America's guilty conscience for its past maltreatment of Africans and their descendents.

### ORIGINS AND OBJECTIVES

Black emigration schemes, whether voluntary or coercive, had existed since the beginning of the Republic, but the proposals of men like Samuel Hopkins, William Thornton, Thomas Jefferson, St. George Tucker, and Paul Cuffe had failed to gain a popular audience until the post–War of 1812 era. By this time white Americans were expressing considerable anxiety about the rapidly expanding and often poor free African American population, a group that had grown dramatically as a result of both legislative gradual emancipation in the North and a spate of manumissions in the South during the Revolutionary era. By then as well, antislavery advocates real-

ized that the southern states had rejected northern-style gradual emancipation as a model for their own region and that some new solution to the problem of slavery, which took into consideration anxieties about freed blacks, ought to be pursued. In addition, with the end of both the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815) and the Anglo-American War of 1812, and the resulting peace on the high seas, colonization ventures in the Atlantic world suddenly seemed more viable. Finally, religious developments played an important role in generating support for colonization. The proliferation of evangelical benevolent societies associated with the Second Great Awakening gave colonizationists a model for raising money, spreading their message, and enacting their plans.

The American Colonization Society was established in December 1816 by Robert Finley, a New Jersey Presbyterian minister who won the early backing of such prominent politicians, clergy, and philanthropists as Speaker of the House Henry Clay, Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington, Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford, Washington lawyer Francis Scott Key, and the Episcopal minister William Meade. Within a decade the society, a thoroughly respectable and strongly evangelical organization, had scores of auxiliaries throughout the nation. By 1822 it had helped persuade the federal government to establish the West African colony of Liberia as a haven for both African American emigrants and Africans liberated from the illegal slave trade.

In keeping with their self-consciously moderate, intersectional, and philanthropic approach, promoters of colonization sought to attract the support of a wide variety of groups, despite the fact that the interests of these groups often differed dramatically. Colonizationists reassured southern planters that the removal of free blacks would eliminate a dangerous population within the slave states and thereby render the institution of slavery more secure. To antislavery northerners they offered colonization as a solution to the problem of slavery itself—a colony to absorb freed blacks, they argued, would relieve southern anxieties about manumission and emancipation. To free African Americans they trumpeted Liberia as a future Christian black republic, a place where settlers and their children, emancipated from white prejudice, would finally fulfill their promise as a people.

## CRITICS

If the American Colonization Society enjoyed considerable support among whites, who tended to view free blacks as a troublesome and debased population,

African Americans typically rejected colonization. There were some exceptions, however. Evangelical zeal, entrepreneurial ambition, white prejudice, and the occasional promise of manumission contingent on emigration led nearly fifteen hundred free blacks and recently manumitted slaves to set sail for Liberia in the 1820s (with approximately fifteen thousand sailing there in the entire pre–Civil War era). During this same decade others expressed support for small-scale, black-led, voluntary colonization schemes to the Haitian republic. But most African Americans had good reason to distrust the American Colonization Society. In newspapers, pamphlets, and resolutions, African Americans like James Forten, Richard Allen, and David Walker pointed to the strong presence of southern planters within the organization, the high mortality rate among settlers in Liberia, and the disturbing fact that the emigration of free blacks would ultimately reinforce the peculiar institution by leaving enslaved people bereft of their closest allies. More significantly, free African Americans developed an incisive critique of what they considered the proslavery logic—intentional or not—of the colonizationist program: as long as colonizationists continued to argue that white prejudice was inevitable and that free blacks had no real future in the United States, they reinforced racial chauvinism and undermined the cause of general emancipation. Such arguments left a deep impression on some of the white antislavery advocates who had briefly flirted with colonization such as William Lloyd Garrison and Amos Phelps, and thus helped lay the foundation for the emergence of a biracial, radical abolitionist movement in the antebellum era.

But if the American Colonization Society faced growing opposition from African Americans, it also aroused the ire of proslavery southerners in the 1820s. After the contentious Missouri debates of 1819–1821, ultra–states' rights advocates vigilantly monitored any activity that might, even if unintentionally, open the door to federal interference with slavery in the southern states. While these critics welcomed the removal of free blacks, they condemned the vaguely antislavery sentiments of many colonizationists and their periodic requests for federal assistance.

In retrospect, African Americans rather than their proslavery counterparts more accurately grasped the essential character and thrust of the colonizationist movement. Even the most well-intentioned antislavery advocates within the American Colonization Society tended to view the presence of free African Americans, more so than the existence

of slavery, as the nation's greatest problem. Furthermore, the antislavery elements within the American Colonization Society seriously underestimated the economic, political, and logistical obstacles to a program coupling emancipation with removal—the huge southern investment in an extremely profitable and efficient slave labor force, the disciplined opposition of slaveholders to any policies negatively affecting their property rights, the clear absence of alternative sources of labor to fill the vacuum created by the removal of black workers, the sheer financial and humanitarian costs of compensating masters and relocating such a large number of enslaved people, and the strong attachment of most African Americans to their place of birth. As African Americans frequently argued, the promotion of this unworkable scheme directed attention away from the more pressing agenda of racial reconciliation and general emancipation. The American Colonization Society continued its work well into the nineteenth century, but by the 1830s the colonizationist program had been eclipsed by more radical agendas—abolitionist and proslavery—that would ultimately come to have a greater impact on the nation's future.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Liberia.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Colonization Society. *The Annual Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.* Vols. 1–91. 1818–1910. Reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.

Clegg, Claude A., III. *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Freehling, William W. *The Road to Disunion.* Vol. 1: *Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Garrison, William L. *Thoughts on African Colonization.* Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968.

Staudenraus, P. J. *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Walker, David. *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World.* Boston: David Walker, 1829. Reprint: Edited by Peter P. Hinks. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

*Anthony A. Iaccarino*

# COMMUNITARIAN MOVEMENTS AND UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES

Early America provided enough freedom and geographical space to allow communitarian movements and utopian communities to experiment with alternative social constructions. The communitarian impulse existed in America at least from 1663, when a group of Dutch Mennonites led by Peter Cornelius Plockhoy (c. 1600–c. 1674) founded Plockhoy's Commonwealth on the Delaware River. These communities represented responses to social, cultural, and religious concerns. Whereas most Americans chose to respond in ways that preserved a strong sense of individualism, for others a communitarian response offered more hope. Of those opting for the latter, however, many did not remain permanently within their chosen groups, and most movements could not sustain themselves for long periods of time. Although every group formulated their own responses to societal issues, they all resorted to the utopian community as the mechanism for bringing about reform. Religion, especially among groups founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, played a major part in the various groups' motivations and actions. Anabaptism and Radical Pietism were particularly influential, and millenarian tendencies often manifested themselves. In *Backwoods Utopias* (1950), the historian Arthur Eugene Bestor Jr. aptly defined each group as "a small society, voluntarily separated from the world, striving after perfection in its institutions, sharing many things in common, and relying upon imitation for the spread of its system—such was the sectarian community" (Bestor, p. 7). Among the most significant of these early American communitarian groups were the Ephrata Cloister; the Shakers; and the Rappites, or Harmonists.

## EPHRATA CLOISTER

The Ephrata Cloister was the most noted communitarian group during the colonial period. Founded by Conrad Beissel (1691–1768) after he separated from a Pennsylvania Dunker congregation in 1728, Ephrata was a Protestant movement characterized by celibacy, mysticism, and the observance of Saturday as the Sabbath. After choosing a site located about ten miles northeast of what later became Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Beissel organized the community around celibacy, which he considered to be the true sign of a believer. While only celibate men and women were considered full members, married couples could join as "householders." Members had to surrender their private property, although householders could retain their farms. The community

was known for its mystical poetry and hymns; printing and publishing businesses; and masterful, hand-decorated illuminated manuscripts. It reached its peak in the mid-eighteenth century with about 350 members and also gave birth to sister societies. After the Battle of Brandywine (11 September 1777), Ephrata served as the hospital for about five hundred troops under George Washington. Typhoid broke out, killing about one-third of the membership, and the community was never able to rebound. It ceased to exist in 1814, when the final four members incorporated themselves into the Seventh Day German Baptist Church.

Communitarian societies like Ephrata did not exist in isolation, but interacted with other groups. In 1720 Beissel had planned to join a group led by Johannes Kelpius (1673–1708) called the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness (also known as the Contented of the God-Loving Soul or Chapter of Perfection). Anticipating the inauguration of the divine millennial kingdom, the group gathered in the wilderness of America and settled near Germantown, Pennsylvania. By the time Beissel planned to join them, however, the community had disbanded. The following year, Beissel visited the Labadist colony at Bohemia Manor in Maryland. Followers of the teachings of a former Roman Catholic priest, Jean de Labadie (1610–1674), who had converted to Protestantism, the members lived an ascetic life. Nonmembers often confused them with Quakers. In the 1740s Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), leader of the Moravian movement, attempted to unite the various religious groups in Pennsylvania in a spirit of ecumenism. Members of Ephrata participated briefly in these efforts, and Zinzendorf visited them. Beissel, however, would not cooperate, and the relationship between the two groups turned hostile.

### SHAKERS

The Shakers, founded by and based on the teachings of Ann Lee (1736–1784), constituted a group that has existed since the late eighteenth century (although only a few members remained in the early years of the twenty-first century). Believing "Mother Ann" to be the female manifestation of the Christ (just as Jesus was the male manifestation), the group formed celibate communities throughout the nation and developed religious services characterized by rhythmic dancing. They initially suffered great persecution, being driven from many towns, but eventually their membership grew to several thousand. Shaker members came from a diverse cross-section of the nation. Like the Ephrata Cloister, the Shakers

had contact with other communitarian groups, in particular the Rappites or Harmonists, a celibate group founded by George Rapp (1757–1847).

### HARMONY SOCIETY AND NEW HARMONY

Reacting against what he considered corrupt practices of the Lutheran Church and persecution by officials in the German duchy of Württemberg, George Rapp led a group of Separatists to the United States, the new Israel, in 1804. Forming the Harmony Society, the group adopted celibacy, abandoned private property, developed a thriving farm community, and awaited the arrival of the millennium. In 1814 the group moved from Pennsylvania to Indiana and developed one of the largest towns in the state, called New Harmony. In 1824, however, Rapp returned to Pennsylvania, and founded a settlement located near Pittsburgh called Economy, a name reflecting the new order Rappites believed would be ushered in by the millennium. Rapp sold New Harmony to Robert Owen (1771–1858), who attempted to build there a secular utopian community based on reason, gender equality, communal ownership of property, social and economic equality, fair treatment of workers, and the elimination of organized religion (although Owen embraced religious freedom). It failed, however, within a few years. Owen later influenced Frances Wright (1795–1852), who in 1825 established a short-lived community based on racial equality at Nashoba, Tennessee (near Memphis).

Communitarian groups, while typically small in numbers, illustrate the great diversity within early American culture. They also reflect dissatisfaction with gender roles, established religion, and economic injustice. The freedom offered by life in the United States enticed these groups to leave the persecution of Europe, but ironically they often encountered similar responses in the new country. Still, they usually managed to carve out communities, often after several moves, with nonmembers commonly appreciating the value of the goods produced by these communities. Typically located on the fringes of mainstream society, communitarian groups did more than merely challenge early American values. They modeled alternative ways of organizing American society.

*See also* **Millennialism; Moravians; Pietists; Shakers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bach, Jeff. *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata.* University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Bestor, Arthur Eugene, Jr. *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663–1829.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950.

Pitzer, Donald E. *America's Communal Utopias.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Sutton, Robert P. *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Religious Communities, 1732–2000.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2003.

_____. *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Secular Communities, 1824–2000.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2004.

Taylor, Anne. *Visions of Harmony: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Millenarianism.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

*Scott M. Langston*

## CONCEPT OF EMPIRE

The precise meaning of important political terms such as *empire*, *republic*, or *democracy* is always ambiguous. Conceptions of empire have served radically different and sometimes contradictory purposes. Some historians (and many lawyers) interpret a contested word by reducing it to a single meaning, even though the speaker or writer may have used that word either for its more general intimations and/or for one of its more precise, technical functions. There is always the risk of anachronistically imposing present definitions on past terms, as well as the opposite fallacy of concluding that earlier speakers did not use particular words in ways that are consistent with modern understandings. This essay explores these interpretive complexities by demonstrating how various conceptions of the word *empire* (and what is often seen as its alternative, *republic*) played a major role in American history prior to the American Revolution and during the Republic's early years. The first step is to perceive that people have used the word in four different ways—analytic-descriptive, empirical, emotive, and normative—to generate numerous definitions. (See Wilson, *Imperial Republic*, pp. 17–21.)

Analytic-descriptive usages are circular and clear-cut, leaving little disagreement about meaning and application. For example, the seventeenth-century republican theorist James Harrington employed the word *empire* as a synonym for *imperium*, using it to denote any form of political jurisdiction. Under that approach, every sovereign nation is an empire. The word sometimes signifies a nation that is expanding its boundaries, a definition that applied to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but not subsequently. Or it can be a struc-

tural proposition. Edmund Burke wrote, "An empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarch or a presiding republic." Empirical definitions are more contestable than analytic ones. If one characterizes an empire as a "powerful nation," how strong must a nation be before it is an empire? One must define "power" and compare the particular nation's strengths and weaknesses with the vigor of its neighbors and rivals. By 1760, during the French and Indian War, the British and their colonial allies had adopted an emotive conception of empire that encompassed feelings of unity, glory, conquest, and expansion. The most famous normative example came in the 1980s, when U.S. president Ronald Reagan castigated the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

### RIVAL CONCEPTIONS OF EMPIRE

In 1774 John Adams wrote a brief history of the "quarrel" between the colonies and the crown, titled *Novanglus; or, a History of the Dispute with America from Its Origin, in 1754, to the Present Time.* To rebut the pro-Parliament argument that the phrase *British Empire* implied parliamentary sovereignty over the colonies, Adams utilized two definitions of empire. He first limited "empires" to those regimes in which tyrannical emperors ruled their populace; he concluded that only the Russian, German, and Ottoman Empires fell within that structural definition, which was loaded with negative normative implications. Obviously, the British did not see themselves as the equivalent of the Turks. The British Empire was a "limited monarchy," limited by its republican aspects. Adams defined a republic as "a government of laws, and not of men." Next, Adams seemingly applied Harrington's analytic definition of empire as "government, rule, or dominion." Adams then, however, stripped those powerful words of much substantive content. He concluded that the colonies are under the "dominion and rule" of the *King* of Great Britain but are neither part of the *Kingdom* of Great Britain nor one of the king's "dominions." According to Adams, a person can only be part of a mixed, partially republican government like Britain's when that person is able to elect representatives. Because the colonists could not elect members to Parliament, he concluded that they were not within the realm of England.

Adams reformulated these two definitions of empire into one of the colonists' basic constitutional arguments: Parliament had no general jurisdiction over the colonies because Britain's republican principles required colonial representation within the legis-

lative process, while the king retained no vast prerogative powers over the colonies because he would thereby have the powers of a tyrant. Adams distinguished Parliament's well-established power to regulate colonial commerce on the high seas by asserting that the colonies had consented to that power as a necessary part of the imperial connection. He provided numerous examples of the colonies' refusal to consent to any other parliamentary powers. If King George III sought additional revenues from America, he would have to persuade the colonial legislatures to raise taxes. The king had no legislative authority over the colonies; he needed consent from their legislatures before acting. However, Adams conceded that the king could order all British subjects to protect the empire.

In addition, Adams rejected the argument that Parliament retained sovereignty over the colonies under the long-standing political axiom of the indivisibility of sovereignty. Acknowledging that assumption's validity, Adams turned it against the defenders of British power: if Parliament had sovereignty, that body could do whatever it wished to the colonists, taking their life, liberty, and property and turning them into slaves. The only constitutional solution consistent with the British Empire's republican principles was for England to acknowledge that the colonies had become legislatively sovereign when they received their royal charters, which did not contain clauses reserving powers to Parliament. Furthermore, the British adopted the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty—the absolute power of any legislation that was passed by the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the king—as a result of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, several decades after the king had entered into contracts with the colonists by granting royal charters. In other words, parliamentary sovereignty was not coextensive with the British Empire, because the colonies were not part of Parliament's legal "empire" or of the king's "realm."

Although Adams's refutations of parliamentary sovereignty are internally consistent, his arguments limiting the royal prerogative are not entirely persuasive. How could the colonies be completely sovereign while retaining obligations to the king? (Adams conceded royal "dominion.") How could Adams agree with his opponents that the king was still "sovereign" and that the colonists were subordinate to the king, yet later assert that the king could not have independent power in the colonies since his power must either be total or nonexistent? If the king could order all subjects to defend the British Empire, must

he first obtain their assent before drafting them into combat? Adams arguably reduced the crown to a figurehead without enforceable powers. It is hard to believe that the king knowingly contracted away all his coercive powers when he granted royal charters to various private entities that eventually evolved into the thirteen original colonies. This fundamental constitutional controversy—like the slavery issue almost a century later—could only be resolved militarily.

Long after the Revolution, James Madison described Benjamin Franklin as having been the leading Revolutionary theorist. Even though Adams was jealous of Franklin's international fame, Adams dated his arguments in *Novanglus* from the year 1754, the moment when Franklin warned the British not to tax the colonies because the latter were not represented in Parliament. While Adams's arguments were always learned and sometimes complex to the point of convolution, Franklin simply asserted in 1768 that the colonists should not be "subjects of subjects." All British subjects must be loyal to the king, but they could not be subordinated to other subjects in other parts of the British Empire. That is, the king's subjects in England had no constitutional authority to subjugate the king's subjects in America. To guarantee the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and property of all Englishmen throughout the empire, the English constitution required political equality throughout the British Empire. In 1774 Thomas Jefferson brilliantly popularized these arguments in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, the same year that Adams wrote his far more sophisticated history. Jefferson's eloquence brought him to the attention of other Revolutionary leaders, generating so much admiration that they gave him primary responsibility for drafting the Declaration of Independence (with important assistance by John Adams, additional support by Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston, and a brief, late involvement by Franklin). Like Franklin, Jefferson spent less time than Adams worrying about the colonies' problematic relationship with the crown, focusing instead on the constitutional principle of equality throughout the empire:

> [England should] no longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by any legislature that may infringe on the rights and liberties of another. This is the important post in which fortune has placed you, holding the balance of a great, if a well poised empire.

This debate about the proper structure of the British Empire probably explains why the Declaration of Independence addressed only King George III, not the British Parliament. (Scholars cannot be sure of the beliefs underlying the drafters' choice of words, because they did not keep minutes.) The king had breached his fiduciary duty by directly oppressing the colonists and by supporting tyrannical laws made by a Parliament lacking colonial representation. The Parliament (and its doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty) was, quite simply, constitutionally irrelevant.

## THE EMPIRE OF EQUALITY

The Revolutionary principle of political equality throughout the geographical empire endured for over a hundred years. Thomas Jefferson's report providing the blueprint for the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 extended his "empire of liberty" by permitting the new territories easily to become equal partners in the republican system. Once they could prove they had twenty thousand "free inhabitants," they could draft a permanent constitution and petition Congress to be full and equal parts of the Union. Of course, Jefferson's equality of citizenship was limited to "free [white] males of full age." During the Constitutional Convention, Madison successfully defeated two efforts by Gouverneur Morris to place conditions on territories seeking to join the Union. Morris sought to require any new state to pay off part of the national debt upon entry and also wanted to create disproportionate representation that would permanently favor the old colonies, particularly those of the Northeast. Madison, aware of widespread dissension in western Virginia that included talk of secession to join Spain, replied that all Americans believed they were of equal worth. Morris's approach might also have led to political disaster; representatives of the western settlements were the swing voters at Virginia's fiercely contested constitutional ratifying convention and provided the eventual Federalist margin of victory.

A modern reader might be surprised at how often the Federalists used the word *empire* to describe their vision in the course of defending their proposed Constitution. Some of the usages were technical, such as references to the German and British Empires. But others were emotive, even dramatic invocations of future power and glory. In a speech reprinted many times during the debate over the Constitution, James Wilson melodramatically exclaimed: "Ill fated America! thy crisis was approaching! Perhaps it was come! . . . Without a government!

Without energy! . . . In such a situation, distressed but not despairing, thou decidest to re-assume thy native vigour, and to lay the foundation of future empire!" By linking empire with expansion and glory, Wilson echoed the great political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli, who had developed an aggressive theory of republicanism in *Discourses on Livy* (1517). Machiavelli maintained that republics must grow, usually at the expense of their neighbors, or die:

> And of all hard servitudes, that is hardest that submits you to a republic. First, because it is more lasting and there can be less hope of escape from it; second, because the end of the republic is to enervate and to weaken all other bodies so as to increase its own body.

The anti-Federalists drew upon another esteemed political authority, the Baron de Montesquieu, to discredit empire building. In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu claimed a republic could never become very large because it would then degenerate into an empire, with a "spirit" consisting of conquest, corruption, and concentrated power. During the Virginia ratification debates, anti-Federalist Patrick Henry employed a normative conception of empire while lamenting:

> If we admit this consolidated government, it will be because we like a great, splendid one. Some way or other we must be a great and mighty empire; we must have an army, and a navy, and a number of things. When the American spirit was in its youth, the language of America was different: liberty, sir, was then the object.

In *The Federalist No. 10*, James Madison developed the most powerful response to this criticism. Large republics, he wrote, were more likely to endure than small republics because it would be harder for a faction to take over the entire government. Many years later, Jefferson wrote to Madison that the American experience had refuted Montesquieu. In fact, the refutation may not have been total. There is no doubt that the United States has maintained the most important structural component of republicanism: the electorate is behind the selection of all leaders of the federal government. But the country also developed some of the imperial "spirits" that Montesquieu feared: conquest, corruption, luxury, and increased concentration of powers in urban areas. The District of Columbia was the notable exception to the principle of equality of citizenship throughout what Federalist John Dickinson called the "republican empire." In an effort to prevent the concentration of economic and political power in one location (and thereby preempt the supposed dangers of a single, vast, decadent metropolis), the framers eventually placed the seat of

the federal government in a small, remote district of swampy land after temporarily locating in Philadelphia.

It is well-known that President Thomas Jefferson compromised his theory of strict constitutional construction when he authorized the Louisiana Purchase. But he also temporarily suspended the Revolutionary principle of equal representation throughout the Republic, the norm he had advocated during the Revolution and implemented through the Northwest Ordinance. Fearful of the French and Creole population, Jefferson preferred to wait several years before giving the new citizens the right to elect their own territorial representatives.

The slavery issue lurked behind Jefferson's strict construction of the Constitution and his fights with Alexander Hamilton over the national debt, a national bank, and the size and nature of the military. Southerners properly understood that the national government was the ultimate threat to their ownership of slaves, who were their most valuable form of capital. The country's continuing realization of its dreams of imperial expansion aggravated the competing imperial ideologies of the West, North, and South. Northerners were properly wary of the Louisiana Purchase because it permitted slavery's expansion. The South dreaded the steady, surprising increase in northern economic power and population growth. The West sought an empire of equality for white men that was largely free of influence from northern economic or political power.

By the 1820s, Chief Justice John Marshall and John C. Calhoun had developed a new set of competing conceptions of empire. Marshall believed "We the People" were the sovereign that had formed an indivisible Union which allocated enormous power to the federal government. In *American Insurance Co. v. Canter* (1828), he held that Congress had the sovereign authority to establish laws regulating property and trade in the new territories that would later turn into states. Calhoun construed the Constitution's preamble differently; the "People of [each] of the United States" created the Constitution, he believed. There was no such sovereign entity as "We the People." The "People of each State" were the actual sovereigns who had the right to leave the Union whenever they felt necessary. Furthermore, the people of each state had the equal, fundamental constitutional right to take their property (most significantly, their slaves) with them into any of the new territories, which Congress had no general powers to regulate. Calhoun thereby laid the intellectual foundation for *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), an opinion that Abra-

ham Lincoln first derided politically and later destroyed by defeating the South in the Civil War.

*See also* **Adams, John; Anti-Federalists; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Federalist Papers; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Marshall, John.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, John. *The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Press, 2000.

Bailyn, Bernard, ed. *The Debate on the Constitution.* 2 vols. New York: Library Classics of America, 1993.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Benjamin Franklin: Writings.* New York: Library Classics of the United States, 1987.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Thomas Jefferson: Writings.* New York: Library Classics of the United States, 1984.

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Discourses on Livy.* Translated by Harvey Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Montesquieu, Baron Charles de Secondat. *The Spirit of the Laws.* Translated by Anne M. Cohler, Basta Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. Cambridge, U.K.: University of Cambridge Press, 1989.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Wilson, James G. *The Imperial Republic: A Structural History of American Constitutionalism from the Colonial Era to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.* Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2002.

*James G. Wilson*

**CONGREGATIONALISTS**   The name "Congregational Church" came into general use during those transitional years when the former Puritan churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut were losing their privileged status, between the outbreak of the American Revolution and the final disestablishments: 1818 for Connecticut and 1833 for Massachusetts. In the 1720s Anglicans (later called Episcopalians), Baptists, and Quakers had been excused from paying taxes to support those established churches, but their numbers were few. The era of the American Revolution saw great growth among Baptists; by 1790 the new Methodist denomination was also growing rapidly. Both made inroads in New England and by 1820 nearly one hundred congregational parishes had declared themselves Unitarian, almost all in east-

ern Massachusetts. As the United States grew in population and territory, the Congregational Church lost ground proportionally, but not absolutely: most growth was in New England, but Congregational churches could be found where New Englanders settled in significant numbers. The following figures demonstrate both the growth, but also the relative decline of congregational churches: 1740–423 parishes, 1776–668 parishes, 1820–1,100 parishes, 1860–2,234 parishes. But in 1740 Congregationalists had one-third of the parishes in the thirteen British colonies. By 1776, 21 percent; by 1830, 10.6 percent; and by 1860 a mere 4.25 percent!

In 1648 the Puritans, both Congregationalists and Presbyterians, controlled England and Scotland and attempted permanently to reform the Church of England with their Westminster Confession of Faith. That same year Massachusetts gathered a synod that included the Westminster Confession in its Cambridge Platform. Congregationalists and Presbyterians would always remain close to one another in theology but could never reconcile their ideas of church government. Both insisted their ministers should be thoroughly educated; both also urged education on their communities, with their ministers often keeping schools. Both agreed that individual congregations should be self-governing, with members electing all church officers, including the minister. And both agreed that representatives of those congregations should associate with one another on occasions to discuss common problems. But Presbyterians insisted on regular meetings, standing committees, and real authority at the provincial and eventually national level, while Congregationalists, like Baptists, have always been reluctant to surrender the sovereignty of the individual parish.

The 1750s found the churches of New England divided between the New Lights, who advocated revivals, and the Old Lights, who—however devout—feared that revivals brought forth more heat than light. Quite independent of that issue, population grew rapidly, requiring a constant supply of new churches. When almost every town and village could support a single church, it met in a simple, utilitarian meetinghouse that also housed civil government's town meeting. But when the larger towns had two or more churches, it became convenient for government to have its own buildings, and churches became more particularly dedicated to religious and educational purposes.

While Congregational churches had more or less strict requirements for membership, members—including women—could vote and therefore share in controlling policy. Not surprisingly, their town governments became even more democratic in practice; it naturally followed that the Congregational churches of New England were unanimous in supporting the American Revolution. Their support of the Federalist Party during the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon (1789–1815) was not based on fear of popular self-government; it came from their recognition that France, especially under the Directory and Napoleon, was neither free nor (within their meaning) Christian.

After American independence, all the churches were coping with their new sense of religious freedom and the challenges presented by rapid national growth. In 1801 Congregationalists and Presbyterians developed a Plan of Union to cooperate in planting churches in the American West. Congregationalists also founded a foreign missionary society in 1810, and played a leading part in interdenominational organizations; the American Bible Society (1816), the American Tract Society (1825), and the American Sunday School Union (1824). In 1826 the home missionary society modified the plan of union by bringing in other denominations, notably the Baptists. Congregationalists planted new colleges: Hamilton College in New York (1812); Western Reserve College in Ohio (1826); and Illinois College (1829). Denominations in the Calvinist tradition still led the young nation in the quality of their educational institutions, especially in the cases of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Andover Seminary. Along with high standards of scholarship, Yale and Andover sent out some of the most effective leaders of the Second Great Awakening.

Especially after 1800, Congregationalists developed a more distinctive style of church architecture. Church buildings were becoming what they remain into the twenty-first century: visible public reminders of the sacred services regularly conducted within them. The more prosperous churches installed pipe organs and hired skilled musicians to play them and improve congregational singing. More than half the members of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Congregational churches were women. It would take almost two more centuries for them to become deacons and ministers. Yet they played increasingly important roles: improving the amenities of their buildings; participating in church government; and advancing the societies for moral reform that began to appear everywhere.

*See also* **Education; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Theology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Andrews, John A., III. *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800–1830.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976.

Buggeln, Gretchen Townsend. *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut Churches, 1790–1840.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2003.

Sassi, Jonathan D. *A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Scott, Donald M. *From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry, 1750–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.

*Robert McColley*

**CONGRESS**   The federal House and Senate developed in parallel but distinct ways. That was a function of their innate institutional differences and of the people who served in both chambers. Although still different, there was a marked convergence by the 1820s as both chambers became visible and responsive legislatures. After the Missouri Crisis of 1819–1821, the Senate took on a new and more prominent role as the protector of slave state interests during the antebellum period. The balance between slave and nonslave states in the Senate became slave states' prerequisite for union.

### CONTINENTAL AND CONFEDERATION CONGRESSES

Except for the short-lived Albany Congress of 1754, the first Continental Congress (1774) was the initial assembly to bring together representatives of all the colonies and then the states. The Second Continental Congress (1775–1781) faced several daunting challenges. Many men would gain national reputations and valuable leadership experience through their service in the two Continental Congresses, including John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. The Continental Congress became the Confederation Congress with the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781.

The Continental Congress acted without a formal grant of power from the colonies. During the imperial crisis, its main role was to forge a consensus among the colonies for independence and then to manage the war. Delegates were representatives of their colonies and later their states. For instance, the New York delegates did not vote for independence on 2 July 1776 because they had yet to receive instructions allowing them to do so. As the war progressed, the Continental Congress assumed increasing responsibility for conducting and financing the war. Operating without a general grant of power from the states proved difficult for the delegates and demonstrated the need for a more permanent arrangement. Congress sent the states the nation's first national constitution, the Articles of Confederation, in 1777. The Articles were more a list of what Congress could not do than what it could. It could not tax or raise troops. For money, it could only request funds from states. Yet it had wide-ranging responsibilities. The states did not ratify the Articles until 1781, when conflicts between the states over claims to western lands were finally resolved. Congress governed within the proposed framework prior to ratification.

The Articles created a workable union during the war, but with peace in 1783, the new nation had to deal with difficult issues like repaying the debt. Because Congress could not raise revenue independently, repayment proved to be virtually impossible. Twice, in 1781 and 1783, Congress proposed giving itself the power to lay an impost, only to have it defeated by Rhode Island and Virginia, and New York respectively. Structurally, the Articles posed certain obstacles. Each state had one vote. Members could serve only three of every six years and were elected annually, which meant the Congress suffered from a great turnover and a dearth of institutional memory. State legislatures elected, paid, instructed, and recalled their delegates. The Articles required the assent of nine states on the final passage of legislation, the ratification of treaties, and a simple majority of all states (not just those present) on all preliminary questions. Thus, obstructionism through absenteeism was rampant. The Articles required unanimous approval of both Congress and the individual state legislatures for any amendment. This provision, among others, convinced many people that reform within the system was impossible. When states sent delegates to Philadelphia in May 1787 to amend the Articles, the Convention produced a new constitution.

### CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitutional Convention, except for a brief but paralyzing flirtation with a unicameral legislature—a Confederation Congress with more powers—committed itself to a bicameral legislature. The Convention's "great compromise" settled the issue of representation: the people would be represented in

the House of Representatives and the states in the Senate. The new government had the power to raise taxes with the requirement that all revenue bills originate in the House. In contrast to the Articles, the Constitution set no term limits for representatives or senators, states had no power to recall their senators, members received their salaries from the federal government, and members voted individually. Bills could be passed by simple majorities of those present, treaties ratified by two-thirds of the senators present, and the Constitution amended without unanimous consent. During the ratification debates, there was much less controversy surrounding the House than the Senate, which possessed legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The House was clearly the people's chamber, whereas the Senate could have been the representative of states, the president's council, and/or the check on the House. When the First Congress met in March 1789, there was much more uncertainty about the Senate's role than the House's.

### EARLY RULES AND PRACTICES

Once Congress achieved a quorum, the House went to work on the impost, whereas the Senate spent weeks debating the president's title. The House rejected the Senate's monarchical title and the latter eventually conceded defeat. Thus, the House and Senate's relationship began contentiously, but members of each chamber came to respect the other's independence and equality. On salaries, the House reluctantly conceded superiority to the Senate. During the seventh year of the salary law of 1789, senators earned one dollar more per day than representatives, but when Congress considered a new law in 1796, House members rejected the differential. Senators did not challenge the House for fear of courting unpopularity. The House also refused to accept any distinctions in the way the chambers communicated with each other. When the Senate proposed that messages from the House to the Senate be carried by at least two members and its messages to the House be carried by the Senate secretary, the House rejected this ceremonial difference. The clerk of the House and secretary of the Senate ferried messages back and forth. Thus, any superiority was not lightly conceded.

The clerk and secretary were each responsible for maintaining the records of their respective chambers. Although a Federalist, Samuel A. Otis served as secretary of the Senate from 1789 until his death in 1814. Two former senators succeeded him. Otis weathered the Republican takeover in 1801 by granting the Senate printing contract to Republican printer William Duane. In contrast, John Beckley, the House's first clerk, became a Democratic Republican operative as the parties formed. He lost his job to a Federalist in 1797, but regained it in 1801 when the Democratic Republicans gained control of the House. These two men established important precedents for congressional recordkeeping.

As the "people's house," the House immediately opened its doors and proceedings to the public, but both houses relied on local newspaper editors to record debates and publish revised remarks submitted by members. In the late 1840s, both houses contracted with stenographers, but did not take responsibility for recording and publishing their own debates until after the Civil War. The Senate met behind closed doors until 1794, only opening them after much agitation by both states and senators—mostly southern. When it opened its deliberations, the public and reporters attended only sporadically. It was not until the Missouri Crisis that the Senate attracted more spectators than the House. Previously, senators had often adjourned their chamber so they could attend House debates. In the 1820s that trend reversed.

At first, the House garnered more attention and did more visible work than the Senate. The House initiated far more legislation and received more petitions than the Senate until the mid-1810s. Initially, the Senate was a revisory body and generally followed the House's lead in legislation. This changed during the 1810s when the Senate willingly undertook more investigations of individuals' claims and initiated more bills. In this way the House and Senate converged.

### COMMITTEES

Both chambers adopted a standing committee system after the War of 1812 (1812–1815). At first, they used extensive systems of ad hoc select committees that were appointed for specific purposes. The Senate adopted a standing committee system in December 1816 when it created eleven standing committees. The House created three standing committees in the 1790s but did not formally adopt a standing committee system until after the Senate had. The House designated Claims (1794) and Commerce and Manufactures (1795) as standing committees. These two committees allowed the House to reclaim responsibility for petitions and control of individual claims from the executive branch. In 1795 Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania moved to create a committee of ways and means for the explicit purpose of curbing Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's influence over Congress and financial policy. Congress officially made the Ways and Means

Committee a standing committee in 1802. Ironically, when Virginian John Randolph of Roanoke chaired this committee, he used his powerful position as a platform to oppose his onetime ally, President Jefferson. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, both houses moved to create more stable committee systems. The House created six new standing committees to audit spending by the executive departments. In 1822 the House reformed its rules and created three additional standing committees: Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs. Significantly, the House adopted rules that curbed the previously routine violations of committees' jurisdictions by other members and gave committees the right to report bills to the floor at their own discretion.

Initially, both the House and Senate elected committee members, except that the House from the beginning allowed the Speaker to appoint committees with three or fewer members. Soon, the Speaker was allowed to appoint all committee members to avoid the time-consuming practice of election. The Senate experimented with appointment by the presiding officer of the Senate just briefly from 1823 to 1826. Because senators objected to Vice President John C. Calhoun's use of the appointment power, they returned to the less efficient election method. The senators instituted separate ballots for chairmen in 1826.

### LEADERS

In neither chamber was the workload divided evenly. From the very first day, certain members did more work than others. In the House, Madison quickly emerged as a legislative leader and along with five other members held more than one-fifth of the committee memberships in the First Congress. However, once Madison split with the administration over Hamilton's financial program, he received fewer committee assignments. Thus, partisanship was always an underlying factor in committee assignments. The Speaker of the House was the only official leadership office. During the Third Congress, the election of Speaker was a party contest for the first time. The first men to occupy the office established certain precedents for using it, especially the power to appoint committees, for partisan ends. Henry Clay of Kentucky, who held the speakership from 1811 to 1814, 1815 to 1820, and 1823 to 1825, followed and expanded upon these precedents. He is justifiably credited with creating the modern speakership. The number of ballots required to elect a Speaker was often a good indication of the course to be followed in the congressional session and of the strength of the political parties. During the so-called Era of Good Feelings, when partisanship was weak, fights over the speakership could be particularly fierce. When Clay resigned as Speaker in 1820, it took twenty-two ballots to elect his successor, John W. Taylor of New York. Taylor favored restrictions on slavery's expansion and thus proved to be unacceptable to southern members. After several days of balloting in the next Congress, he was replaced by Virginian Philip P. Barbour.

In the Senate there was no equivalent to the office of Speaker. The vice president presides in the Senate and senators were reluctant to give him any formal power or influence. The vice president essentially ruled on parliamentary questions. Jefferson spent his vice presidency compiling a manual of parliamentary practice that remains in use in the twenty-first century. Various senators served as leaders on particular issues, but it was not until the Missouri Crisis and then the arrival of Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster in the late 1820s and early 1830s that the Senate truly gained its reputation as the premier deliberative body.

While the House, because of its size, quickly adopted rules that limited debate, the Senate's smaller size precluded any real need to impose such limits. In 1806, when the Senate revised its rules, it purged the previous question, which allowed debate to end by majority vote; this was done at the suggestion of Vice President Aaron Burr because the provision was rarely used. Thus, the Senate opened the door to the filibuster; however, the first filibuster did not occur until 1841, and it was seldom used before the 1890s.

### THE SENATE'S EXTRALEGISLATIVE POWERS

In addition to its legislative duties, the Senate also possesses executive and judicial powers. With regard to its executive powers, the Senate did not become a council to the president, but it remained closer to its identity as a deliberative body. President George Washington personally consulted with the Senate about treaty negotiations only once. The exercise proved to be frustrating for senators, who felt they could not freely debate the issues in Washington's presence, and for Washington, who wanted immediate answers to his queries. Thereafter, presidents and the Senate relied on written communications for treaty matters as well as for appointments. Presidents did not always consult senators before they forwarded nominations to the Senate, but senators did retain the power to reject nominees without stating a reason. Senators usually deferred to the opinions of the nominees' home-state senators.

The Senate only exercised its judicial powers twice during this period—both in impeachment trials for federal judges. The trials of Federal District Court judge John Pickering in 1804 and U.S. Supreme Court justice Samuel Chase in 1805 were part of the Jeffersonians' project to purge the judiciary of Federalists. The Republican-controlled Senate, in convicting Pickering but acquitting Chase, established the precedent that the Senate would adhere to principles of law rather than pure politics when trying impeachments.

### DEFINING EVENTS

A few key events proved to be transformative in the history of Congress: Jay's Treaty of 1794, the War of 1812, the Compensation Act of 1816, and the Missouri Crisis. Jay's Treaty defined the limits of the treaty-making power to exclude the House of Representatives. The War of 1812 was a watershed moment in terms of congressional development. Perceived financial mismanagement by the executive departments, the growing complexity of issues, and longer congressional careers led the House and Senate to reorganize their committee structure and become more assertive. Representatives, in particular, had to adjust to a more active electorate, a matter in which the Compensation Act of 1816 proved to be especially instructive. In 1816, before an election, Congress gave itself a raise. Nearly 70 percent of the members of that Congress—much higher than the usual rate of turnover—did not return to the next one. One of the first acts of the new Congress was to repeal the law and reinstitute a per diem pay system. The Missouri Crisis of 1819–1821 was extremely important. The debates surrounding it raised the Senate's profile, both for the quality of debate and its contribution to the resolution of the crisis. The Missouri Compromise originated in the Senate and passed as a package. With the resolution of the crisis, the equality of slave and nonslave states in the Senate became the sine qua non of union in the antebellum period. For the House, the Missouri Crisis demonstrated the chaos that one issue could create in the absence of both strong leadership and political parties. With northern numerical dominance in the chamber, a Speaker who either was from the South or who was sympathetic to it became essential.

During the early national period, the House and the Senate became more equal partners in legislative matters and in responding to individuals' concerns as expressed through petitions. Congress asserted its independence from the executive branch by enhancing its oversight powers. Yet the Senate and House remained distinct. Whereas at first the House overshadowed the Senate, by the 1820s the Senate eclipsed the House. The Senate's structure and rules provided added protection to minority rights and interests put the Senate at the center of the slavery debates of antebellum America.

*See also* **Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Continental Congresses; Missouri Compromise.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bickford, Charlene Bangs, and Kenneth R. Bowling. *Birth of the Nation: The First Federal Congress, 1789–1791.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1989.

Binder, Sarah A. *Minority Rights, Majority Rule: Partisanship and the Development of Congress.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Bowling, Kenneth R., and Donald R. Kennon, eds. *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999.

———, eds. *Neither Separate nor Equal: Congress in the 1790s.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000.

———, eds. *The House and the Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002.

De Pauw, Linda G, et al., eds. *The Documentary History of the First Federal Congress.* 17 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972–2004.

Hoadley, John F. *Origins of American Political Parties, 1789–1803.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986.

Swift, Elaine K. *The Making of an American Senate: Reconstitutive Change in Congress, 1789–1841.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Young, James Sterling. *The Washington Community, 1800–1828.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

*Terri Diane Halperin*

**CONNECTICUT** Connecticut's geographic location, small area, and colonial origins profoundly shaped its first half-century of statehood. Wedged on a mere 5,009 square miles between the much larger states of Massachusetts and New York, Connecticut's 206,447 citizens confronted some disquieting possibilities in 1780 as they contemplated life outside the British Empire and inside an exhilaratingly new but undefined nation. Not only did the state's size make it potentially vulnerable to excessive political influence from its powerful neighbors, but the smallness also threatened its economic development and prosperity. As the second–most crowded state, with 41.23 residents per square mile, Connecticut seemed

**Webb House.** Joseph Webb, a prominent merchant in Wethersfield, Connecticut, commissioned this house from builder Judah Wright, who completed construction on it in 1752. In May 1781 George Washington met at the Webb House with the Comte de Rochambeau to plan the Yorktown campaign. ©MARK E. GIBSON/CORBIS.

already overpopulated for an agricultural society. Thus, as the national era opened, Connecticut's citizens viewed their future with a mixture of optimism and anxiety.

### TRANSITION TO STATEHOOD

Connecticut emerged from the military phase of the Revolution less ravaged than many states. No major battles took place on Connecticut soil, although the British attacked and burned portions of several coastal towns (New London, Groton, Fairfield, and New Haven) and one interior village (Danbury). Connecticut played a much-admired role as a supplier of provisions for the Continental Army largely through the work of Governor Jonathan Trumbull and his two sons—Joseph Trumbull, commissary general of the Continental Army, and Jonathan Trumbull Jr., George Washington's personal secretary. Loyalists to the crown proved to be less numerous and troubling than in most states and tended to be concentrated in Fairfield County, which was close to New York City. Although the war disrupted trade and dis-

tended parts of the economy, it also had a salutary effect on manufacturing, which grew dramatically in the eastern part of the state.

Therefore, despite the wartime exigencies and postwar uncertainties that gripped Connecticut, the colony made a smooth transition to statehood as was best symbolized by the remarkable fact that Governor Trumbull served in office before, throughout, and after the Revolutionary War, the only colonial governor to do so. Connecticut and Rhode Island had been the only two colonies to maintain their seventeenth-century governing charters throughout their colonial existence, and during the Revolutionary era they were the only two new states not to write a new constitution. Connecticut continued to govern itself under the structure of the Charter of 1662, which, although a royal proclamation, had been written by John Winthrop Jr., and was based on the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut and the Connecticut Law Code of 1650, both of which had been made-in-Connecticut documents.

| Connecticut Population 1760–1830 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1760 | 1770 | 1780 | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 |
|  | + 25% | +14% | +15% | + 5% | + 4% | + 5% | + 8% |
| 145,217 | 181,583 | 206,447 | 237,946 | 251,002 | 261,942 | 275,248 | 297,675 |

Some changes did occur, of course, during the Revolutionary era: in 1783 the General Assembly adopted a new law code, and between 1767 and 1790, 29 new towns were carved out of preexisting ones to bring the total number of towns to 101, thereby vastly enlarging the rate of political participation at the local level. Perhaps most important, the General Assembly in 1784 started the process of ending slavery by passing a law that freed all slaves at age twenty-five: in 1792, the General Assembly reduced the age for freedom to twenty-one.

### CONSTITUTION MAKING AND POLITICS

Connecticut escaped much of the political turmoil in the 1780s that bedeviled its three neighbors, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York, and lent its name to the solution brokered by Roger Sherman to solve the logjam between the large and small states at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. The Connecticut Compromise proposed making representation in the Senate equal for all states and proportional to population in the House of Representatives. By a vote of 128 to 40, a convention in Hartford ratified the new United States Constitution on 9 January 1788, making Connecticut the fifth state to do so. Thus, the new state entered the new Union with a near unanimity in support of the governing charter and an overwhelming majority in favor of the new federal Union.

The rise of political parties destroyed Connecticut's political tranquility for nearly two decades. A symbol of autonomy in the colonial era and a symbol of stability in the Revolutionary years, the charter became the symbol of the Federalist Party in the 1790s. By 1796 the Jeffersonian Republicans regarded the charter as a shield behind which the Federalists grouped to resist all change. Connecticut's Jeffersonians repeatedly called for a new constitution and eventually got their wish after electing Oliver Wolcott Jr. as the first Republican governor in 1817. Wolcott stitched together a coalition called the Tolerationists, made up of religious minorities who wanted to disestablish the Congregational Church, Republicans who wanted to gain control of the state government, and Union loyalists who were horrified by the Federalist Party's flirtation with secession during the War of 1812. After much partisan wrangling, voters narrowly ratified the Constitution of 1818 by a margin of 13,918 to 12,364.

The Constitution of 1818 was undoubtedly the most important legal document in nineteenth-century Connecticut's history. Despite the political heat it generated, it did not represent a dramatic break with the past. Hartford and New Haven continued to serve as co-capitals, the rights and privileges of town government were preserved, a nominal property requirement was maintained for suffrage, and the inequitable apportioning of representatives to the General Assembly, which favored the older and more rural towns, was kept intact. Moreover, despite its razor-thin margin of ratification, the Constitution of 1818 proved popular, and the rancorous political discord that accompanied its creation subsided. The new document did embed two important changes into constitutional law: it formally separated the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of state government, and it disestablished the Congregational Church from its privileged legal position. Both changes had been in the works for nearly a century, however. Additionally, although the new constitution demonstrated a great respect for Connecticut's institutional past, it did have a potent effect on politics by signaling the end of the Federalist Party and the beginning of Republican domination.

### ECONOMY

As Connecticut moved through a Federalist to a Republican era, its economy thrived owing to structural changes initiated by public and private enterprise. These changes accelerated the process of reducing Connecticut's dependence on agriculture. The twin specters of depopulation and loss of prosperity never materialized, although the population did grow at a slower rate in the early national years than it had in the colonial period. As early as the 1750s, when Connecticut first felt a demographic squeeze from its rapidly growing person-to-land ratio, merchants and farmers had begun to develop better transportation routes for exporting goods and to put resources into agricultural manufacturing such as meatpack-

ing and dairy processing. During and after the Revolution, this transformation proceeded apace. In 1784 Connecticut incorporated New England's first five cities, Hartford, Middletown, New Haven, New London, and Norwich, in order to create municipal governments that would be better able to promote trade than were town-meeting governments. In 1792 Hartford, New Haven, and New London established Connecticut's first banks, and in 1795 Norwich incorporated an insurance company. In 1799 Eli Whitney of New Haven received his first federal musket contract, and in 1802 Abel Porter began the state's brass industry in Waterbury. By 1830, Connecticut and its two southern New England neighbors, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, had created a new milling, manufacturing, and trading regional economic identity to replace their former religious one.

## CULTURE

Connecticut's cultural and intellectual life thrived as well in the early national era. During the revolutionary era, a remarkable group of poets, satirists, and playwrights known collectively as the Hartford Wits constituted the leading American literary society of their time. John Trumbull's mocking epic, *M'Fingal* (1776), Timothy Dwight's allegory *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), and Joel Barlow's wonderfully funny *Hasty Pudding* (1796) all spoofed the excessive seriousness of the young republic's zealous politicians. Noah Webster, whose name has become synonymous with America's dictionaries, lived in Hartford and published a preliminary dictionary in 1806 and his magnificent *American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828. Three new extraordinary institutions of higher learning opened in Connecticut in the early national era to join Yale College (1701) and catapult the state into a leading role in education: the Litchfield Law School (1784), the first law school in the nation; Trinity College in Hartford (1823); and Wesleyan College, in Middletown (1831), the first American Methodist college.

Presumably the founders of the state of Connecticut in 1776 would have been pleased by what their creation had evolved into by the 1830s: a stable society whose governing arrangements drew heavily on its institutional heritage, a productive society whose booming economy overcame disadvantageous circumstances by hard work and serious planning; and a cosmopolitan society that provided educational leadership to its fellow citizens.

*See also* **Congregationalists; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State**

Constitution Making; Hartford Convention; New England.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Collier, Christopher. *All Politics Is Local: Family, Friends, and Provincial Interests in the Creation of the Constitution.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2003.

Daniels, Bruce C. *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development, 1635–1790.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Grasso, Christopher. *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Howard, Leon. *The Connecticut Wits.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Lamar, Howard R., ed. *Voices of the New Republic: Connecticut Towns, 1800–1832.* 2 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003.

Purcell, Richard J. *Connecticut in Transition: 1775–1818.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1963.

*Bruce C. Daniels*

## CONSTITUTION: BILL OF RIGHTS    *See* **Bill of Rights.**

## CONSTITUTION: ELEVENTH AMENDMENT

The Eleventh Amendment bars the federal judiciary from entertaining suits brought by a private citizen against a sovereign state without its consent. On 20 February 1793, only days after the U.S. Supreme Court announced in *Chisholm v. Georgia* that the federal judiciary had jurisdiction over such suits, a proposed amendment to the Constitution barring such suits was introduced in the Senate. Congress, however, adjourned in early March without taking action.

The Massachusetts and Virginia legislatures passed resolutions denouncing the Supreme Court's *Chisholm* decision, which sparked debate and similar resolutions in other states by the close of 1793. When the Third Congress convened, a resolution containing the Eleventh Amendment was introduced into the Senate on 2 January 1794. Both houses of Congress soundly defeated proposed limitations to the wording of the amendment. On 14 January, the Senate passed the resolution by a vote of 23 to 2. On 4 March, the House passed the resolution 81 to 9. On 7 February 1795, the last of the requisite twelve of the fifteen state legislatures ratified the amendment.

President George Washington, however, had only submitted eight state ratifications to Congress by January 1796. Congress did not certify the amendment until 8 January 1798, when President John Adams transmitted a report from his secretary of state confirming that the requisite number of states had ratified. The amendment's near-universal acceptance reflected a general public wariness of the Supreme Court's assumption of jurisdiction over the rights of the sovereign states in *Chisholm.* The Court rejected a procedural challenge to the amendment's validity in *Hollingsworth v. Virginia* (1798) and dismissed cases on its docket brought by individuals against states.

*See also* **Chisholm v. Georgia.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jacobs, Clyde E. *The Eleventh Amendment and Sovereign Immunity.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Orth, John V. *The Judicial Power of the United States: The Eleventh Amendment in American History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

*H. Robert Baker*

## CONSTITUTION: TWELFTH AMENDMENT

The electoral college system prescribed by Article II, Section 1 of the original Constitution required the states to certify electors to cast two votes for president. The person receiving the most votes won the office, and the runner-up became vice president. This system broke down in the late 1790s with the emergence of loosely organized Federalist and Democratic Republican Parties. In the election of 1796, Federalist John Adams won the presidency and his rival, Thomas Jefferson, won the vice presidency. Jefferson organized opposition from his office, effectively working to undermine Adams's administration from within.

This partisan spirit motivated both Federalists and Democratic Republicans to direct electoral votes only to party candidates in the election of 1800. Several states, notably Democratic Republican Virginia and Federalist Massachusetts, also adopted winner-take-all systems that guaranteed their choice for president all their electoral votes. Federalist electors split their votes between John Adams and one of several other Federalist candidates, while Republican electors split theirs evenly between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The Democratic Republican victory produced a tie that threw the election into the nar-

rowly Federalist House of Representatives. On 11 February 1801, Congress began casting ballots for the office of president, working against the 4 March deadline for the inauguration of the president. Many Federalists sought to deny Jefferson the presidency by elevating Burr—even though the Democratic Republicans had clearly intended Jefferson to be president—but they did not control enough state delegations to do so. On 17 February on the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson finally achieved a majority.

Democratic Republicans were determined not to allow this situation to occur again. Several state legislatures, including Vermont and New York, forwarded resolutions in 1802 to Congress proposing an amendment to the Constitution requiring the states to hold district elections for presidential electors and that electors designate one vote for president and the other for vice president. Many Federalists had supported a similar amendment before 1800, but because the electoral college gave some advantages to the minority party, many Federalists now moved to block the amendment.

After the 1802 elections, the Republicans held large majorities in both the House and the Senate. Despite unified Federalist opposition, Democratic Republicans in the House mustered enough support to pass a proposed amendment on 24 October 1803. The Senate ignored the House and passed its own version, which narrowly achieved a two-thirds majority on 2 December 1803. The Senate proposal required that electors designate their ballots for president and vice president. In the event of no clear majority in the electoral college, the proposed amendment reduced the list of candidates the House could consider to no more than three. If a majority of the state delegations in the House could not choose a president before 4 March, the office would go to the person elected as vice president. The House approved the Senate's measure by the slimmest of margins on 9 December 1803, and adopted a joint resolution with the Senate on 12 December requesting that President Jefferson transmit the proposed amendment to the states for ratification.

Thirteen of seventeen states needed to ratify the amendment to put it into effect, and this process proceeded quickly. By early February, eight states had ratified. The amendment encountered opposition in the Federalist strongholds of Delaware, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, all of which rejected the amendment. New Hampshire became the thirteenth state to ratify on 15 June 1804.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Currie, David P. *The Constitution in Congress: The Jeffersonians: 1801–1829.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Kuroda, Tadahisa. *The Origins of the Twelfth Amendment: The Electoral College in the Early Republic, 1787–1804.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

*H. Robert Baker*

## Ratification of the Constitution by the States

| State | Date | Vote | Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Delaware | 7 Dec. 1787 | 30-0 | No |
| Pennsylvania | 12 Dec. 1787 | 46-23 | No |
| New Jersey | 18 Dec. 1787 | 38-0 | No |
| Georgia | 31 Dec. 1787 | 26-0 | No |
| Connecticut | 9 Jan. 1788 | 128-40 | No |
| Massachusetts | 6 Feb. 1788 | 187-168 | Yes |
| Maryland | 26 Apr. 1788 | 63-11 | No |
| South Carolina | 23 May 1788 | 149-73 | Yes |
| New Hampshire | 21 June 1788 | 57-47 | Yes |
| Virginia | 25 June 1788 | 89-79 | Yes |
| New York | 26 July 1788 | 30-27 | Yes |
| North Carolina | 2 Aug. 1788 | 84-184 | Yes |
| | 21 Nov. 1789 | 194-77 | Yes |
| Rhode Island | 29 May 1790 | 34-32 | Yes |

Source: Jensen, Merrill, John P. Kaminiski, and Gaspare J. Saladino, eds. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 20 vols. to date. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976—.

**CONSTITUTION, RATIFICATION OF** When the members of the Philadelphia Convention signed the proposed U.S. Constitution on 17 September 1787, the struggle to reform the federal government was far from over. To ensure success, the advocates of reform—the so-called Federalists—had to secure the support of the people. Without it, the Constitution stood no chance of survival. Adoption was by no means a foregone conclusion, and only after almost a year of political campaigns was the Constitution ratified by the requisite nine states. The historical significance of the struggle for ratification lies not only in its outcome, however, but also in the great public debate to which it gave rise. In this debate the Constitution was interpreted and given meaning for the first time, and it is to this record that latter-day interpreters have turned to recover the "original intent" of the founders.

### THE RATIFICATION PROCESS

With the exception of Rhode Island, which held a popular referendum, the decision to adopt or reject the new Constitution was made neither by the state assemblies nor by Congress, but by ratifying conventions elected directly by the eligible voters in each state. Although there were restrictions on the right to vote in all states, a majority of white, adult men nevertheless had the right to vote for delegates to the ratifying conventions. On this widespread male suffrage rests the claim that the Constitution was adopted by "the people."

From the Federalists' perspective, the ratification process began very favorably. Within little more than a month—from 7 December 1787 to 9 January 1788—five states ratified the Constitution with little or no opposition. Only in Pennsylvania did the Constitution's opponents—the so-called anti-Federalists—make themselves heard, despite a large Federalist majority in the ratifying convention, held in November and December 1787. Pennsylvania's anti-Federalism was important because it set the tone, together with the early critiques raised by delegates to the Philadelphia Convention and the Confederation Congress, for much of the opposition that would follow in other states. Thus, the objection that the Constitution lacked a bill of rights and the demand that it be amended by a second constitutional convention came to resonate widely beyond Pennsylvania. Many other objections to the Constitution that would later become standard anti-Federalist fare—such as criticism of the fiscal and military powers, representation, the judiciary, and the supremacy clause—also made their appearance here.

The Massachusetts convention heralded the end of easy Federalist victories. Opposition to the Constitution was strong there and compromise was required to secure adoption. Moderate Federalists proposed that the Constitution be adopted together with recommended amendments. This proposal won over enough anti-Federalists to allow the ratification of the Constitution by 187 to 168 on 6 February 1788. Recommended amendments would henceforth be the foremost means of the Federalists to placate the opposition. With only one exception, Maryland, every state that ratified the Constitution after Massachusetts also proposed amendments. The narrow vote in Massachusetts was followed by a setback in New Hampshire, where the Federalists escaped defeat only by accepting a four-month adjournment. Maryland in April 1788 and South Carolina the following month proved to be solidly Federalist, however, and in June 1788 New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, thereby putting the new government into effect.

Without ratification by New York and Virginia, however, the future of the Union was still in doubt. In Virginia, Federalists and anti-Federalists were equally strong, whereas New York was overwhelmingly anti-Federalist. Both states came to ratify by narrow margins, Virginia by ten votes in June 1788 and New York in July by only three. In both states the vote was influenced by the late hour of the ratifying conventions. When they convened it seemed certain that at least nine states would adopt the Constitution, so New York and Virginia were faced with the stark choice between ratification and disunion. With New York and Virginia in favor, it mattered little that North Carolina and Rhode Island at first rejected the Constitution. Eventually, both states called new conventions that ratified it in 1789 and 1790, respectively. Three years after the adjournment of the Philadelphia Convention, all of the original thirteen states had accepted the new compact.

If anti-Federalism is regarded only as a movement to reject or amend the Constitution and not as a political ideology, it died a quiet death after the Constitution's adoption. A campaign to call a second constitutional convention was soon abandoned, whereas the adoption of the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, stifled the demand for more far-reaching changes. The Bill of Rights is often presented as an anti-Federalist victory. Yet if the Bill of Rights is compared to the amendment proposals of the state ratifying conventions, it is clear that most major anti-Federalist objections to the Constitution went unheeded.

**POLITICAL INTERESTS**

Historians have long asked who supported and who opposed the Constitution and why they did so. In answering these questions, scholars have looked either at the political interests of the Constitution's supporters and opponents or at their political ideas. At the start of the twenty-first century, the field is characterized by competing interpretations rather than consensus, and very few certain conclusions have been drawn.

Political interests in support of ratification can be investigated either at the state level or at the level of the individual delegates to the ratifying conventions. At state level, the degree of support for the Constitution—measured in terms of how the vote split in the states' ratifying conventions—was influenced by size and geographic location. States that were small in population or area were more favorable to the Constitution than large states. There were several reasons for this. In the Confederation, the small states

had often depended economically on their larger neighbors. The Constitution's promise to nationalize the customs service and to ban interstate restrictions on trade would benefit many of the small states. Furthermore, with the exception of Georgia, which was small in population but large in land area, small states lacked western land claims. The development of the West under federal control would allow their citizens access to land and would also make land sales a common source of income for the Union.

A state's location in the Union also affected its disposition toward the Constitution. The ratifying conventions of the mid-Atlantic states—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland—experienced little or no anti-Federalist sentiment. To this group should be added New York City and the rest of southern New York, which were overwhelmingly Federalist. Economically, this area was dominated by international trade. A stronger national government meant that the United States would be able to retaliate against the mercantilist policies of Britain, France, and Spain. To the southern states, in contrast, a more vigorous commercial policy seemed a threat. They feared that a federal government under mid-Atlantic and northern control would sacrifice western expansion in favor of international trade, a danger recently demonstrated by the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations over the rights of U.S. shipping on the Mississippi. Coupled with concerns about the future of slavery in a union where the slave states would form a minority, this fear accounts for the relative strength of anti-Federalist sentiments in the South.

With regard to individual delegates to the ratifying conventions, progressive and neoprogressive historians have claimed that the division between Federalists and anti-Federalists had an economic basis. In its most refined version, this interpretation argues that people took their stance on the Constitution depending on their degree of integration into the market economy. Merchants and the urban population tended to be Federalists, as did farmers and planters who produced for the market. Among the anti-Federalists, in contrast, can be found what progressives call subsistence farmers, those who did not produce for the market either because they lacked enough land or labor or because they were located too far from markets and communication routes. The progressive interpretation has always been controversial. Critics have denied that economic or social status influenced people's position on the Constitution in any consistent way. Recently, however, an exhaustive analysis of voting behavior in the ratify-

**Ratification Celebration in New York.** A parade was held in New York City in July 1788 to celebrate the state's ratification of the Constitution. The floats included the federal ship *Hamilton*, which was drawn on a flatbed cart. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ing conventions has corroborated basic progressive claims. Although the progressives did not hold slaveholding to influence delegates in any clear-cut way, Robert A. McGuire's study also found that delegates representing constituencies with a high concentration of slaves were far more likely to vote against the Constitution than were other delegates—this despite the fact that Federalists like Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in South Carolina and James Madison in Virginia underscored how the Constitution protected slavery in order to gain support for the document. At the same time, in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, many anti–Federalists complained bitterly about the "three-fifths" clause, the slave trade provision, and other proslavery aspects of the Constitution.

### POLITICAL IDEAS

The ratification struggle gave rise to a public debate of unprecedented scope. Historians studying this debate have only rarely taken an interest in the social and economic basis of the ratification struggle. The major exception is the progressives, who have assumed a link between economic and social status, on the one hand, and political ideas, on the other. According to the progressive interpretation, the subsistence farmers who opposed the Constitution generally held democratic political ideals, meaning essentially that they believed that most adult white men should have the right to vote and to run for office. Because they thought that democracy could be realized only in the state assemblies, anti-Federalists defended the sovereignty of the states and were reluctant to delegate power from the states to the federal government.

The Federalists held opposite views. In private if not always in public, progressive historians say, Federalists supported elite rule by a "natural aristocracy." The Constitution was primarily a means for them to restrict the "excessive democracy" characteristic of the state legislatures ever since the Revolution. In the 1780s the assemblies had repeatedly threatened property rights, most blatantly by making depreciating paper money legal tender. Centralizing power by adopting the Constitution provided a way to distance the government from popular influence. By limiting representation and refining the majority will, the government would be less influenced by popular demands and therefore less likely to threaten the interests of the propertied elite.

REDEUNT SATURNIA REGNA.

On the erection of the Eleventh PILLAR of the great

tional DO... beg leave most sincerely to felicitate ** OUR DEAR COUNT.

Rise it will.

The foundation good—it may yet be SAVED.

The FEDERAL EDIFICE.

ELEVEN STARS, in quick succession rise—
ELEVEN COLUMNS strike our wond'ring eyes,
Soon o'er the *whole*, shall swell the beauteous DOME,
COLUMBIA's boast—and FREEDOM's hallow'd home.
     Here shall the ARTS in glorious splendour shine !
And AGRICULTURE give her stores divine !
COMMERCE refin'd, dispense us more than gold,
And this new world, teach WISDOM to the old—
RELIGION here shall fix her blest abode,
Array'd in *mildness*, like its parent GOD !
JUSTICE and LAW, shall endless PEACE maintain,
And *the* " SATURNIAN AGE," *return again.*

**The Federal Edifice.** This woodcut appeared in the 2 August 1788 edition of the Boston *Centinel* after New York become the eleventh state to ratify the Constitution. The edifice would be complete when North Carolina and Rhode Island approved ratification. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

In reaction to the progressive interpretation, many historians of the nation's founding turned away from studies of social struggles to study ideas. They came to interpret the ratification debate not as a conflict over democracy but as a transition from a classical republican to a liberal conception of social and political life. According to this interpretation, the Federalists and the Constitution represented the new liberal order, whereas the anti-Federalists represented the waning republican order. Classical republicanism gives primacy to the common good over the interests of the individual and demands that the citizen participate actively in the political community. It is therefore an ideology in basic conflict with liberalism, which gives primacy to the rights of the individual over the will of the majority and that often assumes a conflict of interest between the individual and the community. Further research has shown that neither the idea that there existed a conflict between republicanism and liberalism, nor that the founding era was a period of transition from the one to the other, is tenable. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that

this perspective has contributed greatly to a better understanding of the intellectual world of the late eighteenth century.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, interpretation of the ratification debate focuses on the interrelated issues of Federalism and international relations. It argues that in the wake of independence, the survival and prosperity of the American Republic depended on the ability to keep the Union together and to defend its interests against foreign powers. With the Constitution, the Federalists aimed to do both. Keeping the Union together was crucial because dissolution would create a number of competing and warring confederacies and independent states. This would amount to a reproduction of the highly destructive European state system on the North American continent. But equally important was to make sure that the Republic could defend its territory and interests against foreign powers. For this reason it was necessary to grant the federal government extensive fiscal and military powers. Although the anti-Federalists shared many of the Federalists' con-

cerns, the call to strengthen the Union and the federal government clashed with the anti-Federalists' states' rights ideology and their fear of central government.

Scholarly debate about the real meaning of the ratifying debate and the Constitution is likely to continue as new developments give rise to new historical interpretations. It can hardly be otherwise as long as the belief persists that the American Republic can only be true to itself as long as it does not stray too far from the path set out by the founding generation.

See also **Anti-Federalists; Constitutional Convention; States' Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Edling, Max M. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Finkelman, Paul. "Turning Losers into Winners: What Can We Learn, If Anything, from the Antifederalists?" *Texas Law Review* 79 (2001): 849–897.

Gillespie, Michael Allen, and Michael Lienesch, eds. *Ratifying the Constitution.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Hoffman, Ronald. *The Bill of Rights: Government Proscribed.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997.

Jensen, Merrill, John P. Kaminiski, and Gaspare J. Saladino, eds. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 20 vols. to date. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Kramnick, Isaac. "The 'Great National Discussion': The Discourse of Politics in 1787." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 45 (1988): 3–32.

Main, Jackson Turner. *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781–1788.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interest: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

McGuire, Robert A. *To Form a More Perfect Union: A New Economic Interpretation of the United States Constitution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Rutland, Robert A. *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

*Max M. Edling*

**CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION** During the spring and summer of 1787, fifty-five delegates representing twelve American states deliberated in a forty-by-forty foot room in the Philadelphia State House with windows closed to maintain secrecy in a meeting that became known as the Constitutional Convention. The delegates engaged in a wide-ranging, frank, civil, yet passionate and often eloquent debate on the future of American government, one that continued for nearly four months despite sometimes flaring tempers and legitimate fears that they would not reach agreement and that disunion or even civil war might follow. They concluded their work by recommending almost unanimously a proposed United States Constitution (today's Constitution without its amendments), a bold new framework for continental republican government designed to replace the Articles of Confederation. This outcome occurred even though the convention had nominally been summoned to consider amendments to the Articles, not to replace it. Even more remarkably, the convention proposed that the new Constitution become effective upon ratification by nine state conventions chosen by the people, ratification principles wholly inconsistent with the Articles.

The convention achieved a quorum and began official business on 25 May 1787. In theory, it met pursuant to a 21 February 1787 resolution of the Continental Congress authorizing a meeting for the "sole and exclusive purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." Under that resolution, the proposed revisions were first to be agreed to by Congress and then confirmed by all thirteen states before becoming effective. In reality, before the resolution passed Congress, seven states had already chosen delegates, responding to a summons written by Alexander Hamilton and issued from an earlier convention held in Annapolis, Maryland, in September 1786. Other states were reluctant to attend a convention that might consider fundamental changes to the Articles of Confederation and insisted on congressional authorization for the convention and use of the Articles amendment rules before appointing their delegates. Only Rhode Island refused to send delegates.

The political skirmishing over the convention reflected the fact that by 1786, the United States faced social and economic troubles at home and political and financial embarrassment abroad that had led many people to conclude that the Articles of Confederation were fundamentally flawed. By 1787 sharply differing and often radical proposals for major changes in American government had gained curren-

cy. Some Americans believed that the persistent inability of the Continental Congress to agree on important issues showed that the United States should be dissolved and split up into three or four separate confederacies. Some believed that no government powerful enough to govern a continent could avoid becoming tyrannical. A few Americans were so disturbed by events that they favored a return to monarchy.

Prominent men like George Washington, who supported a strong national republican government for the United States, were disheartened by the weakness of Articles government, which they thought made the government a "jest." Washington prepared carefully for the convention, instructing supporters to find and propose a "radical cure" for government ills whether or not they thought the cure would be agreed to by the convention. Still other well-known men, like Samuel Adams, opposed any significant change in the loose alliance of states created by the Articles of Confederation.

The convention was attended by a distinguished, socially prominent group of lawyers, planters, and merchants, men Thomas Jefferson later aptly called an assembly of "demigods." The delegates included forty-two men who had sat in the Continental Congress; at least thirty Revolutionary War veterans; sixteen past, present, or future state governors; two future presidents; one future vice president; and two future U.S. Supreme Court chief justices. Collectively, they possessed substantial political experience and great political talent.

The convention has been called a "rally of nationalists," but delegates had very different political philosophies and represented states and regions with often sharply conflicting interests. Ten men are generally thought to be primarily responsible for the form of the Constitution: James Madison and Edmund Randolph of Virginia; Benjamin Franklin, Gouverneur Morris, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania; Rufus King of Massachusetts; John Rutledge and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina; and Oliver Ellsworth and Roger Sherman of Connecticut.

The convention opened by electing George Washington as its president. Washington's participation was essential to the convention's political success. He had agreed to attend very reluctantly, after first declining. At age fifty-five, he suffered from severe rheumatism and had tried to withdraw from public life, but he was determined to try to create a stronger government to prevent the collapse of the union and, against the advice of supporters, was willing to risk his reputation on the success of the convention, which many thought might fail to reach any agreement.

The convention agreed to meet secretly, and it barred delegates from reporting its proceedings. Madison later claimed that the Constitution could not have been adopted without this secrecy that, among other things, allowed delegates to take positions which would be unpopular back home and to change their minds without political repercussions.

### INTRODUCTION OF THE VIRGINIA PLAN

The convention debate began with Edmund Randolph's presentation of the Virginia Plan for the new Constitution. Based on proposals by Madison, the plan called for a bicameral national legislature with power to nullify state laws, a powerful executive, and exceptionally broad federal judicial powers. The new Constitution was to be ratified by assemblies chosen by the people in order to increase the Constitution's legitimacy and to prevent legislatures from blocking it. The plan was a complete nationalist overhaul of the Articles. The plan's national government proved too powerful for most delegates, but the plan provided the basic structure for the Constitution's separation of powers and dominated convention debate. (Charles Pinckney also submitted a plan, but it was not separately debated, though it may have been considered by the Committee of Detail.)

### THE STRUGGLE OVER REPRESENTATION

During the first several weeks of debate on the Virginia Plan, it became clear that the most contentious issue was congressional representation. The plan called for proportional representation in both houses of the legislature (today's Congress) based either on "quotas of contributions" or the "number of free inhabitants," that is, wealth or population. Virginia and other large states led by Madison and Wilson vigorously supported the principle of proportional representation in Congress, while small states like Delaware and New Jersey supported the Articles' principle that each state should have an equal vote. This debate grew so heated that both sides threatened to leave the convention if their position was not adopted. Gunning Bedford Jr. of Delaware even threatened alliance with a foreign government if his state's position was rejected. On 11 June the convention approved proportional representation in the upper house (today's Senate) by a narrow vote and appeared ready to approve a modified Virginia Plan with proportional representation in both legislative houses. This action precipitated a small state revolt.

On 15 June the small states introduced the New Jersey Plan, named after its sponsor, William Paterson of New Jersey. This plan, supported by delegates from several states, including Connecticut, New York, and Maryland, was a modification of the Articles of Confederation that expanded congressional powers to include limited taxation and commerce. It proposed a unicameral legislature with equal state votes, an extremely weak executive removable on application of a majority of state governors, and a supreme court with narrow powers. The Paterson Plan was voted down by a vote of of 7 to 3, a de facto rejection of the existing Confederation.

Yet it was now apparent that the convention would not succeed unless it could come to an acceptable agreement on representation. Madison sought to persuade small states that it was unjust and unnecessary for them to have equal votes. He argued that the real division of interest between the states was one between the northern and southern states resulting from the economics of slavery, not one between large and small states. Madison's argument convinced important delegates that there was a division over slavery but failed to persuade others that small states did not need "security" through representation. On 16 July 1787 a special committee chaired by Roger Sherman of Connecticut reported a proposal, commonly called the Great (or Connecticut) Compromise, that called for population representation in the lower house using a formula that counted slaves as three-fifths of a person, and equal state votes in the upper house. Adopted by 5 to 4, this compromise between popular representation and representation of state governments created the political basis for federalism. A similar compromise was employed in creating the electoral college.

### THE COMMERCE POWER AND SLAVERY

Despite general agreement that the national government should have the power to control interstate and foreign commerce, delegates sharply disagreed over political control of that power. The "eastern" states (particularly New England) and the southern states had disagreed sharply over commercial issues, and many southern representatives wanted a regional veto over any national commerce power by means of a requirement that the power be exercised only upon a two-thirds vote of Congress.

Several northern states had abolished (or begun the abolition of) slavery and slave imports by 1787. Northern states also urgently wanted national taxation powers, with direct taxes to be based on wealth.

The convention recessed in late July to permit a Committee of Detail to produce a draft of the Constitution. Members of the five-man committee included James Wilson of Pennsylvania, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, and John Rutledge of South Carolina. The committee's 6 August report included a detailed specification of the powers of Congress, including a two-thirds voting requirement for exercising a key commerce power, the power to control navigation (for example, requiring American southern goods to be exported in American northern ships). The committee also proposed to exempt exports from taxation and to permit unlimited imports of slaves.

These committee recommendations caused a debate over slavery to erupt. Some northern delegates, like Gouverneur Morris, attacked the morality of slavery. Rufus King vigorously attacked the idea that slave imports would be permitted to continue without any tax revenues from exports produced using slave labor (which could be used to offset costs of slavery such as slave rebellions) while the South was also given expanded representation in the Congress using the "three-fifths" formula. Southern delegates generally defended slavery and slave imports, with the notable exception of George Mason, who made an impassioned, prophetic speech against both. Several northern delegates accepted slavery and continued imports of slaves as contributory to national wealth or as a necessary evil essential to reaching agreement on a new constitution.

A committee appointed to look for a compromise then proposed that Congress be enabled to prohibit the importation of slaves after 1800. Remarkably, southern delegates then successfully sought an extension of that provision to 1808, supported by delegates from northern states that had already abolished slavery and slave imports. When southern delegates later sought to require that the commerce power be exercised only through a two-thirds vote of Congress, they were defeated by a coalition of northern and other southern delegates.

Through this negotiation, each region got what it wanted most—the North got substantial control over the commerce power, since it would control Congress initially, while the South got the right to import slaves for twenty years. This was the second major compromise of the convention. The convention also agreed to protect slavery by requiring states to permit forcible return of fugitive slaves to their owners in other states (the fugitive slave clause).

## THE POWERS OF CONGRESS

In addition to broad powers over taxation, commerce, and appropriations (the "power of the purse"), the Constitution gave Congress the power to declare war and to raise national military forces. Separate authority was provided to use and control state militias to enforce federal laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions. Unlike the Articles of Confederation, major national economic and military powers did not have to be exercised through the states, and such laws could be enforced directly against individuals rather than states. The elimination of the Articles' requirements for supermajority state consent to major national actions and for state implementation of federal laws are among the most fundamental departures from the Articles found in the Constitution. Congress also received power to "make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution" its other powers, a grant of implied authority that was to become the basis for important assertions of national power in later years.

## LIMITS ON STATE AUTHORITY

At the urging of James Madison and others, the delegates agreed to place significant limits on state powers. The Constitution limited state economic power by providing that states could not emit bills of credit, make anything other than "gold or silver coin" legal tender for payment of debts, or pass laws impairing the obligation of contracts. States were prohibited from imposing taxes on imports or exports (except to cover administrative costs) and from entering into agreements or compacts with each other, or with foreign governments, without congressional consent.

## THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Delegates had highly conflicting ideas about the executive branch. Some favored a weak presidency or a plural executive of several individuals; others favored a powerful president with a lengthy term and absolute veto over legislation. The Constitution's comparatively "energetic" (powerful) presidency was a compromise between these views.

To avoid choosing between popular election of the president and election of the president by Congress or legislatures, the convention agreed that the president would be chosen by an electoral college whose membership formula would be weighted toward small states and whose members would be chosen by states using state election rules. The president was given a four-year term, with no limit on the number of terms, but was made impeachable for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors," a standard that, combined with a requirement for a two-thirds vote to impeach, was intended to make impeachment a rarely used remedy.

The president's powers included a strong veto that could be overridden only by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, a compromise between those who wanted to give the president an absolute veto and those who wanted the veto exercisable only together with the judiciary. The president was given "the power of the sword" as commander in chief. The president shared the treaty power and the power to appoint officers of the United States with the Senate.

## THE JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Constitution contained only an outline of the judicial branch structure, including a description of the jurisdiction of the federal courts. It provided for lifetime tenure for judges, widely recognized as necessary to preserve judicial independence. The Constitution also provided that the Constitution and federal laws were supreme over state laws and constitutions, a provision that bound both state and federal judges. The absence of express constitutional provisions regarding judicial review of the constitutionality of legislation—other than the federal jurisdiction and supremacy clauses, which many people regarded as sufficient authorization for such review—led to later disputes regarding the nature and limits of such review.

The Constitution contained no bill of rights, but it did protect certain fundamental rights such as habeas corpus and criminal jury trial. Most delegates thought that a bill of rights was either futile or unnecessary in a government of limited powers.

On 17 September 1787, the proposed Constitution was signed by thirty-nine men, all but three of the delegates (Mason, Randolph, and Gerry) present. The historic convention then ended.

*See also* **Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Constitution, Ratification of; Federalist Papers; Madison, James.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edling, Max M. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* Rev. ed. 4 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers.* Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: New American Library, 1961.

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact*: *The Lost World of the American Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Hutson, James H., ed. *Supplement to Max Farrand's* The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 20 vols. to date. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interests*: *Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union 1781–1789.* New York: Harper and Row, 1987.

Onuf, Peter S. *The Origins of the Federal Republic*: *Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States 1775–1787.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics*: *An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

———. *Original Meanings*: *Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution.* New York: Vintage Books, 1997.

Warren, Charles. *The Making of the Constitution.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1937.

*George Van Cleve*

# CONSTITUTIONALISM

The entry consists of three separate articles *Overview*, *American Colonies*, and *State Constitution Making*.

## *Overview*

How shall we be governed, by a law of force or the force of law? Whatever its many details, the long history of constitutionalism as a concept expresses the spirit of this question and answers for the force of law. The idea of constitutionalism, as applied to the American colonies, sparked the Revolution, which has shaped the world's political structures to this day. At the time of its ratification in 1788, the Constitution of the United States became the most visible expression of a nation's belief in limited government, the rule of law, and a classical liberal vision of a good society.

### LIMITED GOVERNMENT

Governments coerce. They do this in many ways, for better or worse. As many political theorists note, co-ercion is one of government's defining characteristics. Governments can be large or small, complex or rudimentary, they can be democratic or despotic, but they all commonly maintain a final coercive authority over some specified geographical area. To consider the legitimacy of government requires focus on the basis and use of its force.

History is filled with instances of abuses of power, of force used in horrendous ways. Theorists and revolutionaries alike have asked: are there no constraints? One recurring answer across the ages is that governmental force, and the officials who exercise it, ought to be constrained by a rule of law. In the fourth century B.C., Plato said in *The Republic* that tyrants and despots will act as if force justifies itself, but this does not make it so. Plato argued that government and its rulers must conform to some higher law, some Form of Justice.

This inspiring answer leads to a striking puzzle: Government ought to be limited in what it may do, and law specifies limits. Government may not act contrary to law. But if government ought to be constrained by law and at the same time is the final coercive authority for administering the law, then in what sense can a great power that creates law be constrained by law? This question is both deeply theoretical and deeply practical. First, one wants to know where this independent law comes from, why it has authority, and what it demands. Second, one wants to know how to structure government so that it respects this law.

Consider first the practical question about structuring government. One approach is to create a written constitution that binds all citizens and governments under its rule. A written constitution expresses law that exists prior to any particular government that may come into power under that constitution. A written constitution offers a device of constraint, a self-conscious way for government to understand its powers and limits, stating a fundamental law that all ordinary laws must respect.

These are the starting points for constitutionalism as a concept and the distinctive constitutional experiment in the United States. At its most fundamental level, constitutionalism expresses a great hope that human beings can be guided by something other than arbitrary force, celebrate the rule of law, and form a people committed to the value of limited government.

### AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

Drafted by Thomas Jefferson in 1776, the Declaration of Independence expresses this commitment to

THE PROVIDENTIAL DETECTION

***The Providential Detection*** (1797–1800). In this lithograph Thomas Jefferson kneels at the altar of despotism as an American eagle tries to prevent him from burning the Constitution in a fire fueled by radical writings. Jefferson's letter to Philip Mazzei, in which he allegedly criticized John Adams and George Washington, falls from his right hand. COURTESY, AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTIONALISM

limited government. Jefferson declares that governments are instituted to secure people's rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Jefferson and the other signers drew support from a rich intellectual history of Enlightenment thought in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. They drew especially from the writings of John Locke, who conceived of natural rights as prior to established government. In a state of nature, persons are endowed with individual rights, and then government is instituted as a means to secure these rights through the consent of the governed. Locke offered his own answers to the theoretical puzzles about law. He claimed that law comes from God and substantively requires that no person—especially no government—may violate other persons' rights. Jefferson expressed these ideas about rights and a Creator directly in the Declaration of Independence.

Long before the American Revolution, political theorists recognized that a rule of law requires that people be treated equally under the law. The same standards must apply to each person when the relevant conditions are the same. The law should be public and predictable through mechanisms such as judicial proceedings open to the public. These conditions create pressures for the consistent administration of the law.

Throughout history governments often created elaborate constitutions, although this idea had a broad meaning. The "constitution" of a government identified the vast range of law operating in that region. These laws offered sets of rules and principles applied to all persons subject to government authority. Despite a long history of entrenched customary laws, judicial decision making, and elaborate procedures for enacting and changing laws, there was little history of effective and binding written constitutions constraining lawmakers and the judiciary. The institutional device of a written constitution became perhaps the most important historical impact of American constitutionalism. So profound was the American experiment that most nations in contemporary times, following the American tradition, have devised some type of written constitution—though often weak and ineffectual—as part of their governmental structure.

The emergence of the American Constitution marked a break from the English system, which recognized a constitution in the broad sense, but viewed Parliament as having full sovereignty over law with no separate written constitution that constrained its decisions. The colonists became convinced of the need to express a commitment to a specific written document prior to the exercise of government power through a fixed constitution as a check on this power.

The framers of the Constitution convened in 1787 to work out the details, building from a tradition of written colonial charters, a conception of natural rights, and a chastened experience with the Articles of Confederation. The Articles proved too weak to bind the newly formed states into one united nation; the states also faced a tremendous practical problem of paying the debts that had accrued from the Revolution. Not surprisingly, then, the convention focused most intensely on the relative balance of power between the states and the proposed federal government. This balance between federal and state power defined much of the intellectual debate between the Federalists, who supported a strong national constitution, and the anti-Federalists, who supported the primacy of state power. These arguments have always been an important part of the American political tradition.

James Madison was a Federalist who supported a strong constitution. He was also committed to the idea that government must uphold preexisting natural rights. For Madison, the best means of protecting people from the potential of an oppressive government was a representative government and a separation and balance of powers among competing branches of government. He and other delegates sought a constitution whose purpose was to specify this structure of government. Working through intense debate and dispute, they tried to reach compromises at every step of the Constitutional Convention, and the Constitution was ratified in 1788.

In 1789 Congress proposed a series of amendments that became known as the Bill of Rights. Madison and other Federalists had initially opposed a bill of rights, arguing that such a provision was, at best, useless—a "parchment barrier" that could never stop a majority determined to crush the rights of the minority. Madison also feared that no bill of rights could completely identify and secure all liberties, and thus any liberties not explicitly protected would be forever lost. Nevertheless, to placate disgruntled anti-Federalists, Madison proposed a limited number of amendments to protect basic liberties. Many states, in fact, ratified the Constitution on condition that a bill of rights would be adopted. Madison was deeply disappointed, however, when the Senate rejected his proposed amendment that would have required the states, as well as the national government, to protect freedom of expression and religious liberty.

The adoption, interpretation, and implementation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights have become fundamental for understanding the character of American government. The Constitution is designed to empower and provide an external constraint on what any government may do. Any written document, however, especially a written Constitution, needs interpreters. Who should they be and how should they go about interpreting? If the legislative branch interprets the document, then in practice the document would no longer act as an independent constraint on ordinary law. Suppose that power is assigned to the judicial branch: how should the Supreme Court interpret the Constitution? On the one hand, the Constitution itself may be understood as the external constraint on ordinary law, and the interpretive task may be to divine the intent of the framers or analyze the meaning of the words in the text. Alternatively, higher ideals such as natural rights and justice may be understood as the ultimate constraints on ordinary law, where the purpose of the Constitution is to capture those deeper ideas in practical form. The Supreme Court might see its task either as drawing solely on the historical or literal meaning of constitutional limits or as incorporating other values that justices believe the Constitution is trying to express. Some interpretation is inevitable, for the words of the Constitution are often vague. How best to do this is a continuing puzzle in contemporary philosophy of law.

Despite its puzzles, the animating force behind constitutional debate is a recognition that the Constitution must apply in a way that serves as an effective constraint on potentially unlimited and capricious government power. There are perhaps many structures of government that can be suited to the task, but the Americans offered a written constitution as a distinctive solution to that problem. They devised a separation of powers, clarified and elaborated through Supreme Court rulings, such as *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) and *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819). They devised strict rules for formally revising the Constitution, and they embraced the controversial belief that a constitutionally constrained democracy could prosper in a large nation of many inhabitants with distinct and sometimes antagonistic cultural habits. In these ways and others, they addressed the enduring puzzle of constraining a government that at some level is vested with the power to define its own constraints.

### CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

In its barest essence, the idea of constitutionalism, with a written constitution, does not imply a complete vision of social life and humanity. But the American Constitution did in fact give rise to and color the distinctive qualities of American life. Underneath the creation of a written constitution was a particular understanding of the strengths and frailties of human motives and ambitions.

The eloquence of the founders offers a testament to both a large range of practical insights and philosophical underpinnings for supporting American constitutional government. This testament partially emerges from *The Federalist*, writings that first appeared in New York newspapers at the time of the Constitutional Convention. The *Federalist* papers create a magnificent record of the arguments surrounding the creation and ratification of the Constitution. The *Federalist* papers were written to garner support for the Constitution, and thus the three authors—the ardent Federalists Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay—carefully avoided discussing provisions of the Constitution, such as the slave clauses, that they could not defend. Wide-ranging arguments were also carried out in pamphlets and newspapers throughout the colonies by common citizens, polemicists, political philosophers, and many active politicians of the day.

These arguments came not only from an American Revolution that rejected British rule, but also from founding figures who had studied and reflected on the long history of governmental abuse of power through the ages. They worried not only about potential tyranny by a powerful few, but they also worried about a mob democracy that through majority vote could oppress the rights of a minority. A written constitution was not merely part of a democratic culture but an important constraint on the exercise of democratic rule.

For the Americans, constitutionalism became part of a broader conception of human society. The hope was to view limited government as the background to human flourishing, where the creative energies of citizens would be realized through a vibrant civil society of equal citizens. Civil society with dispersed power would create the foreground for living good lives, limited government the background. On the one hand this conception suggests a profoundly pessimistic view of human nature. People in position to exercise power over others are liable to abuse that power. Power is a corrupting force that will have its way over time. Many of the careful constraints and balances of power devised by the founders gave due regard to this realistic if not bleak assessment of humanity.

At the same time the idea of a written constitution expresses an exalted and optimistic view of human nature, the idea that people can live together by mutually recognizing the power of reason and law over the power of force. It offers a vision of humanity that social organization need not be governed by caprice, war, and conquest. The peaceful creation and ratification of a written constitution and the political and civil institutions that grew as a result of it express the profound optimism that human beings can be persuaded to work out their differences by careful deliberation under conditions of liberty. The American Constitution was part of a classical liberal vision of society in which individuals, through their voluntary efforts, create self-supporting institutions that flourish and evolve as the needs of the people evolve. They do so in the context of a limited and just framework of law.

The American Constitution is part of a vision of the good society, acknowledging the authority and worth of the single individual but celebrating the community, acknowledging the greatness of the human moral impulse but recognizing the need for caution against base temptation. A written constitution is a practical document that requires enormous trust and idealism, both to be created and to be sustained over time. It is impossible to understand the vision of American constitutionalism without recognizing this tremendous idealism balanced with hard-nosed pragmatism, and the confidence that the two can work as one.

See also **American Character and Identity; Americanization; Anti-Federalists; Articles of Confederation; Classical Heritage and American Politics; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Constitutional Law; Declaration of Independence; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalism; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Government; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; *Marbury v. Madison*; *McCulloch v. Maryland*; Philosophy; Politics: Political Thought; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Supreme Court; Supreme Court Justices.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Alexander, Larry, ed. *Constitutionalism: Philosophical Foundations.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 2001.

*The Federalist: The Essential Essays. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay.* Edited by Jack N. Rakove. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003.

Morris, Christopher W. *An Essay on the Modern State.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Sandel, Michael J. *Democracy's Discontent: American in Search of a Public Philosophy.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996.

Scalet, Steven. "Fitting the People They Are Meant to Serve: Reasonableness in the American Legal System." *Law and Philosophy* 22 (2003): 75–110.

Scalet, Steven, and David Schmidtz. "State, Civil Society, and Classical Liberalism." In *Civil Society and Government.* Edited by Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.

*Steven Scalet*

## *American Colonies*

Two factors shaped the extraordinary period of constitutionalism in the new United States that stretched from the creation of republican governments at the state level in the 1770s and 1780s to the ratification of the federal Constitution in the late 1780s. The first factor was the intense debate about the principles of the English constitution in the seventeenth century. The second factor was the equally fractious dispute about the constitutional relationship between England and its American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Building on these influences, newly independent Americans crafted a distinctive form of constitutionalism in the crucial years following the Declaration of Independence.

### ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The nature of the English constitution was one of the central political problems of the turbulent seventeenth century. Both before and after the English civil war (1642–1648), the Stuart kings contended that the source of all political and legal authority rested with the crown as the result of a divine grant. As such, they claimed the right to rule without regard to constitutional limits. In response to this assertion of royal authority, many English lawyers argued that, although the king had certain legal prerogatives, the English constitution prevented him from ruling contrary to law.

This conception of the English constitution as one that limited royal authority had deep roots in English history, but it reached its fullest expression in the work of seventeenth-century lawyers and parliamentarians such as Edward Coke. For Coke, the

English constitution was the product of a long, customary evolution, which legitimated its precepts by ensuring that they had been tried and tested by time. The English constitution was therefore never conceived of as one written document, but rather as a series of customary principles, statutory enactments, and institutions, principally Parliament and juries.

This "ancient" constitution accorded all Englishmen rights to life, liberty, and property, rights that inhered in the subject and were seen as a "birthright" or inheritance. Also central to this English understanding of the constitution was the idea of consent. According to seventeenth-century jurists, English subjects could not be bound by any laws that they had not consented to through their representatives in Parliament.

One of the main sources of political strife in seventeenth-century England was the tension between this conception of the English constitution as a limitation on royal authority, and the more expansive conception of the royal prerogative propounded by the Stuart monarchs. Most of the English colonies in America were founded in the seventeenth century and thus were heavily shaped by these debates about the nature of the English constitution.

## COLONIAL CONSTITUTIONALISM

The English colonization of America in the seventeenth century was undertaken primarily by private groups or individuals under the auspices of a royal license or charter. The royal charter granted the settlers territorial rights in the New World, along with the ability to create local governing institutions.

One result of the private, decentralized nature of English colonization was that the English colonies in the seventeenth century developed a variety of constitutional forms. Some colonies were corporate. In these, the royal charter was granted to a group of individuals who formed a company (such as the Massachusetts Bay Company). Other colonies were proprietary, where the charter was given to a courtier or royal favorite (such as Lord Baltimore in Maryland and William Penn in Pennsylvania). Royal colonies were the third and final type. These colonies were ruled directly by the crown through a royal governor. Although rare in the seventeenth century—they often resulted from the crown's revocation of a corporate or proprietary charter—royal colonies became increasingly common in the eighteenth-century empire.

Because of the crown's lax oversight, all of these seventeenth-century colonies initially had a large degree of de facto autonomy. This autonomy allowed them the space to develop indigenous constitutional forms by supplementing the royal authority granted in their charters with agreements made by the settlers. Such efforts were particularly pronounced in New England, where the original settlers, drawing on biblical ideas, often created their own political authority with a covenant or compact by which they pledged to govern themselves by certain mutually agreed-upon rules.

Despite the constitutional autonomy and pluralism of the seventeenth-century colonies, the royal charters were central to colonial constitutionalism. By granting the colonists English law and rights, the charters provided the basis for the colonists to develop governing institutions through which they could exercise their English rights, most centrally the right to consent through local assemblies. Over time, the colonists came to see their assemblies as the equivalent of Parliament in England.

Notwithstanding the grant of English rights in the charters, throughout the entire colonial period the crown saw itself as the source of all legal authority in the empire. In particular it viewed the colonies as dependent polities whose charters could be annulled, and whose governing institutions, the colonial assemblies, had no more authority than local governments in England. The tension between this royal understanding of the imperial constitution and the colonial claims for the full rights of English subjects was to have a significant impact on the subsequent history of American constitutionalism.

The decentralized empire of the early seventeenth century gave way after the Restoration (1660) to a series of royal attempts at imperial centralization, which culminated in the Dominion of New England (1685–1688), an ambitious royal consolidation of all of the northern colonies. This process was halted by the Glorious Revolution, which brought about the fall of the Stuarts and the ascendancy of William and Mary to the throne, in England and America (1688–1689).

As a result of the Glorious Revolution, the crown accepted the existence of the colonial assemblies as part of the governing structure of the eighteenth-century empire. Although the centralizing impulses of the Stuarts had been checked, over the course of the eighteenth century many previously private colonies became royal; and most of those colonies that remained in corporate and proprietary hands adopted a common constitutional structure of governor, council, and elected assembly.

However, despite these concessions, the crown in the eighteenth century continued to view the colo-

nies as dependent polities. In particular it insisted on its prerogative right both to summon and dissolve colonial assemblies, as well as on its ability to suspend the operation of colonial laws pending royal approval. It also claimed the right to appoint and dismiss colonial judges "at pleasure." As a result, in the decades following the Glorious Revolution, there was a constitutional asymmetry in the empire, with the crown retaining a series of prerogative powers in the colonies that it no longer exercised in England.

The eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of parliamentary authority within the realm, a development that was to prove even more problematic for the empire than the continuing claims of royal prerogative. In response to the constitutional uncertainty of the previous century, many Britons celebrated the fact that the ultimate source of political authority was now the king–in–Parliament. In particular, they argued that this new sovereign entity provided political stability by avoiding the conflicts between the crown and Parliament that had plagued the seventeenth-century constitution. These Britons also argued that parliamentary government ensured the liberty of the subject by perfectly balancing the competing claims of monarchy, aristocracy, and the people.

These metropolitan defenders of Parliament in the eighteenth century also held that it was sovereign over all British subjects, both inside and outside the realm. As a result, in the crucial years following the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Parliament claimed that it had the constitutional authority to levy taxes on the colonies; and, most crucially, in the Declaratory Act (1766), it held that it could legislate for the colonies in "all cases whatsoever."

The colonists, however, denied the Parliament this constitutional authority. Drawing on their understanding of the seventeenth-century English constitution, they argued that they had the same rights as British subjects within the realm, and that the only way these rights could be secured was through their own assemblies. As the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s unfolded, the colonists employed the idea of consent to resist, at first, parliamentary taxation and, finally, all parliamentary legislation. Drawing on English constitutional principles as well as newer ideas of natural rights, they began to conceive of the constitution of the empire as linking them in a consensual manner solely to the crown, with no subordination to the British Parliament or people.

## REVOLUTIONARY CONSTITUTIONALISM

When, following the Boston Tea Party (1773), Parliament, with the acquiescence of the crown, passed the Coercive Acts (1774), imperial authority over English America began to dissolve. Starting with extralegal congresses and committees, the colonists began to create their own constitutions, a process formally sanctioned by the Continental Congress in 1776. The form that these new state constitutions took was heavily influenced by the colonists' experience with constitutionalism in the empire.

Most important, the constitutional uncertainty of the empire led the colonists to desire written constitutions in order to provide explicit guarantees for their rights. As leading American political writers argued, because the unwritten and customary English constitution lacked such guarantees, it was not in fact a constitution at all, but simply a vehicle for the unlimited power of the crown and Parliament. The long experience of living under written charters also predisposed the colonists to place ultimate constitutional authority in written documents.

Drawing on their indigenous tradition of colonial compacts and covenants, the Americans also came up with novel ways to design and implement these new written constitutions. Beginning first in Massachusetts, they devised the constituent assembly, a body convened for the sole purpose of drafting the constitution, thus avoiding the problem of sitting legislatures writing constitutions that would enhance their own authority. The new constitution was then submitted to the people for ratification, thus ensuring that it would rest on popular consent.

As a result of their colonial experience, then, the Americans were able to create new republican state constitutions that functioned as fundamental law, and that formally specified and limited the powers of the various branches of government. These new state constitutions also included bills of rights, thus guaranteeing constitutional protection for certain fundamental liberties, something that the colonists had felt was lacking in the imperial constitution.

At the same time as they were writing their constitutions, the newly independent republican states had to devise some form of continental union. Once again, the experience of empire was crucial, for it had habituated the colonists to living under two different sources of authority—imperial and local—as well as making them aware of the importance of clearly specifying the respective authority of the national and local levels of government. As a result, following the ill-fated Articles of Confederation (1781), the framers developed a federal Constitution (1787) that,

unlike the imperial constitution, formally divided power among the state governments and the new national government while vesting ultimate constitutional authority in a written document subject to ratification and amendment by the people.

*See also* **America and the World; Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Colonization Movement; Concept of Empire; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Law; Founding Fathers; Government: Overview; Liberty; Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrews, Charles M. "The Government of the Empire, 1660–1763." In *The Old Empire.* Volume 1: *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* edited by A. P. Newton, J. Holland Rose, and E. A. Benians. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1929.

Greene, Jack P. *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Lutz, Donald S. *The Origins of American Constitutionalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

McLaughlin, Andrew C. *The Foundations of American Constitutionalism.* New York University Press. 1932. Reprint, Union, N.J.: Lawbrook Exchange, 2002.

*Craig Bryan Yirush*

## State Constitution Making

As Americans confronted the evaporation of British authority in 1775 and gradually came to embrace the idea of independence from Britain, they immediately recognized the need to establish new forms of government. Except for the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, where political leaders remained satisfied with the existing—nearly republican—forms of government, Americans generally expected their political leaders to write constitutions that would both establish governments and restrain both governors and legislatures. A constitution identified the principles upon which the government was based and instituted forms of government that would make those principles reality.

### WHO CAN WRITE CONSTITUTIONS?

The framers understood that if members of the government were allowed to establish and alter their own government, then they would wield unlimited power. Therefore, the founders uniformly rejected the idea that a legislature could write a legitimate constitution and, instead, required another institution for that work. Initially, most of the new states relied upon provincial congresses—temporary Revolutionary bodies that provided a governmental bridge between colony and state—to draft the state constitutions. Soon, though, they turned to a constitutional convention, whose delegates were elected by the people and whose sole responsibility was to write or revise constitutions.

The experiences of three colonies—Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Massachusetts—revealed the widely shared belief that a legislature could not write a constitution. In those colonies, legislatures persisted, operating as they had before 1775 despite the absence of a governor. None of the three legislatures allowed themselves to write constitutions. All three insisted that a separate, impermanent body of men write the constitution; all three assigned the task to constitutional conventions. Impermanence was important to the founders because they did not want those framing the government to have an institutional interest in the results of their own deliberations. If a legislature were to write a constitution, then it could vest itself with unlimited power. Constitution writing was, self-consciously, about the creation of fundamental law that defined and restrained government; therefore, the body that wrote the constitution could not be part of the future government. Provincial congresses, which temporarily assumed all of the powers of government, were acceptable proxies; formal legislatures were not.

### DECLARATIONS OF RIGHTS

The provincial congresses or constitutional conventions wrote constitutions that wove together declarations of rights with formal plans of government. Of the twelve states writing constitutions (including Vermont), seven began the document with a declaration or bill of rights. Those states that did not adopt separate declarations identified inviolable rights in the body of the constitutions. In both cases, the declarations of rights explained why a constitution was being written and adopted, the principles that underlay the foundation of the new government, the rights of the individual and the society, the extent to which those rights could be breached by government or any of its branches. The declarations expressed common aspirations, though they diverged on specific rights. They all affirmed that the people established and controlled government. Moreover, they agreed that sovereignty belonged to the people; they did not share it with their magistrates or legislatures.

Then the framers identified rights that could not be breached by magistrates and others that could not be violated by either magistrates or legislatures. The Maryland Declaration of Rights asserted: "All Government of right originates from the People, is founded in compact only, and instituted solely for the good of the whole." Therefore, the people possessed "the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government." Public officials—magistrates and legislators—were "the Trustees of the Public, and as such accountable for their conduct."

The declarations sought to ensure that those trustees remained true to the people by requiring frequent elections and the separation and limitation of powers in government. The Pennsylvania declaration required frequent and regular elections to ensure that "those who are employed in the legislative and executive business of the State may be restrained from oppression." Maryland's declaration demanded "that the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial powers of Government ought to be forever separate and distinct from each other." If frequent elections and separation of powers did not halt the onset of tyranny and if, as a consequence, men in power "perverted the ends of government," then "a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, and abolish" the government.

The declarations then turned to specific rights and grants of power. Following English constitutional tradition, they lodged the power of taxation and the expropriation of individual property in the legislature and outlined the limits of the legislature's tax power. They also allowed the legislature to revoke an individual's right to freedom from arbitrary arrest. Yet they protected numerous procedural rights of individuals in the criminal justice system.

The most important of the rights addressed by the declarations was freedom of religion. The North Carolina declaration asserted, "All men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences." Most declarations disestablished particular sects in their states. New Jersey forbade "establishment of any one religious sect in the Province, in preference to another." And the states, in turn, prohibited clergymen from serving in the legislature in the hope of limiting the sway of churches in government. Nevertheless, the declarations' impact on freedom of religion was much more ambiguous. In effect, they created broader Protestant or Christian establishments by protecting the civil rights of only Protestants or, more generally, Christians (Pennsylvania extended them to all believers in God); by requiring particular religious qualifications for officeholding (Protestants in some states, Christians in many more); and by authorizing legislatures to make general assessments to support the state's Protestant churches.

## AMENDING THE CONSTITUTIONS

The framers reinforced their commitment to constitutionalism by establishing procedures for constitutional amendment. Only two of the twelve states apparently permitted legislative emendation of their constitutions. New Jersey prohibited the legislature from altering important parts of the constitution—such as the clauses regarding freedom of religion, annual elections, and trial by jury; subsequent legislatures assumed that the rest of the constitution was fair game for revision by simple statute. And South Carolina's legislature, over the protests of a sitting and prospective governor, asserted its right to frame and amend constitutions. Three states—Virginia, North Carolina, and New York—provided no mechanisms at all for revision. The constitutions of Pennsylvania, Georgia, Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire (in 1784) forbade emendation by the state legislatures. Georgia required citizen petitions for a new convention. Pennsylvania and Vermont established the septennial creation of a Council of Censors to investigate possible violations of the constitution, to determine whether the constitution needed to be preserved or improved by amendment. The council then could call a constitutional convention to amend the document. Massachusetts required a referendum in fifteen years; if two-thirds of the voters so desired, a constitutional convention would be held. New Hampshire's framers did not leave a constitutional convention to chance. They required a new one in seven years. Other states, including Delaware, forbade amendment of the declaration of rights and the provisions for a bicameral legislature and annual elections but allowed amendment of all the other provisions by extraordinary majorities in each of the legislature's two houses. Maryland permitted legislative amendment, but only by two successive legislatures.

## REPRESENTATION

The constitution makers' understanding of constitutionalism shaped their developing theory of representation. They believed that all inhabitants were entitled to some representation in the legislature and therefore sought to ensure that all of the communities in a state were represented. In states where population growth (or decline) shaped representation,

constitution makers abandoned borough representation, which provided special representation for the special commercial interests of towns. In most cases framers combined corporate representation (i.e., representation of towns, counties, and parishes) with representation based on population. Only three states—Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—relied exclusively on traditional county representation and equally traditional borough representation. Georgia, while retaining county representation, allowed new counties to gain increased representation (at a rate of one representative for every ten electors) until a county reached the maximum of ten representatives. Then equal county representation held. Elsewhere, the new constitutions accommodated changes in population. And, most important of all, every constitution, except for Massachusetts's, provided representation for all established communities.

The insistence on representation for established communities led many of the constitutional framers to demand what one person called "particular representation" because they believed that the representative had a responsibility to express the views of his particular constituents. All groups in society needed to be represented. Evidence of the direct relationship assumed to exist between representative and constituent may be found in the doctrine of instruction. In England, constituents traditionally instructed their representatives on matters of local interest, like the construction of a road. Matters of empire were left in the hands of the wiser and worldlier members of Parliament. The American Revolutionaries embraced the idea of instruction but turned the doctrine on its head. They regularly assured their representatives that small matters, like road building, might be entrusted to them, but they believed that matters of moment, like the decision for independence, must be determined by the people themselves. Maryland's Revolutionary leader, Samuel Chase, organized county meetings to instruct reluctant members of the provincial convention to support independence. After the convention endorsed independence on 28 June 1776, a jubilant Chase credited "the glorious Effects of County Instructions."

### ELECTIONS AND SUFFRAGE

If instruction allowed electors to tell their representatives how to vote, annual elections ensured obedience to their collective will. Annual elections also enabled electors to curb representatives who aimed for ever-greater power. Southern Revolutionary Samuel Johnston acknowledged that, because only the people could restrain "the Representatives of the People

in a Democracy," he "would have Annual elections." John Adams put it more bluntly: "Where annual elections end, there slavery begins." Annual elections, he wrote, taught "the great political virtues of humility, patience, and moderation, without which every man in power becomes a ravenous beast of prey." The founders' insistence on annual elections, together with instructions and equal representation, expressed the Revolutionaries' belief that all freemen required direct representation to protect themselves from potentially untrustworthy representatives.

The American obsession with representation and consent by direct election led constitution makers to consider the importance of voting and the right of suffrage. Although the significance of voting dictated to some that the suffrage be restricted (Virginia and Delaware retained provincial freehold requirements), most sought to broaden the political foundations of the new governments. Some states—including New York, Georgia, New Jersey, and Maryland—lowered property requirements and allowed calculation of a person's entire estate (personal and real) to meet property requirements instead of limiting suffrage to those meeting the more restrictive real estate requirements. In so doing, those states undermined the traditional view that only a landed estate secured the permanent stake in the well-being of the community that was an essential to cast a public-spirited vote.

Other states detached voting rights entirely from the ownership of any specific amount of property. Vermont simply enfranchised all freemen. In Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, constitution writers endorsed the Revolutionary demand for consent to taxation through direct representation by establishing a taxpaying requirement for voting. Because all three states also imposed a regressive and widespread poll tax on many of its male inhabitants, the taxpayer suffrage dramatically increased the size of the electorate. Furthermore, it detached the suffrage from the ownership of specific amounts of property. It also upended the traditional view of voting as earned by proof of one's ability (through property ownership) to act in the public's interest; the taxpayer suffrage effectively declared that taxpayers needed the right to vote to protect their property from the rapacity of legislators. The idea that one voted in order to protect the community and oneself from the possibility of government tyranny opened the suffrage to Catholics and Jews, who had been disfranchised in many of the colonies. (Nevertheless, constitution makers sought to exclude those groups from officeholding on the grounds that Cath-

olic and Jewish officeholders might undermine America's Protestant culture.)

The act of revolution itself encouraged a radical expansion of the political community. Loyalty to the cause rather than property ownership proved one's attachment to the community. In Maryland, militia-men in six counties seized the polls and enfranchised all men serving in the militia. Although the Maryland convention disallowed the votes in those counties and required a new election, and although no state enfranchised men because of their military service, the states made loyalty a precondition for voting by disfranchising neutrals and loyalists. The Revolutionary argument also spurred the enfranchisement of single, property-owning women in New Jersey and the retention of the right of free black men to vote in Massachusetts. One Massachusetts writer, defending the right of blacks and Native Americans to vote, captured the impact of the Revolutionary argument on the political community: "A black, tawny or reddish skin is not so unfavourable an hue to the genuine son of liberty as a tory complexion."

### SEPARATION OF POWERS

As constitution makers considered the structure of the future state governments, they worried about the consolidation of power in the hands of the few. To avoid this, they fashioned constitutions that separated the functional powers of government among its several branches. They began by eliminating the gubernatorial veto. Royal governors had wielded an absolute veto in the name of the crown; such a veto effectively made the governor a third house in the legislature. By eliminating the veto and making the governorship a purely executive office, they enfeebled governors everywhere and marked a sharp line between executive and legislative powers. Two states—New Jersey and New Hampshire—breached that divide by granting the executives a vote in the upper houses. Constitution makers gradually came to fear untrammeled legislative power, so they began to reintroduce the gubernatorial veto but retained a commitment to a functional separation of powers. In 1780, when delegates to the Massachusetts constitutional convention adopted a suspensive gubernatorial veto (one that can be overridden by a supermajority), they defended it on the twin grounds that it would protect executive independence and strengthen the separations of powers.

Framers reaffirmed their commitment to a functional separation of powers by prohibiting executive and judicial officeholders from sitting in legislatures (New Hampshire and New Jersey were exceptions to the bar). This policy expressed fear of both the governor's patronage powers and the concentration of all power in any one branch of government. Worried that governors would corrupt legislatures through patronage, they stripped the executive of significant appointive authority. Because they were as much afraid of an all-powerful legislature as they were of an unrestrained governor, they also prevented legislators from serving in another branch of government. Constitutions not only forbade governors from appointing legislators to executive office, but they also forbade legislators from appointing themselves to executive office. In so doing, they sought to avert the concentration of all governmental power in any one of its branches. In keeping with this principle, judges too were barred from holding posts in the other branches.

### BICAMERALISM

Fearing consolidated governmental power, the framers not only separated the powers of government among different branches, they also generally divided legislative power into two houses. Bicameral legislatures bore a formal resemblance to England's House of Commons and House of Lords, but one devoid of traditional meanings. The English and many Americans believed that England had successfully preserved liberty because its constitution carefully balanced the different social estates: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Many of the framers of state constitutions tried to find a similar balance in their governments, but absent a monarch or an aristocracy, English mixed-government theory became irrelevant. In deference to that hallowed theory, several states required somewhat higher property ownership for senators than for representatives, but most did not. The framers who adopted bicameral legislatures regarded both houses as representative of and dependent upon the people. For the founders, divided legislative authority would thwart a single assembly's seizure of all governmental power. Even those most committed to the idea of an independent aristocratic legislative body believed that the primary responsibility of a senate was to prevent heedless or arbitrary behavior by a house. At the opposite end of the political spectrum, the three state constitutions that adopted unicameral legislatures, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Vermont, obviously rejected many of the tenets of bicameralism. Nevertheless, distrusting unchecked power, they too curbed those assemblies with a variety of institutional checks.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Politics: Political Thought; Voting.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, Willi Paul. *The First American Constitutions: Republican Ideology and the Making of the State Constitutions in the Revolutionary Era.* Translated by Rita Kimber and Robert Kimber. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *Constitutions and Constitutionalism in the Slaveholding South.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Gwyn, W. B. *The Meaning of the Separation of Powers: An Analysis of the Doctrine from Its Origin to the Adoption of the United States Constitution.* New Orleans, La.: Tulane University Press, 1965.

Kruman, Marc W. *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Lutz, Donald S. *Popular Consent and Popular Control: Whig Political Theory in the Early State Constitutions.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

———. *The Origins of American Constitutionalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Pole, J. R. *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic,* 1776–1787. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

*Marc W. Kruman*

**CONSTITUTIONAL LAW**   The U.S. Constitution, written in 1787 and ratified in 1788, was—in its own words—the "supreme Law of the Land" and required that all judges, state and federal, abide by it. The Constitution created a system of government and explained how Congress and the president would be elected, how judges would be chosen, and what the powers of the national government would be. Article I listed both the powers of Congress and the limitations on Congress and the states. Article IV set out how the states were to interact with each other. In 1791, three years after the Constitution went into effect, the states ratified ten amendments, which became known as the Bill of Rights. Most of these placed limitations on the powers of Congress and the judiciary. At the time of its writing and ratification, most American saw the Constitution as creating a government of limited powers. As Charles Cotesworth Pinckney told South Carolina's legislature, "it is admitted, on all hands, that the general govern-

ment has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several states."

While limited, the powers the national government had were "the supreme law of the land." There was uncertainty as to what those powers were. In the modern period one thinks of the U.S. Supreme Court as being the institution to determine the powers of the national government. But in the first decade under the Constitution, Congress was also deeply involved in debating the meaning of the Constitution and how it should be implemented, interpreted, and understood.

## CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The first great constitutional debate in the United States concerned what would become the Bank of the United States. In 1791 Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, proposed the chartering of a national bank to regulate the nation's finances and stimulate commerce. In Congress, Representative James Madison of Virginia opposed Hamilton's plan on constitutional grounds. Madison argued that the Constitution did not give Congress the power to create a bank or to charter any corporation. That was not one of the enumerated powers found in Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, and thus Madison said it was beyond the scope of congressional power. Congress, however, passed the bank bill over Madison's objections.

When the bill reached his desk, President George Washington was uncertain as to its constitutionality and asked for advice from his cabinet. This led to the first great debate over constitutional law in the nation. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson asserted that "the incorporation of a bank, and the powers assumed by this bill, have not . . . been delegated to the United States, by the Constitution." He argued that such powers were not "specifically enumerated" and that they could not be construed from the general taxing power "for the purpose of providing for the general welfare." Jefferson cited the Tenth Amendment, which stated that "the powers not delegated to the United States . . . are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Banks, Jefferson believed, as well as any other incorporated enterprise, were the business of the states. Jefferson also denied that the bank was "necessary and proper" for conducting the business of the United States government, although he admitted it might be "convenient." Jefferson argued that the national government was free to use state-chartered banks for its financial operations.

Alexander Hamilton argued that the Constitution contained "implied powers" as well as "express ones." Hamilton believed that the bank was both necessary and proper. He pointed out that the existing state banks might disappear and that Congress would then have no banking institutions to use. Jefferson's view of "necessary" was too narrow, Hamilton said, and he claimed that "necessary often means no more than needful, requisite, incidental, useful, or conductive to." Surely, by this line of reasoning, the bank could be considered "necessary." Hamilton forcefully argued that the test of a federal law was whether its policy or program related to a power of Congress and not whether the Constitution specifically authorized the policy or program. "If the end be clearly comprehended within any of the specified powers, and if the measure have an obvious relation to that end, and is not forbidden by any particular provision of the constitution—it may safely be deemed to come within the compass of the national authority."

Hamilton won out, and Washington signed the bank bill into law. The force of Hamilton's arguments became clearer twenty-five years later, when James Madison urged Congress to pass another law creating what became the Second Bank of the United States. Madison, who had once opposed the bank on constitutional grounds, now argued that the constitutional question was "precluded . . . by repeated circumstances of the validity of such an institution in acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, of the Government . . . [and] a concurrence of the general will of the nation."

In 1803 Madison and Hamilton debated each other in the press over the power of the president to conduct foreign policy. Writing as "Pacificus," Hamilton argued that the Constitution gave the president authority to conduct foreign policy on his own. Hamilton outlined the powers of the president set out in Article II of the Constitution, including his role as "Commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service of the United States." This led him to assert that the "Executive Power of the Nation is vested in the President; subject only to the exceptions and qualifications which are expressed in" the Constitution. This broad reading of presidential power in foreign policy dovetailed with Hamilton's expansive views of the power of Congress to pass laws to stimulate the economy, charter banks, and so on. Madison responded by arguing for separation of powers and equality between Congress and the president. Relying on the power of Congress "to

declare War" found in Article I, section 8 of the Constitution and the requirement that the Senate ratify treaties, he asserted that the Constitution required that Congress be involved in all issues of war and peace. This debate over interpretation of the Constitution was not settled in 1793, and it has remained an issue ever since.

In 1798 Congress passed the Sedition Act after rancorous debates over its constitutionality. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson both argued against the constitutionality of the Sedition Act through the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798) that they authored. Their arguments centered on the powers of Congress and the residual powers of the states. Curiously, although they mentioned the First Amendment's protection of freedom of the press, both Madison and Jefferson focused most of their analysis on the lack of explicit congressional power to regulate the press in Article I, rather than on the prohibition in the Bill of Rights. Both Madison and Jefferson also stressed the Tenth Amendment, which reserved powers to the states, including, they believed, the power to punish seditious libel. In the end, neither the Federalists who supported the law nor the Democratic Republicans like Jefferson and Madison who opposed it, argued in favor of freedom of expression as a constitutional right.

## CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION

While leading politicians debated the powers of Congress and the executive branch, the Supreme Court began to build a body of case law to flesh out the meaning of the Constitution. The first major case, *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793), involved a lawsuit against the state of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina. The U.S. Constitution gave the federal courts jurisdiction in cases "between a State and Citizens of another State." The Court interpreted this to mean that citizens of one state could sue other states in federal courts. Georgia resisted this outcome, and most state and federal politicians rejected this interpretation of the Constitution. Congress quickly reversed the decision by sending to the states the Eleventh Amendment, which stated that the federal courts had no jurisdiction to hear suits against states that were initiated by private citizens.

In *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) the Court held a minor provision of the Judiciary Act of 1789 to be unconstitutional. The case involved William Marbury, an appointee of John Adams, who had been confirmed by the Senate but did not receive his official commission before Adams left office. When the Jefferson administration refused to give him the

commission, Marbury asked the Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus requiring Secretary of State James Madison to give it to him. The Judiciary Act of 1789 had authorized the Supreme Court to issue writs of mandamus, but in *Marbury*, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that Congress did not have the power to expand the original jurisdiction of the Court beyond the limited instances set out in the Constitution. In doing this, Marshall actually expanded the power of the Court by asserting its right to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. But he accomplished this in such a way that neither the president nor Congress, which was controlled by Jefferson's supporters, could object, since the outcome of the case was what Jefferson wanted. While seen as a major development in constitutional law—because it set the precedent for judicial review of congressional statutes—the Court would not declare another act of Congress unconstitutional for more than half a century, when it decided in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) that Congress could not prohibit slavery from the federal territories.

In *Ex parte Bollman* (1807) the Court offered a strict interpretation of the treason clause. In doing so, he overruled the executive branch's use of the clause to incarcerate Dr. Justas Erik Bollman, a close associate of former Vice President Aaron Burr, who Jefferson believed was part of a treasonous conspiracy. Chief Justice Marshall ruled that the treason clause required evidence that "war" had "actually [been] levied against the United States." This would require "an actual assemblage of men" for the purpose of war. By interpreting the Constitution's clause on treason in this narrow way, Marshall prevented future misuse of the clause as a political tool.

In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810) the Marshall Court overturned an important state statute on constitutional grounds. The case involved the famous Yazoo land fraud. In 1795 the Georgia legislature sold about thirty-five-million acres of state lands to a group of speculators at one and a half cents an acre. With one exception, every member of the legislature that passed this law had accepted a bribe from the speculators. In 1796 a new legislature declared the previous sale null and void, but it did not return the half million dollars the state had received for the land. By this time much of the land had been sold and even resold. Robert Fletcher had purchased land from Peck that had been sold twice before the legislature attempted to nullify the original sale. The Supreme Court ruled that the nullification of the sale violated the contracts clause of Article I, section 10 of the Constitution. That clause prohibited the states from "impairing the Obligation of Contracts." This was a significant development in constitutional law because it established the precedent that the Supreme Court could strike down acts of the states.

In *United States v. Hudson and Goodwin* (1812), the Court reaffirmed its power to overrule acts of the executive branch. In 1806 the U.S. attorney in Connecticut prosecuted Barzillai Hudson and George Goodwin, the editors of the Connecticut *Courant*, for their criticism of President Jefferson. Unlike the situation during the last years of the Adams administration, there was no sedition law in place. Thus, this prosecution was done under common law. It illustrated the fact that Jefferson's opposition to the Sedition Act was not based on support of a free press or a belief that the opposition party has a right to freedom of expression. However, in 1812 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that there could be no common law of crimes at the federal level, and that therefore all prosecutions at the federal level had to be based on statutes. This was an important limitation on the executive branch, just as *Marbury v. Madison* was a limitation on Congress.

### EMERGENCE OF FEDERAL SUPREMACY

In *Fairfax's Devisee v. Hunter's Lessee* (1813), the Marshall Court once again overturned a state law and asserted the supremacy of the national constitution. This decision marked the beginning of a ten-year period in which the Court strengthened its own powers and the powers of Congress at the expense of the states. By the end of this period, the Court had established the meaning of a number of clauses of the Constitution. Some of the cases decided in this period would remain viable precedents over the next two centuries.

*Fairfax's Devisee* involved land in Virginia owned by Thomas, Lord Fairfax, a Loyalist who fled to Britain when the Revolution began. Subsequently, Virginia seized some of the land and eventually sold it to David Hunter. Fairfax's heirs resisted the change of ownership, and Hunter sued to eject the tenants from the land. In 1810 the Virginia Court of Appeals upheld Hunter's claim, asserting that Virginia had legally confiscated the Fairfax lands. By this time much of the Fairfax land had been sold to investors who included John Marshall and his brother, James. Thus, when the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, Chief Justice Marshall did not participate in it. In 1813 the Supreme Court reversed the decision. The Court's jurisdiction was based on section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which gave the Supreme Court jurisdiction to review cases from the highest

court of a state if the case involved a federal statute, a provision of the U.S. Constitution, or—as it did in this case—a treaty. The Court held that under the Treaty of Paris (1783) ending the American Revolution and Jay's Treaty (1794), Virginia was obligated to return Loyalist lands seized during the Revolution. The Court held that the supremacy clause of the Constitution required that the states respect these treaty obligations. The U.S. Supreme Court then returned the case to the Virginia court to restore the land to the Fairfax heirs and those who had purchased land from the Fairfax estate. In 1815 the Virginia Court of Appeals declared that the U.S. Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to review this case or any other cases it decided. The Virginia court in effect declared section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 to be unconstitutional.

Not surprisingly, the case came back to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1816, this time as *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee.* Here Justice Joseph Story wrote a powerful opinion supporting the supremacy clause and the power of the federal judiciary to review cases from the states involving the Constitution and federal law. Story asserted that "the absolute right of decision, in the last resort, must rest somewhere," and that "somewhere" had to be the U.S. Supreme Court. *Martin* was one of Story's most important opinions and a key case in the development of the federal judiciary. Since 1816 it has been cited more than 125 times by the U.S. Supreme Court and more than 575 times by other courts at the state and federal level. Despite its age, from 1990 to 2000 the Supreme Court cited the case eight times.

In 1819 the Court heard two cases of monumental importance. The first was *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), which—many scholars have argued—contains Chief Justice John Marshall's most powerful and important opinion. The case involved the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, which Maryland tried to destroy by taxing its banknotes. Reading more like a state paper than a legal opinion, Marshall set out why the states could not undermine federal law, where the federal government had power to legislate. The "great principle" of the Constitution, he explained, was "that the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme; that they control the Constitution and laws of the respective States, and cannot be controlled by them." Because the "power to tax involves the power to destroy," no state could tax any federally created institution. Marshall also set out why the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution gave Congress enormous flexibility to pass laws on all sorts of matters not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution. Marshall rejected a narrow reading of the Constitution that limited congressional power to what was explicitly set out in the document. He denied that a constitution could "partake of the prolixity of a legal code" and noted that a constitution listing all the things that the Congress could do "could scarcely be embraced by the human mind." He reminded readers "that it is a constitution we are expounding" and as such it had to have open-ended language that would allow for flexibility and growth. This was true because it was "a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."

This powerful endorsement of congressional supremacy and the right of the Supreme Court to strike down state laws angered states' rights advocates, especially in Virginia. However, the case is perhaps the most important in Supreme Court history. Marshall's opinion has been cited by the Supreme Court more than 350 times and by other state and a federal courts more than 2,500 times. Between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. Supreme Court cited the case 30 times.

In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) the Court interpreted, as it had in *Fletcher v. Peck*, the meaning of the contracts clause of Article I, section 10 of the Constitution. New Hampshire had revoked the charter of Dartmouth College and created a new institution, Dartmouth University, as a state-supported entity. The old trustees of Dartmouth College sued William Woodward to regain control of their college. Woodward had been an officer of the old Dartmouth College, but abandoned the college, and took its records, seal, and other materials with him when he agreed to serve the new Dartmouth University. In their suit the college trustees sought to recover these records as they gained control of the college. The Court held that the charter creating Dartmouth College was a contract between the government and the founders of the college, and as such the state could not simply take over the college. Another key opinion in the development of the Constitution, it has been cited more than one hundred times by the U.S. Supreme Court and more than fifteen hundred times by other courts.

In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821) the Court reaffirmed its right, and power, to review the decisions of state courts, even as it upheld the state courts. The Cohen brothers had been convicted in Virginia of selling tickets for a Washington, D.C., lottery in violation of that state's antilottery laws. They argued that the

lottery was created by Congress and thus was exempt from state law. The Virginia court upheld this conviction and Virginia argued that the U.S. Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to even hear the case because of the Eleventh Amendment, which prohibited the federal courts from hearing suits brought against the states by private citizens from other states. The Supreme Court did not accept this analysis. Instead, the Court held that if the state began a suit or prosecution, then the citizen defendant could appeal to the federal courts if there was a federal issue. Although emphatically asserting the right of the Supreme Court to hear the appeal, Marshall sided with the state of Virginia. The lottery ticket was not like the Bank of the United States, which Congress had chartered to operate in every state. Furthermore, there was no reason, under the necessary and proper clause, why lottery tickets for Washington, D.C., should be sold in Virginia. Virginia politicians and judges grumbled at the reaffirmation of the supremacy clause and the power of section 25 of the Judiciary Act, even as the Supreme Court upheld Virginia on the substantive issue. The Cohen brothers paid their fines, while the Supreme Court went on to cite the precedent more than 175 times in subsequent cases, while other courts cited it more than 1,500 times.

In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) the Marshall Court issued its most popular opinion. In this case the court interpreted the commerce clause to ban New York's grant of a monopoly to operate steamboats in the state. The opinion led to increased competition in transportation, which improved commerce, trade, and travel. In reaching this decision, Chief Justice Marshall developed an expansive interpretation of the commerce clause and emphatically asserted the power of Congress in areas of law delegated to Congress. He wrote that "the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specified objects, is plenary as to those objects."

After *Gibbons* the Court continued to develop and refine its jurisprudence on commerce, contracts, and other provisions of the Constitution. But by 1824 the Marshall Court's jurisprudential legacy on constitutional issues was for the most part clear. Marshall had strengthened Congress and the executive branch in their contests with the states. He had defined the powers of Congress and also forcefully asserted the right and duty of the Court to settle constitutional disputes between the states and the national government. Most importantly, he had made the Court into a coequal branch of the government, one that would be respected and usually obeyed.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Bill of Rights; *Chisholm v. Georgia*; Constitutional Convention; Constitution: Eleventh Amendment; *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*; *Fletcher v. Peck*; *Gibbons v. Ogden*; Hamilton's Economic Plan; *Marbury v. Madison*; *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*; *McCulloch v. Maryland*; States' Rights; Supreme Court.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baxter, Maurice G. *The Steamboat Monopoly: Gibbons v. Ogden, 1824.* New York: Knopf, 1972.

Newmyer, R. Kent. *Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story: Statesman of the Old Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

———. *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

Urofsky, Mel, and Paul Finkelman. *A March of Liberty: A Constitutional History of the United States.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

White, G. Edward. *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35.* New York: Macmillan, 1988.

*Paul Finkelman*

## CONSTRUCTION AND HOME BUILDING

The domestic architecture of colonial elites was predominantly Georgian and highly influenced by English design and building materials imported from Britain. Georgian homes were stark one- or two-story boxes with symmetrical fenestrations. Roofs included gabled, gambrelled, and hipped styles. Embellishments were usually limited to dentiled cornices.

Structures in the North were wood frame construction with central chimneys, reminiscent of the English postmedieval style or the European Gothic characteristic of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England. With the emergence of a settled population, southern architecture increasingly took on a more permanent appearance. Substantially built brick residences began to replace the earlier makeshift wooden plank construction fastened together by wooden pegs. Brick homes often included outbuildings and raised foundations with wings spreading from the main block. After independence, architecture reflected the idealism of the new Republic. American builders rejected the English-inspired baroque-rococo designs of the late eighteenth century. In their place, Americans chose forms more reminiscent of the Greek and Roman

**Nathan Smith House.** The Palladian window and portico entry of the Nathan Smith house, built in 1791 in Cornish, New Hampshire, were characteristic of Federal or Adam style, and stood in contrast to the often-unadorned entrances of Georgian homes. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

classical periods. This era in American building style was known as the early classical revival period characterized by the Federalist or Adam style.

Adam style designs were common not only in housing but could also be found among the new constructions of commercial and government buildings in such cities as Washington, D.C., Boston, and Philadelphia. Prominent architects of the time included Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820), Peter Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), and Robert Adam (1728–1792); their largely designed grand public buildings along with their residential housing displayed an eclectic mix of traditional Georgian and classical styles.

One striking example of this idealism in style and planning was the layout and construction of the capital of the new Republic, Washington, D.C. The presidential residence is early classical revival with a squat, Palladian central block, one-story attached wings, and a protruding central bay as its most prominent embellishment. The traditionally Georgian wings of the Capitol building, joined by a Roman dome and dominated by a heavy columned entry, also show classical influences.

Variants within this style include the decorative, full-height entry porches replete with Doric or Ionic columns and Palladian-style doors (including fanlights and sidelights). Heights of this style include one- and two-stories and the two-story gabled front with one-story wings. Building materials ranged from wood to brick, stucco, and stone. This style appeared mostly in Virginia, as it was the style favored by Thomas Jefferson. Examples were rarely found north of Delaware and Philadelphia.

Individual dwellings within the urban centers were stark and cubic, with a central entrance and hall, wooden clapboard walls, and large pilasters replacing quoins. Porticos with slender columns and carved-wood details emerged as a feature of the Federalist or Adam style as opposed to the often-unadorned entrances of Georgian homes. Adam style architecture is typically Georgian yet characterized by elaborate door surrounds including fanlights, sidelights, and small porches. Cornices often contain dentils similar to the Georgian style.

In New Orleans and the Southwest, French and Spanish colonial influences were apparent. Basic French colonial style is one story, distinguished by numerous shuttered, narrow windows and doors, steeply pitched hipped or side-gabled roofs, and half-timbered frames. Urban styles differ from the rural in a preponderance of townhouses and cottages whose porchless entrances open directly onto public sidewalks. Rural homes feature tall brick foundations under large porches with simple wooden posts supporting steeply pitched hipped roofs.

Spanish colonial houses were designed and constructed in harmony with the harsh desert environment and incorporated Mexican, Spanish, and Native American influences. Mexican and Spanish masons constructed single-story buildings with thick, adobe brick or stone-covered stucco walls. Small windows were covered with wooden or iron grillwork to admit less heat in summer and keep warmth in during winter. Roof style was the most significant feature of these buildings. Pitched, gabled roofs were covered with thatch or clay tiles, while flat roofs were embedded with large timbers to support the thick walls and covered with dirt or mortar.

A shift in American architecture occurred during the period immediately prior to the Revolutionary

War and into the 1830s. It closely followed the transition of the culture from the styles of the Georgian-influenced, English–dominated colonies to styles reflective of the nation's struggle for independence, sprinkled with a mix of older colonial French and Spanish architectural trends.

*See also* **Architectural Styles; Architecture; City Planning; Civil Engineering: Building and Technology.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Maynard, W. Barksdale. *Architecture in the United States, 1800–1850.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2002.

McAlester, Lee, and Virginia McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Knopf, 2002.

Mullins, Lisa C., ed. *Colonial Architecture of the Mid–Atlantic.* Harrisburg, Pa.: National Historical Society, 1987.

Roth, Leland M. *A Concise History of American Architecture.* New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

*Shaun–Marie Newcomer*

**CONSUMERISM AND CONSUMPTION** In the early modern era (1500–1800), what scholars call the consumer revolution swept the Atlantic world, affecting the continents and peoples of Europe, Africa, and North and South America. European exploration and colonization of the Western Hemisphere, and the desire for wealth that helped fuel such projects, resulted in the extraction of resources that both met and stimulated demand in Europe, while also creating new colonial markets for European manufactured goods. The results of this transformation, to which the origins of modern consumer patterns and practices can be traced, included rising standards of living for some. Yet the consumer revolution also expanded New World slavery, encouraged the transatlantic slave trade, and drew indigenous North Americans into webs of dependency. Consumption patterns shaped the new societies of the Western Hemisphere and transformed the old cultures from which they combined.

The item that structured emerging patterns of production and consumption was sugar. Tended by Indian and, later, African slave labor on Caribbean islands colonized by Spain, sugar fed increasing and expanding European appetites even as its harsh plantation–style cultivation resulted in the deaths of scores of bound laborers. What had been a luxury item used by elites in Europe became available to a larger swath of the population, sweetening other spoils of Atlantic trade such as coffee and tea.

### CONSUMPTION AND COLONIAL CULTURES

The model of sugar's increasing production and decreasing price resulting in greater availability and access typified consumer patterns into the eighteenth century. Yet perhaps the first consumer revolution was experienced by indigenous North Americans who survived the virgin soil epidemics wrought by contact with Europeans. In particular, Algonquian and Iroquois language groups in the Great Lakes region exchanged beaver pelts with French and Dutch traders for guns, alcohol, metal tools, and "trinkets" that Europeans thought possessed low economic value but that Indians used in rituals and ceremonies. European demand for fur hats, items of warmth but also of fashion, resulted in new trade networks with and among Native Americans, setting various Indian groups in competition with one another to supply European traders, causing animals to be overhunted and sometimes resulting in violent conflict. Even as patterns of supply and demand disrupted relations among Indian groups, they often facilitated interactions between Europeans and Native Americans. As the latter grew increasingly dependent on trade goods, a departure from traditional subsistence patterns, manufactured items became essential to daily life as well as frontier diplomacy, with "gifts" securing necessary alliances and preventing warfare. Yet by the 1760s, some Indian spiritual leaders were calling for a renunciation of European ways and goods.

The eighteenth century also saw North Americans of European descent, particularly British colonists, become increasingly desirous of and dependent on consumer goods and the trade that carried them. Tea and cloth were especially important items, but also tableware, furnishings, and books. Easy credit extended by English factors to colonial merchants meant that men of commerce could import more items and pass them along to colonial retailers and consumers, who also often purchased on credit at competitive rates. Changes in production resulting from industrialization in England generated more goods and a wider variety of choices, demonstrated by merchant accounts and the lengthy and descriptive lists of goods hawked through newspaper advertisements. English merchants grew wealthy from transatlantic commerce and came to dominate the slave trade to North and South America. Colonial merchants in northern port cities also participated, while planters in the Chesapeake and the Lower South not only sought luxury goods from abroad,

***A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton in North Carolina.*** This engraving, attributed to Philip Dawe, was issued by the London publisher Sayer and Bennett in March 1775 to ridicule American women who had pledged to boycott British goods. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

but also slaves to labor in their tobacco, rice, and indigo fields, food to feed those bound laborers, and cheap imported fabric to clothe them. Like sugar, tobacco and indigo became desirable consumer commodities.

Cultural shifts structured these economic systems and stimulated demand as people with purchasing power sought a higher standard of living and emulated the elite practices associated with it. An underground economy of theft and pawning in which runaway slaves and servants participated in colonial port cities meant that even the "lower sorts" might access the spoils of empire. Yet even as an empire of goods knit Britons together through consumption, interpretations of its meaning and expressions of social distinction separated them. Elite provincials could never attain the standards set at the English court or by the peerage, but they continually raised the status bar in their own communities through the quality of goods—a finer china tea service or a more expensive and recent style of damask cloth—and a host of practices, from education and elocution to poise and posture, that fell under the heading of "gentility." Although both men and women hoped to be genteel, many of the practices that such an identity required, particularly consumption and the pursuit of fashion, were feminized. Men displaced anxieties about debt and dependence on market economies onto women's bodies and behaviors as consumption increased through the middle of the eighteenth century.

### CONSUMPTION AND REVOLUTION

Paradoxically, the very consumer goods and practices that economically structured and culturally integrated the British Empire provided one means by which the empire fractured beginning in the 1760s. New taxes passed by Parliament to pay off debt accrued during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) met with colonial resistance in the form of boycotts of imports. In response to the Stamp Act of 1765, which levied a duty on all paper and paper transactions, many colonial merchants agreed not to import British goods until the act's repeal. In addition, resistance leaders encouraged colonists, particularly genteel women, to forgo consumption of imported goods and replace them with domestically produced items such as homespun cloth. Since the Stamp Act's repeal in 1766 suggested that the boycotts were successful, resistance leaders such as the Sons of Liberty advocated nonimportation and nonconsumption when faced with the Townshend Acts of 1767, which taxed glass, paper, paint, lead, and tea. The

beverage of choice in the colonies, tea, acquired an additional layer of significance as the focus of the Tea Act of 1773, which encouraged a group of men in Boston, disguised as Mohawk Indians, to dump chests of the politically odious but still culturally desirable commodity into the harbor. The politicization of widely purchased consumer items brought ordinary colonists into the political process as they developed a sense of themselves as Americans connected across regions, distinct in their habits from Britons. In 1774 the First Continental Congress enacted colonywide nonimportation and nonconsumption. Thus, consumer goods and practices, so central to colonization and the exploitation of natural and human resources in the Atlantic world, helped make the American Revolution possible and facilitated the project of nation building.

### CONSUMPTION IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

After the Revolution, Americans debated the independent Republic's place in the transatlantic economy and its continuing dependence on international markets. Consumer goods and practices figured prominently in these heated discussions over the character and future of the nation. Rampant consumption of cheap imports characterized the mid 1780s, as government under the Articles of Confederation stood powerless to enact a unified commercial policy that would prevent European nations from dumping goods on American markets. Some believed that the American public could not be relied upon to restrain themselves in the face of such temptation. Such social and economic issues, in part, led to a refashioning of the American nation state with the Constitution. Indeed, one of the newly empowered Congress's first steps was to levy a set of tariffs on imports.

As Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's vision of a commercial nation became a reality due to merchant capital, mechanization, and expansion, spurring what historians call the market revolution, the need to protect burgeoning domestic industry by making its fruits appealing to American consumers grew more pronounced. While foreign goods remained desirable as luxury items, particularly sought by elites and a rising middle class, the "necessities" of life could be produced and consumed domestically. Skilled craftsmen-turned-laborers produced shoes in places such as Lynn, Massachusetts, and New England's textile mills generated cloth that competed with English fabric. The federal government's protection of these industries and their consumer goods cemented the existence of an American

industrial working class, separated the ostensibly gender-specific spheres of home and work, and tied regional economies together by ensuring that midwestern farmers and southern planters would purchase American cloth. Yet such commercial policies also stimulated regional tensions. Thus the consumerism that had connected the British North American colonies to England, and then became a tool for creating the independent American nation, had a hand in threatening its unity.

*See also* **Clothing; Fur and Pelt Trade; Furniture; Merchants.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Axtell, James. "The First Consumer Revolution." In his *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Random House, 1992.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994.

Mintz, Sydney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History.* New York: Penguin, 1985.

Shammas, Carole. *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America.* New York: Oxford, 1990.

*Kate Haulman*



**George Washington.** In June 1775 the Continental Congress selected George Washington, shown here in a portrait by James Peale (c. 1790), to be commander in chief of the Continental Army. © CORBIS.

**CONTINENTAL ARMY** On 14 June 1775 the Continental Congress resolved to adopt the New England militia, which was blockading the British inside of Boston, into "the American continental army." Continental soldiers became the "regulars" of the American army. Although the Continental Army would essentially disband in 1783 and a new, regular army came into being in 1789, the modern United States Army celebrates 14 June 1775 as its birthday. Congress selected George Washington as commander in chief of the Boston Army. It also authorized the formation of a regiment of "expert riflemen." This unit was the first formation raised as a Continental Army regiment.

A congressional committee proceeded to take the necessary steps to organize and administer the army. It established positions for five major staff officers to assist Washington: an adjutant general, a commissary of musters, a paymaster general, a commissary general, and a quartermaster general. The quarter-

master general was the most important staff officer, responsible for the delivery of supplies, arranging the camp, regulating marches, and establishing the army's order of battle. The army's supply and support services never functioned efficiently. This failure, coupled with the depreciation in the currency, repeatedly brought the army close to collapse.

Congress also created the ranks of major general and brigadier general to serve as the commander in chief's senior subordinates. Among other important measures, Congress issued paper money to finance the war and adopted articles of war to provide a legal system for discipline. Congress also established quotas for each colony whereby individual colonies raised units and then transferred them into the Continental service. During 1775 about 27,500 Continental soldiers were on the payrolls.

### CONTINENTAL REGIMENTS OF 1776
During the summer of 1775 Washington worked with Congress to reorganize the Boston Army. Central to this effort was the creation of a standardized

regimental structure. On 4 November 1775 Congress approved the reorganization of Washington's infantry into twenty-six regiments and one regiment of riflemen. Each regiment had a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major along with a small staff of ten men. Eight identical companies composed a regiment. Each company had four officers, two musicians, eight noncommissioned officers, and seventy-six privates. At full strength the regiment numbered 728 men. Because of sickness, desertion, battle loss, and men assigned to detached duty, a regiment never entered battle at full strength.

The Continental organization differed in several important ways from its British counterpart. Individual Continental companies were larger, and they deployed in two ranks whereas British doctrine formally called for deployment in three ranks. This latter difference stemmed from the different backgrounds of the two armies. Warfare in Europe shaped the British organization, with an emphasis on close order. The soldiers packed elbow to elbow so as to maintain the discipline and solidity required to conduct a bayonet charge. In contrast, the colonial tradition developed in fights against the Indians and the French in wooded terrain. In such combat aimed fire and the ability to maneuver were supreme. Soldiers standing in a third rank could not efficiently fire their muskets. A looser order featuring two ranks had more firepower and could maneuver more handily in woodland combat.

The reorganization of the army extended to the artillery. For administrative convenience the existing New England units merged into a single regiment of twelve companies. Each company had five officers and fifty-eight enlisted men. The enlisted men included eight noncommissioned officers, eight bombardiers, eight gunners, and thirty-two matrosses (low skilled soldiers who provided the physical labor to handle and fire the artillery). Privates filled the last three categories; but because the bombardiers and gunners were specialists who possessed technical knowledge about the artillery, they received higher pay. Henry Knox commanded the regiment with the rank of colonel. His senior subordinates included two lieutenant colonels and two majors. Nine men served on Knox's staff. As was the case with the infantry, the artillery in the field never attained its theoretical strength. Individual companies and even individual artillery pieces operated according to need.

The organizational structure set in 1775 applied to Washington's army and to the nine infantry regiments operating on the Canadian border. Elsewhere, most notably in the South, regiments continued to be organized on an ad hoc basis. The next reform addressed this problem.

### ENLISTING FOR THE DURATION

Most terms of enlistment expired on 31 December 1776. In the fall of that year Congress and military leaders again reorganized the army. Congress adopted a plan for eighty-eight regiments. Each state had a quota based on its population. Soldiers were to enlist for three years or for the war's duration. Congress continued to commission all officers but individual states could nominate candidates up to and including the rank of colonel. The states were responsible for providing arms, equipment, and clothing. To encourage reenlistment, Congress established cash bonuses and liberal postwar land grants for soldiers who enlisted for the duration of the war. At the same time, Congress modified the articles of war by copying many British practices. The list of capital offensives expanded while the maximum corporal punishment increased from thirty-nine to one hundred lashes. Washington himself promoted these harsher rules because he had concluded that softer discipline did not adequately deter misbehavior.

Because the states were unable to meet their quotas, the eighty-eight-regiment army never came into existence. Neither the bounties nor the first American wartime draft succeeded in filling the ranks. As a result, the entire Continental Army never reached a strength of thirty thousand, and Washington seldom was able to bring fifteen thousand soldiers to a battle. Most recruits for the rank and file were under twenty-three years old. These young men were without property. Some enlisted because they were truly dedicated to the Revolution's ideals. Others enlisted for the money, the annual issue of clothing, and the promise of land once the war ended. All recruits soon learned that government promises were easily broken and neglect and hardship followed. In spite of all this, a vital hard core remained in service, motivated by a mix of patriotism and group loyalty. Men of means avoided service by hiring replacements. Officers, prominent leaders in their local communities, were a class apart. The basis for their selection was experience, the ability to raise men, and their political reliability.

### VALLEY FORGE

The campaign of 1776 demonstrated to Washington that he needed more men, more artillery, and a cavalry force. Thus, in one more congressional measure taken to increase the army's size, Congress authorized sixteen additional regiments along with two

more artillery regiments and three thousand light horse, or light cavalry. This marked a change from previous authorizations, under which state governments organized the additional regiments because Congress was unable to afford cavalry. Washington conceived that reconnaissance, not combat, was the cavalry's major duty. He suggested a regimental organization featuring three field officers: colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, a thirteen-man staff, and six troops each with three officers, six noncommissioned officers, a trumpeter, and thirty-four privates. On 14 March 1777 Congress approved this organization. Four regiments of Continental Light Dragoons formed. However, because the horses and specialized equipment that cavalry required were expensive, the four regiments were always well under strength.

The winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge was the first of a series of annual survival trials for the new Continental Army. The Continentals shrank to a hard core of some six thousand men. They were ill fed and ill clothed. Weeks passed without meat, and men were forced to boil and eat their shoes. Although the army suffered enormous hardship, it also received professional military training from European experts, most notably Frederick von Steuben. Steuben developed a new system of drill suited to American soldiers and American terrain. The result was a dramatic improvement in the Continental Army's fighting ability. Consequently, for the first time in the war, the Continental Army that left Valley Forge in the late spring of 1778 was capable of meeting the British on equal terms.

### TACTICAL COMBAT IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Of the three military arms—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—the infantry was by far the dominant. Cavalry and artillery played useful supporting roles, but the infantry was the "queen of battle" in the Revolutionary War.

The relative inefficiency of the period's firearms dictated infantry tactics and formations. The infantry soldier's basic weapon was a long-barreled (40 to 46 inches), large caliber (.65 to .80), heavy (8 to 12 pounds), smoothbore, single-shot musket. Continental infantry began the war using British muskets taken from captured arsenals, gleaned from the battlefield, or inherited from earlier colonial wars. Later, most wielded one of the some 100,000 French muskets shipped to America during the war. Contrary to popular legend, among the Continentals only the soldiers in the rifle regiment carried the famous long rifle. The musket fired a solid lead ball that carried

about three hundred yards. Because of the barrel's smoothbore, the musket could not reliably hit a target at distances over one hundred yards. Consequently, soldiers tried to hold their fire until the enemy was within that distance. Such waiting required steady nerves.

To maximize firepower, regiments deployed into line. Led by their officers, to the rousing sounds of fife and drum and with national and regimental flags flying in the center of the formation, the attacking force rapidly marched into musket range. At ranges as close as forty yards, the opposing lines traded volleys (massed group fire). When a big, heavy lead ball struck human flesh it had tremendous stopping power, felling a soldier as if he had been hit by a sledgehammer. A head, lung, or belly wound was usually fatal. A smashed arm or leg usually required an amputation. The soldiers well knew that the wounded faced a very perilous future at the hands of the army's surgeons. Consequently, although a regiment might lose only a small percentage of its strength in a firefight, the sight of friends and comrades falling with dreadful wounds had a heavy effect on morale.

After a volley, a bayonet charge could clinch victory. At the order "fix bayonets," soldiers attached a socket bayonet over the musket's muzzle. Although the fourteen- to nineteen-inch-long sword bayonet actually inflicted a very small percentage of battlefield losses, the terrifying sight of a charging line of bayonets was deeply unnerving. Soldiers typically broke and ran instead of engaging in hand-to-hand fighting. The disciplined bayonet charge was the hallmark of the British infantry. The Continental Army acquired the ability to conduct such a charge following its training during the first Valley Forge winter of 1777–1778.

The period's field artillery included long smoothbore guns and shorter smoothbore howitzers. Guns fired solid iron balls or canister; howitzers fired explosive shells or canister. A canister shot was a tin container tightly packed with musket balls. The can left the muzzle, shattered, and released a shotgun-like spread of musket balls. Canister, with an effective range of 500 yards or less, combined lethal firepower with the confusion and terror caused by sudden, intense casualties. Although a twelve-pounder field gun (so named because it fired a twelve-pound solid ball) had a maximum range of 3,500 yards, accurate long fire was beyond the gunner's technical means. Accordingly, gunners usually held their fire until the target was within 800 yards. Tactically, commanders used long-range field artillery to pre-

pare the way for a charge or defensively to prevent the enemy from closing to decisive range. Battles typically began with a brief exchange of artillery fire. When the target drew close, gunners switched to canister.

Early in the war the Continental Artillery made do with whatever was available in colonial arsenals supplemented by captured British weapons. As the war progressed, the army received European imports, particularly from France, as well as weapons forged domestically.

Cavalry performed important scouting and outpost duties, but the difficulties of maintaining horseflesh in a relatively barren country greatly hindered the development of a significant mounted arm on either side. Thus, except in the South, mounted charges were rare. The broad savannahs and open pine forests characteristic of the American South offered excellent cavalry country. Here skilled American cavalry leaders such as William Washington and "Lighthorse Harry" Lee led their men into saber-wielding melees. In mounted hand-to-hand combat, troopers cut and thrust at their foes using cavalry sabers with a straight or curved blade between thirty-one and thirty-seven inches long and weighing two to four pounds. Cavalry did not attempt frontal charges against formed infantry. Rather, it worked around the infantry's flank or waited until they had lost their formation before charging. Against foot soldiers out of formation, cavalry was lethal.

The purpose of repeated close-order drill was to immunize soldiers from the terror of combat. Only well-trained soldiers could stand unflinching and absorb heavy losses while firing more and faster than the enemy and then charge with the bayonet. During the war's early years the well-trained British soldiers had a considerable discipline advantage over the inexperienced Americans. This advantage faded as the Continental Army acquired experience.

*See also* **Army Culture; Army, U.S.; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Military Technology; Militias and Militia Service; Revolution: Military History; Revolution: Military Leadership, American; Soldiers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ketchum, Richard M. *The Winter Soldiers.* New York: Anchor Books, 1991.

Lumpkin, Henry. *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South.* New York: Paragon House, 1987.

Martin, Joseph Plumb. *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier.* Edited by George E. Scheer. New York: New York Times Books, 1968.

Matloff, Maurice, ed. *American Military History.* Partially revised ed. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1973.

Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army.* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Peterson, Harold L. *The Book of the Continental Soldier; Being a Compleat Account of the Uniforms, Weapons, and Equipment with which He Lived and Fought.* Harrisburg, Pa. Stackpole, 1968.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979; New York: Norton, 1981.

Wright, Robert K., Jr. *The Continental Army.* Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1983.

*James R. Arnold*

**CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES** The Continental Congresses were the first true national legislative bodies in American history. The first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia from 5 September through 26 October 1774. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia from 10 May 1775 through 12 December 1776 and reconvened thirteen more times in various locations through 2 March 1789. (The last eight of these meetings occurred under the Articles of Confederation; sometimes historians refer to these as sessions of the Confederation Congress, rather than the Second Continental Congress.) On 4 March 1789, the First Congress under the new federal Constitution convened. Thus, the Continental Congresses served as the precursor to the modern-day American congressional system as well as a link between the pre-Revolutionary colonial period and the U.S. constitutional system.

### ORIGINS

The proximate origins of the Continental Congresses can be traced to the 1760s. Britain had just won an extended war with France—the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—and, as a result, found itself heavily in debt. To generate new revenues, Britain looked to its colonies and sought to impose a series of new taxes. Examples included the Sugar Act of 1764, which raised the duty on imported molasses, and the Stamp Act of 1765, which taxed printed materials of all kinds. American colonists chafed at these new

measures, largely because they felt their autonomy was being infringed. During much of their existence, the American colonies had been left largely to govern themselves. They were a major source of regular income for the crown, serving as a source of cheap raw materials and a captive market for British exports. Yet monitoring the colonies was difficult; because of geographic distance, the transaction costs associated with enforcing compliance were high, making centralized decision making quite inefficient. As a result, Britain allowed the colonies considerable self-governing discretion, accepting a certain amount of market-based shirking in exchange for a constant stream of economic payoffs. Thus, by the mid–1760s the additional taxes that the British levied also came with restrictions on colonists' home rule: enforcement mechanisms, such as tax collectors and magistrates, were imposed on the colonies to ensure compliance with the crown's initiatives.

The backlash to Britain's increasing role in the colonies was widespread. Organizations such as the Sons of Liberty and committees of correspondence emerged to protest the British initiatives and hinder collection of the new taxes and duties. In addition, an intercolonial conference held in 1765, later known as the Stamp Act Congress, brought together resistance leaders from eight of the colonies to signal more formally the opposition to the crown's growing influence. Perhaps the greatest act of defiance occurred in 1773, when a group of resistance leaders decided to protest a new tea tax by dressing as American Indians, sneaking aboard British trading ships, and dumping over three hundred crates of tea into Boston Harbor. In response to this resistance—especially to the Boston Tea Party—the British imposed a crackdown. Through a series of laws known as the Coercive Acts (1774), the British Parliament closed down Boston Harbor, suspended meetings of the Massachusetts legislature, moved trials involving colonists to England, and forced colonists to quarter British troops in their homes.

### BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

The British crackdown spurred the colonists to act collectively. Initiated by local committees of correspondence, a call went out for an intercolonial Congress that would stipulate formally a set of colonial rights and negotiate an end to the growing tension between Britain and the colonies. Provincial conventions or colonial assemblies nominated and selected delegates, and thus the first Continental Congress was born. It officially convened on 5 September 1774 in Philadelphia. With its goals firmly established, the

Congress adopted an institutional structure based on openness and equality: leadership positions and powers were limited; voting was based on the unit rule, or one vote per state regardless of size; and debate and access to the floor were not restricted. Because most members were drawn from the resistance movement, viewpoints from colony to colony were quite similar, and thus the minimal institutional structure was not a hindrance to reaching collective decisions. Within a month, a Declaration and Resolves defending colonial rights was produced, reinforcing the desire for American self-governance. Also, an agreement was reached to ban trade with the British until the taxing and crackdown initiatives were lifted. To enforce the latter ban, Congress suggested social sanctions, specifically the creation of committees of observation, to monitor and self-police economic relations in localities throughout the colonies.

The pressures instigated by the first Continental Congress were successful in reducing British-American trade in late 1774 and early 1775. In response, the British cracked down harder, sending additional troops to the colonies and seeking to ferret out leaders of the resistance movement. As a consequence, military conflict broke out in the Massachusetts towns of Concord and Lexington during April 1775. That sparked the convening of the Second Continental Congress on 10 May 1775. Comprised of mostly the same men and largely adopting the same institutional structure as the first Continental Congress, the Second Continental Congress acted swiftly to create a national army (with George Washington at its helm) in June 1775 and establish an independent financial system. Over the next year, as war spread throughout the colonies, calls for an official separation from the crown emerged. After initially ignoring such calls, the Second Continental Congress acceded to the pressure and began drafting an official separation document. This document would become known as the Declaration of Independence, which was formally adopted by the Congress on 4 July 1776.

### IMPEDIMENTS TO ACTION

Having officially declared separation from Britain, the Second Continental Congress set out to create a new American government. As a result, the nation's first constitutional document, the Articles of Confederation, was drafted in 1777 and ratified by the states in 1791. The reins of power in the new system rested solely in a unicameral Congress, as no independent executive or national system of courts was created.

Moreover, the structure of this new unicameral Congress mirrored that of the Second Continental Congress. Members of Congress were selected by state legislatures, voting followed the unit rule, and the legislative process was free of amendment or debate restrictions. Committees were established, at the floor's discretion, to handle legislative tasks, but they typically did not possess independent authority. The passage of major laws required a supermajority of states, while critical decisions like taxation and constitutional change required unanimous agreement. Moreover, decision making was purposely decentralized, in keeping with the goal of protecting state sovereignty. For example, laws passed by Congress were not binding on states and Congress could not regulate commerce between states.

While the minimal structure underlying the Second Continental Congress did not hamper decision making, the same could not be said of the new Confederation Congress. In the mid–1770s, the delegates' preferences had been quite similar, as resistance to the crown and support for American self-governance made policy making relatively easy. However, as circumstances became more complex, moving from simple resistance to the establishment of an independent nation, regional divisions surfaced as the economic interests of the Northeast diverged from those of the mid-Atlantic and the South. Suddenly, policies based on common preferences alone were hard to come by, and the institutional structures of Congress offered little help in channeling the variety of preferences into consensus.

Thus, a number of serious decision-making problems plagued the Confederation Congress. For example, coordination was difficult, as the president of Congress was provided with no resources to manage shared interests; instead, the floor possessed complete authority in terms of delegating to committees, setting the agenda, and processing business. The result was chaos: all petitions had to be dealt with immediately by the full Congress; access to the floor was completely open and there were no rules for ending debate, so an endless number of amendments could be offered; and issues could be brought up again and again, so political outcomes—even when they could be achieved—were very unstable. In addition, because laws were not binding on states, Congress could not enforce its decisions. Thus, while the nation would have been better off had the states followed congressional edicts, it was often not in the states' individual interests to do so. As a result, the war effort was nearly crippled as resources in the

form of tax revenues and soldiers were undersupplied.

These problems aside, the colonists managed to win their freedom from Britain. This was achieved due to brilliant colonial military tactics and French intervention, but also in part to congressional involvement in mobilizing resources and manpower on a continental scale and to the congressional diplomats who negotiated the Treaty of Paris.

### THE LAST YEARS

Additionally, some legislative successes would be produced in the postwar years, notably the resolution of the Wyoming Valley territorial dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania and the passage of ordinances to organize land sales and territorial government in the Northwest Territory. Yet lingering collective action problems remained; because of differing policy preferences and the ineffectual institutional structures, the postwar debt could not be paid, international and interstate trade agreements could not be settled, and postwar armies could not be raised. Fears of national bankruptcy were prevalent throughout the mid–1780s, and a general economic depression fed a growing popular discontent. Internal congressional problems also began bubbling to the surface: members began skipping congressional sessions, and efforts to maintain cohesion across adjournments, via the creation of a Committee of the States composed of one member from each state, failed miserably.

Despite all of these issues, little was done to improve the system, as differing views and general inertia preserved the status quo. Eventually, agrarian disturbances in Massachusetts underscored the precariousness of the situation. In January 1787 Daniel Shays and other debt-ridden farmers in western Massachusetts, hurt by the postwar depression and turned away after petitioning the government for relief, attempted an assault on a military arsenal at Springfield. The state's congressional delegates appealed in vain to the Confederation government and other state governments for assistance. Though the Massachusetts militia was able to suppress the rebellion, it was clear to many that a change in the government's structure had to occur; otherwise, the nation might be thrown into anarchy.

As a result, a new national convention was called; it convened in Philadelphia in May 1787. The ostensible purpose of the convention was to devise a strategy for revising the Articles of Confederation and establishing stronger institutional structures to combat the lingering instability in Congress and the

nation. However, the convention delegates quickly determined that the Articles were fatally flawed and set out to construct a new and institutionally rich Constitution. While the Philadelphia delegates clearly superseded their authority in devising a new national system, the Confederation Congress supported their work and referred the new Constitution to the states for ratification. Once the Constitution was ratified, the Confederation Congress's days were numbered, and the institution was officially dissolved on 2 March 1789, two days before the first federal Congress convened.

*See also* **Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Continental Army; Declaration of Independence; Revolution; Shays's Rebellion; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burnett, Edmund Cody. *The Continental Congress: A Definitive History of the Continental Congress from Its Inception in 1774 to March, 1789.* New York: Norton, 1941.

Jensen, Merrill. *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789.* New York: Knopf, 1950.

Jillson, Calvin, and Rick K. Wilson. *Congressional Dynamics: Structure, Coordination, and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774–1789.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Montross, Lynn. *The Reluctant Rebels: The Story of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789.* New York: Harper, 1950.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

*Jeffery A. Jenkins*

**CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION** Abundance in fields, livestock, and (legitimate) children, particularly sons, remained cause for celebration between 1754 and 1829. Yet a rapidly growing countermovement advocated smaller, cost-effective, affectionate families that would alleviate the strains of excessive childbearing on wives and allow for sons and daughters to be educated, provided with adequate resources, and appreciated for their individuality. Birth rates were in decline—falling faster in the cities than in the country, in the East than in the West, among the native-born than among immigrants, and among the free than among the enslaved. For the free population of the United States, the number of births per 1,000 population fell from the upper 50s to the upper 40s during this period. This new movement involved economic, familial, social, sexual, marital, and emotional changes. Legal, political and religious reactions to falling fertility occurred primarily after this period.

The term "contraception" was not coined until the 1880s, but limitation of births was practiced. Delaying marriage may have been the most widely practiced means of reducing family size in the early Republic. Adolescent marriages became rarer, especially in urban areas, and white women who became pregnant out of wedlock faced severe consequences. Particularly in the Northeast, a small but growing number of women never married. Celibacy within marriage was not common. Women frequently employed extended breast-feeding, which can reduce the chances of becoming pregnant, to lengthen the intervals between births, particularly later in the course of their childbearing. Enslaved people could not legally marry, and the master class neither valued enslaved women's chastity nor honored the preferences of bound women and men for few or many children.

Practices designed to prevent conception and associated with sexual intercourse were extremely rare at the beginning of the period and uncommon at the end. Condoms were associated with prostitution and used primarily to prevent syphilis, not pregnancy. Couples may have practiced coitus interruptus, but evidence is scarce and in any event the failure rate for this practice is high. Manuals describing douching and barrier methods of contraception appear only after 1829.

Emmenagogues, substances and practices designed to restore interrupted menstruation, are recorded in women's writings, in home guides to health, and in medical, botanical, and pharmaceutical texts. Seen at the time as cures for women's ailments, these would now be classed as abortifacients, because an effect of restoring menstruation in sexually active women could be the termination of early-term pregnancies. When unmarried women used these same substances they were in fact considered abortifacients. A wide range of herbs, including savin, seneca snakeroot, cotton root, pennyroyal, and aloe, were thought to have the ability to restore menstruation. Horseback riding, jumping rope, or other vigorous exercise might also be recommended, but uterine intrusion was, according to surviving sources, extremely rare.

Women in the eighteenth century used herbal remedies of British, Continental European, African, and Native American origin. By the early nineteenth century, there was less experimentation and African and Native American practices were largely, but not entirely, superceded by European traditional and patent medicines. After about 1810, doctors in the newly developing field of obstetrics began to cast doubt on the effectiveness of these traditional remedies, although women, professors of materia medica (pharmacy), and family physicians continued to tout their usefulness.

Attempting to judge the effectiveness of emmenagogic remedies through scattered information in diaries, letters, and medical records is a difficult task because of the many possibilities involved in diagnosis. What is clear is that women and men increasingly discussed the desirability of limiting fertility, and birth rates steadily declined from 1760 to the twenty-first century (except for the 1950s).

The legislatures and courts paid little attention to early- or late-term abortion in the colonies and early Republic. Even the crimes of infanticide and the concealment of the death of a bastard child were rarely and selectively prosecuted. The regulation of abortion began with a Connecticut law in 1821, followed by Missouri in 1825, Illinois in 1827, and New York in 1828. These laws were as much about poison control as abortion and were confined to actions taken after quickening—the point, during the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, at which fetal movement is detected. New York added a therapeutic exception. As the desire to limit family size became more apparent and widespread in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and commercialized abortion services more widely advertised, some legal, medical, and religious leaders demanded further controls on emmenagogues and abortion; but these developments occurred after 1829.

See also **Childbirth and Childbearing; Domestic Life; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Law: Women and the Law; Manliness and Masculinity; Parenthood; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brodie, Janet Farrell. *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Klepp, Susan E. "Lost, Hidden, Obstructed, and Repressed: Contraceptive and Abortive Technology in the Early Delaware Valley." In *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850.* Edited by Judith A. McGaw. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Mohr, James C. *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of a National Policy, 1800–1900.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

*Susan E. Klepp*

**COPYRIGHT**   *See* **Patents and Copyrights.**

**CORPORAL PUNISHMENT**   The period 1750 to 1820 was a period of transition in methods of corporal punishment in the United States. In the colonial period individuals attributed bad behavior to poor character or criminal propensities and could not conceive of possible reformation. They consequently used public shame, pain, and even death as forms of punishment. During the antebellum period Americans began to view inappropriate actions as a consequence of poor environments and thus believed that residence in such institutions as prisons, orphan asylums, and reformatories could provide correction. These changes began in the early national period as Enlightenment thought emphasized man's rationality. Authorities began to make distinctions between abusive and moderate punishment, but corporal punishment remained dominant.

Most Americans experienced corporal punishment within the family. The Revolution, with its metaphor of the king as tyrannical father figure and the colonists as his helpless children, should have given rise to questioning absolute patriarchal power, but in fact only the Quakers pursued that line of thinking. Indeed, for most children and wives punishment was more severe in this period than it had been in the colonial period.

In an extensive study of reminiscences of individuals born between 1750 and 1800, Elizabeth Pleck noted that their parents employed corporal punishment on each one. Instruments used ranged from hickory sticks to whips. The philosophy of Robert E. Lee's aunt, who raised him, was "whip and pray and pray and whip." One significant change was the introduction of "spanking," which gradually replaced whipping in most households by about 1830.

Husbands often subjected their wives to unrestrained corporal punishment. Courts rarely intervened in cases of domestic violence unless someone was killed. The extent of domestic violence differed from region to region. In New England, with a homogeneous population and a stable social structure, cases were rare. On the frontier and in the South, many more cases existed. Many slave narratives express shock at the cruelty of masters who whipped their wives and children as viciously as they punished their slaves.

Almost all schoolmasters used corporal punishment. At a time when most of continental Europe was turning away from physical punishment in education, the slogan of American schools was "no larnin' without lickin'." One infamous South Carolina schoolmaster whipped all the boys on their first day of school until they wet their pants. In another school one could be flogged for lateness, talking, giving wrong answers, and even not reciting the catechism correctly.

Another hierarchical institution was the American Navy and merchant marine. Following traditional procedure, officers maintained absolute obedience through severe and often excessive discipline. One could be flogged up to one hundred times for such widely varying crimes as desertion, stealing food or liquor, fighting, omission of duty, "insolent" looks, and answering an order in a voice louder than usual. The situation became so repressive that the Navy was unable to fulfill its duties because of the reluctance of qualified sailors to serve.

Slavery was undoubtedly the institution with the most severe corporal punishment. Although most states had laws regulating the treatment of slaves, such laws were almost never enforced. Advertisements for escaped slaves reflected the brutality of slavery by consistently noting brandings, whipping scars, and mutilations. Masters and overseers whipped recalcitrant slaves up to 150 times and then poured salt into the wounds. Other mutilations, designed to make escaped slaves easy to recognize, included cutting off ears, tips of fingers, and toes and branding the face and arms.

Corporal punishment of criminals underwent the most marked change. In the colonial period punishment consisted of three types: shaming, such as putting the accused in the stocks; corporal punishment, such as whippings; and capital punishment. South Carolina, for example, listed 165 capital crimes. After the Revolution concerns over the cruelty of capital and corporal punishments gave rise to prisons. Influenced by Enlightenment thought,

Americans came to believe that an institution that confined criminals and imposed order could theoretically transform them into worthwhile citizens. Although prisons were instituted to abolish corporal punishment, paradoxically the practice continued within prison walls, especially when prisons became overcrowded. One could be punished for complaining about inadequate food, talking, smiling, or winking. In one documented case, a warden of Sing Sing, a prison in lower New York State, whipped an insane convict one hundred times for screaming in the night. Besides the whip, punishment included the straitjacket and the gag, an iron mouthpiece. Women convicts, especially African Americans and immigrants, were disciplined similarly.

Beginning in the 1830s, reformers influenced social institutions and even families to forgo corporal punishment. A new approach to discipline would emphasize psychological manipulation.

*See also* **Childhood and Adolescence; Crime and Punishment; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Flogging; Law: Women and the Law; Marriage; Penitentiaries; Slavery: Slave Life.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Glenn, Myra C. *Campaigns against Corporal Punishment: Prisoners, Sailors, Women, and Children in Antebellum America.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Masur, Louis P. *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Pleck, Elizabeth. *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of American Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

*Mark C. Smith*

**CORPORATIONS** The American colonies were familiar with corporations well before independence in 1776. Although they were banned in Britain in 1720, after the financial disaster caused by exuberant speculation in the South Sea Company's shares, corporations created prior to the restriction continued to exist in the colonies. Nor were the colonies subject to the same level of restrictions as in metropolitan Britain.

Colonies that were created as corporations themselves, such as the Bay Colony of Massachusetts (1629), were prohibited from creating corporations

of their own. Royal assent was required before a charter became legal, and colonial legislatures refrained from seeking such approval until the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of these early charters did not create business enterprises but instead delimited jurisdictional boundaries by incorporating towns and counties, creating religious associations and parishes, and founding schools or charitable organizations.

The advantages conferred by an early corporate charter were fairly standard: it allowed a group to make a binding set of rules for its self-governance, to function as an individual "corporate" legal entity that could sue and be sued in a court, to exist "in perpetuity" beyond the lifetime of its members, and to limit its legal liabilities. These benefits allowed corporations to protect their aggregated property and survive from one generation to the next, something that was essential for a church, school, charity, town, or business.

### INDEPENDENCE

The Revolution, hostile to relics of monarchy and stoked by rhetoric decrying privilege, placed corporations in tenuous circumstances. It resurrected old British and French anticorporate arguments, buttressing them with suggestions by the economist Adam Smith and the philosopher David Hume that corporations were economically inefficient and monopolistic creations used by aristocrats to gain unfair advantages over common entrepreneurs who did not enjoy the same kind of royal favoritism.

This concern was raised in post-Revolutionary debates about reincorporating cities whose charters were nullified at the moment of independence, and incorporating towns that had previously been denied charters by the Crown. The governments of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York City were all on legally unfamiliar footing after 1776: Philadelphia's 1701 charter had expired, Boston was seeking its first charter (it had been denied one before independence because Massachusetts was itself a corporation and lacked the power to incorporate on its own), and New York was still relying on its 1731 Montgomerie Charter to function as a wartime government in a city under British occupation.

Proposals to reincorporate cities were met with hostility by some who claimed that corporations had become incompatible with Revolutionary principles of popular sovereignty and republicanism. Corporations, these anticharter pamphleteers and legislators charged, created governments-within-governments, *imperia in imperio*, thereby guaranteeing a permanent state of conflict between corporate governments and state legislatures. Incorporated cities limited the pool of eligible electors by applying property eligibility requirements and granting certain land-owning citizens representation that was denied to landless laborers. In New York, for example, property requirements meant that a far smaller group of voters could vote in elections for the city's common council than could vote in state elections for governor and legislature. Not only did this diminish the value of work, anticharter critics charged, it echoed the political inequities that caused the Revolution in the first place.

### STATES AND CORPORATIONS

Despite the often persuasive arguments of corporations' detractors, some state legislatures began exercising their right to incorporate soon after independence and the adoption of their own constitutions. Massachusetts created more than a hundred new corporations in the 1780s and twice as many in the 1790s.

States incorporated banks, insurance companies, bridges, canals, waterworks, turnpikes, manufacturing enterprises, mills, and harbor improvement projects, in addition to towns, schools, and charities. In some states these new types of corporations comprised nearly a quarter of all charters, performing functions that benefited the public but drew on private talent, knowledge, and wealth to accomplish their goals. During this time, the Massachusetts Medical Society (1781) was created to examine the qualifications of physicians and surgeons in the state, while the Beverly (Mass.) Cotton Manufactory (1789) was chartered to promote industrial enterprise. In New Jersey the Society for Useful Manufactures (1791) was created at the behest of U.S. Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton to advance American technology and industry, giving its members privileges such as exemptions from military service; its charter was so broad that the society was given the authority to found the city of Paterson.

States discovered that corporations were useful instruments to entice combinations of individuals to accomplish tasks that they could not achieve on their own or with their disaggregated wealth. Some states did not see an immediate need to create large numbers of corporations; Virginia relied on landowners to improve and manage the landscape longer than did New England or Middle Atlantic states. However, once the ambitions of internal improvement projects exceeded the wealth of such landowners, the state created corporations to fulfill those functions.

## CORPORATIONS AND THE LAW

That corporations were profitable did not typically dampen the enthusiasm of legislators, who might have seen them as conflicting with state government endeavors, for their creation. This was because corporations were intended to serve the public welfare. As corporate advocates noted, charters laid out the rules under which corporations were legally bound to operate. Thus, properly designed charters created mini-republics of voting shareholders who, instead of being in conflict with state governments and constitutions, reflected the ideals of republicanism and federalism. Regular elections, a separation of powers, and secured liberties could all be enshrined in a bill of incorporation. This outlook embraced anticharter views concerning the necessity of reconciling the corporate form to Revolutionary ideology, drawing on a fascination with constitution making that pervaded the U.S. Congress and stretched to state legislatures and corporate boards of directors.

Because Congress lacked the power to grant charters of incorporation under the Constitution (1787), the power rested with states. Over time, legislatures developed standardized legislative language for charters, ensuring that corporations behaved appropriately and could not become rogue governments-within-governments. The corporate form ensured that corporations were owned by shareholders who were eligible, on a regular basis, to elect directors to a board that acted as an executive committee. The board kept minutes of its meetings, correspondence, and expenditures, which it shared with its shareholders and the public.

The public nature of the corporation persisted throughout the period of the early Republic. Corporate law did not yet distinguish between public and private corporations, and even the most significant Supreme Court case of the period dealing with corporations, *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), did not absolve corporations from public duties, even if they were nominally "private" because their assets were derived from "private" sources.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*; Economic Development; Economic Theory.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, Joseph Stancliffe. *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations.* 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Hartz, Louis. *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948.

Maier, Pauline. "The Revolutionary Origins of the American Corporation." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50, no. 1 (Jan. 1993): 51–84.

Seavoy, Ronald E. *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855: Broadening the Concept of Public Service during Industrialization.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.

*Brian Phillips Murphy*

**COTTON**   Few commodities transformed modern local, national, and even global economies more dramatically than did cotton during the early national period. Its profitability in global markets fueled industrial expansion in Europe and eventually the United States, propelled expansion into the Old Southwest of the United States, demonstrated the continued productivity of slavery, and shaped politics within and outside of the South.

### EARLY GROWTH

Cotton had been grown and used for cloth in Asia and the New World prior to the European encounter with either. In the early eighteenth century, East Indian–produced cotton calicos became increasingly important within the British Atlantic economy, despite imperial efforts to protect the centuries-old English woolen and Irish linen industries. In the eighteenth century, English colonists in the West Indies and Lower South began growing the crop in small amounts in order to make homespun cloth. Such production became both symbolically and materially important during the imperial crisis, as Patriots protested British policies, and during the American Revolution, when war limited access to European cloth.

By 1800, U.S. raw cotton exceeded domestic consumption and had entered a rapidly expanding market among British textile manufacturers. Demand grew in the late eighteenth century in part because cotton clothes could be more easily dyed and cleaned than wool or linen. Inventions such as the spinning jenny, water frame, and Crompton's mule increased manufacturers' ability to meet this demand. Britain's failure to develop colonial sources of raw cotton led British merchants and manufacturers to turn to the coastal regions of the Lower South. There, planters facing sagging indigo and rice markets turned to long-staple Sea Island cotton as a way of getting out of debt. The long, high-quality fibers

of Sea Island cotton fetched good prices but could not be grown inland. Experimentation with different seeds and hybridization created shorter-staple crops better suited for up-country soils and climates.

Growing cotton proved only one of the challenges facing planters and the laborers—mostly slaves—who cultivated it. Before the cotton was processed, slaves had to handpick numerous seeds out of the sticky fibers. To avoid this time-consuming task, planters and slaves looked for ways to build and improve machines that could gin seeds out without damaging the plants' threads. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the most important of these gins, which was soon pirated and improved as the new technology proliferated throughout the Lower South. In addition to this invention, cotton production spawned a host of related technologies, including bagging and balling machines and in the late 1820s a railroad project designed to transport cotton goods to Charleston, South Carolina.

### COTTON, SLAVERY, AND WESTWARD EXPANSION

Though yeomen farmers grew small quantities of southern cotton, slavery marched westward along with cotton cultivation. High cotton prices provided both the demand for and the capital necessary to purchase more slaves. This fact led South Carolinians (at the behest of backcountry farmers) to reopen the international slave trade in 1803. After Congress banned the importation of slaves in 1808, a robust domestic slave trade transported tens of thousands of surplus slaves from the Upper South to work the fertile cotton fields of western Georgia, Alabama, middle Tennessee, and the Mississippi Valley, usually in small gangs. In addition to adding to the slave population of the Lower South, cotton's continued profitability challenged the common assumption that slavery would ultimately prove unprofitable and that diffusion westward would lead to its natural death. Instead, the sons and daughters of eastern planters, with fixed capital in slaves and often facing soil exhaustion, simply uprooted their entire labor force and headed west for cheaper lands. By the early 1830s the southwestern states of Alabama and Mississippi surpassed Georgia and South Carolina as the largest producers of raw cotton. Considerable diversity existed in the Lower South, but the centrality of cotton for local and state economies guaranteed general regional support for slavery, commercial agriculture, and free trade.

### COTTON AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Cotton planters were not the only Americans to benefit from the cotton trade. As it grew in the early nineteenth century, northern merchant houses, creditors, factors, and ship owners became the chief intermediaries financing and transporting the crop to Liverpool and other overseas markets. By the 1820s, New York—aided by a strong financial sector and the United States' first steamship line—became the central cog in a complex trade that imported finished goods to America, distributed them inland and along the eastern seaboard, and then carried raw cotton to Europe for manufacturing. Restrictions on the participation of foreign vessels in the coastal trade gave U.S. merchants and shippers (mostly from the Northeast) a virtual monopoly on this trade. By 1820 cotton composed 40 percent of the value of all American exports, a percentage that grew to 50 percent by 1830 and 60 percent by 1840.

As early as the 1790s, economist Tench Coxe proposed that the growth and manufacturing of raw cotton could make the United States a leading manufacturing nation and help unite different regions. Though some small New England textile mills did exist at that time, not until after the War of 1812 did American textiles become an important sector of the American economy. The Panic of 1819 ruined many of the new businesses created by the war, but cotton manufacturers continued to grow steadily in northeastern cities, shifting production out of homes and skilled small shops into increasingly mechanized factories. Rather than harmonizing the nation's interests, however, the growth of textile firms, which demanded high protective tariffs, conflicted with the commitment of southern cotton planters to overseas markets. Annually, over two-thirds (in some years 90 percent) of U.S. cotton was exported, leading southerners to prioritize free trade abroad over the creation of domestic manufacturing through methods that restricted trade.

Despite some economic diversification in the late antebellum period, the South's continued commitment to cotton production and commercial agriculture dramatically shaped that region's economic development, likely retarding urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. The debates surrounding the rise of King Cotton and the slave power necessary to perpetuate it continued to tear the political fabric of the nation.

*See also* **Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; Slavery: Overview; Textiles Manufacturing.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bruchey, Stuart, ed. and comp. *Cotton and the Growth of the American Economy*, *1790–1860: Sources and Readings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967.

Chaplin, Joyce E. *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South*, *1730–1815.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Schoen, Brian D. "The Fragile Fabric of Union: The Cotton South, Federal Politics and the Atlantic World, 1783–1861." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2004.

Woodman, Harold D. *King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South*, *1800–1925.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.

Wright, Gavin. *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households*, *Markets*, *and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Norton, 1978.

*Brian Schoen*

**COTTON GIN**   The hand labor required to prepare cotton for market served as a brake on its production and profitability. Each ball of cotton fiber had numerous seeds embedded in it, and they had to be either picked out by hand or run through a roller gin. The term "gin" arose as an abbreviation for "cotton engine." A roller gin consisted of a hand crank and two grooved rollers. A roller gin operator could turn out about five pounds of cotton fiber in a day's work—in contrast to one pound a day processed by hand—but the gin did not completely clean the cotton. It had to go through an additional process, called "bowing," to shake out dirt and debris.

The two-roller gin had been in use since its unknown early origins—possibly the twelfth century—in India and China and was imported by British colonists to North America. As cotton thread spinning was mechanized in England, planters in the southern colonies sought to increase cotton production. To that end, a Louisiana planter designed an improved roller gin in 1742, and several other men made further improvements, including treadle operation, between 1772 and 1790. The improved roller gins had higher capacities—peaking at more than one hundred pounds of fiber output a day—but also crimped the fibers.

The mechanically inclined New Englander Eli Whitney, recently graduated from Yale College, was employed as a tutor in Georgia when he turned his talent to the ongoing problem of removing seeds from cotton. Barely a year after his arrival in Georgia, Whitney in 1793 created a working model of a hand-cranked mechanical device that used a rotat-

ing, wire-toothed cylinder to remove cotton seeds. As the fibers passed through the metal teeth, the teeth caught and removed the seeds; the teeth also cleaned and combed the fibers. But the design was not without drawbacks: the wire teeth occasionally broke off and became entangled in the cotton.

American planters eagerly embraced the new cotton gin design and planted more acreage to cotton, reassigning slaves from ginning to planting and harvesting the vast new fields. As a result, cotton production in the United States expanded tremendously, more than tripling in the five years following the introduction of Whitney's design.

Although Whitney had worked in secret and then filed for a patent on his invention in 1794, the new American patent law was not yet enforceable, and he reaped little financial reward. Also, he was unable to produce enough machines to meet demand. Planters complained that Whitney charged too much and encouraged local mechanics to build copies. The early theft of Whitney's prototype from his workshop eased their way.

Once the secret of Whitney's design was out, manufacturers throughout the nation seized the opportunity to enrich themselves by producing cotton gins. Lawsuits and competing patents proliferated over the ensuing decades. Several gin manufacturers improved the design, replacing the breakable wire teeth with sections of fine-toothed saw blade, creating the so-called saw gin. Whitney himself eventually adopted saw blades in his later gins. Saw gin producers claimed daily output capacities of close to one thousand pounds of cotton fiber.

Over time, cotton spinning machinery in America and Britain was adapted to the shorter fiber lengths turned out by saw gins. In 1792, the year prior to Whitney's invention, America exported an estimated 138,000 pounds of cotton to England. In 1794 cotton exports surged to more than 1.6 million pounds. In 1826 cotton exports topped 200 million pounds.

*See also* **Cotton.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Britton, Karen Gerhardt. *Bale o' Cotton: The Mechanical Art of Cotton Ginning.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992.

Lakwete, Angela. *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

*Roberta Wiener*

**COURTSHIP** The process of finding a marriage partner increasingly became the province of young adults alone during the Revolutionary and early Republic eras. Mutual love was to be nurtured during courtship rather than spring from a union in marriage. Such changes were an important departure from colonial patterns, where elders and youth jointly negotiated courtship and couples were to cultivate warmth once wed.

### COLONIAL LEGACY

In colonial America, parents and village communities exerted significant influence over the courtship process. Particularly in northern subsistence farm communities, fathers were likely to use their control of available land to sway the courtship process. Children who spurned the wishes of their parents risked losing access to the land they needed for establishing their own families. In addition, village institutions, such as the church and court, checked the sexual behavior of young adults during courtship. Fornication, sex outside of marriage, was likely to earn both young men and women fines or whippings. Such surveillance mechanisms were weaker in the South, but planter patriarchs with large property holdings certainly could exert influence over the young. Family and community did not merely check the behavior of the young; they also promoted the courtship process. At social gatherings such as corn huskings, young men and women met and began to talk. Parents and friends also acted as marriage brokers, initiating and carrying on correspondence on behalf of courting couples. Still, deep bonds between partners were expected to await matrimony.

### REVOLUTIONARY FREEDOMS

During the late eighteenth century a number of forces conspired to tilt control of courtship increasingly towards the young. As land supplies were depleted through successive divisions, parents lost leverage, especially after the West was opened up following American independence. In addition, courts and churches decreasingly regulated the sexual behavior of youth. Young men, in particular, were no longer punished for the sin of fornication. Simultaneously, as Americans approached the Revolution they grew weary of stern patriarchs, eagerly buying books penned by the English writer Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), who denounced parents who stood in the way of love and meddled in courtship. While most courting still happened in large social gatherings, young couples were afforded more privacy. An interesting compromise developed between parents and children in the practice of bundling. Young men and women were permitted to sleep together in one bed but had to be fully clothed. In addition, social gatherings were increasingly age-specific, with groups of young men and women interacting in various settings without the presence of adults. Not surprisingly, loosened surveillance allowed more illicit sex. By the late eighteenth century, close to one in three women was already pregnant by the time she was married.

### NEW RESTRICTIONS

Such a departure from past patterns produced cultural backlash. In the final years of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth century, American authors such as Susanna Rowson and Hannah Foster earnestly took up the theme of seduction. In novels and short stories, these writers warned young women against the danger of male suitors who might steal their chastity and dash their marriage prospects. Seduction tales became a critical cultural site where new ideas about masculinity and femininity were forged. The mobile young man appeared as a lecherous villain whose wiles innocent young women were warned to avoid. In addition, women were advised to seek parental guidance in courtship. Such stories also carried important political overtones, with women's innocence seemingly embodying the virtue upon which the early nation depended. Such literature seems to have prefigured and directed changes in courting behavior. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, parents did not reassume control of the courtship process, yet sexual experimentation among the young did become more restrained. Coitus was increasingly reserved for married life as courting couples merely engaged in intimate petting.

### EARLY-NINETEENTH-CENTURY MARKETS

Sexual and social fulfillment during courtship may also have been less necessary as new options appeared in urban America in the early nineteenth century. A young man could find a brothel with greater ease so that he might pursue sex with fewer emotional commitments. Some young women saw plying this illicit trade as a way to escape overbearing parents and enjoy sexual freedom. More conventionally, young men and women alike entertained one another in parlors and gathered in dance halls and theaters to meet prospective partners. In the South, young men and women of affluence had fewer options, except when young men took advantage of

slave women. Not only did young people live at greater distances from peers, but in addition, property considerations were more likely to constrict the range of eligible partners. Young elite women were marrying at considerably younger ages than their female northern peers. As they married older men, they also were likely to be entering more unequal relationships. Nevertheless, these were not to be loveless matches. Among southerners, as with northerners, young adults increasingly expected love to develop during courtship. Without it, a couple was unsuited to go forward into marriage.

### COURTSHIP UNDER SLAVERY

Courtship among African American slaves also underwent important transitions between the mid-eighteenth century and the Age of Jackson. By the time of the American Revolution, courtship was becoming a more realistic prospect for southern slaves. While state authorities never officially sanctioned the terminus of courtship, that is, marriage, slaves managed both to court and to marry one another. When slavery first became a significant presence in the late seventeenth century, the relatively small size of plantations and imbalanced sex ratios left few opportunities for young suitors. As plantations expanded and the sex ratio evened, however, young men and women could find more potential companions. And yet courtship was always more tenuous for blacks than for whites. As they paired off, African American couples always stood in danger of losing one another through forced sales, especially as cotton boomed in the Southwest in the early nineteenth century. In addition, some masters were quite willing to enforce matches on young slaves, thereby eliminating the courtship process. Still, many masters recognized the dangers of coercion when it came to matters of the heart. Some were even willing to allow young male slaves to court women on neighboring plantations, recognizing that denying such a privilege would create too much costly struggle with their bondsmen. Nonetheless, true courting freedom for African Americans would have to wait until the end of slavery in the Civil War era.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence; Marriage; Prostitutes and Prostitution; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Slavery: Slave Life; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dayton, Cornelia Hughes. *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Genovese, Eugene. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Hessinger, Rodney. *Seduced, Abandoned, and Reborn: Visions of Youth in Bourgeois America, 1780–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Rothman, Ellen K. *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America.* New York: Basic Books, 1984.

*Rodney Hessinger*

**CREEK WAR**  In the early nineteenth century the Creek peoples, who lived in what is today Alabama, numbered about twenty thousand. Differences arose between two factions of the Creek Nation—those who adopted Euro-American farming methods, gender roles, and industrial technology, and those wanted to preserve traditional ways. The Creek War was the second phase of a civil conflict between these factions.

The Lower Towns Creeks, sometimes known as the White Sticks, wanted to accommodate the Americans and adopt their ways. Standing with them was the wealthy and educated Tustunugee Thulco ("Big Warrior"). The Upper Towns Creeks, known as the Red Sticks because of their red war clubs, sought to uphold traditional Creek ways and prevent American encroachment on Creek lands. William Weatherford (Lumhe Chati, or "Red Eagle") had a high rank among this faction. Many leaders from both camps, including Weatherford, were the sons of Scottish and English traders who took Creek brides.

The Red Sticks' movement gained strength when Tecumseh, a Shawnee leader, visited the region in 1811. Tecumseh's message to avoid "white man's" social and cultural practices brought thousands of Creeks into the Red Sticks' fold. Many Creeks identified with the Shawnee diplomat's efforts to rekindle a respect for the spiritual world of their ancestors and to restore the balance between themselves and nature. As part of such a restoration, the Red Sticks believed that their shamans' talismans and prayers could protect them from harm when they went into battle.

The Red Sticks began their active resistance in 1812 in response to the White Sticks' punishment of Creek men who raided Euro-American settlements in Ohio. Another source of contention was the White Sticks' support for a proposed federal military road through Creek lands. Americans in Tennessee and

**Creek War**

— ⊷ ···· Jackson's route, 1814
— ◄ — Pakenham's route, 1814
— State and territory border
• City
✕ Battle
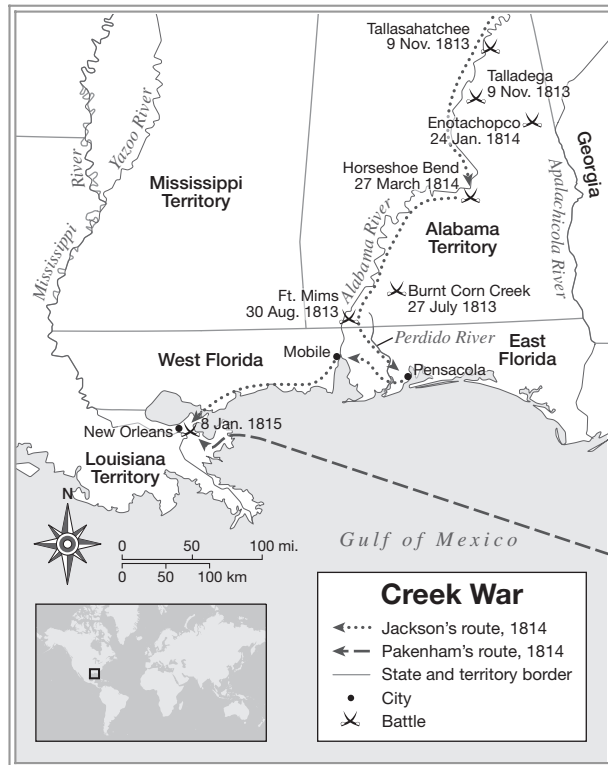
Georgia wanted to intervene in the Creek civil war in order to acquire more land. The U.S. War Department concurred and forwarded instructions to the governors of the two states to prepare for hostilities. The situation grew serious in July 1813, when the Red Sticks sought guns and powder from the English merchants operating out of Pensacola, in Spanish Florida. The United States government reacted harshly to the Creeks' treating with the British enemy at the height of the War of 1812.

On 27 July 1813 Colonel James Caller, acting on his own initiative, led a force of 180 Mississippi Territory militiamen in the interception of a Creek supply train at Burnt Corn. Though initially surprised, the Creeks rallied to defeat their attackers. Emboldened by their success, the Red Stick Creeks under Weatherford attacked Fort Mims on 30 August 1813, killing several hundred American inhabitants. News of the battle and the massacre spread throughout the Southeast.

Capitalizing on the reaction, General Andrew Jackson marched his army from Tennessee south into Creek country on 27 September 1813. In a parallel move, another Tennessee force under General John Cocke also marched south. Meanwhile, Pushmataha led a Choctaw force from the west against the Creeks, the Choctaws' old rivals. A fourth expedi-

tion, commanded by Major General John Floyd, invaded the region from Georgia.

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1813–1814, American forces ravaged the Upper Towns. General John Coffee's brigade destroyed the Creek village of Tallushatchee on 3 November 1813. On 9 November 1813 troops under Jackson defeated a Red Stick war party besieging the pro-American Creek village of Talegda. Later that month, Cocke's volunteer cavalry overran several Creek villages whose loyalty was in question.

Jackson soon experienced a number of setbacks. Enlistments ran out for most of his army; other volunteers threatened to desert because of poor rations and pay. After an abortive attack on a Red Stick fort at Horseshoe Bend on 21 January 1814, Jackson realized that his men would need discipline to mount a successful offensive against the Red Sticks. For the next two months he drilled his troops. During that time Jackson received reinforcements, including the Thirty-ninth Regiment, a regular unit of the United States Army, as well as 500 mounted Cherokees and 100 pro-American Creeks. In early March, with more than 2,700 men, Jackson took the war into Red Stick territory.

On 27 March 1814 the combined force crushed the Red Sticks in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Most of the thousand Red Sticks defending the fort died in the battle. For the next few months, Jackson conducted mop-up operations. On 9 August 1814 the Creeks, Weatherford among them, surrendered 23 million acres in southern Alabama at the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Ironically, most of the land belonged to the Lower Towns Creeks, who fought alongside the Euro-Americans. However, the United States wanted to block the road to Pensacola, thereby cutting off British and Spanish support. Jackson later seized northern Florida even though the country was not at war with Spain.

The Creek War was one of the last incidents of armed Indian resistance against the United States in the Southeast. The Treaty of Fort Jackson secured Alabama for American settlement. It also destroyed the Red Sticks and their threat to other Indians who adopted European agricultural and political practices. Andrew Jackson's exploits against the Creeks helped win him national prominence. As president, he used his power to evict the Creeks from their homelands.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indians: American Indian Removal; American**

Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians: Southeast; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Jackson, Andrew; Spanish Borderlands; War of 1812.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ethridge, Robbie Franklyn. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Hahn, Steven C. *The Invention of the Creek Nation*, *1670–1763*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

Owsley, Frank Lawrence. *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans*, *1812–1815*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981; Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000.

Piker, Joshua. "Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Southern Backcountry." *Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 3 (2004): 503–540.

Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians*, *1733–1816*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians of the Old South.* New York: Free Press, and London: Collier Macmillan, 1981.

*George Edward Milne*

**CRIME AND PUNISHMENT**   "The severity of punishment itself emboldens men to commit the very wrongs it is supposed to prevent." These words, written in 1764 by the Italian political philosopher Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794), inspired America's founders and reformers to think about and act upon the problem of crime and punishment facing the new nation.

### EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

Lofty but limited idealists that they were, founders and reformers were concerned with more than solving the problem of crime and punishment; they wanted solutions that were just. They looked abroad for answers, believing that they found relevant solutions in the writings of their European counterparts, men of the Enlightenment. Of particular importance was book six of the *L'Esprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Laws) (1748), by Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), which explored the principles behind the civil and criminal laws, judgments, and punishments of various governments. His writings provided a gener-

al framework for conceptualizing a democratically legitimate legal and penal system. Beccaria contributed the idea that punishment should be proportionate to the crime. Corporal punishments such as whipping, pillorying, and other publicly administered penalties did not deter crimes, nor were they rational, he wrote; rather, they were retributive, arbitrary, and destructive displays of authority. Another influence derived from John Howard (1726–1790), the British prisoner visitor and reformer. In 1777 Howard published *The State of Prisons in England and Wales*, in which he proposed assigning offenders to cells or rooms where they would sleep, eat, and work to aid in their reform and return to society. The Society of Friends as well had long advocated these penal practices over those that were corporal and capital.

### INDEPENDENCE AND A NEW MODEL

The American War of Independence (1775–1783) gave rise to a new, if problematic, model for addressing the persistence of crime and the necessity of punishment. This model, however, would encounter numerous problems. American independence suddenly replaced the "arbitrary despotism" of the British Crown with the rule of law, grounding its legitimacy in reason as expressed by "the people." But founders and reformers were the people in legitimate positions, able to express and act upon their reasoned opinions as to what constituted crime and what was just punishment.

The incidence of crime, it was hoped, would diminish with independence. Well before they had settled upon declaring independence and changing their legal and penal codes, colonists complained of England's unjust laws. As early as 1751 Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) remonstrated against England for transporting convicts to the colonies, especially to Virginia and Maryland, a policy which led him to suggest that the colonists should ship their rattlesnakes to Britain. Colonial leaders resented, as well, the penal practices that had been in place since 1718, when England imposed its "bloody" penal code upon the North American colonies.

**Rational punishment.** In optimistic anticipation of independence, colonists actually began changing their penal codes before the war's conclusion. Traditional answers to questions about who committed crimes and why were no longer sufficient. An investigation into the origins of criminal activity now held reformers' attention. Maintaining order, not compassion for the condemned, was central to their ideals, because unchecked criminality threatened to wreak disorder in the fledgling democracy. But so too

did inflicting the public and corporal punishments that had endured throughout the colonial era, punishments that were believed to arouse the sympathies of the spectators instead of inspiring dread and awe of authority. During the transition from colonial status to independent nation, explanations of crimes and punishments changed, shifting from crime as sin to crime as the result of correctable flaws in the individual.

In this process Americans took note of and attempted to incorporate their European counterparts' proposals. Between 1777 and 1779 Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), attempting to employ Beccaria's theories, drafted a bill that called for proportioning crimes and punishments in Virginia, and although this represented an advance over existing penal practices, punishment would have remained severe, especially for the black populace. In any case, he did not succeed. In his *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals, and upon Society* (1787), Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) advocated what he believed were "the true principles of liberty." Rush proposed erecting "a house of repentance" for people convicted of crimes, arguing that "liberty is so dear to all men that the loss of it, for an indefinite time, is a punishment." Rush and other reformers proposed that criminal law and penal practices assume a new and rational form. Their endeavors succeeded. Pennsylvania led the way, establishing the first state prison, which systematically incarcerated and categorized offenders according to their crimes; this new approach was supposed to reform individuals, and do so only after they had been found guilty of criminal offenses. This policy differed substantially from the colonial era, when people were held in jails to await trial, and, if convicted, received corporal or capital punishment.

Reformers aspired to create legal and penal practices that would improve the individual. However, they exhibited contradictory impulses toward those on whose behalf they worked. On one hand, they sought to abolish the arbitrary and public penalties to which offenders were subjected. However, most crimes in the early national era were committed against property and largely by people who otherwise lacked the means to acquire possessions legitimately. Therefore, on the other hand, reformers did not fundamentally challenge the conditions that created crime.

**Imprisonment.** The new American nation declared crime destructive to peace and social order. Underlying this explicit concern was an implicit one, the sanctity of property. Independence from England had economic consequences that shaped perspectives on crime and punishment. Society was becoming more mobile, both geographically and socially; increasingly, people moved to the cities and up and down the economic and social ladders. Mobility undermined earlier notions of localism and hierarchy that were believed by people of the colonial era to ensure societal stability. The law's emphasis shifted, therefore, from preservation of morality to protection of property. Reason, not the arbitrary exercise of authority, would impress upon disobedient individuals the misanthropic nature of their actions. Authorities would no longer deprive offenders of their life in most instances; rather, they could deprive them of their independence. From the vantage point of the reformers, then, imprisonment made perfect sense: in a nation that conceived of itself as free, what better punishment than to deny freedom to those who refused to obey its laws? But such an approach produced a conflict within a social order striving toward cohesion. Reformers and citizenry alike expressed alarm about the purportedly increased criminality that had arisen since independence. Public drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution appeared to them to be rampant. Burglary and larceny, however, were the most frequently committed offenses, though few from among the respectable sorts examined the causes for crimes against property.

States, rather than the federal government, invented imprisonment to solve the problem of crime. With the introduction of the first prison in 1790, the Jail and Penitentiary House at Walnut Street in Philadelphia, reformers and the Pennsylvania state legislature offered the systematic use of incarceration as a rational and just form of punishment. Imprisonment, they reasoned, would deter and prevent future crimes. The new prison and those that followed began as houselike structures that resembled colonial jails, but they differed from colonial antecedents in that convicts were theoretically separated by sex, kept from spirituous liquors, and no longer paid jail fees, amongst other departures from the past. The most conspicuous difference was that the colonial jails held people before capital or corporal punishment was administered. Shortly after the prison's introduction, individuals convicted of particularly serious offenses like arson or murder other than in the first degree received a portion of their sentence in solitary confinement, where they were expected to reflect upon their deeds and change their behavior. This system of incarceration proved to be a dismal failure, so that by the end of the early national period, a new generation of reformers waged internecine war over

which type of incarceration, separate or congregate, would prevail.

Throughout the early national era, many states, including slaveholding Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, and Maryland, established prisons similar in design and intent to the first prison. However, unlike most northern states, which were abolishing slavery during the Revolutionary period, southern states did not abolish slavery and therefore made little use of prisons for the black populace. Conversely, in northerly states such as Pennsylvania, the black population was becoming proportionately overrepresented in state prisons. While American reformers did not question why black people were overrepresented in prisons, European travelers did. These visitors from abroad, interested in the democratic experiment and its new institutions, saw what American reformers could not.

The history of crime and punishment is written in America almost exclusively from the perspective of those in authority and is sympathetic to the use of imprisonment to deter crime. In these accounts, prisoners are either an abstraction or are absent entirely. Fragments of evidence of prisoners' perspectives have survived, however, and historians are beginning to explore this dimension of crime and punishment. Some inmates wrote about their ideas and beliefs in letters and a few narratives. One such narrative captures the injustice of imprisonment as perceived by an inmate. The blacksmith Patrick Lyon, incarcerated at the Walnut Street prison in 1798, decried the legal and penal systems of the early national era, proclaiming "If the small fry get in the least entramelled in the meshes of the law, they are generally fastened in the net, and often times punished wrongfully."

*See also* **Penitentiaries.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Beccaria, Cesare. *On Crimes and Punishments.* Translated by David Young. Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett Publishing, 1986.

Brissot de Warville, Jacques-Pierre. *New Travels in the United States of America, Performed in 1788.* New York: A. M. Kelley, 1970.

Friedman, Lawrence. *Crime and Punishment in American History.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Howard, John. *The State of the Prisons.* London: J. M. Dent, 1929.

Jefferson, Thomas. "A Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments. " In *Thomas Jefferson: Public Papers.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Library of America, Literary Classics of the United States, 1984.

La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, François Alexandre Frédéric, duc de. *On The Prisons of Philadelphia, By An European.* Philadelphia: Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1796.

Lyon, Patrick. *The Narrative of Patrick Lyon, Who Suffered Three Months Severe Imprisonment in Philadelphia Gaol . . .* Philadelphia: Francis and Robert Bailey, 1799.

Meranze, Michael. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de. *The Spirit of the Laws.* Edited by Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Philip, Cynthia Owen, comp. *Imprisoned in America: Prison Communications, 1776 to Attica.* New York: Harper and Row, 1973.Rothman, David J. *Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

Rush, Benjamin. *An Enquiry into the Effects of Publish Punishments upon Criminals and upon Society.* Philadelphia: Joseph James, 1787.

Teeters, Negley K. *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, 1773–1835.* Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1955.

*Leslie Patrick*

**CURRENCY AND COINAGE**   Although the colonies occasionally minted their own money, such coins remained extremely rare because the region lacked natural deposits of gold and silver. Coins issued by Spanish mints in the Americas circulated instead, and gold and silver from England, Portugal, and other European nations proved popular as well. The most famous of the Spanish coins was the piece of eight, otherwise known as the Spanish or Mexican dollar.

Whatever its origin, the colonists had great difficulty acquiring and keeping specie (money in coin). Thanks to mercantilism, the prevailing economic theory of the day, most of the hard currency in the colonies disappeared in remittances to England, and the demand for money always outstripped the supply. Making a virtue of necessity, the colonists bridged the gap with a far cheaper alternative in the late 1600s, issuing the first state-sponsored paper currency in the Western world. In the succeeding centuries paper money arguably played a more important role in the American economy than it did in that of any other country.

By the mid-1700s, all thirteen of the colonies issued paper money known as bills of credit. In some cases, the colonies issued bills to pay for military ex-

AMERICAN DOLLARS.

REVERSE.

SIX DOLLARS.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY Hall and
Sellers. 1776.

**U.S. Six Dollar Note.** By the mid 1700s all thirteen colonies were issuing paper money. This six dollar "continental" was printed in 1776 in Philadelphia. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

penditures; in others, they commissioned notes to pay for public works projects. Colonial legislatures also established "public loan banks," institutions that loaned paper currency to private individuals in exchange for collateral, most often real estate mortgages or silver plate. All these currencies fluctuated in value against one another, and against gold and silver coin.

Despite the confusion, paper money gained numerous advocates, most notably Benjamin Franklin,

who profited from securing contracts to print money for several colonies. Yet much of the paper money depreciated, hurting British creditors. Eventually the British Parliament suppressed paper money issued by the colonial legislatures and their proxies. Though many of the colonies continued to approve new issues of paper money, the Currency Acts of 1751, 1764, and 1773 exacerbated the perennial money shortage and heightened tensions between the colonies and Britain.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, Congress turned to the printing press to finance the war, issuing paper money called continentals. Because the colonists had grown accustomed to reckoning prices in terms of Spanish currency, Congress ordered these new notes denominated in dollars or fractions of dollars. The states also issued a flood of dollar-denominated notes. All told, the Continental Congress issued $241 million, with the individual states contributing an additional $210 million.

In theory, these notes could be equivalent to an amount of specie, but the scarcity of gold and silver ensured their swift depreciation. That the British and their Loyalist allies avidly counterfeited the notes did not help matters. By the end of the war, a single gold or silver dollar could purchase a thousand dollars' worth of continentals, and the phrase "not worth a continental" entered the popular lexicon around this time.

In the 1780s Congress ceased to issue paper money, as did several of the states. Yet some states continued to approve paper issues, and many also encouraged private mints to produce copper coins. Nonetheless, paper money remained in short supply, exacerbating tensions between debtors and creditors that culminated in conflicts such as Shays's Rebellion, which in turn encouraged the reforms enacted at the Constitutional Convention.

In 1792 the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coin money, as codified in the Mint Act. The act made the American dollar equivalent to a Spanish dollar but dispensed with the Spanish practice of dividing the dollar into eighths, replacing it with a decimal system that split the dollar into one hundred cents.

In 1793 the Philadelphia mint began producing small quantities of its first circulating coins: copper cents and half cents. Beginning in 1795 and 1796, the federal mint began coining silver dollars and various fractions of a dollar as well as gold coins worth $2.50, $5, and $10. The continuing shortage of domestic gold and silver supplies nonetheless guaranteed that foreign gold and silver remained the de facto

metallic currency of the country, and as early as 1793 Congress conferred legal-tender status on non-American coins. Foreign specie remained a central currency until the 1850s.

At Alexander Hamilton's urging, in 1791 Congress created the Bank of the United States. The bank served as a repository for federal funds and issued a uniform paper currency from its home in Philadelphia as well as a growing number of branches. Although the bank's charter lapsed in 1811, problems with financing the War of 1812 led to the establishment of the second bank of the United States in 1816.

At the same time, a growing number of state legislatures began chartering banks and other corporations with the right to issue their own paper money, or bank notes. The number of these institutions grew from a handful in the 1780s to 369 by 1829. They issued thousands of different notes in a bewildering array of denominations, and counterfeiters plied their trade amid the confusion. State-chartered banks injected much-needed liquidity into the economy but often faltered in times of economic contraction or panic, when they failed to redeem their notes with specie. Indeed, state-chartered banks issued notes far in excess of their reserves. After the failure of the Bank of the United States in the 1830s, a new era of private money creation began that lasted until the Civil War.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Banking System; Coinage Act of 1792; Constitutional Convention; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Mint, United States; Panic of 1819; Shays's Rebellion; Wealth.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Doty, Richard. *America's Money—America's Story.* Iola, Wisc.: Krause Publications, 1998.

Ernst, Joseph A. *Money and Politics in America, 1755–1775: A Study in the Currency Act of 1764 and the Political Economy of Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Newman, Eric P. *The Early Paper Money of America: An Illustrated, Historical, and Descriptive Compilation of Data Relating to American Paper Currency from Its Inception in 1686 to the Year 1800.* 4th ed. Iola, Wisc.: Krause Publications, 1997.

Taxay, Don. *The United States Mint and Coinage: An Illustrated History from 1776 to the Present.* New York: Arco Publishing Company, 1966.

*Stephen Mihm*

**DAIRY INDUSTRY** Changes in American dairy production after 1750 reflected the growth of cities. Up to that time, milking was important for farmers, but it was seldom a major economic activity. Commercial dairying developed close to growing towns and cities, where butter and cheese, not fluid milk, were the most valuable commodities. Milk was expensive for most urban consumers because it perished quickly, varied widely in quality, and was often used on farms to feed hogs.

The butter trade was the most important aspect of commercial dairying. Properly washed and salted butter could last for months, which made it a merchantable product for farmers who were willing to haul it to markets. Each urban resident consumed between thirteen and twenty-five pounds of butter per year. In the mid-1700s Philadelphians exported butter to the West Indies and mainland destinations, with disruptions during the Revolution (1775–1783), the Embargo of 1807 (1807–1809), and the War of 1812 (1812–1815). Some southern planters also produced butter for the market. By the 1760s some overseers' wives were earning money supervising enslaved women in the manufacture of butter at Carter's Grove near Williamsburg, Virginia.

Westerners began dairying as soon as they moved across the Appalachians. In Ohio's Western Reserve, settlers from New England by 1815 made cheeses and then sold them in western Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh. In the 1820s they sold cheese along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Wheeling to New Orleans. Ohio butter, however, had a reputation in New York City for being rancid and brought low prices before 1830. Many farmers in western New York switched from raising wheat for the market to butter and cheese after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825.

The experiences of farm families who produced dairy products varied. One study of Burlington County, New Jersey, from the 1760s to the 1820s indicates that most families owned from one to nine cows, with an average of approximately five cows per farm. Milk production figures are estimated, but by the mid-1800s cows produced from two to seven quarts per day, with farmers who paid more attention to feed, shelter, and cow health obtaining higher production than the majority who provided little care for their animals. Tending cows, making butter or cheese, and marketing dairy products were women's jobs on most farms, although men sometimes cared for and milked cows. Many families milked cows outdoors rather than in barns. As butter became more valuable to urban consumers in the 1700s, many women in Chester County, Pennsylvania, abandoned textile production in favor of butter.

## THOMAS JEFFERSON'S MAMMOTH CHEESE

On 1 January 1802, Baptist elder John Leland of Cheshire, Massachusetts, presented a 1,235 pound cheese to President Thomas Jefferson in Washington. Leland admired Jefferson's views regarding the separation of church and state and organized the Republicans of Cheshire to make a giant cheese as a token of their esteem for the president and the cause of republicanism.

Loyal Republican farmers of Cheshire brought the curds from an entire day's milking to be made into the cheese on 20 July 1801. They pressed the cheese, measuring four feet in diameter and eighteen inches tall, in a cider press for eighteen days. Leland and others transported the cheese overland to Hudson, New York, and then by water to Washington City. Along the way, Federalists mocked the cheese and the president while Republicans praised the Cheshire farmers, their cheese, and the president.

Jefferson received the cheese and tasted it with gratitude. The cheese became a symbol of the virtue of worthy Republican farmers and was served at Republican gatherings for over a year.

*J. L. Anderson*

One Massachusetts store ledger from the 1820s indicates that butter was the principal item brought in by women who traded in their own names.

Dairy production provided cash and credit for farm families as well as valuable calories for the growing urban population. Farmers who lived close to cities used butter as a commodity for economic security and, in some cases, prosperity.

*See also* **Agriculture: Overview; Farm Making; Work: Women's Work.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clark, Christopher. *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Dreisbach, Daniel L. *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State.* New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Gates, Paul W. *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Jensen, Joan M. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Russell, Howard S. *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976.

Wacker, Peter O., and Paul G. E. Clemens. *Land Use in Early New Jersey: A Historical Geography.* Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1995.

Walsh, Lorena S. *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

*J. L. Anderson*

**DANCE**   Dance played a vital role in the new American nation, as the country struggled to unite and assimilate its diverse cultural, ethnic, and racial traditions into a new "American" identity. As the nation transformed throughout the early national period, dance styles shifted to keep pace with rapidly changing ideas about social relationships and cultural aesthetics.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the dancing assemblies of the elites in both Philadelphia and Savannah issued extensive guidelines for their members. The elites' organized balls and assemblies proceeded according to social status and strict rules of etiquette. Evenings began with the French minuet, a slow, delicate dance led by the highest-ranking couple present. As the evening progressed, couples enjoyed French quadrilles, Scottish reels, and English jigs. Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century, social dancing had become much more than a simple pastime in which participants worried only about mastering the steps. It had evolved into a complicated ritual that could indicate who did or did not "belong."

Dancing manuals had been a staple of colonial society, including *The Art of Dancing* (1715) and *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master* (1731). These manuals contained every kind of dance, from jigs to cotillions to minuets, and they featured intricate diagrams to guide readers through the steps. Dancing schools in Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Maryland trained pupils in the most fashionable French and English dances. Letters and diaries of the colonial period record the colonists' love of dancing.

## DANCING IN EVERYDAY LIFE

While balls and assemblies entertained the colonies' wealthiest citizens, many Americans enjoyed less formal celebrations. Almost any public occasion offered an excuse for dancing, including weddings, court days, barn raisings, corn shuckings, harvest festivals, and market fairs. Country (or "contra") dances were the favorites, because unlike the minuet, rigadoon, or jig, they required less intricate steps and could be learned more easily. The dances held at weddings and fairs reflected the musical traditions of a wide range of ethnic and regional backgrounds (rather than what was popular in the courts of Europe). While the governor and his lady might dance to the music of an orchestra, a country wedding might feature a fiddle, a flute, a fife, or even a bagpipe for accompaniment.

## REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION

The Revolution brought a reduction (though not a complete cessation) in the young country's craze for dancing. While resolutions passed by the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1778 tried to discourage any luxurious entertainments that might distract citizens from the war effort, occupying British forces in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere frequently staged balls for the entertainment of their officers and American Loyalists.

In the wake of the Revolution, many colonists tried to reestablish the traditions and pastimes the war had interrupted. Yet they met with opposition from those who categorized such entertainments as too "European" for American sensibilities. However, dancing was too much a part of the social fabric of the nation to be easily eradicated. Dancing schools reopened throughout the new nation, many of them run by actors seeking extra income, or even by French refugees from the Haitian rebellion. Dancing masters created a demand for their instruction by hosting public balls; one even bragged in a 1791 newspaper advertisement that he would "take the opportunity of shewing the improvement of his scholars by a double Minuet . . . and several new Cotillions" (Bond, p. 10).

## PROFESSIONAL DANCE

By the 1790s, professional dancers played in theaters as well as dancing schools. While most plays featured some kind of dance (a minuet or cotillion or jig) as part of the performance or as an entr'acte (between acts), as a growing number of dance artists came to the United States, dancing occupied a greater and greater share of the theatrical repertoire, ranging from John Durang's solo hornpipes to elaborate pantomime ballets such as *Les deux chasseurs*, presented at the Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore on 19 August 1795. Theater managers cleverly incorporated patriotic themes into dance performances, celebrating the Fourth of July or the anniversary of a major battle. Professional dance continued to expand until the advent of America's own native stars in the mid–1830s.

## ALTERNATE TRADITIONS

While the development of American dance owed much to its heritage from England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, other traditions shaped the nation's dance history as well; perhaps African American culture had the most significant impact of these. Historians have chronicled the preservation and transformation of African dance rituals from Catherine Market in New York, to the rural plantations of the South, to Congo Square in New Orleans.

After a number of eighteenth-century slave uprisings, African Americans were prohibited from using drums in their performances, so they evolved new styles of dancing (including tap, where the percussive rhythm mimics the telegraphic beat of the drum) and incorporated new instruments, including the banjo and the "bones" (usually pig bones, used as a kind of rattle or percussive instrument). One of the most widespread performances was known as the *juba*, an African-inspired dance that used the entire body to create rhythmic variations, often by "patting" parts of the body or stamping the feet. Slaves on the plantation might incorporate "Patting Juba" into a corn-shucking ritual, a Christmas holiday, or harvest celebration.

In 1819, the architect Benjamin Latrobe described the dancing he witnessed among the slaves and free blacks in Congo Square as, "a moving hieroglyph that appears, on the one hand, informal and spontaneous, yet on closer inspection, ritual and precise." Latrobe's recognition of the "ritual" in African dance was, in many ways, ahead of its time. As blackface minstrels appropriated African American culture in the 1820s, many of the dances lost their original significance.

## NEW STYLES

The nineteenth century introduced a dance that scandalized the young nation: the waltz. Writing in 1827, future president John Tyler described it to his daughter as a "dance which you have never seen, and which I do not desire to see you dance. It is rather vulgar I think" (Marks, p. 74). Unlike the sprightly

jigs or dainty minuets that kept partners at arms' length, the waltz involved close and sustained personal contact. As the dance historian Joseph E. Marks III has suggested, the new styles of dancing "characterized the age of the common man. . . . They were wild, reckless, daring" (Marks, p. 76).

As young men and women crowded into urban centers seeking employment, as they stepped out of the shelter of their family homes to taste life in the wicked city, many older adults feared that a dance which allowed men to put their arms around the waists of unmarried women would result in the downfall of civilized society. And as working-class audiences poured into theaters to witness minstrel shows and dances, the cultural traditions of Africa, England, Scotland, Ireland, and France finally merged on the popular stage, completing over a century's worth of transformation.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; Theater and Drama.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Abrahams, Roger D. *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1992.

Bond, Chrystelle T. "A Chronicle of Dance in Baltimore, 1780–1814." *Dance Perspectives* 66, no. 17 (1976): 3–48.

Brooks, Lynn Matluck. "The Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in the Early Eighteenth Century." *Dance Research Journal* 21:1 (1989): 1–6.

Carson, Jane. *Colonial Virginians at Play.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1989.

Magriel, Paul. *Chronicles of the American Dance.* New York: Holt, 1948.

Marks, Joseph E., III. *America Learns to Dance: A Historical Study of Dance Education in America before 1800.* New York: Dance Horizons, 1957.

*Heather S. Nathans*

## DARTMOUTH COLLEGE V. WOODWARD

Dartmouth College was founded in 1754 to train missionaries and educate Indians in New England. The supporters of this public charity, including Lord Dartmouth, obtained a royal charter for the college and then became its trustees. After the Revolution the new state of New Hampshire recognized the validity of the college and the old charter, and Dartmouth continued to operate as a private college. By 1816 Dartmouth was a Federalist bastion in a state dominated by Jeffersonian Republicans. In that year the state amended the old charter, removed the existing trustees, and created Dartmouth University. In 1817 the old trustees and most of the faculty operated the college, which had ninety-five students, while the new Dartmouth University functioned as a state institution with only fourteen students. The old trustees (Dartmouth College) then sued William H. Woodward, the secretary of the new university, to recover the college's records, charter, and seal. Woodward had been the secretary of Dartmouth College before 1816, but had taken all these things with him when he began to help run the new state-sponsored university. The college hired its most famous alumnus, Daniel Webster, to argue its case. Webster accepted a hefty fee for his efforts.

Relying on the contract clause of the U.S. Constitution, in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) the Supreme Court upheld Dartmouth College's claims. Chief Justice John Marshall construed the charter to be a contract between the donors and the government. Thus New Hampshire could not amend the charter without violating Article I, section 10 of the Constitution, which declared that "No State shall . . . pass any . . . Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts."

The decision was a victory for the college, but more important, it made clear that state-chartered businesses or institutions could not be destroyed when changing political circumstances made the business or its owners unpopular. In a separate opinion, Justice Joseph Story anticipated state hostility to such a sweeping opinion. He suggested that when granting charters of incorporation states simply reserve the right to regulate the corporations in the future, or even revoke the corporate charter. The states would do this in the future. Thus *Dartmouth College* set the stage for future economic development in which business interests knew how their investments would be protected and how the state might regulate them. In that sense, this case can be seen as a key to the transition from the economy of the early national period, with few corporations or large economic players, to the economy of antebellum America, when corporations would form to build railroads and huge factories in the nation.

*See also* **Corporations; Education: Colleges and Universities; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Marshall, John; Supreme Court.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Stites, Francis N. *Private Interest and Public Gain: The Dartmouth College Case, 1819.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972.

*Paul Finkelman*

**DEATH AND DYING**    At a time when illness and death were understood to be the result not of germs but of imbalances in the body, and preferred treatments included bleeding and purging via induced vomiting and bowel movements, death was a common part of life. Life expectancy at birth for white Americans probably ranged from between thirty-five and forty-five years, compared to about seventy-five in the United States in the early 2000s. For African Americans and Native Americans, the reality was harsher. Among slaves and free blacks, life expectancy probably was ten to fifteen years below that of their white neighbors. Native Americans, especially in the West, continued to suffer from the catastrophic mortality that had followed from contact with Old World diseases.

**RITUALS OF DEATH**

In a world of frequent and unpredictable death, rituals of death provided comfort and guidance for Americans in their times of loss. Around 1800, these rituals underwent significant changes. Among the white, Protestant populations, rituals emphasizing preparation, resignation, and memory were especially prominent. Preparation was essential for every soul, since the time of death was uncertain, and a good Christian needed to be ready at his or her moment of judgment to die well. Dying well meant being in control of one's last moments and accepting the inevitable calmly. The early Puritans placed special emphasis on preparation but also believed most were nevertheless damned. By the 1750s a gentler theology offered more reassurance of salvation (especially for children), making the moment of death easier. Resignation to God's will, not always easy to achieve in practice, taught the necessity to accept one's loss and temper one's grief. Rituals of memory were also important, whether through letters and diary entries, funeral sermons, or gravestones.

The circumstances surrounding a person's death determined which particular rituals would receive emphasis. The death of a newborn rarely required the same emotional expression as that of a spouse. Sudden deaths might call forth more extensive periods of grieving than when a family was able to pre-pare in the face of a lingering illness. Epidemics, in which numerous citizens died, often in spectacularly unpleasant circumstances, were known to have disrupted normal rituals. Some historians have interpreted death rituals as part of the cultural elites' efforts to establish control over the common people, and have provided evidence of transgressions against the norms by common folk aimed at subverting the elite's authority.

Around 1800 major changes in the rituals associated with death occurred for Americans and other parts of Western society. The French historian Philippe Ariès identified a shift from "One's own death," with an emphasis on dying well, to "Thy death," with an emphasis on the loss to survivors. American historians have defined the change as involving the rise of romanticism and emotion, or a shift from a "prospective" concern with salvation after death to a "retrospective" stress on the life just lived. Gravestones were no longer made of dark stone but were instead made of white marble. Although the shape of the marker remained in the form of a tablet, skulls or soul effigies reminding one of death were replaced by a willow and/or urn expressing loss. A typical epitaph that before 1800 might have warned "prepare for death and follow me," later came to lament "dearest Mother, thou hast left us." Funeral sermons, which often warned listeners of the need for preparation, maintained their basic form into the nineteenth century but by 1830 were being replaced by memorial biographies celebrating the life of the deceased.

**AFRICAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN VARIATIONS**

The dominant Protestant culture affected, but did not completely control, rituals followed by African Americans and Native Americans. Students of slavery have noted the continuity of African cultural preferences in slave funerals well into the nineteenth century. The funeral is a central part of African culture, needed to maintain a proper balance between the living and the dead. African patterns repeated in America include: processions with emotional outpourings, decoration of graves with broken crockery used by the deceased, and "double" funerals separating burial and memorial activities. In his narrative of his life as a slave around 1805, Charles Ball noted that African-born slaves believed they would return to Africa and their families when they died and that they sought to provide grave goods to facilitate the journey. American-born slaves, by contrast, stressed a happy life in heaven based on their Christian faith, with wicked slaves and cruel masters suffering separate punishment. According to Ball, slaves who com-

**_Rachel Weeping._** Charles Willson Peale's painting of a mother grieving for her dead child, 1772–1776. © PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.

mitted suicide were denied even the few Christian rit-uals granted to slaves under normal circumstances. Masters also tried to limit the size and timing of slave funerals, fearing large gatherings of emotionally dis-traught bondsmen and -women as potentially dis-

ruptive. At times of resistance, masters mutilated the corpses of rebellious slaves, drawing on fears based in African culture that the soul of a person who died unnaturally, or who was not properly buried, would be doomed to wander. Both free blacks in the North-

ern cities and slaves on plantations were buried in segregated grounds. Burial societies among African Americans were among the first social institutions formed by recently freed slaves.

Native American death customs were substantially different from Europeans' at first contact. Indians were often buried upright, in a flexed position, facing west, with grave goods intended to ease their journey to the afterlife. Seventeenth-century letters from Jesuit missionaries to France describe elaborate celebrations among Northern Woodland peoples in which the remains of all who had died in the previous twelve years were disinterred for reburial in a common grave. The Iroquois nations incorporated condolence ceremonies in their public political relations and made use of "mourning wars" to rebalance losses from deaths in war. By 1750 some Native Americans had converted to Christianity, adopting the death customs of Europeans. Even those who did not convert might incorporate European trade goods into the funeral bundle, or bury bodies lying down flat. Old World diseases continued to cause disastrous epidemics, during which normal death customs were abandoned.

*See also* **Cemeteries and Burial; Health and Disease; Monuments and Memorials.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ariès, Philippe. *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present.* Translated by Patricia M. Ranum. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Axtell, James. "Last Rites: The Acculturation of Native Funerals in Colonial North America." In *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Isenberg, Nancy, and Andrew Burstein, eds. *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Ludwig, Allan I. *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols*, 1650–1815. 3rd ed. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press published by University Press of New England, 1999.

Roediger, David R. "And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death, and Heaven in the Slave Community, 1700–1865." *Massachusetts Review* 22 (1981): 163–183.

Stannard, David E. *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Wells, Robert V. *Facing the "King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community*, 1750–1990. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

*Robert V. Wells*

**DEBT AND BANKRUPTCY**    Debt was an inescapable fact of life in early America, whether one was an Atlantic merchant or a rural shopkeeper, a Tidewater planter or a backwoods farmer, an urban artisan or a frontier trapper, male or female, free or slave. Ubiquity, however, is not uniformity. Debt meant different things to different people. To some, it represented entrepreneurial opportunity. To others, a burdensome necessity. To still others, it signified destitution or, for slaves, being sold for their masters' debts. Common to all of these was the uncertainty that faced both debtors and creditors when indebtedness became insolvency. What should become of debtors and their property when what they owned was not enough to pay what they owed? Did creditors' claims to repayment of what they had lent extend to the bodies of the debtors to whom they had lent it? Could creditors imprison their debtors or bind them to service? Could insolvent debtors ever hope for release from their debts, short of repayment in full? These questions found one set of answers at the beginning of the eighteenth century and a quite different set at the end.

Early in the eighteenth century, ministers preached a moral economy of debt in which failure to repay was not an economic offense but a moral one for which the debtor's conscience would suffer the penalty. They addressed God as the "Great Creditor" who casts insolvent souls into the debtors' prison of hell. Debtors and creditors alike measured themselves and each other against an ideal that presupposed the dependence of debtors and the omnipotence and inherent justness of creditors. At the same time, however, a few ministers, most notably Cotton Mather, recognized that trade could not exist without credit and so conceded that some debt was necessary. In this concession lay the seed of a distinction that bedeviled debtor relief later in the century. If commercial debts—and, by implication, commercial debtors—were different from other kinds of debt and debtors, they might merit different forms of relief when their indebtedness became insolvency.

Until mid-century, the law essentially codified the moral economy. Every colony allowed creditors to imprison their debtors. Few colonies had procedures for their release, and then only occasional ones limited typically to indigent debtors who owned too little to turn over to their creditors and therefore too little to be worth keeping in jail. Several colonies bound debtors to their creditors in service to work off their debts, most involuntarily. Two fleeting experi-

ments with bankruptcy discharges early in the century left little mark.

## ECONOMIC COMMERCIALIZATION

At the middle of the eighteenth century, the law of debtors and creditors and the moral economy of debt began to diverge. Changes in the economy prepared the way. Increasingly commercial economies created new opportunities for success. They also multiplied the risk of failure. Agricultural expansion spurred the growth of market towns and ports with concentrated populations and market orientations that promoted artisans, merchants, and the specialization of business enterprise. The lure of greater local trade opportunities induced people to enter the lists as small traders, while the production of agricultural surpluses and the growing demand for manufactured goods encouraged merchants to become exporters and importers. Their ability to do so was facilitated by the introduction of paper money and the rapid spread of written credit instruments, both of which contributed to a transformation in the relations between debtors and creditors. With the kind of optimism possible in an atmosphere of prosperity and expansion, ambitious men launched their ventures with large aspirations and little capital. Credit bridged the gap, whether for traders who needed goods to trade or farmers who needed land and livestock to expand. Commercial development rode the crest of a rising tide of indebtedness, a tide that reflected the confidence of prosperity as farmers and planters, artisans and shopkeepers, traders and merchants, borrowed against anticipated profits to finance their undertakings. Many succeeded. But economic expansion also enabled more people to fail owing greater sums of money to larger numbers of creditors than had been possible in the smaller, more insular local economies of the seventeenth century.

## WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The legal landscape of debt changed dramatically after about 1755, coincident with the Seven Years' War. Wartime economic expansion, coupled with wartime economic risk, followed by postwar economic contraction, created a fluid economy in which success and failure both flourished. The sharp rise in prices of foodstuffs and supplies brought profit to sellers and expense to buyers, while the movement of goods assured that everyone along the chain of commerce was both seller and buyer, so that even those who initially reveled in high prices were squeezed as they acquired goods for resale. War also exacerbated the normal scarcity of money, driving

up the cost of borrowing, enriching those with money to lend, and building pressure on colonial legislatures to issue paper money, which promptly depreciated, causing additional dislocation. The vagaries of war magnified the normal vagaries of production, trade, and investment so that economic success was never a guarantee against future failure.

The economic uncertainties of war were prelude to those of peace. Economies that had expanded to meet wartime needs and opportunities suddenly contracted. Everyone suffered from a worsening shortage of specie. To make matters worse, tightened enforcement of British imperial policy, such as the long-ignored Molasses Act of 1733, together with high taxes by the colonies themselves to repay war debts and new parliamentary measures to bind the colonies more closely to Britain, notably the Currency Act of 1764, combined disastrously to block sources of hard currency, drain paper money from the economy, and prevent new emissions of paper currency. As the supply of money shrank, commercial transactions required hopelessly long credits or reverted to barter, taxes could not be collected, and debts could not be paid. Insolvencies multiplied, from urban merchants to rural traders and beyond.

With the economic impact of war and its aftermath clear for all to see, it became harder to stigmatize insolvency as moral failure. War made everyone familiar with risk, economic risk included. Within a two-year period, from 1755 to 1757, New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts enacted bankruptcy systems that distributed insolvent debtors' assets among their creditors and discharged them from further liability on their debts. Connecticut followed suit in 1763. Each of these experiments quickly expired or was repealed, leaving behind at best mechanisms for distributing debtors' assets without relieving debtors themselves, and at worst nothing at all. Their mere existence, however, marked a change in popular attitudes toward insolvency. So, too, did the arguments against imprisonment for debt and for outright bankruptcy discharges that began to appear in print. Writers and aphorists—notably Benjamin Franklin in his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732–1757)—continued to warn against the dangers of debt in moral terms, but their target now was consumer debt, not commercial debt. The redefinition of debt from moral failure to economic risk applied principally to debtors who were themselves entrepreneurs in the changing economy. Critics of debt reserved their strongest opprobrium for the purchasers rather than the purveyors of consumer goods, even though both acquired the items on credit. Thus,

when Americans began to question imprisonment for debt and to promote bankruptcy legislation, their animating concern was the plight of people who trafficked in credit rather than those who merely purchased on it.

The Revolution accelerated these changes. Although the war created economic opportunity, it also disrupted foreign trade, which was the linchpin of the entire economy. Peace did not undo the disruption, as the American economy contracted more or less steadily throughout the 1780s. British merchants flooded the American market with higher-quality, lower-priced goods than those produced locally, and pressed commercial credit on coastal import merchants to enable them to feed the pent-up demand for consumer items. The tentacles of credit followed the goods from importers to wholesalers to retailers to consumers, from the ports to the backcountry. Exports fell, imports grew, income and wealth declined. Spreading business collapses deepened the understanding of failure as the downside of entrepreneurial risk and spurred mercantile calls for bankruptcy laws.

Alongside the growing volume of private debts loomed the massive public debt. The Revolution was fought on credit in the form of direct loans and of paper currency and scrip issued by the Continental Congress and the state governments. These emissions comprised a system of "currency finance" in which Congress and the individual states issued bills of credit and loan certificates to purchase supplies and pay soldiers on the promise to pay interest or to redeem them in the future in specie or, more commonly, by accepting them in payment of tax obligations. The huge emissions of new currency required to sustain the war effort precipitated a sharp decline in the value of the currency in circulation. Depreciation was aggravated by inflation as large-scale government purchases drove prices upward, prompting Congress to print even more currency. By the end of the war, Congress had issued some $200 million in continental currency, which had fallen in value from near par with specie to considerably less than one hundredth of the value of specie. The states had emitted a similar amount. In addition, Congress had sold about $60 million to $70 million in loan certificates to investors and borrowed perhaps $12 million from European sources.

**BANKRUPTCY AND OTHER LEGISLATION**
The tightening coil of indebtedness in the 1780s, further aggravated by the aggressive efforts of British creditors to collect prewar debts, generated different

responses. Pennsylvania enacted a bankruptcy law for commercial debtors in 1785. New York enacted a dizzying succession of short-lived insolvency and bankruptcy statutes. Massachusetts erupted in rebellion when large Boston merchants and their allies in the legislature repudiated the paper money schemes that had financed the war and pursued monetary policies that benefited the merchants in international markets. Alone among the new states, Massachusetts required that all taxes and private debts be paid in specie. The demand of coastal merchants for specie to satisfy their foreign creditors echoed across the state as debt collection suits flooded the courts and imprisoned debtors crammed the jails. Particularly hard hit were the farmers of Worcester and Hampshire Counties, who could not opt out of the credit economy. These debtors were at the end of the chain of credit that ran from British merchants to Boston wholesalers to inland retailers and other commercial intermediaries. Desperate, they petitioned the legislature in Boston for paper money, tender acts, stay laws, and tax relief. When rebuffed, they closed the courts and took up arms in the short-lived Shays's Rebellion, easily the most traumatic event of the Confederation period.

The rise of speculation as the investment of choice in the 1790s fundamentally transformed indebtedness. Whether they dealt in bank stock, government securities, or land, speculators stood at the center of a financial vortex. Their competition for capital drove up the interest rates they had to offer to investors, which in turn attracted investments from ever-widening circles, both demographically and geographically. When they failed, the effects of their failure rippled outward, often engulfing those who had loaned them money. The two financial crises of the decade were triggered by the collapse of speculation schemes—the bursting of William Duer's speculations in bank stock and government securities in 1792 and the failure of large land ventures in 1797, many of which involved Robert Morris. The resulting economic distress far surpassed any that had occurred before. For the first time, numerous prominent men found themselves imprisoned for their debts or fugitives from their creditors. Their presence in the pool of insolvent debtors confounded the normal expectations of social and economic status and altered the political dimensions of debtors' relief.

Congress eventually responded with the controversial, short-lived Bankruptcy Act of 1800: "Controversial" because it enabled debtors to escape debts they could not repay and granted that boon only to

commercial debtors whose success had allowed them to amass debts that were beyond the means of less prosperous debtors. "Short–lived" because its extension of federal authority and its elevation of commerce over agriculture made it too ideologically charged to survive the Jeffersonian revolution. Congress repealed the law in 1803, eighteen months before it would have expired on its own, amid vague claims of abuse and fraud that were never verified. Nevertheless, the act demonstrated that Cotton Mather's early perception that commercial debt was different from ordinary debt had ripened into a national statement of the "principle" that release from debts was a boon reserved for capitalist entrepreneurs, while simpler debtors should, by implication, remember the sanctity of their obligations.

For nearly a century after the Act of 1800, whatever relief was available to debtors in the long lacunae between federal enactments was a matter of state law. Even that relief was uncertain. In 1814, amid widespread business failures and other economic dislocations caused by Thomas Jefferson's embargo, foreign depredations on American shipping, and the War of 1812, Justice Bushrod Washington of the Supreme Court of the United States, sitting as circuit judge, cast all state bankruptcy laws into doubt by declaring a Pennsylvania bankruptcy statute unconstitutional because it discharged debts incurred prior to its enactment and because Congress had exclusive power to legislate in the bankruptcy field. The Supreme Court itself barely clarified matters five years later in *Sturges v. Crowninshield*, when it declared a New York relief law unconstitutional because it discharged prior debts but left uncertain the constitutionality of state laws that applied only to subsequent debts. As a result, debtors and creditor alike faced the Panic of 1819 and the economic depression that followed with little to rely on when failure loomed.

*See also* **Bankruptcy Law; Currency and Coinage; Economic Development; Revolution: Impact on the Economy; Shays's Rebellion; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balleisen, Edward J. *Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Coleman, Peter J. *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607–1900.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Warren, Charles. *Bankruptcy in United States History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.

*Bruce H. Mann*

## DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE** The Declaration of Independence of 1776 was both the culmination of a decade of protests against what the colonists saw as arbitrary British policies and a statement of political principles that shaped public life in the United States long after its adoption. In order to understand the Declaration, then, one must understand both the historical circumstances that created it as well as the influence it has had in the years since independence.

### BACKGROUND

When the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775, the dispute between Great Britain and its American colonies had the preceding month erupted into open warfare at Lexington and Concord. What had begun as a dispute over parliamentary taxation escalated into a conflict that would soon tear the British Empire apart.

Despite the seriousness of the crisis they faced, many of the delegates to the Congress were still wary of outright independence. Instead, they wanted to maintain an allegiance to King George III while disavowing any connection to the British Parliament. As a result, even as they were preparing a military campaign against Quebec in the summer of 1775, many delegates sought reconciliation with the crown.

The king played a crucial role in the escalating crisis. Instead of using his prerogative to disallow parliamentary legislation, he chose to act as a constitutional monarch and concur with Parliament in its attempts to control the empire. As such, the king refused to receive the Olive Branch Petition sent by Congress in July 1775. Rather, the following month he declared all of the colonies in open rebellion. In December 1775 the king gave royal approval to the Prohibitory Act, which built on earlier restrictions on colonial commerce by declaring all trade with the colonies illegal and putting colonial shipping out of his protection.

As a result of these actions by crown and Parliament, the delegates from the two most populous col-

**First Draft of the Declaration of Independence.** Thomas Jefferson's initial draft of the Declaration of Independence was written in June 1776 during the Second Continental Congress. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

**The Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776 (c. 1787–1819).** John Trumbull's painting of the Assembly Room in the Pennsylvania State House (now Independence Hall) was based in part on Thomas Jefferson's account of the day's events. Jefferson stands at the center, surrounded by (left to right) John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Benjamin Franklin. They face John Hancock, who sits at the right. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

onies, Massachusetts and Virginia, both recommended that the Congress formally declare independence. In May 1776 the Congress recommended that the various colonies disavow the governing authority of the crown and "adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents." On 7 June, responding to instructions from the Virginia House of Burgesses, its senior delegate, Richard Henry Lee, moved "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." At the same time as the Congress was deliberating, a host of other declarations were issued by local and state authorities, each making the case for independence from the crown in similar terms.

**DRAFTING THE DECLARATION**

Due to the hesitancy of delegates from Pennsylvania and New York, Congress decided to put off the vote on Lee's resolution until early July. However, on 11 June 1776 Congress appointed a small committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston to create a draft declaration which, if approved, would implement Lee's call for independence. This committee then appointed Jefferson as the chief author, most likely because, as Adams argued many years later, he was a Virginian and thus untainted by the rebellious reputation of Massachusetts. As Adams also noted, Jefferson had acquired a reputation within the Congress as an uncommonly gifted writer.

Jefferson wrote quickly, submitting a draft to the committee on 28 June. The committee then made a few changes, mostly stylistic, and submitted it to Congress sitting as a committee of the whole. After delegates from all of the states but New York voted to approve Lee's resolution for independence, Congress turned its attention to Jefferson's Declaration, which they approved with changes on the evening of 4 July.

The committee of the whole left Jefferson's now-famous introductory paragraphs relatively untouched. However, it made several changes to the body of Jefferson's draft. In the process, it eliminated about a quarter of the text and, most scholars agree, significantly improved it in the process. In its final form, then, the Declaration of Independence was a collective effort, as much the work of the Congress as it was of Jefferson.

The most striking change that the Congress made to Jefferson's draft was its decision to eliminate an entire passage in which Jefferson had made a forceful critique of the king's role in the Atlantic slave trade. According to Jefferson, the king had "waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's [*sic*] most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people . . . captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere." Jefferson further accused the king of using "his negative" to prevent "every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce." Having accused the king of being responsible for the slave trade, Jefferson, referring to the Virginia governor Lord Dunmore's offer of freedom to slaves if they supported the crown, also accused him of "exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom *he* also obtruded them."

The passage exemplified Jefferson's ambivalence about slavery. Although it contained a strong moral condemnation of human bondage based on an argument from natural equality, it was a critique primarily of the slave trade and not of the institution of slavery itself. In addition, it undermined even this qualified antislavery message by then condemning the king for inciting the slaves to seek their liberty.

Jefferson, who was generally unhappy with the revisions made by the Congress, blamed the elimination of this passage on the proslavery sentiments of the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia. Although this was certainly a factor, it is also likely that the Congress did not want to draw attention to the widespread colonial practice of chattel slavery in a document that was premised on the theory that "all men are created equal."

### THE DECLARATION'S ARGUMENT

In order to make the case for independence, the Declaration had two main parts. One was a theoretical preface that stated the intellectual argument upon which the colonists were declaring their independence. It was followed by a lengthy list of colonial grievances against the crown.

**Intellectual foundation.** The theoretical part of the Declaration drew heavily on John Locke's political philosophy, of which Jefferson gave an uncommonly eloquent and succinct rendering. Beginning with the claim that "the Laws of Nature and Nature's God" justified the colonies assuming a "separate and equal Station" among the nations of the world, Jefferson then offered his reasons for this claim: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Having offered this powerful claim for equal rights, Jefferson—following Locke—offered a theory of the origins of government: "to secure these rights," he argued, "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed." Drawing again on Locke, Jefferson argued "that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Although Jefferson, like Locke, held that "Prudence" dictates "that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes," he argued that "when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations . . . evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security." In this one sweeping paragraph, Jefferson outlined a comprehensive theory of the origins and purpose of government, along with a justification of the colonists' right to dissolve their allegiance to the crown and to create new governments in the several states in such a form as would best secure their natural rights.

**Grievances.** The remainder of the Declaration is devoted to a lengthy list of indictments of royal policy toward the colonies. Although often overlooked today, they were crucial to the Declaration's argument, as they constituted the proof that, as Jefferson put it, "The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States." They were, as Jefferson insisted, the crucial "Facts" that needed to be "submitted to a candid World." A careful atten-

tion to these grievances also provides valuable insight into the mind-set of the Revolutionaries on the eve of independence.

These grievances can be grouped into several broad categories. The first set accused the king of violating the rights of the colonial legislatures by, among other things, using his prerogative powers to suspend colonial laws from taking effect until he had approved them. It also denounced him for dissolving colonial legislatures because of their opposition to "his Invasions on the Rights of the People" and for then failing to call new ones in their place.

The Declaration also accused the king of undermining the independence of the colonial judiciary by continuing to insist that colonial judges sit at his pleasure instead of during good behavior, as had been the practice in England for most of the eighteenth century. In a series of further charges, many of which referred to the Coercive Acts directed against Massachusetts in 1774, the king was held responsible for abolishing trial by jury, taxing the colonies without their consent, violating colonial charters, forcibly quartering troops in colonial homes, and maintaining standing armies in the colonies during peacetime.

The juxtaposition of the Declaration's theoretical introductory paragraphs with this lengthy list of specific legal grievances demonstrates the extent to which the American Revolutionaries were able to combine an intense concern for English constitutional rights—many of which would appear in state and federal bills of rights in the decades following independence—with a philosophical argument for resisting constituted authority when these rights were violated.

Although it had eliminated Jefferson's lengthy denunciation of the slave trade, the Congress retained his charge about royal involvement in slave revolts with a reference to the king having "excited domestic Insurrections." In the same passage, the Congress also accused George III of inciting the American Indians to make war on the colonies. Both of these actions had served to alienate the colonists from the king in the years leading up to independence.

The Congress concluded its brief against the king by noting that the colonists had repeatedly made their "British Brethren" aware of these injustices to no avail. Having received no redress, the Declaration stated that "the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . . . do, in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States." The Declaration then contended that these new states were fully sovereign under the law of nations, with "full Power to levy War, conclude Peace . . . and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do."

Unlike earlier English and colonial petitions to the king, the Declaration was a truly revolutionary, indeed treasonous, document, proclaiming as it did a sundering of all allegiance to the crown. It thus required some courage for the members of Congress to sign their names to it, and as the final sentence reads, "pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

### AFTERMATH

After agreeing upon the final version of the Declaration on 4 July, the Congress distributed copies to the Continental Army, where Washington insisted that it be read to the troops. Beginning in Philadelphia on 8 July, this process was repeated with civilian audiences throughout the colonies. News of the Declaration was also spread by broadsides. By the end of July, it had also been printed in thirty colonial newspapers.

The reception that the Declaration met in Britain was not rapturous. Much ink was devoted to a detailed refutation of the Declaration's specific charges against British authority. In addition, some commentators—influenced by a nascent skepticism about political arguments based on natural law—criticized what they saw as the philosophical incoherence of Jefferson's claims about rights and equality in the Declaration's opening paragraphs. However, the foreign reception of the Declaration outside of Britain was more positive. The Declaration was translated into many foreign languages, and starting in the late 1770s, it began to influence revolutionary movements in Europe and around the world.

Within the new United States, the formal work of the Declaration was done once independence had been proclaimed. However, the fact that the Declaration derived its right to revolution from a political philosophy of equal natural rights and government by consent meant that its ideals could be employed by a multitude of groups within American society seeking justice. In 1848 advocates of women's rights issued a declaration at Seneca Falls, New York. Explicitly based on the Declaration of Independence, it proclaimed that "all men and women are created equal." Also in the nineteenth century, abolitionists invoked the Declaration's ideals in their crusade against human bondage. In turn, antebellum defenders of slavery began to attack the Declaration and the

very idea of equal natural rights. In response to these proslavery arguments, Abraham Lincoln, with great eloquence, made the Declaration into a moral standard for judging existing society, calling it "the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism." In this guise, the Declaration has continued to shape the nature of political debate in the United States into the twenty-first century.

*See also* **Continental Congresses; Jefferson, Thomas.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Armitage, David. "The Declaration of Independence and International Law." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 59 (2002): 39–64.

Becker, Carl. *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Boyd, Julian P. *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text.* Rev. ed. Edited by Gerard W. Gawalt. Charlottesville: Library of Congress, 1999.

Dumbauld, Edward. *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Gerber, Scott Douglas. *To Secure These Rights: The Declaration of Independence and Constitutional Interpretation.* New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Jayne, Allen. *Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: Origins, Philosophy, and Theology.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jeffersonian Legacies.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

White, Morton. *The Philosophy of the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Wills, Gary. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.* New York: Vintage, 1979.

*Craig Bryan Yirush*

**DECORATIVE ARTS** *See* **Art and American Nationhood; Furniture.**

**DEISM** Many members of the founding generation of 1776 would have understood the reference to "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" as the source of their rights not in terms of orthodox Christianity but in the context of the Enlightenment's discourse of Deism. Deism originated more than a century earlier in England as a somewhat loosely defined pattern of beliefs that had evolved from liberal Christianity, the Newtonian description of a material universe apparently ruled by rational law, and the empirical description by John Locke (1632–1704) of human reason. Deists came in a variety of shades of opinion and belief, from believers in a rational Deity who were content to remain within the confines of a traditional denomination to anticlerical skeptics. There was no Deist church, although the Unitarianism that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century was imbued with much of the Deist spirit, and when Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) came to define "Deist" in his *Dictionary* (1755), he could only offer the highly generalized description of "a man who follows no particular religion but only acknowledges the existence of God, without any other article of faith."

**DEISTIC BELIEFS**
There was rather more to Deism than that, however, and Deists shared to one extent or another several central beliefs. Common to all Deists was the belief in a rational creator of a rational, orderly universe governed by laws that could be understood by reasoning human beings. The laws of motion of Isaac Newton (1642–1727) suggested for his contemporaries the reality of a universe that operated in predictable, mechanical fashion, like a clock as some saw it, and that consequently seemed to be the work of God as the Supreme Artificer. Christian thinkers were quick to integrate the new science into an older theological worldview by insisting that biblical revealed truth was independent of the truth of the so-called book of nature, which complemented and confirmed it. Thus, Cotton Mather could publish his *Christian Philosopher* (1720), which praised the rational design of the natural world and at the same time maintained belief in God's direct providential intrusion into the events of the natural world. Deists departed from exponents of natural religion, however, by rejecting the possibility of miracles and other supernatural interventions into the natural, created world. The title of English Deist John Toland's famous work, *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), suggested as much from the very first page and went on to call into question the authority of many parts of the Bible itself. Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation: or, the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730), a book often referred to as "the Deist's bible," seemed to obviate the need for the Bible at all.

## DEISM AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Deists followed up on these ideas by asserting that the God of the Creation was the deity worshipped by all religions regardless of sect or denomination. They also insisted, as Anthony Collins did in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713), on the right of individuals to think for themselves on matters of religion and to publish their opinions freely. Deists followed Locke in calling for religious toleration, the notion that since religious opinion is a private matter the state, while possibly authorizing an official church, ought to tolerate at least all shades of Christian opinion. In the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786), Thomas Jefferson and James Madison extended this idea to its logical conclusion by demanding that the state separate itself entirely from supporting religion, either by raising taxes to support churches or by compelling people "to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever." If Jefferson and Madison were in advance of many of their fellow citizens about the separation of church and state, they were not alone in defending religious toleration. A large number of Virginians, like George Washington and many other members of the gentry, shared liberal notions of a deistical sort. Jefferson had remarked in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), "it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg" (*Writings*, p. 285). He advised his nephew, Peter Carr, in 1787, to "Read the bible then, as you would read Livy or Tacitus. . . . You must lay aside all prejudice on both sides, & neither believe nor reject anything because other persons or descriptions of persons have rejected or believed it. Your own reason is the only oracle given to you by heaven" (*Writings*, p. 902). Jefferson may here have been echoing the words of another American Deist, Ethan Allen, whose *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* had appeared in 1784.

## AMERICAN DEISTS

Jefferson's comment in *Notes on the State of Virginia* about his hypothetical neighbor's faith caused him to be attacked by Federalist ministers in the election of 1800 as an atheist, and the ideas of Deists were often conflated by their critics with those of atheists, as in Richard Bentley's 1692 Boyle lecture, *The Folly of Atheism and (What Is Now Called) Deism.* Deists could find themselves being led by the oracle of reason into socially inconvenient situations. Benjamin Franklin, perhaps the first notable American Deist, was already questioning his youthful indoctrination into New England orthodoxy when as a typesetter in London he worked on an edition of William Wollas-ton's *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1724). Franklin used Wollaston's own assumptions about an orderly nature as the work of a rational creator to overturn Wollaston's arguments about human agency and ethical responsibility. Franklin's *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, *Pleasure and Pain* (1725) denied human free will and ethical responsibility and argued that "since there is no such Thing as Free-Will in Creatures, there can be neither Merit nor Demerit in Creatures" (*Writings*, p. 62). At the conclusion of the *Dissertation*, Franklin admitted that "the Doctrine here advanc'd, if it were to be publish'd, would meet with but an indifferent Reception" (*Writings*, p. 71). Franklin did publish the dissertation; later, in his *Autobiography* he admitted that this was one of his youthful "errata."

If Franklin was indeed serious about the ideas in the *Dissertation*, he backed away from them in later years. However, he did not ally himself to any particular church in Philadelphia but contributed to ministers and congregations of various denominations on the grounds that they all could exert a good influence on public morals and that each paid tribute to the same deity. Deists before the American Revolution did not tend to publicly criticize orthodox forms of Christianity but held their beliefs as a private matter. Jefferson refused to respond to the attacks on his presumed atheism, although he sought to reassure friends that he was indeed, by his own lights at least, a Christian. He sent to a few close friends, including Benjamin Rush (not himself a Deist), the Unitarian Joseph Priestley, and John Adams, who shared Jefferson's Deist inclinations, copies of his "Syllabus of an Estimate of the Merit of the Doctrines of Jesus" (1803), which praised Jesus as a moral philosopher, but he also asked these friends to keep the "Syllabus" to themselves. Earlier Deists in England and America had, as a consequence of their belief in reason as an adequate guide to religious belief, frequently expressed criticism of the Bible, at least in its accounts of miracles that defied the ordinary workings of nature. Jefferson's "Syllabus" and his later scissors edit of the Gospels, "The Life and Morals of Jesus," attempted to build upon this critique of the Bible by presenting Christ as a rational moralist, eliminating the miracles and foregrounding the Sermon on the Mount. Published in the twentieth century as *The Jefferson Bible*, this text was for his private use during his life or for a few friends who understood and sympathized with his beliefs. He could express his hostility to "priestcraft" in private letters, accusing the "priests" of abusing "the pure and holy doctrines of their master," but like his rational reading of the

Bible, he confined his anticlerical comments to private letters.

Other Deists in the years after the Revolution were not so shy about expressing their criticism of the Bible and their anticlerical sentiments. Ethan Allen, the former Green Mountain Boy, interpreted the Bible with the aid only of his own reason and a dictionary. His *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* found it to be a book full of scientific absurdities, superstitious fancies, and "arbitrary impositions upon the tribes of Israel." More heated controversy resulted from the publication of the two parts of Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* (1794–1795). Paine's text received a much wider circulation than Allen's. It was much more aggressively polemical than Allen's text, and, more important, Paine was a notorious radical closely associated with the French Revolution. The earlier Deists had found their inspiration in the less politically engaged English writers, but critics of Deism in the 1790s saw in Allen and Paine the specter of the French atheism that threatened traditional faith, moral order, and political stability. The most active radical Deist in 1790s America is probably the least familiar. Elihu Palmer, a onetime Presbyterian minister, espoused increasingly liberal interpretations of the Bible and eventually became a sort of Deist circuit rider. He traveled through the eastern seaboard states preaching the Deist message, founding what were called Deistical Societies and editing Deistic newspapers such as *The Temple of Reason*. Unlike earlier Deists who shrouded their opinions in gentlemanly privacy, Paine and Palmer appealed to artisans and workers, further outraging orthodox Federalist ministers.

Palmer's masterwork, *Principles of Nature, or a Development of the Moral Causes of Happiness and Misery among the Human Species* (1801), appeared five years before his death. Deism as an active force lasted hardly longer. Jefferson had prophesied that within a generation all Americans would become Unitarians, but rational Christianity had little appeal in the face of the emotional force of the Second Great Awakening, and Palmer's Deistical Societies aside, Deism never found an adequate institutional form. Liberal denominations like the Unitarians and the Universalists adopted some Deist principles, but after Allen, Paine, and Palmer put their stamp on Deism, no religious body would admit to being Deist. The liberal traditions of Deism left their mark on American culture, however, in the form of the principle of separation of church and state and the phenomenon of a pluralistic religious culture.

*See also* **Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; Rationalism; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Franklin, Benjamin. *Writings*. New York: Library of America, 1987.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels: "The Philosophy of Jesus" and "The Life and Morals of Jesus."* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———. *Writings*. New York: Library of America, 1984.

Koch, G. Adolf. *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason*. New York: Holt, 1933.

Walters, Kerry S. *The American Deists: Voices of Reason and Dissent in the Early Republic*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

*Frank Shuffelton*

**DELAWARE**   By the start of the French and Indian War in 1754, Delaware had already been an English colony for ninety years. It was not included in the Albany Plan of Union, which was proposed by some American colonists the same year. However, the colony did participate in the First and Second Continental Congresses. Delaware approved the Declaration of Independence on 2 July 1776. In August and September of that year, Delaware wrote its own constitution. During the Revolutionary War, Delaware was the site of one minor battle. On 3 September 1777, Delaware militia attacked English soldiers marching to Philadelphia at the Battle of Cooch's Bridge.

After independence, Delaware ratified the Articles of Confederation in 1779 and became the first state to ratify the federal Constitution, doing so on 7 December 1787. Between 1790 and 1830, Delaware's population grew by nearly 30 percent. In 1790, the total population was 59,096. In succeeding decennial censuses, the total state population increased from 64,273 in 1800 to 72,674 in 1810 to 72,749 in 1820 to 76,748 in 1830. Though a slave state, Delaware's free black population increased from 3,899 to 15,855 in the forty years between 1790 and 1830, while the number of slaves decreased from 8,887 to 3,292 over the same duration. The latter trend is partially explained by the state constitution's prohibition on importing slaves into the state and by the presence of active abolition societies, which were first established in Dover and Wilmington in 1788.

Native Americans inhabited the Delaware area for hundreds of years before European migration. Although there was some presence of the Nanticoke tribe, the largest American Indian population included members of the Lenape group, later renamed the Delaware by European settlers. Delaware Indians in fact comprised three groups, the Munsee, the Unalachtigo, and the Unami. William Penn signed a treaty of friendship with the Delaware confederation in 1682. Later, however, other tribes and the English forced the relocation of most Delaware Indians to areas west of the Mississippi River.

The growth of political parties in Delaware was shaped by the personalities of leaders, contentious issues of the era, and by the development of national parties. Prior to the founding of the Democratic Party, Delaware strongly backed Federalist candidates. Between 1789 and 1828, Delaware voters elected ten Federalist and three Democratic Republican governors. At the presidential level, state electors endorsed Federalist candidates in every election until 1820, when James Monroe outpolled John Quincy Adams.

See also **American Indians: Middle Atlantic; Politics: Political Parties.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Christensen, Gardell Dano, and Eugenia Burney. *Colonial Delaware.* Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 1974.

Hancock, Harold Bell. *Delaware 200 Years Ago: 1780–1800.* Wilmington, Del.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1987.

Hoffecker, Carole E. *Delaware, the First State.* Wilmington, Del.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1988.

Munroe, John A. *Delaware Becomes a State.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987.

*Samuel B. Hoff*



**Democratic Republican Campaign Poster.** This emblem adorned a poster that circulated in 1816 in support of James Monroe, the Democratic Republican candidate for president. Monroe ran against Rufus King, the Federalist candidate. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

**DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS**   The Democratic Republicans, sometimes known as Jeffersonian Republicans, and the Federalists created a vaguely defined, ramshackle first party system that played an important role in the politics of the new nation and several of its states between the early 1790s and the early 1820s. Frequently described as the democratic, liberal, republican, and secular alternative to the aristocratic, conservative, and religiously oriented Federalists, the Democratic Republicans have often been perceived as an extension of the ideas and ideals of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other figures. However, this essay, instead of focusing on their famous leaders, will examine rank–and–file Democratic Republicans, the party's relatively weak organizational structure, and its position on important national and state issues. It will also consider the centrality of war and foreign relations to the party's development and eventual fragmentation.

**SUPPORTERS**

A complex amalgam of sectional, class, ethnic, and cultural interests supported the Democratic Republicans. In the national elections between 1792 and 1816, they completely controlled the western states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, along with Georgia in the Deep South. After 1800 they dominated South Carolina and, during the entire period with relatively minor exceptions, both Virginia and North Carolina. They had to contest Maryland with the Federalists and failed to carry Delaware. At the other extreme, New England remained Federalist territory, with the Democratic Republicans carrying only a minority of the congressional elections. Also, with the exception of 1804 and 1816, they lost all the New England states to the Federalists in presidential elections, except for Vermont in 1808 and 1812. Victory or defeat depended upon the mid–Atlantic states, where a decision for George Clinton or for his nephew DeWitt Clinton in Pennsylvania would have

made the uncle the vice president in 1792 and his nephew president in 1812. A victory in this state for John Adams in 1800 would have given him a second term as president. Jefferson, on the other hand, could have won the presidency in 1796 by carrying New York.

The same sectional patterns determined state politics. The Democratic Republicans controlled the western states and, barring a few elections, the entire South except Maryland and Delaware—where the Federalists remained dominant. In New England the Federalists usually won. Even when voter turnout reached extremely high levels in the gubernatorial elections of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire before and during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), levels that matched those under the second party system, the Federalists remained closely competitive. In Pennsylvania the Democratic Republicans, after winning the closely contested election of 1798, lost to an independent candidate supported by the Federalists in 1808, but they had little difficulty winning the 1805, 1811, and 1814 gubernatorial elections. In New York, after losing to John Jay in 1795 and 1798, they bounced back with a victory for George Clinton in the gubernatorial election of 1801; three years later Morgan Lewis, a Democratic Republican, defeated Aaron Burr. Despite Federalist opposition that received from 42 percent to 48 percent of the vote, they won the remaining gubernatorial elections between 1801 and 1816.

While sectional patterns became relatively clear, it is more difficult to associate the Democratic Republicans with specific class, ethnic, or cultural groups. Virtually everyone in the West and Georgia, regardless of these variables, voted for the Democratic Republicans, as did the great majority in most elections in the Carolinas and Virginia. In these states the elite, whether planters, the wealthy, or speculators, remained firmly aboard the Democratic Republican victory wagon. In contested states, the Democratic Republicans received support from merchants, manufacturers, gentlemen farmers, and Revolutionary worthies, as well as votes from yeomen farmers and immigrants. In New England both Democratic Republicans and Federalists turned themselves into popular parties in the period after 1807. Scattered data indicates that immigrants and poorer electors in coastal cities tended to vote for Democratic Republicans, but even there the Federalists received support from a significant proportion of these groups. In New England, especially Connecticut and Massachusetts and perhaps in New Hampshire and Vermont, the Democratic Republicans received support from

Baptists and other religious denominations that believed themselves harmed by the peculiar state-local-Congregational Church establishment, and in Maine (then part of Massachusetts) the Democratic Republicans won the support of many who contested the land titles of wealthy speculators. But the overall picture indicates a much more complex portrait than the conventional one, which sketches aristocratic Federalists battling yeoman and artisan Democratic Republicans.

## ORGANIZATION

The Democratic Republicans provided some cohesion to this mixture of sectional, group, and individual interests through organizations, legislative cohesion, patronage, and a powerful press. At the national level they organized a congressional caucus in 1800 that made significant nominations for the vice presidency that year and in 1804, 1812, and 1816 and that selected James Monroe as their presidential candidate over William H. Crawford in 1816. Organization in the Senate and the House resulted in cohesive voting patters among Democratic Republican members of Congress during the battle over Jay's Treaty (1794) in 1795; the divisions from 1797 through 1801 resulting from the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800) and the election of 1800; the 1808–1809 session, which bowed to Federalist and factional Democratic Republican pressure and repealed the embargo; the sessions leading into the declaration of war in 1812; and those during the war itself. Cohesion among the Democratic Republicans broke down after the war and during periods when the Federalists found themselves unable to offer effective opposition.

The Democratic Republicans were best organized in the contested states. Legislative caucuses selected gubernatorial and other candidates, and in some instances party structure ran down into congressional districts and counties. The Democratic Republicans also attracted seemingly nonpartisan organizations to their cause. Ethnic associations, fraternal organizations such as the Tammany Society, and the Democratic Republican societies of the mid-1790s are merely examples of the large numbers of organizations that often allied themselves with the Democratic Republicans. In states where they faced little or no opposition, the Democratic Republicans did not need to generate much organization.

A powerful press supported the Democratic Republicans. Many well-known editors continued their anti-British rhetoric after the Revolution and supported the Democratic Republicans when they

emerged in the 1790s. From their beginning, Democratic Republicans always had key newspapers in the national capitals of Philadelphia and Washington and in most of the state capitals and leading towns. The papers and their editors created a network that distributed news, propaganda, and ideology to Democratic Republican voters and leaders. Patronage overlapped with the press as the national and state governments distributed printing contracts to editors and jobs, at various levels, to party supporters. Patronage sometimes created difficulties as party factions battled for contracts and jobs. While nowhere near the strength of later political organizations, the Democratic Republicans helped begin a process that would be further developed by the Whigs and Democrats.

## ISSUES

These somewhat haphazardly organized Democratic Republicans took identifiable positions on a wide range of national and state issues. In 1790 and 1791 a group of former Federalists, led by James Madison, opposed the efforts of Alexander Hamilton to assume state debts and charter a public–private Bank of the United States. They and many former anti-Federalists joined together to oppose what they considered excessive taxation. Furthermore, during the bitter battles over the Quasi–War with France, they supported the freedoms of the Bill of Rights against efforts to pass and then to enforce the Sedition Act (1798) and also continued their opposition to increased expenditure for an enlarged army and navy. When they came to power in 1801, they let the Sedition Act die, repealed a new judiciary act that established circuit courts, failed to renew bankruptcy legislation, cut expenditures for the army and navy, and eliminated direct and excise taxes. The implementation of their early policies reached a high point when they refused to recharter the Bank of the United States in 1811.

They then discovered that waging a successful war required an expansion of national power. During the War of 1812 they raised taxes, resorted to borrowing, and attempted to strengthen military and naval forces. This new initiative continued after the war, and during the famous 1815–1816 session of Congress, the Democratic Republicans—aided by the evaporation of foreign policy as a major issue and the splintering of Federalist opposition—took a new tack and passed legislation that chartered a Second Bank of the United States, imposed a small protective tariff, backed programs for a more powerful peacetime army and navy, provided for new coastal forti-

fications, and gave aid to the states for internal improvements. Those Democratic Republicans supporting these policies were by 1817 well on their way to becoming National Republicans, while those who remained loyal to their previous values considered themselves to be the true and Old Republicans.

During this period the states made most of the important political decisions. The supposedly more democratic Democratic Republicans gave similar backing to bills for gradually ending slavery in New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804) than did their Federalist opponents. They also gave little attention to strengthening the legal and political status of women; did little to amend or reform state constitutions; and, except in Massachusetts and Connecticut, gave little support to efforts to expand the suffrage. They did attempt to dismantle the complex state and town congregational establishment, and in Massachusetts they gave assistance to the residents of the Maine district who opposed the claims of land speculators. In some states they attempted to modify the judicial system and reduce the power of judges. They had little enmity toward banking or internal improvement projects chartered by the states. They also, despite the rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson, gave relatively little assistance to establishing and funding systems of public education. Like their opponents, they kept taxes low and had little hesitation in using state libel laws to attempt to silence those of their editorial opponents who were most offensive to the Democratic Republicans.

The Democratic Republicans backed measures that favored the expansion of the new nation at the expense of foreign powers and native tribes, and supported American commerce against the Barbary States. Democratic Republican presidents purchased Louisiana in 1803, recognized a coup that seized the Spanish portion of eastern Louisiana in 1811, put pressure on Spain to cede Florida, and mounted a frustrated effort to seize Canada in 1812. At the same time they pressed for treaties with the native tribes that would surrender their land to the United States and backed efforts by William Henry Harrison, the territorial governor of Indiana, to seize control of large areas in the Northwest. During the War of 1812 James Madison, the second Democratic Republican president, supported the efforts of both Harrison and Jackson to destroy Native American military power in both the Northwest and Southwest and concluded treaties that seized a large portion of their lands.

In the first years of the nineteenth century and again in 1815, Democratic Republican presidents

sent naval expeditions against the Barbary powers to support American commerce in the Mediterranean, and they pleased their southern slaveholding supporters by refusing to recognize Haiti, the Western Hemisphere's second republic, which had been created by a massive slave insurrection.

## FOREIGN POLICY

Differences over foreign policy overshadowed other differences between the two parties at both the national and state levels in defining the distinctive position of the Democratic Republicans. They supported the French Revolution even when the revolutionaries became involved in a war with most of the other European powers. During the early 1790s, they argued that the ideology of the French Revolution should be supported by good republicans. They accused their Federalist opponents, who seemed lukewarm toward the revolution, of being disguised aristocrats who planned to turn the new nation into a pale copy of William Pitt the Younger's Great Britain. Even when the Directory and Napoleon dampened Democratic Republican enthusiasm about the French and the direction of their revolution, the party remained critical and suspicious of the British; Democratic Republicans claimed that Britain used its hostility to France to control and even harm the rapidly growing commerce of the United States. During the years between 1795 and 1800, the Federalists used confrontation with France as grounds for supporting a larger army and navy and for passing the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798).

The Convention of 1800 ending the war with France, Jefferson's election victory that year, and peace in Europe temporarily removed foreign policy as a central issue and led to a brief period of almost complete Democratic Republican hegemony. But resumption of the world war and efforts by the British and French to throttle each other's commerce led to increasing tension. The British, having more opportunity to harm American commerce and to impress American sailors, again became the target of Democratic Republican hostility. Confrontation boiled over with the *Chesapeake* affair in 1807, which led to Jefferson's embargo, designed to protect commerce by preventing trade. This ended when the resurrection of the Federalist Party led to divisions among the Democratic Republicans, which in turn resulted in the repeal of the embargo and its replacement with nonintercourse legislation. The Democratic Republicans hoped to use this approach to force either or both the French and British to cease their assault on American shipping. These efforts failed and led to a declaration of war against Great Britain in June 1812. The war led to an intensification of partisan politics, American defeats, and substantial changes in Democratic Republican policies. The Treaty of Ghent ended the war but did not achieve any of the war's goals. The defeat of the French in early 1814, Napoleon's return from exile and defeat in 1815, and the conclusion of the War of 1812 the same year eliminated partisanship from much less vital foreign policy issues that had provided the Democratic Republicans with their basic reason for being since the early 1790s. The relaxation of partisan tensions led to the twilight of the Federalist Party, the end of the Democratic Republican Party, and the fading away of the first party system.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Bank of the United States; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Embargo; Federalist Party; Internal Improvements; Jay's Treaty; Newspapers; Politics: Political Patronage; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Presidency, The: James Madison; Presidency, The: James Monroe; Quasi-War with France; Tariff Politics; War of 1812.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Charles, Joseph. *The Origins of the American Party System: Three Essays.* Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956.

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Process of Government under Jefferson.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Goodman, Paul. *The Democratic-Republicans of Massachusetts: Politics in a Young Republic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Horn, James, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Perkins, Bradford. *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805–1812.* Berkeley: University of California Press,1961.

Risjord, Norman K. *The Old Republicans: Southern Conservatism in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Columbia University Press,1965.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

*Van Beck Hall*

**DEMOCRATIZATION** The process of creating, extending, and sustaining democracy has intrigued observers since the end of the eighteenth century, when democratic revolutions and movements broke out in America, France, and other parts of Europe. The failure of many of these early democratic revolutions has provoked further interest in the specific and the general reasons for democracy's few initial successes and many failures. The American democratic experiment became the subject of intense scrutiny to determine whether it was the harbinger or the exception to the European political future. For this reason Alexis de Tocqueville, the French writer and politician who visited the United States in the 1830s, turned his attention from American prisons to consider why and to what extent American democracy had succeeded. In *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), Tocqueville took a surprisingly modern, empirical approach to explaining American democratization, paying particular attention to the underlying civic culture of the United States. Since Tocqueville's time, American democratization has been at the center of the debate as to whether popularly elected governments were replicable from one culture to another.

### THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Later-nineteenth-century observers took a more detached and theoretical approach to the idea of democracy and democratization. The utilitarians, particularly the English philosopher John Stuart Mill, produced what Joseph Schumpeter later called the "classical doctrine of democracy": this was primarily concerned with describing the sources of authority and the purpose of government in democratic regimes. The utilitarians saw democracy's source of authority in popular consent, and the purpose of democratic government was the collective good. Although popular consent and the common good seemed eminently rational and achievable goals before World War I, these goals seemed far more naïve and utopian to the social scientists who wrote about democracy at the onset of World War II, when the West was beset by the perils of totalitarianism.

Writing in 1942, Schumpeter rejected the classical doctrine of democracy as too reliant on the object of the collective good based on utilitarian reason. Schumpeter and other postwar social scientists urged a focus on the procedures common to democracies instead. This they judged to be a more "objective" approach to understanding democracy and democratization. During the cold war, amid the heated competition between the Soviet-style "people's de-mocracies" and those of the West, the procedural school developed a set of common characteristics that they said defined functioning as opposed to sham democracy.

Although Robert A. Dahl has attempted to combine proceduralism with an informed, normative description of democracy, most social scientists concerned with democratization have followed the procedural approach of Samuel P. Huntington. According to Huntington, a democracy is a state in which the "most powerful collective decision makers" are chosen in "honest and periodic elections." Moreover, in a democracy, "virtually" the entire adult population is eligible to participate.

Although accused by his critics of being simplistic, Huntington has maintained that his definition's simplicity is essential to understand democracy and democratization on a global scale. The proceduralists argue that what is most important is often cast in much wider terms, encompassing such values as liberty and freedom but rejecting particularistic notions like a "civic culture" that determines the extent of democracy in a particular place.

Since the end of the cold war, some proceduralists have been accused of determinism in arguing that certain conditions inevitably bring about the emergence of democratic regimes. Francis Fukuyama has come in for some of this criticism, arguing for the global triumph of liberal democracy, which according to his definition must have electoral competition, attendance to market forces, and "judicial rights."

Huntington has argued that democratization has occurred in three historic waves: the First Wave, from 1828 to 1926, occurred after the extension of American suffrage and continued until after World War I, when it encompassed all of Western Europe, North America, and Australasia. The second wave of democratization occurred in the midst and the aftermath of World War II, from 1942 to 1962. It restored democracy to Western Europe and planted democratic regimes in the former European colonies of Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent. The Third Wave, from 1991 to the present, followed the end of the cold war, and included the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, some of the states within the former Soviet Union, and most of the countries in Latin America. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, all the states in Europe with the exception of Ukraine and Belarus claimed to be democratically elected regimes. Similarly in Latin America, outside of the Caribbean, all of the states claimed to be democratic, to one degree or another.

## DEMOCRATIZATION IN AMERICA

Oriented toward empirical evidence rather than theory building, American historians have taken a more nuanced approach than the proceduralists in considering democratization in the United States. Historians have typically focused on two related aspects of democratization: political participation, as measured by voter turnout, and political power, as measured by sociological patterns in officeholding and community leadership.

In the mid-twentieth century, it was standard to date the beginnings of democratization to 1828, with the election of Andrew Jackson and the dawn of the so-called Age of the Common Man. Over the next half-century, historians greatly complicated this simplistic narrative. In the 1960s William Nisbet Chambers and David Hackett Fischer argued that democratization in voting actually began with the competition of the first party system, between the Hamiltonian Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans. Since then the American Antiquarian Society's First Democracy Project has amassed new voting data showing that voter turnout in Federalist vs. Republican elections sometimes surpassed 70 percent of the total adult male population, a rate of sustained participation that no European state achieved until nearly the end of the nineteenth century. By some measures, then, the first wave of democratization began in the late eighteenth century and was practically complete by the time of Andrew Jackson's presidency.

Other historians have taken issue with this idea, arguing that democratization awaited the competitive national parties of the 1830s and 1840s, the Whigs and Democrats. Historians like Ronald P. Formisano and William G. Shade have described some of the practices of the earlier Jefferson-era politics as predemocratic, or what Formisano has called a "deferential-participant" culture dominated by local notables with little input from ordinary citizens. The social historians Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin have gained some adherents for the argument that ordinary voters were indifferent to party politics even during the supposed mid-nineteenth-century heyday of the mass political parties. Altschuler and Blumin built on an older tradition, dating back to the writings of the great postwar historians Richard Hofstadter and Lee Benson, which debunked the so-called Age of the Common Man. According to these scholars, the rhetoric of the Jacksonian era was a cynical charade of powerful elites to flatter their inferiors.

A similarly complex picture has emerged concerning the democratization of political power in early America. Ardent debunkers of "Jacksonian democracy" like Edward Pessen argued that the antebellum United States groaned under the almost unbroken rule of nearly hereditary regional elites whose roots dated back to the colonial period. Sidney Aronson's study of federal officeholding more or less substantiated this idea. From John Adams to Andrew Jackson, high national, state, and local officeholders largely came from the same wealthy, educated class that they always had.

At the same time, historians have found a good deal of evidence for incremental change. Clearly the intensifying demands of democratic politics drove some of the gentleman politicians of the founding era (and their sons) from the fray. Numerous scholars have commented on the apparent professionalization of politics in the early nineteenth century, as less socially and intellectually gifted politicians who expected to make their livings in politics became much more predominant than they had been in the days of Jefferson and Washington. Sean Wilentz has written of the "*embourgoisement*" of American politics, noting that by Jacksonian times, wealth and professional success could as easily allow entry into the political as the family connections that were formerly essential. Jeffrey L. Pasley has upheld a more genuine but also compartmentalized form of democratization by pointing to the more than seventy newspaper editors appointed to office by Andrew Jackson and the hundreds more elected or appointed after that. In the North, most of these editor-officeholders were former journeymen printers or hardscrabble rural lawyers with little formal education, making their elevation a real advance for common men, if not the Common Man in general.

In the most systematic study of these matters yet produced, Whitman H. Ridgway analyzed political leadership in local communities, using Maryland as his test case. Ridgway argued that traditional oligarchies continued their domination in relatively homogeneous areas such as the rural South. More diverse and economically dynamic locations like the city of Baltimore underwent a *specialization* of leadership rather than full-out democratization. After the 1820s, the "wealthy and prominent men" who had controlled the oligarchic politics of earlier eras increasingly "eschewed direct competition in the political realm in favor of concentrating their energies in other specialized areas" such as private business, where the real power increasingly lay. Although the old oligarchs continued to wield great influence be-

hind the scenes, during the Jacksonian era they learned to share public power with other men whose status was based more on ability and effort than wealth and family connections. The result was a system of plural oligarchies that Ridgway labels "polyarchy."

At the start of the twenty-first century, the debate among historians over democratization has moved beyond questions of officeholding and adult male voter turnout. A new wave of political history has sought to broaden the definition of democracy to include a much wider range of behaviors that should be redefined as political. Historians have shown that those on the margins of formal politics or even excluded from citizenship altogether—including landless laborers, free people of color, and women of all social classes—found ways of making their interests felt in the public sphere of the early nineteenth century. David Waldstreicher and Simon Newman have shown that parades, street demonstrations, and riots had their place in a rambunctious political culture only beginning to define who was let in and who was left out of this raucous popular scramble for a voice.

Scholars who analyze political language have also discovered the critical importance that changes in rhetorical style played in transforming the United States into a more democratic political culture in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. American political rhetoric on the printed page took on the spontaneous, emphatic quality of the stump speech. Politicians and editors found it necessary to communicate with a mass audience that needed to be informed as well as interested. The result was a simpler, cruder, starker—more democratic—mode of discourse.

Women's historians have made it clear that women's role in the early nineteenth century remained a public one that exercised critical influence on reform movements, the operations of government, and even the party politics from which they were officially excluded. Women as suffrage advocates, society hostesses, abolitionist activists, and plantation mistresses exercised a powerful role in politics even if formal democratization for women had to wait until a later century.

*See also* **America and the World; American Character and Identity; Citizenship; Class: Overview; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1828; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalist Party; Founding Fathers; Government; Individualism; Jackson, Andrew; Liberty; Natural Rights; People of America;** **Politics; Popular Sovereignty; Presidency, The; Women: Political Participation.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Altschuler, Glenn C., and Stuart M Blumin. *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Aronson, Sidney H. *Status and Kinship in the Higher Civil Service: Standards of Selection in the Administrations of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Chambers, William Nisbet. *Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience, 1776–1809.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Dahl, Robert A. *On Democracy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Formisano, Ronald P. *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827–1861.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971.

———. "Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture, 1789–1840." *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 473–487.

———. *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man.* New York: Free Press, 1992.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001.

Pasley, Jeffrey L., Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds. *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Ridgway, Whitman H. *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790–1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Robertson, Andrew W. *The Language of Democracy: Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790–1900.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2005.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy.* New York: Harper, 1942.

Shade, William G. *Democratizing the Old Dominion: Virginia and the Second Party System, 1824–1861.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Varon, Elizabeth R. *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wilentz, Sean. "On Class and Politics in Jacksonian America." *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 45–63.

*Jeffrey L. Pasley*
*Andrew W. Robertson*

**DEMOGRAPHY** Rapid, unprecedented population growth was the salient feature of American demography from 1754 to 1829. The astounding expansion of that interval came about primarily through exceptionally high fertility rates and relatively low mortality rates. Although immigration was an important growth factor both earlier and later in U.S. history, during those years it paled by comparison to the rate of natural increase in the native population. In fact, inward migration generated less than 4 percent of overall population growth in that period.

The burgeoning population was no match for the vastness of the new nation. Throughout the colonial and early republican era, people spread thinly across the land, making labor scarce and epidemics few. Consequently, wages were good and public health excellent by the standards of the day. Free white American males had an enviable quality of life and level of material well-being. They lived longer than populations elsewhere and better than many people alive outside the United States today. Women and slaves did not fare as well, but their life expectancy was at least comparable to that of their counterparts elsewhere.

### TOTAL POPULATION AND GROWTH RATES

The population of British America rose by about 3 percent annually from 1750 to 1830, with a slightly higher growth rate in the mid-Atlantic area and a somewhat lower rate in New England. As a result, the number of people doubled about every twenty-five years. Philosopher and doomsayer Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) foresaw dire consequences of such rapid growth; Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), on the other hand, celebrated the peopling of the new nation. Most Americans of the time tended to view population growth as a sign of progress and a way to reduce the hazards of the sparsely inhabited frontier.

Although establishing accurate population counts is difficult for the early years, scholars estimate that the colonies contained about 1 million residents in 1740 and nearly 2.5 million by 1775. More than half a million Europeans had come to North America as indentured servants by that date. Nearly half a million blacks—only about eighteen thousand free—resided in the colonies when America declared its independence from Britain. One of these was Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave and the first man to die in the name of American freedom. After the American Revolution, national census records indicate a population of 5.3 million by 1800 and nearly 13 million by 1830. As Table 1 indicates, the non-white population remained a stable proportion of the total throughout the period from 1790 to 1830. Most people resided in rural areas, although the percentage of urban dwellers steadily grew over time.

### REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY RACE

More than 70 percent of individuals living in the colonies were native born by 1700. People of European descent came mostly from British stock; by 1750, descendants of British emigrants outnumbered those with French blood by nearly twenty to one. This is not surprising, given that Spain and England were the primary owners of North American territory at this time. France, which ceded the Louisiana Territory in 1762, did not reacquire it until 1800, and then held it only to 1803. By 1760, settlers had spread throughout New England, down the Atlantic coast, and into the Piedmont. The population of the original thirteen colonies divided roughly into thirds among New England, the mid-Atlantic, and the South at the time of the American Revolution.

Even before the Revolution, intrepid pioneers had begun to cut through the Cumberland Gap and enter what became Kentucky and Tennessee. The Northwest Territory joined the original colonies during the 1780s, and the Louisiana Purchase added large amounts of land in 1803. Florida came into the mix in 1819. This was the sum of the United States for over twenty years. Not until the 1840s did the country expand again.

By the time Britain and the United States engaged in another war in 1812, just over 1 million people—about 15 percent of the total population—lived west of the Appalachians. In that year, the center of population (COP) moved westward from Maryland to Virginia. Population growth rates west of the Appalachians ranged from 5 to 7 percent annually in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the area that became West Virginia contained the COP each decade from 1820 to 1850. Escalating growth continued to be a hallmark of the trans-

**TABLE 1**

**Population of the United States, 1790–1830**

| Year | POPULATION (millions) | | | PERCENTAGE | | % Increase in Total from Previous Decade | % Increase in Total Due to Immigration |
|------|-------|-------|----------|----------|-------|------------------|------------------|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Nonwhite | Urban | | |
| 1790 | 3.9 | 3.2 | 0.7 | 17.9 | 5.2 | | |
| 1800 | 5.3 | 4.3 | 1.0 | 18.9 | 6.1 | 35.9 | n/a |
| 1810 | 7.2 | 5.9 | 1.3 | 18.1 | 7.3 | 35.8 | 3.3 |
| 1820 | 9.6 | 7.9 | 1.7 | 17.7 | 7.2 | 33.3 | 2.1 |
| 1830 | 12.9 | 10.6 | 2.3 | 17.8 | 11.7 | 34.4 | 3.8 |

Appalachian area, which hosted almost half of all Americans when the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter.

The southern population differed from that in the rest of the nation long before the Civil War. As Table 2 shows, the South was home to fewer than 40 percent of whites but over 90 percent of blacks—mostly slaves—throughout the early republican era.

### FERTILITY

Early Americans were notoriously fecund. Although precise measures of fertility are impossible to obtain, demographers have used various indirect ways to estimate typical family size. These include the number of children born per one thousand people, number of children born per one thousand women of childbearing years, number of children under age five per one thousand women of childbearing years (also known as the child-woman ratio), and total fertility rates. Infant mortality rates as well as fertility obviously affect the child-woman ratio, but data available for early years often yield no other measure of fertility. Total fertility rates attempt to measure the number of children the average woman would have had if she lived throughout her entire child-bearing period (usually ages twenty to forty-four).

White birthrates in North America per one thousand women were from about forty-five to fifty in colonial days, as compared to just under thirty in Europe at the same time and twelve in the United States in 2004. Virtually all children were born to married couples, and colonial women married early, at an average age of between twenty and twenty-three—about two years earlier than their European counterparts. Fragmentary evidence indicates that the average woman in 1800 married before age twenty and bore seven children, with very few women remaining unmarried. Not until after the 1810 birth cohort

of women (who began having children by about 1830) did marital fertility begin to decline significantly.

Obtaining estimates of family size for the white population is challenging; doing the same for nonwhites is nearly impossible. Perhaps the best evidence comes from interviews with ex-slaves conducted by the Works Progress Administration during the 1930s, which indicate that the average number of children depended upon family type. These data suggest that two-parent consolidated households (about half of families) had 7.2 children on average, whereas two-parent divided households (one-eighth of families) had 8.0 and one-parent female-headed households (one-third of families) 5.7 children. Naturally, these figures pertain to antebellum families rather than those from the colonial or early republican era. Nonetheless, they suggest that black fertility was comparable to white fertility in those days.

### MORTALITY

After the first years of starvation in the colonies, low mortality rates prevailed. During the colonial period, the annual death rate in Europe was about forty per thousand people; in the colonies, the figure was more like from twenty to twenty-five per thousand. White American males achieved an unheard-of life expectancy. Table 3 compares life expectancy for groups of British residents and U.S. native-born white males. Not surprisingly, British peers (nobility) could expect to enjoy a longer lifespan starting at birth than the ordinary population. Yet peers at age ten anticipated from four to nine fewer years of life on average than white male Americans born from 1750 to 1825.

Another notable feature of the American experience was the low rate of child mortality. Before 1750, children and infants suffered high death rates

**TABLE 2**

**Southern Population by Race, 1800–1830** (millions)

| | SOUTHERN WHITES | | SOUTHERN BLACKS | | | Slaves as % of |
| | Number | % US Whites | Number Slaves | Number Free | % US Blacks | Free Persons in the South |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1800 | 1.70 | 39.5 | 0.86 | 0.06 | 92.0 | 49 |
| 1810 | 2.19 | 37.1 | 1.16 | 0.11 | 97.7 | 50 |
| 1820 | 2.78 | 35.2 | 1.51 | 0.13 | 96.5 | 52 |
| 1830 | 3.55 | 33.5 | 1.98 | 0.18 | 93.9 | 53 |

everywhere. But by 1800, the death rate in the United States had slowed to about twenty per thousand babies dying before their first birthday. This was far lower than death rates elsewhere in the world. By comparison, the figure for the early twenty-first century is less than ten per thousand in the United States.

Table 3 specifies two mortality measures: life expectancy at birth for English subpopulations and life expectancy at age ten for English and American subpopulations. Researchers using historical data often rely upon the latter so as not to confound trends in adult mortality with trends in infant and child mortality. Evidence suggests that life expectancy at age ten rose through most of the eighteenth century in the United States. Food, fuel, and housing materials were plentiful, and thinly populated areas kept the communication of diseases to a minimum. But the first three decades of the nineteenth century were not so kind, and life expectancy declined, partly because of crowding, poor sanitation, and unsafe water.

Aggregate patterns mask an important gender difference, however. Throughout the period, white males who survived infancy lived into their sixties, whereas women could expect to die in their forties. Given the high fertility rates and significant possibility of death during childbirth, this difference, however lamentable, is understandable.

As with fertility, less is known about the mortality of the nonwhite population. Recent scholarship suggests that, although infant mortality among slaves was relatively high, slaves who survived past childhood enjoyed life spans nearly as long as those of their masters.

### IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION GROWTH
External migration dominated American population growth only in the early days of European settlement. Very rough estimates put the flow of immigrants into the United States at 115,000 between 1730 and 1760, 444,000 from 1760 to 1790, and 673,000 from 1790 to 1820. By 1775, only 1 in 10 whites and about 2 in 10 blacks were foreign-born. The birth rate of the native white and black population in the last decade of the eighteenth century was about 55 per 1,000 and the death rate about 28 per 1,000, leading to a rate of natural increase of 27 per 1,000—almost exactly the same as the rate of population growth overall. As Table 1 indicated, immigration mattered little for population growth between 1790 and 1830 as well. Although black slaves were imported into the United States in significant numbers until the ban on the trans-atlantic trade in 1808, natural increase was far more important as a source of population growth for them, just as it was for their white masters.

### ETHNICITY AND DEMOGRAPHY: A NOTE
Overall birth and death rates were similar for blacks and whites in British North America. This was an anomaly, since elsewhere in the Americas, black life expectancy was quite short. In part, U.S. slaves lived longer because of agricultural work that was less brutal (not necessarily as a consequence of kinder masters, but rather, as a result of easier crops to raise and better climates), a superior diet, and a more even gender composition. The distribution of imported relative to native blacks shows the contrast sharply. Only about 6 percent of the slaves crossing the Atlantic came to the United States. Yet by 1825 the country contained 36 percent of slaves in the Western Hemisphere.

The main group excluded from the demographic bounty of the New World was Native Americans, who were devastated by smallpox and measles early on and forced migration later. By 1715, nonindigenous people dominated North America. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 set the stage for the tragic Trail of Tears, on which one-quarter of the Cherokee tribe

**TABLE 3**

**A Comparison of Life Expectancy for U.S. White Males, British Male Peers, and the English Population**

|  | England and Wales (both sexes) | British Peers | U.S. Native-Born White Males |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1750–1774 | 36.3 | 44.6 | 46.3 | 55.8 |
| 1775–1799 | 37.0 | 46.9 | 46.1 | 51.9 |
| 1800–1825 | 41.5 | 49.3 | 48.3 | 52.3 |

died while traveling from North Carolina to Oklahoma in mid-winter.

*See also* **Childbirth and Childbearing; Contraception and Abortion; Domestic Life; Health and Disease; Immigration and Immigrants: Overview; Immigration and Immigrants: Race and Ethnicity; Slavery: Slave Trade, African.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bogue, Donald J. *The Population of the United States.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959.

Coale, Ansley J., and Melvin Zelnik. *New Estimates of Fertility and Population in the United States.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Fogel, Robert William, and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1974.

Forster, Colin, and G. S. L. Tucker. *Economic Opportunity and White American Fertility Ratios, 1800–1860.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Smith, Daniel Scott. "The Demographic History of Colonial New England." *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 165–183.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the U.S.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960, 1975. Also available at http://www.census.gov.

Wahl, Jenny. "New Results on the Decline in Household Fertility in the United States from 1750 to 1900." In *Long-Term Factors in American Economic Growth.* Edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

*Jenny B. Wahl*

**DENOMINATIONALISM** Religious denominationalism—the peaceful co-existence of multiple churches within one community or nation—was nothing new when it became a distinguishing feature of the new Republic. Denominationalism had existed since the very beginnings of the Protestant Reformation, when the intoxicating concept of the priesthood of all believers provided many a sixteenth-century religious reformer with the empowering conviction that he and his adherents, whether large or small in number, could create the "true" Christian church. No society could survive for very long under these circumstances without an eventual agreement that "true" churches might exist side by side. What made denominationalism distinctive in the new Republic was the context of unprecedented religious freedom and competition in which it flourished.

**DENOMINATIONALISM TOLERATED**

In 1689, the English Parliament's Act of Toleration officially introduced to the nation and empire the concept of a denominationalized Christianity regulated by a tax-supported (established) church. By this time, the transition to a liberal religious order was already apparent in the British American colonies where toleration had been written into colonial compacts in Rhode Island and Maryland in the 1630s, West Jersey in the 1670s, and Pennsylvania and East Jersey in the early 1680s.

The Church of England (Anglican) consequently expended considerable energy and resources to compete with its offshoots in America, creating a distinctive but European-influenced denominational system. At first it struggled mainly against New England Congregationalists and mid-Atlantic Society of Friends (Quakers), but Presbyterians and the Regular (Calvinist) Baptists were rising in the colonial mix, as well as Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, and German Reformed, and smaller groups like the Moravian Brethren, Roman Catholics, and Sephardic Jews. Nevertheless, the Anglican Church succeeded in establishing tax-supported parishes throughout the southern colonies and in the lower counties of New York. It also initiated a building renaissance that transformed the landscape of British America. By the late 1730s, on the eve of the first Great Awakening, most Americans paid taxes to an established church (the Congregational still in New England as well as the Anglican), just as the crown's subjects did in Britain. Even in Pennsylvania, whose policy of toleration was celebrated by enlightened philosophes, Quakers, dominated the provincial government until the French and Indian War (1754–1760). Most churches still looked to Europe for models of organization and leadership.

Even the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s—embodying the first rise of evangelical revivalism in America and increasing the scope of religious choice—was still promoted largely by Calvinists migrating from Europe.

## DENOMINATIONALISM UNBOUND

The American Revolution transformed denominationalism, both conceptually and practically. For one thing, independence as good as destroyed the idea of a tax-supported church co-existing with other churches. For another, the Revolution initiated the conversion of a largely European model of denominationalism into an American one. Twentieth-century religious historians had widely diverging takes on how this occurred.

Writing in the 1920s, H. Richard Niebuhr was contemptuous of the tendency of American Protestants to reflect social mores (which he defined as often racially biased and class-based, both in his time and in the past) rather than enduring Christian values. By contrast, Sidney E. Mead described "the denomination" as unique to the United States and unprecedented in Christendom. His six characteristics of American denominationalism remain pertinent: (1) a sectarianism heedless of history and tradition, (2) the church understood as voluntary association, (3) an emphasis on missionary enterprise, (4) tactical dependence on revivalism, (5) the flight from reason in religious practice, and (6) competition for membership. In yet another contrast, Sydney E. Ahlstrom, in his magisterial survey, *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), emphasized the persistence of European influence on American religion, but far-flung across a vast American continent.

Denominationalism as religious history has fallen out of fashion with American scholars. Yet the continuous dividing and subdividing of religions into competing groups before and after the Revolution and, significantly, the rejection of toleration in favor of the bolder concept of religious freedom, have by no means been exhausted as singularly American subjects. And institutional issues, particularly state-church relations and the changing internal structure of churches, are critical to understanding religious expansion in the era of nation building.

To take just two cases: the Baptists, both the Regular (Calvinist) and the older but smaller Free Will varieties, benefited from the popularity of the Great Awakening, partly because of the ease with which Baptist churches could be organized by traveling preachers, and preachers themselves could be raised up by churches. Additionally, this rising de-nomination embraced the powerful new definition of religious freedom as a natural right. Combining forces with freethinking politicians in Virginia, John Leland (1754–1841) and co-religionists aggressively pursued the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, or of any other form of tax support for churches. Their victory was codified in Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786. Isaac Backus (1724–1806) was less successful in New England, where a form of church taxation remained in place until 1833 in Massachusetts. But in the meanwhile, Baptist congregations and membership steadily proliferated throughout the disestablished South and the West.

And then there were the Methodists. Multiple variables account for the perfectionist and anti-Calvinist evangelical movement of John Wesley (1703–1791) and its unexpected triumph on the American continent. But the Methodists' success derived in part from their rapid and pragmatic organization into the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, just in time to compete with the newly formed Protestant Episcopal Church. Ironically, despite their reputation for empowering women, working men, and slaves (much like the Baptists), the Methodist ministerial hierarchy (unlike the Baptist) was among the most autocratic in the country. Bishop Francis Asbury (1745–1816) controlled many aspects of Methodist preachers' lives. Yet this control permitted the bishop to create an expansive organization capable of sending itinerants into any part of the American states at virtually a moment's notice. Methodist membership throughout the nation, but especially in the South and West, soared after 1800. The Revolution provided opportunities that made the religious order of the colonies look restricted and strongly derivative of European models by comparison.

## DENOMINATIONALISM AMERICANIZED

Three major late-twentieth-century interpretations will likely shape twenty-first-century understandings of the character of American denominationalism after 1800. Nathan O. Hatch's *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989) revives an older historiographical concern with what he argues is the uniquely democratic ethos of American religion. Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Southern Cross* (1997) attributes the rising dominance of evangelicalism in the South to the eager adoption of the South's culture of male mastery by Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian ministers. Mark A. Noll's *America's God* (2002) traces the intellectual and social evolution of mainstream American theology from the Great

Awakening to the Civil War, arguing that American religious culture forged the core of American national identity over the same time.

For these and many other reasons, Americans evinced greater religious faith in the years following disestablishment of churches rather than less. It was not necessarily because they agreed with each other. While churches made efforts to cooperate in camp meetings, in urban Bible and other tract societies, and in missionary work (long-standing among Native Americans), the high tide of the Second Great Awakening was marked by sometimes virulent denominational and theological conflict, especially between the Methodists and the Calvinist churches. Earlier and new splinter movements also thrived, among them the Shakers, Universalists, and Swedenborgians; the Unitarians, Christians, and Disciples of Christ; and German Pietist and Methodist breakaway sects. In the 1840s would come the Millerites and Seventh-day Adventists, and ultimately outpacing them all, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons).

Disputes were also common between blacks and whites in the larger churches, prompting preachers like Richard Allen to lead black membership into separate denominations, especially the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1822). African Baptist churches were legion, especially in the South. Denominational splinterings also affected, and were affected by, gender relations. An unusually large number of women became prophets and preachers in the Second Great Awakening, and an unusually large number of these first burst forth in small movements like the Free Will Baptists; the Christians; the Primitive Methodists; and later, the Millerites. How institutionalization changed gender roles is one of many understudied issues relating to American women and their churches.

Despite this diversity, the two churches that had accepted religious freedom from the start—the Methodists and the Baptists—replicated themselves spectacularly, becoming the overwhelming majority in much of the country as early as 1830. Among the older churches, Congregationalists survived in New England; the Presbyterians in northern New Jersey, western Pennsylvania, and other parts of the Appalachian West; and the Roman Catholics in Louisiana. Episcopalians and Quakers likewise remained concentrated in small congregations in various parts of the country. But while American denominationalism encompassed a tremendous variety of groups practicing an extraordinary variety of faiths, it was also influenced by the increasingly dominant evangelical Methodists and Baptists in all parts of the country.

In conclusion, the denominational order in the new Republic was shaped by the old-fashioned issues of disestablishment, religious competition, and Americans' rising acceptance of freedom of conscience unimpeded by government regulation. The rejection of the concept of toleration in favor of religious freedom, along with the sensitivity to church and state relations it demanded and the cultural, particularly evangelical, energies it unleashed, remains among the most important transformations in American history.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Religion; Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Congregationalists; Disciples of Christ; Disestablishment; Methodists; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Moravians; Presbyterians; Professions: Clergy; Quakers; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism; Shakers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Andrews, Dee E. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Bonomi, Patricia U. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Gaustad, Edwin Scott, and Philip L. Barlow. *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: University Press, 1989.

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Lambert, Frank. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Mead, Sidney E. *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America.* New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Mullin, Robert Bruce, and Russell E. Richey, eds. *Reimagining Denominationalism: Interpretive Essays.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism.* New York: Holt, 1929.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Smith, Timothy L. "Congregation, State and Denomination: the Forming of the American Religious Structure." *William and Mary Quarterly* 25, 3rd ser. (1968): 155-76.

*Dee E. Andrews*

## DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY RELATIONS, AMERICAN INDIAN

How did American Indians shift from being essential allies with the ability to shape imperial destinies to being marginalized dependents of the United States, a new nation determined to dominate the continent? Between 1754 and 1815, American Indians and colonizers shared in the creation of diplomatic and military customs that underscored the interdependence of both societies. However, the dramatic events of the Revolutionary and early national eras foreshadowed Indian removal. By the end of those eras, American Indians long accustomed to selecting their own leaders from the village to the tribal levels found themselves residing on reservations monitored by American bureaucrats who worked to create national tribal governments modeled after the United States. American Indian destinies were shaped by inexorable environmental, technological, and demographic changes that neither side controlled. Nevertheless, the continental vision of early Americans, the belief that the United States could possess the continent and exploit its natural resources to become a powerful nation, ultimately determined that American Indians and Americans would live in separate societies. Americans used the dependency of native peoples to estrange them from their homelands and consolidate their control of the land and the people within it.

### FIGHTING IN THE AMERICAN MANNER

At the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1760), early Americans and American Indians depended on each other. George Washington quickly discovered this truth as a young man. In October 1753, Washington volunteered to investigate reports of French encroachments on Virginia's western frontier. Washington worked as a surveyor and owned more than two thousand acres of land at the time. Therefore, he had a vested interest in stemming French encroachment. Like many nascent Revolutionaries, including Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, Washington speculated in Indian lands. Investors in colonial land companies were often political and military leaders who used their influence to challenge the French and their Indian allies.

In May 1754 the twenty–one–year–old Washington became commander of the Virginia Regiment, raised to oppose the French and their Indian allies in the Ohio Valley. Ironically, British colonial militias depended on Native Americans in their quest. A party of Seneca Indians escorted Washington over the western rim of the Appalachian Mountains. The Senecas and their Iroquois confederates had been allied with the British since the mid–seventeenth century. They joined Washington as part of their commitment to the covenant chain, a series of English-Indian alliances that brought a measure of stability to Indian-white relations in the Northeast and laid the groundwork for Iroquois dominance over other Native Americans in the region during the eighteenth century. On 28 May 1754, Iroquois warriors led Washington to a French encampment south of modern-day Pittsburgh, where they surprised approximately thirty French regulars and massacred the encampment. French survivors, including their senior officer, Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, quickly surrendered. Washington, however, was powerless to stop his Indian compatriots from driving a hatchet into the French commander's brain. A leading Seneca warrior named Tanaghrisson then washed his hands in the soft tissue in a ritual murder designed to illustrate the covenant chain's power over its French enemies. Washington's first military engagement ended disastrously, with clear violations of European rules of war. The French called him a war criminal. The English historian Horace Walpole correctly stated that, "the volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America set the world on fire." The French and Indian War, an imperial war for global dominance, thus began with an engagement that illustrated fighting in the "American manner."

The French had their reckoning with Washington in two separate engagements the following July. On 3 July 1754, Washington's badly outnumbered troops surrendered to seven hundred French and Indian warriors at the Battle of Fort Necessity. One-third of his three hundred men lost their lives. Then, on 9 July 1755, British general Edward Braddock, George Washington, and thirteen hundred men (one-quarter of whom were colonials) engaged a force of nine hundred French and Indians near Fort Duquesne at the Battle of the Wilderness (also called Braddock's Defeat). The French and Indian force killed nine hundred men, including Braddock, largely because they were unaccustomed to wilderness combat. Washington joined frontiersman Daniel Boone to rally the survivors.
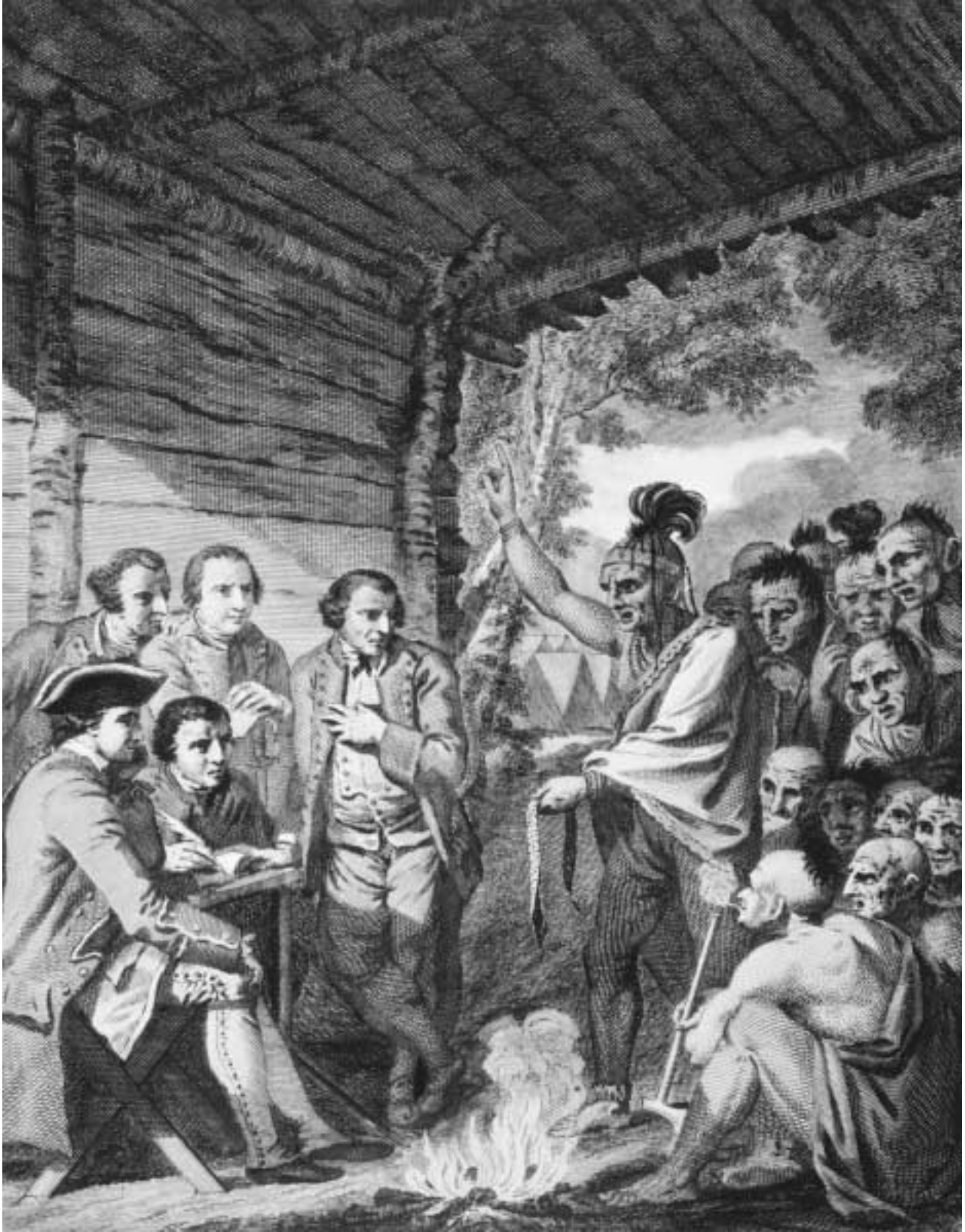
**Henry Bouquet Negotiates with the Indians.** When Colonel Bouquet began a campaign in 1764 to subdue Shawnees, Senecas, and Delawares in Ohio, he was approached by a delegation of Indians who agreed to return hostages in exchange for a cessation of hostilities. This 1766 engraving depicts the meeting, which occurred near the Muskingum River. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

Anglo-Americans such as Washington survived and adjusted to warfare that reflected American Indian traditions. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Indians' weapons, including the club, the spear, and the bow and arrow, required close physical combat. Warriors developed military tactics, such as the ambush, that enhanced their chance of survival and derived from their intimate knowledge of the land. "Fighting in the American manner," even with the benefit of European military technology, typically referred to wilderness combat in which an unseen enemy surprised its opponent. Colonial militias and British regular armies were ill prepared for this kind of combat. British North Americans modeled their armies after European nations. In their view, disciplined, hierarchically organized troops, trained to march in close formations, worked best. Anglo-American armies thus made ideal targets for ambush. Indian warriors easily shot down heavily burdened troops hauling cumbersome equipment over unfamiliar terrain. Until the 1790s, when American armies had clearly adjusted to Indian warfare, American Indians had a decided advantage in the deep woods. Conversely, Anglo-Americans achieved their best results through sieges of forts and villages.

### CONSEQUENCES OF BRITISH VICTORY

On 8 September 1760, Pierre François de Rigaud Vaudreuil de Cavagnial surrendered to British general Jeffrey Amherst at Montreal, formally ending France's control of much of the North American continent. British victory in the French and Indian War significantly limited the autonomy of tribes throughout the Eastern Woodlands. The Spanish retained hegemony over a vast tract of North American land west of the Mississippi commonly referred to as the Spanish Borderlands. But the removal of the French from the interior of America meant that the tribes now had few alternatives for trade.

In 1763 the British tried to end intercultural diplomacy and to rationalize the fur trade. The exchange of furs for European goods would continue, but only at prices set by the British. A host of changes came with this transformation. First, unlike the French, who used intermarriage to create alliances with tribes, most British traders did not have real or metaphorical kin ties with the tribes with which they dealt. Second, the British significantly limited the use of gift exchanges, which for centuries had formed the keystone of alliances between Indians and whites. Third, Anglo-American land hunger threatened the interior tribes, who understood that the Anglo-Americans' primary objective was the dis-

possession of the Indians. The Creeks referred to the governor of Georgia as Ecunnauaupopohau (always asking for land). Similarly, the Shawnees referred to the Virginians as Long Knives, underscoring the latter's intentions.

A series of localized native rebellions erupted in response to these changes. Inspired by an Ottawa Indian leader named Pontiac and a Delaware holy man named Neolin, warriors from many different tribes joined forces and destroyed British forts across the Great Lakes. The British then enacted the Proclamation of 1763, the first of many attempts at creating a cultural barrier between Indians and whites. The Proclamation line restricted white settlement beyond the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. The British quelled these revolts, known collectively as Pontiac's Rebellion, through tough military action and even biological warfare. In June 1763 British traders knowingly gave smallpox-infested blankets to a visiting delegation of Delaware diplomats. An epidemic soon ravaged the Ohio Valley. General Amherst encouraged these measures, writing that the British needed to "try Every other method that can serve to Extirpate this Execrable race."

### IMPACT OF THE CONQUEST THEORY

The Proclamation line antagonized American Indians and alienated American colonists from the British Empire. For one thing, colonists objected to the assertion of King George III's right of soil, based on the claim that land taken from the French in war belonged to the king rather than the people. On the other hand, colonists overwhelmingly subscribed to the conquest theory, whereby Indian tribes that had sided with the French (and later, the British, in the American Revolution) had forfeited their right to the soil. Settlers then could exercise their preemption rights, meaning that they would gain title to Indian lands by surveying and improving tracts that could later be purchased.

De facto adherence by the British to the conquest theory gained momentum after the French and Indian War, for Indians were regarded as nonpersons in British law and even well-meaning officials lacked the resources and the influence to protect them. Full-scale warfare between Indians and whites became commonplace. During the Cherokee War of 1759–1761, the Cherokees attacked encroaching settlements, indiscriminately killing men, women, and children along the Carolina and Virginia frontiers. In December 1763, Pennsylvania vigilantes known as the Paxton Boys killed a group of peaceful Conestogas. Perhaps the most egregious example of total, ra-

cialized warfare is the Gnadenhutten Massacre. On 8 March 1782, along the banks of the Muskingum River in eastern Ohio, another group of Anglo vigilantes rounded up ninety Christian Indians, divided the men and women, and used mallets to murder them. Periodic campaigns of ethnic cleansing accelerated on both sides of the frontier. Richard White's *The Middle Ground* (1991) shows that by the mid–1770s, "murder gradually and inexorably became the dominant American Indian policy" (p. 384). Even so, commercial and cultural ties between Indians and whites remained important. In 1770 skins and furs were the third-leading export in Georgia and the Carolinas.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By 1774, on the eve of the American Revolution, settlers had effectively challenged the Proclamation of 1763. Their settlements reached beyond the Appalachian Mountains into western Pennsylvania and Virginia. Pioneers began to force the hand of colonial officials, who could not control the movement westward. Richard Henderson's Transylvania Company hired Daniel Boone and other pioneers to explore what is now Kentucky and to establish a presence there. Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, and a host of Algonquian tribes from the Ohio Valley reacted to these developments by forming an alliance known as the Scioto Confederacy. Multitribal alliances became increasingly common in the Revolutionary and early national periods. Native peoples recognized the fatal consequences of tribalism and sought an alternative in the pan-Indian efforts of warriors such as the Miami chief, Little Turtle, and the Shawnee warriors, Bluejacket and Tecumseh. On 10 October 1774 the Scioto Confederacy engaged Virginians at the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers at the Battle of Point Pleasant. The Virginians lost eighty-one men, a larger number than the Shawnees. However, the Shawnees were devastated by the outcome of the battle as prominent fighting men, including Tecumseh's father, Puckeshinwau, died.

Following their victory at Point Pleasant, the British forced the Scioto Confederacy to acknowledge boundary lines established in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), which ceded most of Kentucky to American settlement. Less than a year after the battle, in April 1775, Boonesborough, Kentucky, was founded. The violence over Kentucky continued, but scorched earth campaigns led by George Rogers Clark and bands of Kentucky volunteers between 1778 and 1781 forced the Ohio Valley tribes to concede Kentucky.

Warfare erupted along the southern frontier as well. Between 1775 and 1781, Chickamauga Cherokees led by Dragging Canoe waged a series of attacks on settlers in eastern Tennessee. Independence-minded Americans such as the noted Indian fighter John Sevier fought back. Many historians speculate that these frontier engagements informed John Dickinson's *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Their Taking Up Arms* (1775) as well as Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence in 1776. Thomas Paine joined the chorus early in 1776 with *Common Sense*, in which he referred to King George III as "that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes against us." Patriot forces allied with the Catawba Indians, longstanding enemies of the Cherokees, eventually achieved victory over the Chickamaugas. Peace between the United States and the Cherokees was not achieved until 28 November 1785 with the Treaty of Hopewell, which resulted in massive Cherokee land cessions in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The Revolution in the backcountry resulted in familiar cycles of war and dispossession. Anthony F. C. Wallace's *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (1999), identifies a four-part process: (1) whites encroach on Indian lands and commit atrocities against the Indians; (2) native peoples engage in a bloody, equally random retaliation; (3) British or American troops, or both, invade or threaten to invade Indian lands to protect settlers and punish the Indians; and (4) a peace treaty is signed that results in a significant land cession. In the many military engagements between Indians and whites, colonial powers intervened in response to protracted warfare between neighboring Indians and whites. Both British and American policymakers reacted to frontier violence that they could not control.

Disease, overhunting, and the consequences of total warfare combined to significantly weaken American Indian tribes during the American Revolution. A massive smallpox epidemic raced through Indian communities from Canada to Mexico between 1779 and 1783. Outbreaks of smallpox often coincided with the most dramatic conflicts between Indians and whites. In 1779 George Washington ordered Major General John Sullivan to systematically burn Iroquois cornfields, orchards, and villages in an attempt to break the covenant chain linking the British to the Iroquois Confederacy. Iroquois survivors of this scorched earth campaign—refugees from forty devastated villages—faced a long northern winter without food. The Iroquois Confederacy between the

Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, Mohawk, and Tuscarora tribes disintegrated as the Revolutionary War divided the loyalties of the tribes between the central antagonists.

## FORMATION OF AN INDIAN POLICY

War and disease contributed to the attrition of Indian communities throughout the eastern United States. A series of immediate and unforgiving consequences followed. After the Revolution, land replaced deerskins as the primary unit of trade. By 1800 approximately six hundred thousand American Indians faced just over five million whites and African Americans. The weakness of the Articles of Confederation created a vacuum of power that a host of competing entities exploited. Using the conquest theory, between 1784 and 1786 land companies, state governments, and private individuals signed a number of treaties with American Indians. In their rush to acquire Indian land, fraudulent treaty makers failed to negotiate with approved tribal leaders and rarely received congressional approval for their actions.

Endemic warfare, particularly north of the Ohio River, began to undermine the social order of Indian communities. The Shawnee town of Chillicothe, originally located along the Scioto River in south-central Ohio, was attacked by Kentuckians and reconstituted by Shawnees four times between 1774 and 1794. Indian men, accustomed to clearing fields, hunting, and regulating the civil affairs of their communities, were long absent. Time-honored harvest ceremonies were interrupted. Kin groups weakened from the loss of members and leadership turned to their culturally related neighbors for support. Native peoples increasingly reconstituted themselves according to their disposition toward war and peace, militant resistance or accommodation.

In August 1786 the Confederation Congress attempted to stem the violence on American frontiers when it created Indian departments north and south of the Ohio River. Under Henry Knox, secretary of war under both the Articles of Confederation and President George Washington, these departments evolved into a series of Indian agencies. Similarly, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which was designed to reverse the years of mayhem that had accompanied Indian–white relations during the Revolution. Among other things, the Northwest Ordinance ended both the conquest theory and the preemption rights that followed from it. After 1787, land west of the Mississippi had to be purchased from the Indians, regardless of their disposition toward the United States. Moreover, treaty making be-

came the exclusive privilege of the United States and its agents.

These policy changes did not diminish hostile actions between Indians and whites. Settlers continued to push north from Kentucky into what is now Ohio. In response, the Miami and Shawnee tribes assembled another multitribal alliance to stem the invasion of their lands. Between 18 and 22 October 1790, Brigadier General Josiah Harmar retaliated by launching the first major assault against the Ohio tribes. The multitribal alliance achieved a decisive victory over Harmar, with 183 of his 1,500 men reported killed or missing. In retaliation, President Washington ordered General Arthur St. Clair to launch another attack on the Ohio tribes. Little Turtle of the Miami tribe and Bluejacket of the Shawnee led an estimated one thousand men against two thousand soldiers under St. Clair in a series of engagements that climaxed on 4 November 1791. At sunrise, a force of Wyandot, Seneca, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami warriors surprised St. Clair's forces. The Americans lost 630 killed, with another 283 wounded, in what amounted to the second-worst defeat of a European force north of Mexico.

It took the United States another three years to mount an effective campaign against the Ohio tribes. On 20 August 1794, Major General Anthony Wayne engaged what remained of Bluejacket and Little Turtle's multitribal confederacy in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. In a series of conflicts earlier that summer, the comparatively undisciplined members of the Indian alliance had steadily withdrawn. Little more than four hundred warriors faced thirty-five hundred Americans. The American victory ended large-scale conflict between Indians and whites north of the Ohio for more than fifteen years. On 3 August 1795, Wayne forced the Ohio tribes to cede all of south and central Ohio to the United States in the Treaty of Greenville.

Under Washington, Henry Knox further developed the civilization strategy. Knox understood that warfare strained both the federal budget and the U.S. military. He argued that a policy of appeasement involving the establishment of Christian missions and the active promotion of Indian leaders willing to compromise made far more sense than indiscriminate, genocidal warfare against native peoples. Also, the Indian trade had to be regulated and linked to land cessions. Between 1796 and 1822, Congress oversaw a factory system in which the U.S. Treasury Department operated a series of trading houses in which traders were licensed and regulated by the

United States. The factory system was essential to Thomas Jefferson and other American presidents, who used the trading houses to accelerate the acquisition of Indian land.

Following the Indian wars of the 1790s, the United States redoubled its commitment to what became known as the "civilization strategy." Benjamin Hawkins served as U.S. Indian agent to the Creeks from 1796 to 1816. During his tenure, Hawkins played a vital role in maintaining peaceful relations between Indians and whites. Frequent correspondence with Thomas Jefferson during his two terms as president (1801–1809) underscored the importance of his post. The Creeks referred to Hawkins as an *isti atcagagi*, or "beloved man," a title that denoted respect and political power among the Creeks.

As president, Jefferson inherited an increasingly effective civilization program. The Eastern Woodland tribes had been significantly weakened by the long backcountry revolution, spanning the years roughly from 1774 to 1794. They soon came to the negotiating table. Jefferson's civilization program had four essential points: (1) traders should charge high rates so that hunters would become indebted and consequently would be forced to sell their lands; (2) influential chiefs should be bribed with land and money; (3) friendly leaders should be formally recognized with trips to the nation's capital and other symbolic gestures designed to bolster their authority and to overawe them with the power of the United States; and (4) if tribes refused to negotiate, traders and government agents should threaten a trade embargo or war. Jefferson's policy achieved remarkable success during his tenure as president. Between 1801 and 1809, he and his associates acquired nearly 200,000 square miles of land that laid the basis for the future states of Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri. His agents negotiated thirty-two treaties in those years as well.

On 30 April 1803, when the United States purchased Louisiana from France, Jefferson created the conditions necessary for the eventual removal of American Indians from the eastern United States. Branches of tribes, including the Chickamauga Cherokees, Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankashaws and others of the Great Lake area, began to move westward in a series of voluntary removals designed to forestall the deep cultural changes demanded by the United States. In justifying the purchase of French lands beyond the Mississippi, Jefferson argued that western lands might act as a safety valve for the "Indian problem" further east.

## REVITALIZATION AND THE WAR OF 1812

Some tribal leaders, such as the Seneca holy man, Handsome Lake, forged a survival strategy intended to avoid removal and retain the cultural sovereignty of his people. In 1799 he created a religious revitalization movement known as the Gaiwiio, or the "good message." Like many of his people, Handsome Lake suffered from the poverty that came with the destruction of animals, the reduction of tribal lands, and the alcohol trade. After a particularly devastating alcohol-induced coma, Handsome Lake awoke with a message born out of a conversion experience reminiscent of the Second Great Awakening. He attempted to revitalize Seneca culture by altering it in accord with many of the central tenets of the civilization program administered by the Quaker missionaries among his people. Men would farm, women would assume control of the domestic sphere, Senecas would disavow alcohol and divorce and make other reforms. The Seneca reservation would resemble, in rough outline, the typical frontier settlement. However, the Code of Handsome Lake (also known as the Longhouse religion) was created by and for the Seneca people. More than three thousand Iroquois follow the Gaiwiio to this day.

In contrast, a significant number of Creeks and Seminoles known as the Red Sticks became a part of a millenarian movement in the early nineteenth century. The Red Sticks fought against both the United States and those Creeks and Seminoles who supported them. For the Red Sticks, a day of fiery judgment was at hand, a time in which those who had supported colonizers and adopted American ways would be defeated. In short, the Red Sticks waged a civil war against those who hoped to compromise and coalesce with the new American Republic. They identified each other by the wands they carried, which were painted red, the color of war. The Chickamauga Cherokee, Dragging Canoe, and the Shawnee brothers, Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, aroused similar internal discord among the Ohio Valley tribes. In each case, however, the majority of their people rejected militancy, choosing instead to stop the cycle of violence and create a settlement with the Americans that might allow them to retain their lands and some semblance of their distinctive culture.

Nevertheless, the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States unleashed internal discord within tribes. In the Red Stick or Creek War of 1813–1814, the Creek warrior Hillis Hadjo engaged the United States in the Southeast. On 30 August 1813 the Creeks laid siege to Fort Mims, an American outpost in what later became Alabama, and killed ap-

proximately 250 of the fort's inhabitants. Nearly half of the 750 warriors who besieged the fort were also killed. Between September 1813 and March 1814, Major General Andrew Jackson, setting out from Tennessee, quickly put an end to the Red Stick Rebellion. Like the Red Sticks, Jackson did not differentiate between friend and foe. On 27 March 1814, Jackson used the enveloping line, a tactic in which the military units on the tips of the line turned inward as soon as units at the center of the line made contact with the target, to vanquish the Red Sticks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

Like the Red Sticks, the pan-Indian resistance movement led by the Shawnee warrior Tecumseh ended in defeat and death. On 5 October 1813, Tecumseh was killed by American troops at the Battle of Thames. The Creeks, Shawnees, and their Eastern Woodland neighbors then signed treaties that clearly defined their dependent status and yielded vast amounts of land to the Americans. On 9 August 1814, the Creeks agreed to the Treaty of Fort Jackson, which ceded twenty-two million acres, two-thirds of their territory, to the United States. Following these wars, American Indian tribes east of the Mississippi became dependents of the United States who resided on reservations monitored by Christian missionaries and government agents. Tribal leaders no longer seriously considered military conflict with the Americans. The survivors of the Indian wars looked toward a future as nations within a nation.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indian Removal; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Proclamation of 1763; Revolution: Military History; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America*, 1754–1766. New York: Knopf, 2000.

Aron, Stephen. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Calloway, Colin G. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Fredrika J. Teute. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity*, 1745–1815. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Ethridge, Robbie. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and their World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Fenn, Elizabeth A. "Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century North America: Beyond Jeffrey Amherst." *Journal of American History* 86 (2000): 1552–1580.

Hinderaker, Eric, and Peter C. Mancall. *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon, 1991.

Merrell, James H. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier.* New York: Norton, 1999.

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Sturtevant, William C., gen. ed. *Handbook of North American Indians.* Volume 4: *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988.

Sugden, John. *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, 1650–1815. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*Stephen Warren*

**DISABILITY** In keeping with the popular use of the word, "disability" is defined here rather narrowly as the presence of a long-term physical or mental impairment in an individual. Traditionally, historians have neglected to examine the experiences of disabled people, and our knowledge of the circumstances they faced in the past is very limited. This is as true for early American history as it is for other periods. It is difficult to know how many disabled Americans there were in the colonies or the early Republic, as it was not until 1830 that the decennial federal census began to include data on disability; even then, the census was concerned only with the deaf, "dumb," and blind (of which there were, according to the 1830 count, 11,550 in the United States). The precise number of Americans with nonsensory impairments at that time remains unknown. Despite the problem of quantification, it is certain that disability was widespread throughout the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries. Congenital disorders, accidents, wars, disease, or simply the effects of aging, coupled with the rudimentary state of medicine, meant many Americans were disabled in body and mind.

A disability that restricted a person's ability to work for a living often compounded, or caused, the poverty of America's most needy citizens. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the poor-relief records of early American towns are littered with references to the "lame," "crippled," "impotent," and "lunatic." Yet not all disabled people were confined to the lower classes. There is abundant evidence that disability was common to all socioeconomic groups, including the economic and political elites. For example, though it is rarely acknowledged by historians, several important members of America's Revolutionary leadership were disabled. Such individuals include the one-legged Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), who helped write the federal Constitution, and Stephen Hopkins (1707–1785), who is reputed to have had cerebral palsy and was a governor of Rhode Island and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

As well as a failure to quantify the scope of disability in early America and acknowledge its presence in the lives of prominent Americans, historians have yet to study adequately the social, economic, and political consequences of physical or mental impairment to ordinary people. A central research question that needs to be answered concerns the level of marginalization, or exclusion, experienced by the disabled during this time. Were they more integrated into American society than is the case today? Research into the experiences of disabled Revolutionary War veterans suggests at least that they may have been. A recent study indicates that, compared to nondisabled veterans, disabled veterans occupied no worse an economic or social position in the early Republic than nondisabled ones. These men achieved almost identical levels of wealth over the course of their lives and appear to have been no more susceptible to poverty than the rest of the veteran population. Disabled veterans also labored for a living, got married, had children, established households, and generally participated in the life of their local communities in a similar manner, and number, as their nondisabled comrades. Of course, the fact that these disabled people were veterans, men, and overwhelmingly white may have affected their status and standing. Until historians have more fully examined the lives of disabled women and blacks, it is difficult to know how exactly gender and racial identities affected the experiences of the disabled, though they surely did.

Unlike the situation faced by many disabled people in the twentieth century, institutionalization was not a common feature of the disability experience in early America. The institutions specifically designed for the disabled, such as the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut (founded in 1817), that did exist were few in number and only established very late in the early national period (the first American schools for the blind were not opened in Boston and New York until 1832). Rather than being confined to hospitals, asylums, or residential schools, most disabled Americans living in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who required disability-related care or support usually received it in their own homes, or in those of their family, friends, and neighbors. Nevertheless, the emergence of special-education schools and insane asylums in the early national period, while admittedly very small in scale, promoted the idea that disability was a "problem" that required the intervention of trained staff within a specially created institutional setting. This laid the ground for the more widespread and systematic institutionalization of disabled Americans that was to occur in the future.

*See also* **Asylums; Education: Education of the Deaf; Hospitals; Mental Illness.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braddock, David L., and Susan L. Parish. "An Institutional History of Disability." In *Handbook of Disability Studies*. Edited by Gary L. Albrecht, Katherine Seelman, and Michael Bury. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2001.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Rev. ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.

*Daniel Blackie*

**DISCIPLES OF CHRIST**   The Disciples of Christ was organized formally in 1832, but the denomination's essential doctrines and practices first appeared in eighteenth-century Scotland among Restorationists—Christians who undertook to restore the faith and practice described in the New Testament, casting aside ideas and practices developed both by the Catholic Church and by the most powerful churches formed by the Protestant Reformation. The Scottish leaders of this movement were John Glas (1695-1773); Robert Sandeman (1718–1771); and later, the Haldane brothers, Robert Alexander (1764–1842) and James Alexander (1768–1851).

The two most important founders of the Disciples, Barton W. Stone (1772–1844) and Alexander Campbell (1788–1866), developed their views independently. Stone, a native of Maryland, was converted in North Carolina by the Presbyterian revivalist James McGready (1763–1817), whom he followed to Kentucky. After participating in McGready's Logan County Camp Meeting in 1800, Stone became principal organizer of the legendary Cane Ridge Meeting near Lexington in 1801, perhaps the single most important event in the history of American Christianity. Operating mainly outside the rules and regulations of the Kentucky Presbytery, Stone and his allies formed the secessionist Springfield Presbytery in 1803, only to disband it the following year. Calling themselves simply "Christians," they spread their independent congregations throughout Kentucky and eastern Ohio.

Alexander Campbell was, like his father, Thomas (1763–1854), a native of northern Ireland. Thomas arrived in Pennsylvania in 1807; he was preparing to secede from the Presbyterian Church when Alexander joined him in 1809, fresh from theological studies in Scotland. Father and son led in the formation of the Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania, affirming congregational independence, baptism by immersion, and insistence on the Christian scriptures (the New Testament) as the sole guide to belief and practice: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent" (Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 447). From 1813 to 1827 the Campbells affiliated with a Baptist Association and Alexander, a prolific writer and spirited controversialist, reached a wide audience as editor of the *Christian Baptist* (1823–1829). One of the many gifted preachers drawn to the Campbellites was Walter Scott (1796–1861), another immigrant from Scotland who converted to Haldanean principles while teaching in George Forrester's academy in Pittsburgh. By 1830 the Disciples were fully committed to revivals, the equality of congregational members with their ministers, and a straightforward scheme of salvation—affirmation of faith, repentance, and baptism by immersion. Many of them were taking a lively interest in the supposed approach of a millennial Second Coming.

Conceived as a movement to restore original Christianity and thereby unite all Christians under a single banner, the Disciples of Christ nevertheless learned that some organization above the congregational level was necessary. Barton W. Stone and Alexander Campbell, recognizing that their purposes were virtually the same, drew their followers together in 1832; thus, an antidenominational movement formed another denomination. The American frontier proved especially hospitable to the formation of new religious organizations, and America's pursuit of egalitarian democracy especially favored congregational independence and self-government. But also essential to the religious efflorescence of the early nineteenth century was the Second Great Awakening, which began in the long-settled eastern states, with theological ideas imported and adopted from Britain and especially Scotland.

*See also* **Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ahlstrom, Sidney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. *A Social History of the Disciples of Christ.* Vol. 1: *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866.* Nashville, Tenn.: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966.

*Robert McColley*

**DISESTABLISHMENT** Historians frequently debate the basic nature of the American Revolution, especially whether it was conservative or radical in nature. With respect to religion, its radical nature seems quite clear. A revolution fought for all liberty, both civil and ecclesiastical, set the new nation on an untried and—in the opinion of many—daringly risky course. Most of western Europe continued to assume that a stable society required the joint partnership of the church and state, the two working in a mutually supportive harmony. In challenging that pervasive assumption, the United States would help chart a course toward the modern world.

Colonial America boasted two church establishments, an "establishment" meaning governmental arrangements that followed the European patterns of intimate alliance between the church and the state. These two were Congregationalism in New England (Rhode Island excepted) and Anglicanism in the southern colonies. In the middle colonies, the picture was more mixed. Anglicanism had some roots in New York, though the Dutch Reformed, earlier on the scene, kept Anglican power in check. In Pennsylvania, its Quaker founder, William Penn, who had seen religious persecution back in England, insured that no institutional establishment would prevail there. Quakers were also strong in neighboring New

Jersey, so they, with a scattering of other sects, kept establishment at bay. Where establishment prevailed, disestablishment did not come all at once, either during or immediately after the Revolution, nor did it come without significant public resistance.

Anglicanism was the first to fall, as there was a certain logic in upending the favored position of the Church of England while the colonies were at war against that England. Nonetheless, many legislators in the colonies now on their way to becoming states did not wish to move too swiftly in severing all ties between the civil and the ecclesiastical estates. As the most populous state and the one with the longest history of establishment, Virginia offers the best example of the steady progression toward what would become the signal feature of the American experiment: namely, the separation of church and state.

A dozen years after the founding of Jamestown in 1607, the Virginia House of Burgesses recognized the Church of England, or Anglicanism, as the official religion of the young colony—just as it was recognized in the mother country. This meant that only the Anglican Church had the support and protection of the government, only for the Anglican Church did the state raise taxes to pay the salaries of the church's clergymen and to support the construction of its buildings, only the Anglican Church had its parish boundaries laid out and defined by government. These ties between church and state remained close throughout the rest of the seventeenth century and through most of the eighteenth, until the advent of the Revolution.

### DISESTABLISHMENT IN VIRGINIA

Since the Anglican establishment was strongest in Virginia, the most crucial battles for disestablishing it would be fought there. As a member of the legislature, Thomas Jefferson took the lead in revising innumerable colonial laws that protected Anglicanism, disadvantaged all dissenters, and even provided criminal penalties for "heresy" (however defined) or a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). He also wrote a sweeping bill for making religious freedom—not religious establishment—the official stance of the state. Though its passage was delayed until after the Revolution, in 1779 all vestiges of tax support for religion were removed. In this struggle ("the severest contests in which I have ever been engaged," Jefferson recalled in 1821), he was greatly aided by the non-Anglicans in Virginia, notably Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians. However, some thought that to sever all ties between religion and the state was neither necessary nor wise. In

the 1780s Patrick Henry took the lead in proposing what could be called a multiple establishment, in which the state was barred from supporting any single church but could support all Christian churches. Because Henry's bill had wide support, especially in the Tidewater region, its defeat was far from certain. And Jefferson was far away, representing his country in France. Into the breach strode James Madison, who penned—and, even more important, gained many signatures to—his famed Memorial and Remonstrance. Presented to Virginia's legislators in 1785 as a counterweight to Henry's bill, Madison's Memorial presented clear, cogent, and ultimately convincing arguments against a religious establishment of any sort. History, Madison pointed out, demonstrated that the fruits of state establishment have been sour indeed, if not rotten, characterized by "pride and indolence in the Clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity, in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution." Why repeat this sorry history, when a full freedom in religion "promised a lustre to our country"? Moreover, a legislature that today can establish Christianity can tomorrow establish a "particular sect of Christians," thereby taking America right back to where it was before fighting a long and costly revolution.

To a great many Virginians, especially those dissenters living in the backcountry, Madison's penetrating questions demanded a defeat of Henry's bill—which never came up for another vote. Now the long-delayed Jefferson Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom could be taken off the legislative table, debated, modestly revised, and passed in 1786. Henceforth, in Virginia, in the words of the bill, "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever." On the contrary, "all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." Disestablishment had come to Virginia, and in a few years to all other states where by law the Church of England had been favored.

### THE NATIONAL SCENE

The progress of Jefferson's statute was followed closely by the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which kept faith with the Jeffersonian stance by maintaining a separation between church and state. Also, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 quickly pronounced for religious liberty in the region north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River, although only after considerable debate and discussion

did members of the Continental Congress at last agree that religion, unlike education, would not receive any governmental support. Finally, the First Amendment, ratified by the states in 1791, stipulated that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Still, establishment did not immediately disappear everywhere in the new nation. For the First Amendment only specified what the federal Congress could or could not do; it did not directly address the prerogatives of the states. As a result, that other establishment, namely New England Congregationalism, continued for some time after the ratification of the First Amendment.

## DISESTABLISHMENT IN NEW ENGLAND

After all, this official church was home grown, not the ally of an English king, not the darling of an English Parliament. Besides, in a series of gradual concessions, dissenters had been excused from paying taxes to the Congregational establishment upon presenting proof of their membership in another denomination. John Adams defended the continued nexus between church and state in the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 as "a most mild and equitable establishment of religion." But by the second decade of the nineteenth century, Adams had grown steadily more suspicious of any alliance between religion and civil power, however "mild" it might initially appear. The restoration of the Jesuit order in 1814 did nothing to calm Adams's spirit, for he saw in the Society of Jesus the epitome of religion joined to power. "I do not like the late resurrection of the Jesuits," he wrote Jefferson on 16 May 1816. And Adams predicted that America would soon be swarming with Jesuits, men who appeared in so many guises: "printers, editors, writers, schoolmasters, etc." Adams acknowledged that under the U.S. Constitution the Jesuits could claim asylum in America, but added that Americans must be ever vigilant.

Jefferson, of course, hardly needed to be reminded of the need for vigilance against clergymen with power. In the bitter presidential campaign of 1800 between Jefferson and Adams, religion played a surprisingly large part. Jefferson was cast in the role of the "atheist," the distinction between an atheist and a Deist being too fine for politicians in the heat of battle. Publicly, Jefferson stood mute before these attacks, but privately his scorn knew no bounds. And he blamed the New England clergy, that "irritable tribe of priests," for the spew of slander. He pummeled the Congregational clergy as "those bigots in

religion and government," "barbarians" who would turn the clock back on the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and the First Amendment.

Jefferson, however, was elected to the presidency not once, but twice. It took his eight years in office and a few more before Jefferson and Adams could write to each other in terms of mutual respect. In 1814 and beyond, they found common cause in resisting any combination of religion with power generally, and specifically the establishments in New England. In Connecticut, dissenters (including Episcopalians who, now on the outside looking in, joined with Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers) continued their clamor for disestablishment.

In 1816, the Toleration Party, consisting mainly of Jeffersonian Republicans but now supplemented by disaffected Federalists, came into being. The party name pointed to a growing dislike for the intolerance of Congregational dominance in state offices and state affairs. The Congregational clergy, aided and abetted by Yale College, made up a ruling elite that treated most dissenters with disdain or even contempt, Federalist clergyman Lyman Beecher characterizing them as "generally illiterate men . . . utterly unacquainted with Theology." By 1817, the Toleration Party had won the Connecticut governorship and a slim majority in the lower house of the legislature. The next year, the citizens of Connecticut voted on a new constitution, narrowly adopted by a vote of 13,918 in favor and 12,364 opposed. By the terms of Article VII of this instrument, religious freedom was assured to all. Earlier, seeing the political winds blowing in his favor, Jefferson wrote to John Adams (5 May 1817) his congratulations that this "Protestant Popedom is to no longer disgrace the American history and character." Colonial constitutions were purged of any remaining hints of establishment, and no new state would be admitted to the Union with anything less than a clear commitment to liberty in religion.

Massachusetts, however, maintained its establishment for another decade and a half, the situation there being complicated by an intense quarrel between the orthodox Congregationalists and the liberal Unitarians. It took the state courts of Massachusetts some time to sort out conflicting claims of property and church titles, but in 1833 the citizens of that state resoundingly approved a constitutional amendment that cut all remaining ties between the church and the state. In his inaugural address in 1836, Governor Edward Everett noted that a vital lesson had at last been learned: "the mischief of an alliance of church and state." Jefferson and Adams,

both having passed from the scene a decade before, would have nodded in vigorous agreement.

See also **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Bill of Rights; Congregationalists; Connecticut; Massachusetts; Religious Tests for Officeholding; Virginia; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gaustad, Edwin S. *The Faith of the Founders: Religion and the New Nation, 1776–1826.* Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2005.

Lambert, Frank. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Noonan, John T., Jr. *The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Witte, John, Jr. *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment: Essential Rights and Liberties.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2000.

*Edwin S. Gaustad*

**DIVORCE AND DESERTION**   Early Americans expected to marry, and they generally understood marriage as the appropriate, even natural, state for adults. Moreover, they believed that stable marriages promoted social order. Conversely, Americans typically considered separation and divorce as personal and moral failures that imperiled society and conceived of divorce as a drastic remedy to an otherwise insolvable problem. Nevertheless, marriages did break down, and unsuccessful couples sought escape from such matches.

Some colonies (after 1776, states) allowed for divorces *a mensa et thoro* (from bed and board). With these limited divorces, couples severed their finances and residences but could not remarry. A full divorce terminated a union and legalized remarriage. In colonial America, only New England allowed full divorces. Some couples in locales forbidding either of these forms of divorce sought legal separations—equitable agreements in which couples divided property but could never remarry. Ending a marriage did not, however, require legal adjudication. Couples self-divorced without consulting authorities. Extralegal separations, often deriving from desertion, remained the easiest and perhaps most common means of ending a marriage between the 1750s and the 1820s.

Because states set marriage laws, the mechanics of pursuing divorce varied widely. In many states in the early Republic (1780s–1820s), legislatures oversaw divorces; in some, courts handled suits. For a time several states operated under a dual jurisdictional system, with both the legislature and courts hearing cases. (As laws governing divorce relaxed and petitions rose, legislators found themselves inundated with requests, so they turned over divorce authority to courts.) Grounds for getting divorces varied by state and included adultery, desertion, cruelty, bigamy, incest, and fraud. As states passed these diverse laws, they inadvertently legitimated and increased divorces.

Americans linked marital bonds and social stability, so divorces in early America were public matters. Legal authorities and communities judged whether separations or divorces seemed justified, based on public interests. Separating spouses needed their neighbors to support their behaviors and legal actions. Petitions often included testimony or signatures of neighbors, which validated the cases, if not in the eyes of the law, at least in the minds of community members.

Because of the presumed link between marriage and social stability as well as the widespread conviction that casually ending unions was immoral, divorce required proof of a gross violation of marital and community mores. Authorities sanctioned divorce only if supporting a marriage threatened order and morals more than did severing it. Further, a successful petition required a guilty party and an innocent victim. For example, a wife seeking a divorce needed to demonstrate both that her husband willfully abrogated his duties and that she fulfilled her obligations despite his failures.

**COLONIAL PATTERNS**
Before the Revolution the southern colonies, following English precedent, viewed marriage as indissoluble. In England divorce could be secured only by an exceedingly rare act of Parliament, and ecclesiastical court hearings preceded applications to Parliament. In the southern colonies the absence of such courts precluded the legislatures from hearing divorce petitions. No southern colony granted a divorce before the Revolution. Southern courts did occasionally oversee separation agreements between dissatisfied spouses.

New England, conversely, interpreted marriage as a civil contract, and colonies including Massachusetts and Connecticut gave divorces to both husbands and wives. Colonial New Englanders allowed annul-

ments for individuals who proved that their spouse was sexually impotent or committed fraud and bigamy (one partner lied to the other about being single). Cruelty could be legal grounds for a bed-and-board divorce in colonial Massachusetts. Successful petitioners most often proved their spouses guilty of adultery, the ultimate violation of marriage. In all cases, colonial New England required petitioners to prove themselves dutiful and blameless despite their partner's wrongdoing. Not surprisingly, discontented spouses found abandonment their least complicated, and sometimes only, option.

### AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Divorce laws and attitudes changed significantly during the Revolutionary era. All but one of the southern states created divorce laws after independence. Pennsylvania also designed clear procedures for divorce in 1785. A statute during this period ensured the right to divorce in the newly created Northwest Territories. In locales that allowed divorce prior to the Revolution, the number of petitions relative to the population rose after 1776. Two states, New York and South Carolina, diverged from this pattern. South Carolina became the only state forbidding divorce in the new nation. It did not allow full divorces until 1868, but revoked that legislation ten years later, continuing the prohibition into the twentieth century. In 1787 New York, in a move similarly at odds with the national trend, adopted a strict code. Despite these exceptions, the nation clearly moved toward more liberal attitudes and laws regarding divorce. The steadily rising divorce rate from the 1780s to the 1860s testified to Americans' growing (if still reluctant) acceptance of the occasional need for ending unsuccessful marriages. Typifying national patterns, Maryland granted its first divorce in 1790. By the 1830s the legislature validated over thirty per year.

While divorce expanded in most parts of the early Republic, the West outpaced the Tidewater states. Western states allowed more grounds for divorce and required shorter periods of residency than eastern states. In some of the western states, proving "marital breakdown" could secure a divorce. Tennessee ranked among the most liberal jurisdictions in the South. Indiana, which coupled expansive grounds with lax residency rules, became renowned as America's first divorce mill.

The move toward more flexible laws in the early national era derived from a growing conviction among white Americans that divorce, in cases where one party egregiously violated the marriage, was a clear right. This new recognition of divorce as a fundamental freedom emerged in tandem with republican political culture. Ideas about the contractual nature of government and the rights of individuals infused Americans' thinking about divorce. Changing marital values reinforced this mind-set. The heightened emphasis on romantic love after the mideighteenth century raised marital expectations (and thus disappointments) and produced more divorce as individuals married for love and felt entitled to satisfaction.

This new enthusiasm for individual rights and self-fulfillment clashed with the traditional belief that preserving marriages upheld social stability. Divorce attitudes thus bore the mark of the central political issue in the early Republic: balancing individual rights with civic order. Statistics demonstrate both a growing interest in divorce and a powerful resistance to it. On the one hand, Americans pursued divorce at a much higher rate than that of their colonial ancestors and British contemporaries. Between 1670 and 1857, when Britain revised its divorce laws, Parliament allowed only 325 divorces. In comparison, between 1670 and 1799 Connecticut granted nearly 1,000 decrees. Tennessee's legislature authorized 111 divorces between 1797 and 1833. On the other hand, although more common than in England and the colonial past, divorce in the United States was no simple matter. Cases dragged on for months and years, and many petitioners lost. For example, between 1786 and 1827 only one in five petitioners to the Virginia legislature secured either a divorce or a separation. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, more accommodating than many, rejected over half the appeals received between 1785 and 1815.

### DESERTION

Although divorce became more available and acceptable in the early national era, many unhappy white couples, particularly the husbands in such couples, continued to rely on extralegal means to extract themselves from undesirable matches. Desertion, informal separations, even bigamy (in the form of serial monogamy without legal divorce) offered spouses an effective if illegal escape from unsuccessful marriages. Many more men than women abandoned marriages. Deserters found that the expanse of the nation, the general mobility of the population, inefficient communications systems, and inconsistent record-keeping all abetted their abandonment. Individuals who deserted their marriages sometimes sought divorces in more accommodating jurisdic-

tions such as Indiana; others remarried without formal divorces. Although illegal throughout the nation, bigamy occurred everywhere, in the form of desertion and remarriage. Historians cannot quantify the number of men and women who deserted one family and started another. However, they speculate that desertion was the most common way to end a marriage, as spouses could self-divorce—pursue their individual desires—without the scrutiny, expense, time, and possible failure that legal divorce entailed.

## RACIAL VARIATIONS

Native American and African American divorces typically occurred beyond the legal parameters designed for white Americans. Native American nations exercised less oversight over sundering failed marriages (which whites took as evidence of their immorality). Cherokees, for example attached no particular stigma to couples that ended their unions. Although the annual Green Corn Ceremony provided a venue for publicly acknowledging divorces, Cherokees terminated marriages by physical separation. Because of their matrilineal culture (common among native nations), divorcing Cherokee husbands left their wives' households and returned to their mothers or sisters. Children always stayed with their mothers.

African American slaves enjoyed no formal legal sanction for their marriages. Owners wanted to be able to sell or move their "property" as they saw fit, and officially recognizing slave unions would have undercut that power. Legally, slaves could not marry or, consequently, divorce. Within slave communities, couples cemented their relationships through rituals and societal recognition. Those matches sometimes ended when couples grew estranged or when owners sold away one partner. Although African American churches and slave owners sometimes vetted these marital endings, most couples simply had their divorces (like their marriages) affirmed by their communities.

## WHITE WOMEN

White women relied more on the new divorce laws and benefited more from them. Wives sought to legally end their marriages more often than husbands, and they usually succeeded at a higher rate. The prevalence of female litigants originated in the colonial period. In colonial Virginia, for example, when courts allowed separate maintenance suits, nearly all benefited women. Men, who typically controlled marital assets, had little to gain and much to lose by appealing to courts. In colonial Massachusetts more

women than men also sued for divorce in part because women sought protection from abusive husbands. Furthermore, far more men than women deserted their marriages, and this left abandoned wives in a precarious position. The doctrine of coverture, which defined the legal status of most white women in colonial America, placed wives wholly under the economic authority of their husbands. Unless she secured a divorce, any property or wages an abandoned wife acquired belonged to her estranged husband. In order to escape such economic exploitation—which never afflicted husbands—wives sought divorces. This pattern continued in the post-Revolutionary era. Pennsylvania's 1785 divorce code made desertion, adultery, impotence, bigamy, and cruelty acceptable grounds. Women benefited far more than men from the law, and their petitions exceeded husbands by almost a 2 to 1 ratio.

Mothers also gained more from shifting child custody assumptions in this era. During the colonial period, children were, in effect, defined as property of the head of household. When marriages ended, fathers could retain custody. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, authorities began to privilege the needs of children over paternal rights. As judges and legislators increasingly considered the relative merits of the mother and the father in determining custody, more women kept their children than ever before.

## ANDREW AND RACHEL JACKSON

The 1791 marriage of Andrew Jackson and Rachel Donelson Robards underscores the nature and complexity of divorce in this era. Rachel, a Tennessean, married Andrew Jackson under the incorrect assumption that she was legally divorced from her first husband, Lewis Robards. At the time of the Jackson marriage, Robards had gained authorization from the Virginia legislature only to sue for divorce in court. He finally secured a divorce in Kentucky in 1794—three years after the Jackson nuptials. When Jackson ran for president in 1828, his detractors charged Rachel Jackson with deserting her first husband and living in adultery and bigamy with Andrew Jackson. The couple's supporters insisted that Robards's cruelty destroyed his marriage and defended the Jacksons as victims of political persecution over an innocent legal misunderstanding.

The Jackson case highlights many of the central characteristics of early American divorces. Communities and legal authorities shared responsibility for judging the merits of divorces, which were decidedly public matters. Divorce required assessing blame,

with one innocent and one guilty party. Although easier to secure after independence, divorces required a lot of time and remained controversial. (Andrew and Rachel Jackson lived together happily for over thirty-five years but could not escape scandal.) Geographic mobility and jurisdictional variations made extralegal desertion and bigamous remarriage much easier than legal divorce.

Ultimately, controversies and complications notwithstanding, Americans increasingly, though sometimes reluctantly, came to believe that in marriage individual rights outweighed societal ambitions. Although courts and legislatures tried to define and limit divorce and preserve social order, men and women sought relief from failed marriages and the right, with other, more agreeable mates, to pursue happiness.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; Childbirth and Childbearing; Courtship; Law: Women and the Law; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Parenthood; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Basch, Norma. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

———. "Marriage, Morals, and Politics in the Election of 1828." *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 890–918.

Buckley, Thomas E. *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Chused, Richard H. *Private Acts in Public Places: A Social History of Divorce in the Formative Era of American Family Law.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

Cott, Nancy F. "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts." *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (1976): 586–614.

———. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Man and Wife in America: A History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Riley, Glenda. *Divorce: An American Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

———. "Legislative Divorce in Virginia, 1803–1850." *Journal of the Early Republic* 11 (spring 1991): 51–67.

Smith, Merril D. *Breaking the Bonds: Marital Discord in Pennsylvania, 1730–1830.* New York: New York University Press, 1991.

*Lorri Glover*

**DOMESTIC LIFE**    "Domesticity" has a homey feel to it, conjuring scenes of enduring warmth, safety, and comforting predictability. From the mid-eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century, however, Americans' domestic lives and the ideal of domesticity itself underwent dramatic changes. In fact, the ideological power and emotional resonance of the term "domesticity" seem all the more impressive when historians consider the challenges that real-life domesticity posed to the image. The years from 1750 to 1830 were a time of complex and consequential changes in the household setting, the experiences of individuals within that setting, and the way various groups viewed and valued the ideal of domesticity.

### HEARTH AND HOME

A number of households over the course of the period underwent architectural and material changes that reflected newly strengthening values and aspirations within the household. In broad terms, housing arrangements and architectural styles became somewhat more uniform across regions but considerably more divided by class. A trend took shape toward greater elaboration, specialization, and privacy in the layout of houses; this trend developed earliest and continued most strongly among the urban upper and middle classes but also penetrated deeper into rural areas and somewhat lower in the social order. The houses of the gentry led the way, becoming larger, more genteel, and more often built of, or at least faced with, brick.

Such houses, even in cities, increasingly separated themselves from their surroundings. They were set back from the street more, with walkways and gardens marking their boundaries; a visitor might have to pass through a gate or climb steps to knock on the front door. Having entered, visitors would likely find themselves in a large central hall; the hall in turn gave access to formal, public rooms, rooms for entertaining company, and, less and less often, for conducting business. The same hall buffered the private spaces of family members—bedrooms, baths, reading nooks—from visitors. Only intimates penetrated these family areas. And just as the boundaries between public and private spaces—and public and private activities—became more clearly demarcated, so too were the designated purposes of rooms announced: food was cooked in the kitchen (itself safely out of sight in gentry houses) but eaten in the dining room.

As privacy came to be more highly valued within the household, the houses of the upper classes, urban and rural, reflected a growing desire to shield bodily activities—the intimate, the coarse, and the mundane—from public view. Also new was a desire to separate the family and household from the world around them. Altogether, these changes spoke of greater self-consciousness about the emotional and private character of the family, a kind of closing in of the family circle. These new arrangements within the home, and the fine consumer and luxury goods that increasingly graced these households, also reflected growing aspirations to gentility and refinement. From the 1730s on and accelerating throughout the period, a "consumer revolution" brought china, silver, silks, leather-bound books, and expensive furniture to urban gentry houses. It also brought better pottery, more refined eating utensils, a broad range of textiles, and the wares of itinerant portrait painters to middling families in the countryside. Even excavations of slave quarters turn up pieces of Wedgwood and the occasional silver-plated fork, cast-offs from the plantation owners that provide both a metaphorical and a literal demonstration of the trickling down of the consumer revolution. Fine goods contributed to the material comfort of households and their members, reinforcing a growing sense that homes were to be sites of private pleasure and leisure—even as, ironically, they were also sites for displaying wealth, taste, and freedom from work.

### FAMILY SIZE AND CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Among the upper and middle classes, while the houses were getting bigger the families were getting smaller. Historians have termed this demographic revolution the "fertility transition." Eighteenth-century wives and husbands knew of, and sometimes availed themselves of, various forms of contraception, some more reliable than others: abstinence, coitus interruptus, prolonged breastfeeding, and herbs and potions thought to be abortifacients (agents that induce miscarriage). A far more sustained and systematic movement toward family limitation occurred in the nineteenth century, especially among white, urban women of the middle and upper-middle classes, most characteristically those of the ambitious professional and business classes. The causes of this transition were complicated, but the results were clear enough: over the course of the nineteenth century, the average number of children born to white women fell from just over 7 to 3.56.

The fertility transition demonstrates the complexity of factors affecting domestic life. The material circumstances and aspirations of middle-class families changed as they became no longer dependent on the labor of numerous children and increasingly concerned to accrue, protect, and concentrate their financial assets for the sake of those children. The family became the new focus of life and emotional fulfillment, with children themselves—who were now to be nurtured and cultivated as never before— at the heart of the family circle. Controlling fertility was an intimate decision with public consequences, a set of individual choices that together formed a broad social pattern. As a demographic revolution, the fertility transition can be measured in terms of family size and birth intervals; as a cultural shift, it can be measured in terms of subtle changes in values and aspirations, the assertion of autonomy and control, and a display of mastery and restraint.

Another point that bears on almost every aspect of domestic life in this period is the ways in which domestic life—as a cultural ideal and as a gritty reality—was shaped by and in turn helped define class distinctions. Middle-class families that could forgo the labor of their children could deliberately limit the size of their families; farming families and urban workers engaged in piecework could not. If the cultural ideal of family life emphasized privacy and autonomy, those were luxuries denied working-class families, black and white, who took in boarders to make ends meet, or enslaved families living in plantation quarters. Social position, social aspirations, and social constraints strongly shaped the different ways in which Americans—gentry and working class, free and enslaved, rural and urban—negotiated the shifting terrain of domestic life in this period.

### WORK AND RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

As important as the physical setting is, the core of domestic life resides in the multiple and multilayered relationships and individual experiences of those within the household. Perhaps the single most important determinant of those relationships was work and the requirements it imposed. Work, and control over the fruits of work, structured the lines of authority and dependence within the household and beyond. Three broad changes reshaped the working and domestic lives of most Americans in this period: changes in access to and control over property; a gradual and uneven shift toward commercial and manufacturing work; and the growing separation of work from the household.

In general, hierarchical, patriarchal, and dependent relationships yielded to more egalitarian, con-

tractual, independent, and affectionate ones. Thus landless sons, apprentices, tenants, and wives—the former dependents in such relationships—often gained new freedoms and access to new opportunities; they often encountered new risks and new anxieties, too, or entirely new forms of dependence. Fathers, masters, landlords, husbands—the former superiors—saw their authority eroded in some respects, with ties of obligation and deference weakening somewhat. Although they often found themselves relieved of many traditional, paternalistic responsibilities, many also confronted unfamiliar expectations of them as husbands and fathers. A second impact of changes in domestic life forms a powerful counterpoint to the first: in many circumstances, patriarchal authority reasserted itself, along with a newly crystallized distribution of power along lines of gender and race.

### ACCESS TO PROPERTY: THE NORTH

The largest social group of the Northern colonies was white families of the middling order who farmed or raised livestock. Some combined farming with artisanal or commercial activity. These families worked as families, with all but the youngest or physically incapable members contributing productively to the household economy. The father and older sons, with occasional help from neighbors or hired hands, worked the land, repaired the buildings, and hunted and fished as necessary. The mother and older girls, and younger children of both sexes, cooked, washed, fetched water, stoked fires, tended vegetable gardens, and produced clothing and other textiles for home use and sometimes for exchange. In especially busy seasons or for large tasks, they might rely on the labor of young neighborhood women—some of them relatives, some working as part of a system of reciprocal exchanges of labor and goods, and some with the status of servants.

Although all family members contributed to the productivity and success of the household economy, the overriding fact was that the father owned the land. Sons had to wait to come into their own inherited land, and while waiting they worked for their fathers. The basic fact of life for such families was that fathers owned and ruled, and sons inherited.

But it was not an immutable fact of life. Even before the Revolution, especially in New England, such families felt the effects of a growing population and declining availability of desirable land. Such pressures generated considerable momentum to advance white settlement of the western lands. The period after the Revolution saw an explosive increase in population movement, both from the countryside to the city, and from eastern settlements to newly opened western states and territories. Young white men of the rural northern United States—a very large group indeed—could now acquire land independently of their fathers. They did not have to please their fathers, or work for them through their twenties and thirties, or wait to move, marry, and establish an independent household. Fathers often lost authority, a dependent labor force, and a secure transmission of property. Here was a sea change in the dynamic of the household, and it is not surprising that conflicts between fathers and sons fill the accounts of the period, from letters to autobiographies to novels.

### ACCESS TO PROPERTY: THE SOUTH

Changes in access to land in the slaveholding South also recast domestic lives but in dramatically different ways. As the plantation system expanded in the eighteenth century and became entrenched by the early nineteenth, a sharpening stratification took place in access to land and slaves and, with them, wealth and privilege. As the slaveholding gentry increased its wealth and consolidated its social position, its patriarchal authority deepened, even as it cloaked itself in benevolent paternalism—in the common usage, a tender care for their "entire family, white and black." The overwhelming beneficiaries of the South's changing social order were the elite planters; the women of the gentry class shared in the privileges of their wealth, class, and race, even as they generally had to submit to their husbands and fathers. Elite men found that the appearance of domestic tranquility and benevolence made it easier to impose and strengthen their domestic authority, even as it masked the exploitation of slavery that underwrote their power.

As the elite extended its control over land and slaves, yeoman farmers faced significant curbs on their economic power and prospects. Seeking to become "masters of small worlds," these men reasserted their authority as husbands and fathers. The privilege of white skin helped secure their tenuous position and sense of authority, a fact that helps explain why so many men who owned few or no slaves nonetheless supported a social order based on slavery.

### THE DOMESTIC LIVES OF SLAVES

Of course, most fundamentally and detrimentally, the developing plantation system reshaped the lives, domestic and otherwise, of enslaved persons them-

selves. To describe this process challenges not only one's understanding but one's very vocabulary; above all it tests one's tolerance for complexity. For the members of this society inhabited simultaneously a stark world of law, coercion, and violence, and a fluid world of negotiation and continual contestation. Many masters wanted to believe in their own benevolence and were indifferent to slaves' domestic lives as long as they got the work done. The shrewdest among them recognized that incentives and a fictional appearance of reciprocity might go a long way toward securing the best efforts, stability, and loyalty of their enslaved workers. Within the confines of this oppressive regime, slaves themselves found ways to win concessions; but the struggle to preserve them was precarious, constantly subject to changes in masters' moods and fortunes. Yet these small victories often made it possible to salvage some privacy, some autonomy, some happiness—however fragile—in daily domestic life.

The most important fact—really, the defining condition—of slaves' domestic lives is that all lived with the knowledge that at any time, they or members of their families could be sold. Of all antebellum interstate slave sales, it has been estimated that one-quarter destroyed a first marriage and one-half destroyed a nuclear family. Even in families that remained reasonably intact, slave marriages were not legally recognized. Husbands and wives, especially in the Chesapeake, often lived on different plantations, and women were highly vulnerable to rape and sexual exploitation. Children were put to work as early as age seven.

What slaves achieved, as they struggled to carve out domestic lives for themselves, is astonishing. As the slave system matured, after the tobacco revolution in the Chesapeake and the rice revolution in the Lower South, a number of changes in slaves' domestic routines became possible, even as they varied by region and work regimen. Families typically lived independently in small, rudimentary cabins; slave quarters in the Lower South tended to be located farther from the main house than in the Chesapeake, affording them a greater modicum of privacy. In general, the daily lives of masters and slaves were more intermeshed in the Chesapeake. Slaves there were subject to more direct oversight and personal contact, and owners were more eager to embrace the role of the paternalistic master. Although this made it harder for slaves to protect their domestic lives from their masters' watchfulness, it often made it easier to extract certain concessions from these self-avowed benevolent patriarchs. Thus Chesapeake slaves often

secured release from work on certain days, provision of food and drink for holiday celebrations, control over the naming of children, even permission to keep some part of wages earned off the plantation as hired laborers.

Lower South slaves were less likely to have masters committed to the fiction of benevolence and less likely to have their daily routines quite so bound up together. But the task system of work prevalent in rice-growing regions meant that slaves were more likely to have time recognized as their own—time in which, for instance, they could work their own gardens and keep or sell the produce. Such small preserves of autonomy—a garden here, a customary holiday there—seem hardly to offset the discipline of the slave system. Yet slaves fiercely and vigilantly opposed any suspension or infringement in these areas, attesting to the importance of seemingly small matters. Finally, faced with so many off-plantation marriages and the vulnerability of the nuclear family, slaves forged extended family relationships and kin networks, a striking, and vitally important, feature of their domestic lives.

### THE IDEOLOGY OF DOMESTIC LIFE

From one fundamental fact, then—changes in control over property—flowed several transformations in domestic life. As noted, the gradual shift toward manufacturing and commercial work, and the increasing separation of work from the household—changes often joined to growing urbanization—similarly reshaped domestic lives. Young men who moved to larger towns or cities to take up work as clerks or assistants in banks or mercantile houses commonly lived in boardinghouses; while they remained unmarried, their domestic lives were more likely dominated by masculine sociability than familial domesticity. Working-class women, white and black, found work in small manufactories, in piecework, in domestic service, and in prostitution; often freed from paternal constraints, they frequently found themselves subject instead to the demands of employers. Northern slaves, through the alchemy of gradual emancipation, saw their position transform from slave to servant over the long haul of this period; but most continued to live, alone or in small numbers, in the houses or above the workshops of their employers. They, together with Southern urban slaves, found it difficult to secure much privacy and autonomy in domestic life. For all those drawn to cities or to work beyond the household, a defining characteristic of their lives was a new level of mobility, of fluidity—even to the point of restless-

ness, to use a term commonly invoked in the period. Such fluidity opened up new opportunities and bred new anxieties, dissolved old bonds and boundaries, and transformed the cultural meaning of domestic life.

As domestic life became more variegated and ever more differentiated by class, race, region, and form of work, the ideology of domestic life—its ideals, expectations, and norms—became more uniform. Domesticity was a cultural ideal, no less powerful for being highly problematic. The middle-class household placed a new emphasis on privacy, intimacy, affection, and the primacy of children, with a corresponding exaltation of motherhood. The burgeoning literature on domesticity advised women—respectable, white, middle-class women, that is—on how best to keep the hearth and safeguard their virtue. The same literature promised their husbands a refuge from the rigors and competitiveness of the marketplace, a salve for the psychic injuries of the workaday world. Middle- and upper-class women came to be prized as consumers rather than producers of goods; an increasing need for cash income—income earned by men outside the home—rendered women's contributions to the household economy less visible and less valuable, thus diminishing their economic authority. Women who gained some autonomy through employment outside the home were thereby branded unfit for domesticity.

The ideology of domesticity, even as it glorified women's positions, proved an effective trap. The doctrine of separate spheres undercut and delayed recognition of the equality of women, not least by deploying an economic, ideological, gendered, and value-laden division between home and work, productive labor and increasingly "pastoralized" housework. Women's increasingly exclusive identification with family life and household responsibilities erected a formidable stumbling block to gender and economic equality, one whose consequences linger into our own time. The putative benefits of the doctrine of separate spheres, such as the extension of women's influence into religion, reformism, and benevolence, must be understood within the strict confines of legal, political, and social inequality. Even the ideal of companionate marriage, which promised at last middle-class women a kind of domestic parity, must be seen alongside the crippling legal and economic disabilities of women, disabilities that often made the idea of companionate marriage seem an oxymoron.

The emerging cultural ideal of domesticity may have described some rough approximation of real life for a few Northern, Protestant, middle-class families. But its greatest power may have derived from the people and the behaviors it excluded—those seen as unfit, disreputable, disorderly, immoral. The ideal of female domesticity and virtue was intricately bound up with sexual propriety, male authority, class distinctions, social status, economic freedom, and racial consciousness. None were so completely excluded from this ideal as enslaved women, who were consigned to work in the fields, whose bodies were poked and prodded in the slave market, who could not marry legally, whose children could be sold, and whose sexual lives were constantly violated and viciously caricatured. The ideal of domesticity promoted the private, the normal, and the good, even as it rationalized the deforming influence of race, class, and gender. Sojourner Truth might or might not have asked, "Ain't I a woman?" But it was a question that many, on both sides of the racial and class divide, had to ponder in the new Republic.

*See also* **Class; Divorce and Desertion; Happiness; Home; Marriage; Material Culture; Property; Sensibility; Slavery: Slave Life; Wealth; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Brown, Kathleen. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Kerber, Linda. *Toward an Intellectual History of Women.* Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700–1835.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York*, *1789–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County*, *Massachusetts*, *1630–1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard*, *Based on Her Diary*, *1785–1812.* New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Wall, Helena M. "Notes on Life since *A Little Commonwealth*: Family and Gender History since 1970." *William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (October 2000): 809–825.

*Helena M. Wall*

**DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**   Frequency and levels of domestic violence in America prior to the Civil War are very hard to determine. Laws and ordinances varied from colony to colony and state to state, and common-law tradition affected notions of what constituted acceptable "discipline" or means to maintain order within families and the extended household. These common-law traditions in most instances determined whether a case of violence in a domestic situation would result in a complaint and, if a complaint was made, colored court decisions.

In early America the lack of established government and legal systems except for tenuous knowledge of common law left absolute control of the household in the hands of patriarchs. Control of the domestic sphere by the father or the senior adult male in the household was universally accepted. Patriarchal authority included the control of wives, daughters, unmarried sisters, children, servants, slaves, and any other dependent males who happened to be associated with the extended household. Wives and mothers also had their realm of authority, over servants, slaves, and children. Dependent free men and women (and sometimes children) had authority over servants and slaves through *delegatus non potest delegare*, through the father or patriarch.

Violent action against dependents was sanctioned to the greatest degree within the extended household. This situation persisted from the 1750s through the 1850s, until local governments and laws were established to create order and to enforce it. The majority of households in early America contained neither servant nor slave; thus the most frequent instances of domestic violence were between husbands and wives, parents and children, and among children.

Throughout the colonial period and into the early nineteenth century, the use of both physical restraint and violence, short of murder and mayhem, were commonly allowed by law and upheld by society and the courts in their uses by authority figures over dependents. Within the immediate family, the English common-law "rule of thumb" allowed "necessary" physical correction of wives by husbands and children by parents. Such correction could be applied with impunity by means of a stick, rod, or switch no broader than a man's thumb to punish or maintain control.

Stronger measures could be taken to control or discipline servants or slaves. Although indentured servants, and later non-contracted domestic servants, had redress under the law in cases where excessive force or extreme physical abuse could be proven, they still were subject to potentially greater levels of violence by masters seeking to maintain control over them. Domestic servants in the nineteenth century could give notice and leave if the controls and punishments were more than they could bear. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indentured servants, who were contracted to work for from three to seven years, could be legally beaten and whipped by their masters for various infractions, including insubordination and laziness. An overwhelming majority of indentured servants who sued their masters for unreasonable levels of abuse did receive favorable judgments in court, from reduced terms of service to immediate freedom. But justices of the peace would not recommend legal action unless they found evidence of a pattern of continuous violent punishments.

Slaves faced the highest levels of violence sanctioned by law. By the turn of the eighteenth century, laws in all colonies had identified slaves as chattel property subject entirely to their masters' "good will." An owner could treat his own property in any manner he chose. Thus slaves could be summarily beaten, tortured, maimed, or killed "at will" by their masters. Only the temperance advised either by the church or through social pressures stayed the hand of more severe masters. As far as the law and the court system were concerned, the only caution against extreme violence to slaves was that masters be aware of the public consequences of their actions—in other words, how extreme violence against their own slaves might affect the attitudes of other slaves. This became more of a concern when news of slave insurrections or planned rebellions spread through the colonies. After Stono, South Carolina began to limit punishments, and in the period after

the Revolution almost all states criminalized the murder of a slave, even by a master. In addition, in the wake of the Revolution the states prohibited branding, castration, hamstringing, and other forms of excessive cruelty inflicted on slaves.

Attitudes toward domestic violence stemmed in part from America's origins in Puritan New England. New England Puritans viewed children as inherently evil and believed that children's will had to be broken in order for them to accept God. The "breaking" of children involved strict rules and regulations which, if disobeyed, brought routine corporal punishment. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was an understatement, since Puritan parents, including mothers, believed that their children's very souls were at stake if they were not held to a strict line. Puritan husbands were expected to keep their wives in line through corporal punishment when deemed necessary.

Elsewhere, as in seventeenth-century Virginia, the rarity of women prompted men to develop a more protective attitude toward them. As the number of women in the colony increased, however, instances of violence against wives increased. Courts typically sought proof that the violence was beyond acceptable levels of correction.

Pennsylvanians, both citizens and government leaders, exhibited a greater desire for spousal harmony and domestic tranquility. However, in the eighteenth century Pennsylvania's murder rate per capita was twice as high as London's and the frequency of assaults was higher than in most other colonies. Nearly as many murders and assaults occurred within the household as did in the public sphere. Despite Quaker influence and appeals for peaceful action, most colonists in Pennsylvania, as in the other colonies, saw corporal punishment of dependents as a routine matter. The vast majority of violent punishments were not reported. In more severe cases that came to light, beatings, rapes, and murders of women (nearly two-thirds of the cases were attacks by husbands and fathers against female dependents) were still judged by their potential acceptability as legitimate correction, or seen as beyond the purview of the courts. Close to one-third of domestic assault complaints in colonial Pennsylvania were either dismissed by magistrates or grand juries or dropped by attorneys as not contestable. Over half of the assailants in domestic cases brought to trial in Pennsylvania were found not guilty of exceeding a normal standard of correction. In the face of accepted standards of behavior, both biblical and legal, by household heads, as well as the fear of an embarrassing

public display that would not in any event end or limit abuse, few victims chose to announce domestic violence.

Over time domestic violence came to be defined with greater uniformity across the United States. Likewise, limits began to be placed on the amount of control a household head could exercise over his dependents. Both society in general and local and state governments began to exert more influence and impose more strictures on physical punishments meted out in the home. In many ways, slavery itself became the last bastion of absolute domestic controls.

*See also* **Childhood and Adolescence; Corporal Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Divorce and Desertion; Government: Local; Government: State; Home; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Slave Life; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bardaglio, Peter. *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Brown, Kathleen M. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Daniels, Christine, and Michael V. Kennedy, eds. *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America.* New York: Routledge, 1999.

Dayton, Cornelia Hughes. *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Greven, Philip J. *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Hoffer, Peter C., and N. E. H. Hull. *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England, 1558–1803.* New York: New York University Press, 1981.

Pleck, Elizabeth. *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

*Michael V. Kennedy*

**DRUGS** The most common drug recreationally and medicinally in early America was alcohol. Distillation of alcohol became ubiquitous in Europe shortly before the colonization of the Americas, and North American colonists drank all types. Still, other drugs also existed that were used medicinally. Healers, usually women, of all ethnicities and races used cures

**Gold and Agate Snuff Box.** Circa 1760. © MASSIMO LISTRI/CORBIS.

from native as well as European and African transplanted plants to combat disease and injuries. By far the most universally and successfully used were opium and its derivatives, but the dark side of addiction and overdoses was commonly recognized as well.

Almost all female householders possessed sufficient herbal knowledge to make their own medicines. Women grew needed herbs such as sorrel, sage, anise, marigolds, and thyme among rows of vegetables just as their medicinal formulas lay intermingled with recipes in family cookbooks. All healers, whether elite physicians, journeymen doctors, midwives, or household healers, used herbs in their medicines. Some elite physicians, trained in the method of Paracelsus, the sixteenth-century alchemist and physician, included metals in their formulas. Midwives possessed special recipes containing pennyroyal, ju-

niper, rue, and other herbs to provide additional strength and induce labor and sometimes to induce abortion through miscarriages.

Plants varied widely depending on geographic area, and thus herbal medicines had strong regional differences. Native Americans, African Americans, and Europeans all contributed to the shared knowledge. Native Americans were the most respected of all the groups. Local inhabitants taught French explorers along the St. Lawrence River the curative properties of willow bark for scurvy. Traditional African cures often included food ingredients like licorice, yams, okra, and sesame seeds. Although blacks were commonly denigrated as inferior, many whites sought medical help from them. In one famous case a South Carolina slave was given his freedom for the recipe to his secret cure for rattlesnake bite.

The key medicinal drug was clearly opium. Although poppies were grown throughout the country, only during the War of 1812 were they commercially viable. Otherwise, Americans imported opium in cakes from the Near East, especially Turkey, where rich syrups and juices were used to make the opium product palatable and easy to cut. The thick resinous type of opium used for smoking did not make it to America during this period. Although available in gum and powdered form, opium was mostly mixed with alcohol or water to form laudanum. Physicians prescribed opium for pain relief, anxiety, dysentery, rheumatism, and, among the wealthy, to regulate and control the feelings of women thought to be unruly or hysterical. Most Americans obtained opium not through physicians' prescriptions but in patent medicines (trademarked nonprescription drugs whose contents were in part undisclosed) and homemade herbal cures.

Physicians had long recognized the existence of addiction and tolerance but did not understand their causes or why many addicts were able to remain healthy. Americans did not criticize individuals suffering from addictions. During the early 1820s English Romantics like Thomas De Quincey (whose *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* made him famous) and the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge popularized opium's recreational use. In America opium was used by artists like the poet and author Edgar Allan Poe, who began to use opium excessively, and the well-to-do.

*See also* **Alcohol Consumption; Alcoholic Beverages and Production; Pain.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Booth, Martin. *Opium: A History.* New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Tannenbaum, Rebecca J. *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Early New England.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

*Mark C. Smith*

**DUELING**   An Old World ritual with a long history, dueling traveled to the New World with the early colonists. Particularly in the more densely populated northern colonies, aggrieved gentlemen sometimes resorted to duels to settle their disputes; over time, dueling became more prevalent in the South. It first gained popularity during the American Revolution, partly as a result of the militarization of American society, partly because of contact with European officers well versed in the *code duello*, and partly because of the wartime instability of American society. Dueling was particularly popular among young officers, who performed its scripted rituals and adhered to its rule-bound code of honor to prove themselves members of a privileged class that was superior to the masses.

Although the *code duello* adapted to various principals and circumstances, and although its precise details varied over time, its core rituals and logic remained constant. If a gentleman felt that his personal character had been insulted, he selected a friend to act as his second and sent his attacker a ritualized letter demanding an explanation. The attacker then selected a second to act as his intermediary, and negotiations began. Responsible for forging a compromise or an apology, a second held his friend's life in his hands. More than one duel was fought because of unskilled seconds who stumbled through the rituals and logic of the *code duello.* However, in most cases, seconds reached an acceptable compromise. Most honor disputes ended with the exchange of letters and little else.

Seriously aggrieved men (or men with clumsy seconds) sometimes felt compelled to go further, proving their merits by risking their lives on the field of honor. Only the literal demonstration of one's willingness to die for one's honor could dispel dishonor of the deepest kind. In such cases, the aggrieved principal sent his attacker a challenge through the channel of their seconds. Some deeply dishonored men were so desperate to redeem their names that they even provoked duels, using deliberate insults or demands for humiliating apologies. Once a challenge was accepted, the seconds then negotiated the precise terms of the impending duel: how many paces apart the principals would stand, what types of weapons they would use, where and when they would meet. (Contrary to popular belief, American duelists did not usually pace away from each other, turn, and fire; rather, they stood face to face at a prescribed distance and fired at the count of three.) In the unlikely event that one of the principals did not appear at the dueling ground at the fated hour, his second was pledged to stand in his place.

Illogical as it may seem, many duelists did not intend to kill their opponents; duelists needed to prove only their willingness to die for their honor. Often, this could be accomplished with an exchange of letters in which both men expressed their willingness to fight and then negotiated a compromise. Even if two men exchanged fire on a dueling ground, the

## THE BURR–HAMILTON DUEL

The most famous duel in American history, the 1804 duel between Vice President Aaron Burr and former Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton was the climax of a fifteen-year political rivalry. Ambitious, aggressive, and talented New Yorkers acting within the confines of a limited political stage, Burr and Hamilton seemed destined to clash. Hamilton often took the lead in their conflict, repeatedly striving to deny Burr political power. Convinced that Burr was a self-interested demagogue who would destroy the Republic by seizing power, Hamilton considered it a "religious duty" to oppose Burr's career.

Although Burr ultimately raised himself to the vice presidency under Jefferson, the Virginian distrusted him, casting him out of his administration after one term. Turning to New York State for power and prestige, Burr ran for governor but lost, in part because of Hamilton's avid opposition. Humiliated by this second political failure, Burr felt compelled to maintain his political status by challenging one of his antagonists to a duel. When a friend gave him a newspaper clipping containing one of Hamilton's many insulting comments about Burr (at a dinner party, Hamilton had said something "despicable" about Burr), Burr's course became clear. As one of Burr's followers explained after the duel, had Burr failed to redeem his reputation, his supporters would have abandoned him as a man without power and influence.

On 18 June 1804, Burr wrote Hamilton a letter demanding an explanation for Hamilton's comments. Hamilton's response was poorly planned. Eager to avoid a fight and having successfully explained his way out of a duel with Burr at least once before, Hamilton attempt-

ed to placate him with a discussion of the precise meaning of the word "despicable." Unwilling to appear cowardly, he concluded the letter with a burst of bravado, declaring himself willing to "abide the consequences" for his actions. Deeply insulted, Burr replied with an accusatory letter that outraged Hamilton in return, making it difficult, if not impossible, for either man to avoid the field of honor. Ultimately, Burr decided that nothing but an actual duel could redeem his reputation. To force Hamilton to fight, he demanded that Hamilton apologize for all of his insulting language from throughout their entire fifteen-year rivalry. When Hamilton predictably rejected Burr's humiliating demand, Burr issued Hamilton a formal challenge.

The duel took place on 11 July on the heights of Weehawken, New Jersey, a frequently used dueling ground. Each man fired at the other, but their precise intentions remain unknown. According to Hamilton's second, Nathaniel Pendleton, Hamilton had a "religious scruple" about shooting a man in cold blood and had decided not to fire his first shot at Burr, nor perhaps his second shot. Burr's second, William Van Ness, argued the opposite, alleging that Hamilton had fired directly at Burr, who had naturally returned fire. Unfortunately for Burr, Hamilton's vague insult (something "despicable") and his death at Burr's hand left Burr vulnerable to attack, and political opponents of all stripes seized the opportunity. Accusing him of being a vindictive, unprincipled murderer, they savaged his reputation. For the rest of his life, Burr would be known as the man who killed Hamilton.

*Joanne B. Freeman*

outcome was not necessarily fatal; many duelists left the field of honor unharmed or with a leg wound. Indeed, the man who killed his opponent often did himself serious damage, opening himself to charges of brutality and murder. In many ways, the survivor of a fatal duel was the loser, failing in his battle for public opinion.

Duels proved a man's superior status and honor in several ways. First and most obviously, they displayed a man's gentlemanly manner: his self-control, his high sense of personal honor, his courage under fire, and his willingness to die in defense of his reputation. Duels also declared a man's precise sta-

tus, for only equals could duel; a man who was insulted by an inferior redeemed his reputation—and demonstrated the inferiority of his attacker—by caning him, whipping him, or "tweaking" his nose. And although dueling was eventually illegal in most states, elite duelists rarely faced legal prosecution until well into the nineteenth century. Men of questionable status who were caught dueling were usually arrested, proving their inferiority in the process.

Despite their seemingly privileged status under the law, elite duelists usually covered their tracks. They referred to their seconds as "friends." They avoided the word "challenge." On the dueling
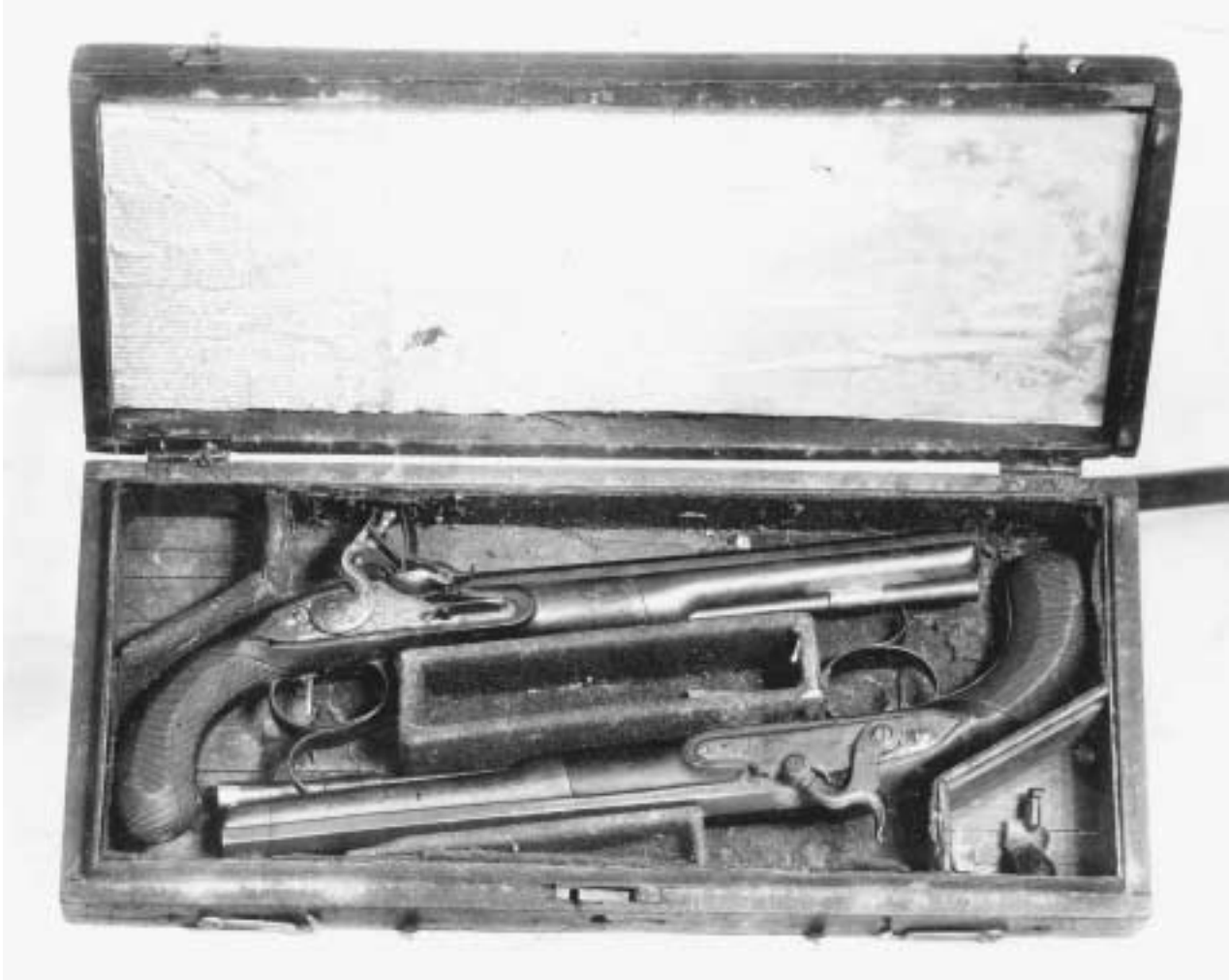
**Hamilton-Burr Dueling Pistols.** This set of pistols, now owned by JPMorgan Chase & Co., was used in the famous 1804 duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

ground, attending physicians faced away from the dueling ground so they could deny witnessing anything if questioned. Often, participants destroyed written challenges and planning documents after the event, making it difficult to trace duels in the historical record. Political duels had an added wrinkle. Fought to redeem a man's reputation not only as a gentleman but as a leader, they required a certain degree of publicity to accomplish their purpose. Thus, after a duel between two well-known political figures, the two seconds often compiled a joint account of the duel's proceedings for newspaper publication, literally advertising the bravery of the participants. Not surprisingly, many such politically useful duels were bloodless. Duels were particularly common after elections, partly because of rampant mudslinging, but also because they allowed the electoral loser to redeem his reputation. By provoking an

honor dispute with the winner or one of his friends, the loser or one of his friends could attempt to reclaim his status and eligibility as a political leader and a man of power. In a sense, political duelists used the aristocratic *code duello* to counterbalance the personal impact of democratic politicking. Aaron Burr challenged Alexander Hamilton to a duel in 1804 for just this reason.

Although Hamilton's unfortunate fate in that duel provoked an outcry of antidueling sentiment, dueling lingered in the North for years to come, a detested but occasionally unavoidable means of dispelling dishonor among gentlemen. It remained far more entrenched in the less urbanized, more hierarchical South, where habitual violence was more endemic. Not until the 1830s was dueling outlawed in every state, and even then the practice persisted for decades to come.

*See also* **Character; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Hamilton, Alexander.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

———. "Dueling as Politics: Reinterpreting the Burr-Hamilton Duel." *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (April 1996): 289–318.

Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Honor and Slavery.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Sabine, Lorenzo. *Notes on Duels and Duelling, Alphabetically Arranged, with a Preliminary Historical Essay.* Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1859.

Steinmetz, Andrew. *The Romance of Duelling in all Times and Countries.* 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 1868.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

*Joanne B. Freeman*

$\mathcal{E}$

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**   The Seven Years' War (1754–1763) spurred unforeseen but profoundly consequential economic changes in British North America. Supplying soldiers and citizens required infrastructure and organization on a scale never before known in the colonies. French and Spanish silver greased the exchange of goods and promoted fuller employment of townspeople, while currency finance—the emission of paper money through provincial governments—expanded the ability of colonists to conduct business on an unprecedented scale. This war was also far more expansive in its operations, and far costlier, than previous wars in North America, and so some colonial governments issued negotiable bonds and provincial Treasurers' Notes to merchants and suppliers, thereby initiating the precedent, although on a small scale, of financing the government's role in war with debt in addition to infusions of currency.

### BETWEEN CONFLICTS

Following the Seven Years' War, wartime demand for goods and services shrank. However, the return to a postwar status quo of colonial subordination to English mercantile regulations and general commercial authority was challenged—though not unseated—in three ways by colonial economic maturation.

One way involved the expansion of the British-controlled western frontier, which created new opportunities for colonial trade among Native Americans, settlers and land companies, and towns to the east; a steadily growing population in the West and the land clearing and improvements it brought set the stage for economic development. Agricultural productivity rose rapidly, land values climbed, and settlers' demands for infrastructure to link farms to towns poured in from myriad backcountry locations. By 1775, more than a quarter-of-a-million colonists lived beyond the old fringe of settlement; nearly one-third of the southern white population inhabited the western backcountry, while streams of migrants trod well-worn roads into western New York and Pennsylvania, West Florida, and the lower Mississippi River area.

A second challenge to British control of the North American economy was evidenced in commerce. Although British merchants generously responded to pent-up colonial demand for goods and credit after the war, by then, northern colonial merchants had become more capable of shipping, warehousing, and diversifying enterprises and of distributing goods themselves. Continual shipbuilding, waterfront development, the steady influx of immigrant labor, and capital for investment in goods all enhanced profits during good times and shielded

**Tontine Coffee House.** The Tontine Coffee House at the corner of Wall and Water Streets in lower Manhattan, shown here in a painting (c. 1797) by Francis Guy, became a central meeting place for merchants, traders, brokers, and underwriters, whose dealings eventually developed into the New York Stock Exchange. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

merchants from the worst downturns. In the Chesapeake regions, prices of exported tobacco tended to rise more than they fell after the 1750s, and planters had ever-larger quantities to export. In the Carolina low country, planters enjoyed a recovery of rice export prices (and higher yields) after 1763, as well as a tremendous surge in indigo production and export. By the eve of the Revolution, as much as one-fourth of colonists' disposable income was spent on imports from British and European sources, although scholars disagree about whether this proportion represented a rising standard of living for a growing number of people or simply the rising demand consonant with an increasing population. Moreover, even if colonists were indeed buying more goods per capita, import figures do not explain how much consumption came from increases in colonial shop and home production.

A third challenge to British economic domination arose from colonial craftsmen; more local industries such as milling, distilling, tanning, smithing, and iron production placed more American

goods in local markets. Some of the expanding production by these colonists was consumed in nearby households and in local exchange; some of it—the proportion disputed by scholars—was targeted for external markets at significant distances. In either case, most colonists experienced periods of relatively modest satisfaction of needs that were punctuated by the ability to purchase desirable comforts. Moreover, coastal merchants were increasingly dependent upon, and the beneficiaries of, diversified local economies able to support a range of skilled lesser entrepreneurs, farmers, retailers, and consumers. Despite periods of recurring depressed conditions, the northeastern and mid-Atlantic economies were maturing rapidly—internally and internationally—by the end of the colonial era.

## THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Many Americans believed the Revolution would release tremendous economic energies to improve, produce, and consume more, thereby shaping them into virtuous citizens even in the midst of their wartime

public sacrifice. To some extent these views were correct, for wartime need spurred home manufacturing, westward expansion, and exploration of new foreign markets. A few iron forges and rudimentary gun manufactories sprang up, and more sophisticated systems of distribution arose to get shirts and food to military fronts. Privateering proved lucrative to a few men even as it ruined others. But the Revolution also introduced numerous short-term disruptions to production and exchange. Many farmers abandoned the fields for the war; mills and shops closed due to scarcities of raw materials, absent workers, and inaccessible markets; armies combed through countrysides for scant supplies of food. British blockades disrupted pre-war commerce, and occupied cities suffered shortages of many necessities. Whole towns and surrounding fields lay burned by one army or the other. Immigration slowed significantly, with the effect of shrinking the available pool of free and bound white labor as well as the number of new slaves entering America.

The Continental Congress and individual new states emitted vast quantities of the popular paper money that, according to eighteenth-century wisdom, was to be retired out of circulation with taxes. But by the late 1770s, the massive sums in circulation were seldom being retired, with the inevitable result that "continentals" and state currencies plummeted in value. Public confidence declined along with the value of currencies; the complex network of debt and credit that distinguished the late colonial economy was thrown into disarray when prices more than doubled in the last four years of the war.

Once the individual colonies and states finally created a loose government under the Articles of Confederation in 1781, nationalists in Congress quickly proposed remedies for pressing difficulties concerning army supply, civilian shortages, and Revolutionary finance. Most important, days before the Articles went into effect they appointed Robert Morris, probably the wealthiest merchant in America at the time, as superintendent of finance in February 1781. By that time purchasing power was at an all-time low and Congress's paper currency was "not worth a continental." Still, seven states renewed their commitment to issuing paper money in large quantities, while in most cases keeping taxes low and thereby initiating new spirals of depreciation. Congress halted its own currency printing presses. In December 1781 Morris persuaded Congress to charter the first private commercial bank in America, the Bank of North America, in which he deposited loans of Dutch and French specie and bills of exchange, as well as large sums of his own money. He then asked Congress to authorize the printing of new continental currency, which would circulate freely with the backing of interest-bearing funds in the bank. Morris also initiated a new contract bidding system for the failing supply system, pledging the confidence and finances of Congress to back it up. Although Morris also wanted to create a national revenue based on taxing imports, which would have been the first national tariff, he failed to secure the required assent of all thirteen sovereign states.

## CRISIS AND RECOVERY, 1781–1800

Morris's bold measures had hardly been put into place when the war ended. Nevertheless, the fallout of wartime dislocations and disastrous Revolutionary finance would be felt for another generation. Despite the stereotype of urban merchants being wealthy beneficiaries of the wartime economy, the letters and legal records of many partnerships indicate deep indebtedness and loss of valuable commercial connections. Few knew how to interpret their dislocation—whether they should regret the loss of British mercantilism's protection and encouragement or celebrate their freedom to pursue new opportunities. In addition, per capita income levels achieved by 1775 by many groups of Americans probably did not recover until the late 1790s, and in the South great numbers of people remained indebted and impoverished even longer.

**The Critical Period.** Everywhere, the initial flood of cheap English goods and the easy credit of 1783 and 1784 came to an end quickly, and northern states began to raise taxes on the property of middling freeholders just as the money and credit supply contracted; as a result, debts went unpaid and investment in new lands and enterprises diminished. Moreover, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia began to pay back, or "assume," large amounts of their state and national debts—debts which nationalists believed should be assumed by Congress in order to attach the loyalties of creditors to the Confederation government. Most of the states discriminated against each other in commerce; while some port cities invited more trade by establishing "free ports" that eliminated most import duties, others promoted their own commercial and manufacturing independence by tightening import regulations against "outsiders," who included foreigners as well as citizens of neighboring states. Newspapers printed stinging denunciations of imported "luxuries." After 1784, a deep depression settled on the cities, and within two years the portent of debtor rebel-

lions rose on many rural frontiers, Shays's Rebellion in western Massachusetts being only the most conspicuous example. Nor did independence bring any immediate economic miracles to the domestic economy, for significant economic innovation and transformation were stymied for some years to come. In fact, the years 1781 to 1789 often bear the name "The Critical Period," which applies as appropriately to the new nation's economy as it does to its political turmoil during those years.

For state and national leaders, the decade's problems were due primarily to the huge debt generated from public and private loans during the Revolution. There was no national taxing and revenue-raising power; only states could tax citizens on internal wealth and services, and only states could levy port duties to raise revenue. Yet most states continued to issue currencies without levying sufficient taxes to retire depreciating paper money. Congress's securities changed hands from veterans, suppliers, and farmers to speculators in all walks of life, depreciating with each transaction. On a scale unknown in North America before this, and involving thousands of individuals, debts of the Revolutionary generation became widely exchanged in securities markets.

The Constitution of 1787 brightened some prospects for a more stable economy. The new federal government assumed the authority to end interstate quarreling over international commerce; created a steady revenue from uniform import duties that proved far greater than proceeds from the sales of western land for decades; sanctioned a single currency; shielded contracts and private property with a host of legislation; promoted more uniform business practices, patent inventions, new entrepreneurship, and money-lending practices under contractual relationships; naturalized immigrants; and more.

**Trade.** But in other respects, the economy developed according to the opportunities and constraints of individuals and markets during the era. Most merchants still formed small and temporary partnerships for trade, and their transatlantic ships entered and cleared ports only two times a year on average. Personal reputation still mattered immensely, and the incidence of failure was as great as it had been in the colonial period. New markets emerged within established trade networks; for example, merchants already engaged in commerce with the West Indies sent the *Empress of China* to Canton in 1784 with a cargo of ginseng, returning the next year with silks, porcelain wares, and eastern teas—and profits of 30 percent. Although the value of trade to new markets remained small, Cape Horn, Nootka Sound, and San Diego became familiar names in American ports. Then, from 1790 to 1807, exports and imports rose to over six times their pre-Revolutionary levels, shipbuilding revived, insurance and brokerage firms sprang up, ropewalks and cooperages lined dock streets, and carpenters and sailmakers found nearly full employment during many months of those years.

Although many new partnerships and small businesses did not survive the risks of business conditions in this era of Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), sufficient numbers prospered to create a mood of confidence on the waterfront. Moreover, although American merchants encountered hundreds of privateers from foreign governments during the period and had to endure Thomas Jefferson's sweeping embargoes from 1807 to 1809, their mid-Atlantic grain and flour often sold well in the Caribbean and Europe, and southern cotton found ready markets when captains could circumvent hostile interference. Robert Oliver, an Irish immigrant to the budding town of Baltimore in 1783, and probably America's first millionaire, noted that he owed his success not to any commercial innovations, but rather to his "calculated boldness" and his spectacular good luck in West Indian and French markets. Stephen Girard, who migrated from France to Philadelphia, New York, and Cap François during the years of the American Revolution, profited handsomely after 1790 by feeding flour to the starving French and Saint Dominguans during their revolutions. Girard in turn invested in a great complex of mines, canals, shipping, and charity institutions, some of his own creation. Foreign wars also hastened a shift from tobacco to grain production in the Chesapeake and spurred small producers everywhere to raise prices for meat, lumber, fish, and flour during the Napoleonic Wars. The mid-Atlantic region's West Indies merchants claimed the greatest gains, but even the ailing New England shipbuilders profited from sales of vessels.

**New institutions.** Within the nation, new institutional forms advanced Americans' ambitious goals for economic development before 1800. For example, corporations were chartered by the states for specific purposes, as when in 1792 the Insurance Company of North America became the first joint stock insurance company in the country. The New York Stock Exchange was also loosely organized in 1792. In a few years longer roads, deeper canals, and larger ports attracted the small investments of thousands of Americans, who collectively poured millions of dollars into projects that otherwise might have lan-

guished for want of capital and who also circulated companies' notes alongside banknotes as currency. The Bankruptcy Act of 1800 had a short, three-year existence but paved the way for shifting the blame for crises from individual moral failing to structural economic traumas that required taming with government intervention.

Perhaps the most spectacular institutional innovations before 1800, and possibly the most consequential for the next phase of economic development, involved the organization of a national financial system. In January 1790, Alexander Hamilton's first *Report on Public Credit* established the principle of Congress's obligation to repay its debts to foreign countries, American states, and private citizens; the report proposed the consolidation of state debts into one national fund of interest-bearing securities that would be backed by revenues from import duties and special excise taxes. Despite formidable opposition to Hamilton's funding and assumption plan, it won the day, and soon national securities were traded in all the major cities; this success in turn prompted states and corporations to issue local securities to promote myriad special projects.

In December 1790 Hamilton offered his proposal for the First Bank of the United States, to be capitalized at $10 million, $8 million subscribed privately at $400 a share within the first hours of being offered to the public, and $2 million held by the federal government. Its charter permitted the bank to operate for twenty years with headquarters in Philadelphia and branches in other cities. Again, there was a storm of controversy. At one extreme, advocates such as Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut defended the necessity and constitutionality of the bank, arguing that banks would be of great benefit to an enterprising elite. At the other extreme, opponents attacked banks as reservoirs of aristocratic privilege that enticed the nation's best merchants and entrepreneurs into overextending their credit, and its farmers and small producers into a morass of rising excise taxes and rising prices when public speculation got out of hand. Already in 1791 the Whiskey Tax was widely seen as an egregious imposition on American livelihoods, especially on the frontier; in 1794 opposition erupted into the Whiskey Rebellion.

### DEVELOPING THE REPUBLIC, 1800–1819

**Banks.** Somewhere between these poles of opinion, many Americans welcomed the generous credit of state and local banks, although they also feared the periodic failures of large banks. Even Thomas Jeffer-

son, who argued in 1791 against the constitutionality of the national bank and who divested the government's roughly two thousand bank shares after he became president, used the new financial system to double the size of the country when he paid France $11.25 million of just-printed Treasury bonds to purchase Louisiana in 1803. Napoleon in turn sold the American bonds primarily to British investors, whose capital was used to fund a war on Britain in 1812. Jefferson admitted in 1805 that notes of the bank provided a welcome supply of reliable currency for port merchants, and many Republican leaders believed rechartering the bank in 1811 would provide important regulatory functions for the nearly two hundred state and local banks that printed their own widely circulating notes. Recharter failed, but existing smaller banks dispersed paper money, gave liberal credit, and as a result, expanded public confidence in bold development projects. Foreign investors became eager buyers of securities as well, proving to some observers that international confidence in the Republic was growing, while raising concerns among others that Americans might lose control over their Republic. When it became clear by 1816 that the proliferating state banks failed to protect investors' credit by providing adequate specie reserves for their notes and that most small banks could not make large enough loans to aggressive investors, an influential group of political leaders and investors promoted and secured a charter for a new central bank, the second Bank of the United States.

**National growth and transportation.** Although the financial revolution of the first post-Revolutionary generation created the most controversy, other fundamental transformations were under way in those years as well. Between 1780 and 1820 the population of the United States doubled. American families were larger than European ones; American death rates were slightly lower, diets healthier, disease and epidemics less traumatic, and average farms larger than in Europe. The size of the country more than doubled during these years with the purchase, conquest, annexation, and settlement of vast areas that had been Native American country for hundreds of years as well as the contested dominion of overlapping English, Spanish, French, and African peoples. As American citizens spread across what Thomas Jefferson called their "empire for liberty," new vistas opened up for agricultural productivity, entrepreneurship, and institutional innovation; fierce warfare against thousands of Native Americans made possible the creation of five new states between 1810 and 1819. Never before or since did so many Ameri-

cans move within the continent to new homes. Since labor was continually in demand, the arrival of a steady stream of immigrants—nearly a million between the Revolution and the 1820s—demonstrated America's capacity to absorb newcomers.

In 1790 the objectives of unifying the country's many regions and "taming the wilderness" seemed formidable. Traveling more than a hundred miles was likely to involve some combination of horses, wagons, flatboats, small sailing vessels, barges, or canoes. Before 1815, most commodities moved within America on small water craft and flatboats that followed the flow of main rivers or in slow-moving wagons that navigated rutted and dangerous roads. It cost as much to send a ton of goods from an American port to a point thirty miles inland as it did to bring the goods across the Atlantic. To get goods from Cincinnati to New York City, freighters maneuvered small boats down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, out the port of New Orleans, through the Gulf of Mexico, and finally up the coastline of the Atlantic, a trip that took seven weeks on average. Cargoes changed hands numerous times because river pilots and mule train drivers operated over only short distances; myriad local fees reminded farmers and storekeepers that their economy was far from being nationally integrated.

Yet by 1820 the astounding accomplishments of the transportation revolution unfolded everywhere. Some of the first changes resulted from merchants' efforts to integrate commerce and farming. For example, the great three-story flour mills near Wilmington, which grew up in a natural environment of fast streams and a densely populated countryside, became magnets for grain that scores of local boatmen brought from the hinterlands. Other changes represented the pooling of private and state-level resources and bold risk taking that cut new pathways into the interior. The engineering triumph of the Erie Canal, the "big ditch" between Albany and Buffalo that opened in 1825, linked New York City to all of the Great Lakes. On a much smaller scale, but proliferating everywhere, were macadamized roads, canals, widened rivers, new port construction, and bridges that were funded and maintained by boosters and projectors in every state. The National Road, although beset by interstate quarrels and periods of inadequate funding, eventually cut from the Cumberland Gap, through western Pennsylvania, to Columbus, Ohio, and finally to Vandalia, Illinois. Steamboats, known to many Native Americans as "fire canoes," slowly overcame their reputation for explosions and plodding pace to become a marvel of upriver navigation.

The consequences of these internal improvements surpassed all predictions: people and goods moved faster and more efficiently; the value of goods sent from new western settlements to external markets doubled; and farm productivity in the mid-Atlantic and the South rose exponentially between 1790 and 1820. The prices of everyday goods fell dramatically, and the differences in prices between widely separated places such as Philadelphia and Toledo, or New York and New Orleans, narrowed. Enterprising producers anticipated improved transportation that would remove natural obstacles to trade. Information itself flowed faster, too; by the 1820s eastern news reached Cincinnati, Ohio, or St. Joseph, Missouri, within days of appearing at the kiosks of Baltimore or Boston. In short, the transportation revolution helped knit distinctive local economies together in new networks of people over much greater distances. It also spurred a greater specialization of production and division of labor among farmers and craftsmen. Rather than provide a wide array of things for an intricate local community of buyers and sellers, many focused their efforts on growing or making one or two commodities for export while making their own clothing and bedding from store-bought fabric or working with ready-made tools.

**Manufacturing.** Americans were primarily a commercial and agricultural people until far into the nineteenth century. The wrenching effects on New England's commerce of Jefferson's embargoes from 1807 to 1809 demonstrated that region's dependence on trade. Yet commercial downturns also encouraged coastal people to turn to internal development and experiments with manufacturing. Already in the early years of the century, people and goods were more palpably integrated, institutions were taking root everywhere, and Americans became conscious of an increasingly interdependent national economy. Public discussions about banks, lotteries, work relief, and internal improvements crowded the pages of proliferating newspapers. In the northern states, leading interests began to question the value of international free trade and advocate protective tariffs.

Early American manufacturing bore little resemblance to large-scale manufacturing in industrializing England and Europe. When Hamilton presented his *Report on Manufactures* in 1791, most adult male workers made items by hand, with traditional tools, in small shops and alongside a master craftsman or mill owner. Farmers often did carpentry on the side, barrel makers shaved shingles when work was slow,

millers ran small retail shops on the side, and most farmers exchanged labor time with neighbors to get odd jobs done. Peddlers, scavengers, and jacks-of-all-trades could be seen regularly, anywhere. Slowly, however, enterprising individuals laid the foundations for something bearing a closer resemblance to industry. Brickmaking and sawmilling sprang up throughout the countryside, and machine tool shops dotted the riverways near port cities. New towns emerged where trading, milling, and small-scale production met rural farmers' needs. In an address to Congress in 1810 that previewed his famous plan of 1824, Henry Clay made one of the first systematic arguments in America about the potential for linking commerce and agriculture to manufacturing. At the center of his vision—embraced by publishers such as Hezekiah Niles and many mid-Atlantic small manufacturers—was not an impoverished urban proletariat, but a middling people who knew the personal and social benefits of hard work. They would work, and employ others, to produce an array of desirable goods; the middling American would consume at levels not of "excess and luxury" but of "comfort and convenience." Clay's "American System of Manufactures," presented in 1824, also articulated the benefits of extensive private credit, more private and public spending, promotion of new technologies and inventions, and a nationally integrated economy.

Long before full-scale manufacturing arose in coastal areas, the traditional putting-out system used underemployed tradesmen of cities to transport cotton, leather, timber, or flax to homes, where women and children processed the raw materials into semifinished goods and received small extra earnings for their families. Weavers in rural and urban areas earned much more than these handicraft workers, and millers or fullers still more. Around Lynn, Massachusetts, thousands of women and children earned low piecework wages by sewing together sections of shoe leather that came from area farmers who enthusiastically gave up plowing grain fields in order to graze cattle. But in Rhode Island, merchant investors Moses Brown and William Almay teamed up with the skilled mechanic Samuel Slater in 1790 to organize a centralized putting-out system for women and children to spin in a main mill, while keeping hand loom weavers nearby to turn the yarn into cloth—all still run by waterpower in a rural community along the Blackstone River. Linked to all of these changes was the rapidly rising production of cotton in the South, thanks to the rapid adaptation of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, first used in 1793, and the renewed expansion of slavery and plantation agriculture in the South. While agricultural goods flowed in from the Old Northwest, immigrants who worked at low wages and lived tightly packed in separated neighborhoods provided cheaper labor for, especially, the cotton and woolen mills that dotted waterways for miles into America's interior.

A traveler in the 1790s could also marvel at the great flour mills along the Brandywine River between Wilmington, Delaware, and Philadelphia, where Oliver Evans incorporated new mechanical devices—using only wood and leather—to move, grind, cool, sort, and bag flour at unheard-of speeds. Ships pulled up next to these three-story mills to load on flour almost entirely without the aid of manual labor. By the 1840s nearly twenty thousand new mills, many of them in developing western regions, incorporated some or all of Evans's labor-saving mechanisms, making it possible for exporters to boast about a 200 percent rise in the value of the flour they produced. By the late 1820s Eli Terry, Seth Thomas, and Chauncey Jerome mass-produced clocks in their shops for the homes of middling families. Steam engines propelled boats up and down major rivers; soon steam would be harnessed to run factory machinery. The craze for interchangeable parts, machine-produced tools, and ready-made clothing gripped the East Coast initially, but rapidly spread far into the interior; additional state regulation and rising federal tariffs, as well as accumulating merchant and manufacturing capital, promoted the proliferation of infant manufactures everywhere by 1820.

**Panic of 1819.** The Panic of 1819 was the first truly national depression in America, and it prompted many people to reassess whether they had become overconfident about their still-fragile economic institutions and had created "an extravagant people" of speculators and overextended developers. Americans' easy credit came to a halt in the summer of 1818; banks began to call in their loans and demand that borrowers pay in specie or cotton, and other commodity prices declined; businesses failed; unemployment rose; creditors dunned debtors; and widespread foreclosures devastated hundreds of farm families. Indeed, the Panic of 1819 struck the hardest where expansion had been the greatest, in the South and new areas of the West. A wall of protective tariffs seemed to go hand in hand with new local prohibitions on the consumption of "luxurious superfluities." Despite the return of prosperity in the 1820s for well-placed merchants and commercial farmers, the panic was a harsh reminder of the uneven benefits of America's economic development and the fragility of the Republic itself.

*See also* **Agriculture; Bank of the United States; Banking System; Currency and Coinage; Erie Canal; Hamilton; Alexander; Internal Improvements; Inventors and Inventions; Manufacturing; Panic of 1819; Revolution: Impact on the Economy.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Engerman, Stanley, and Robert E. Gallman, eds. *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States.* Volume 1: *Colonial Era.* Volume 2: *The Long Nineteenth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 2000.

Ferguson, E. James. *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1961.

Gilje, Paul, ed. *Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early American Republic.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1997.

Kennedy, Michael V. "The Home Front during the War for Independence: The Effect of Labor Shortages on Commercial Production in the Mid-Atlantic." In *A Companion to the American Revolution.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 2000.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Nettels, Curtis P. *The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775–1815.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962.

Peskin, Lawrence A. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Sawyer, John E. "The Social Basis of the American System of Manufactures." *Journal of Economic History* 14 (1954): 361–379.

Sellers, Charles G. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* New York: Rinehart, 1951.

Watson, Harry L. *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.

*Cathy Matson*

**ECONOMIC THEORY** Economic theory made great strides in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, and David Ricardo, the three greatest economic thinkers of the era, shattered the existing mercantilist paradigm, replacing it with the doctrines of financial development and free trade.

Mercantilists believed that wealth could be acquired but not created. One of the major roles of the state, they maintained, was to regulate international trade to national advantage. Policies that impeded imports and encouraged exports were in the public interest, mercantilists argued, because they promoted the accumulation of large stockpiles of gold and silver in the government's coffers. An overflowing national treasury, they believed, meant that all was well. The financial, agricultural, and transportation revolutions that transformed the economies of Holland and Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggested otherwise, however.

## ADAM SMITH

In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith decimated the mercantilist position. Wealth, he argued, resided not in barren metals like gold and silver but rather in the capacity to create and sell goods and services desired by others. Smith conceded that the precious metals served important monetary purposes, but he also noted that the use of banknotes convertible into specie was more economically efficient than the circulation of full-bodied gold or silver coins. Hence, Smith sarcastically noted, Britain should no more attempt to accumulate more specie than it needed to conduct trade than it should try to accumulate more pots and pans than its cooks required to prepare dinner.

Human productivity and trade were the ultimate roots of prosperity, Smith showed. Productivity was largely a function of labor specialization. In a famous passage, Smith explained how the output of a pin factory could be increased many times over simply by reorganizing the work so that each man repeated the same simple task the entire day instead of manufacturing each part of the pin himself.

In a less famous but far more important passage, Smith explained that labor specialization permeated advanced economies. A wool coat, for example, was the product of the entire economy, not a single person or firm. Shepherds, wool sorters and carders, dyers, spinners, weavers, fullers, dressers, and many others prepared the wool for a host of other specialists, namely wholesalers, retailers, and tailors. Thousands of others—shipbuilders, sailors, millwrights, and smiths—indirectly participated in the production of the coat by providing the tools and maintaining the infrastructure needed to create, transform, and transport the wool. The amazing thing, Smith realized, was that the coat, and tens of thousands of other goods, were produced without central direction. Without even realizing it, self-interested individuals, most of whom would never meet, cooperated to produce, efficiently and cheaply, a coat far

superior to that worn by a king in a region with a less developed division of labor.

The size of the market, Smith argued, determined the degree of labor specialization. The larger the population and area that could trade, the more specialized and efficient an individual could become, and hence the more that individual could help to produce. By restricting the size of the market, trade barriers dampened economic activity. Mercantilist policies like tariffs and quotas thus created poverty and economic backwardness, not prosperity. With precious few exceptions for public goods like national defense, markets led to more efficient outcomes than government decree. The production of everything from roads to education, Smith argued, should be guided by the invisible hand of the market, not the whims and dictates of princes and potentates.

Smith was a Scotsman. Though he never personally traveled to America, he frequently discussed its economic and political conditions in *The Wealth of Nations.* Americans were well aware of Smith's work and, perhaps with a few quibbles, accepted it. One of those quibblers was Alexander Hamilton.

### ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Early America boasted of no great economic theorists, though Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia and Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts deserve more accolades than they are usually accorded, especially in the field of monetary economics. Revolutionary war hero and statesman Alexander Hamilton was by far the early nation's greatest economic and financial mind. By focusing on his December 1791 *Report on Manufactures* and its subsequent interpretation by advocates of protective tariffs, many contemporaries and later scholars came to see Hamilton as a neomercantilist or economic nationalist. Those who read the entire corpus of his work in the context of his times, however, tended to interpret him as a practical, nuanced thinker working within Smith's free-market paradigm.

The *Report on Manufactures* sounded mercantilist because of its frequent mention of tariffs and other possible forms of government "encouragement" of domestic manufacturing. As a public policymaker, Hamilton had to confront the reality that the early U.S. economy existed in what modern economists call a "second-best world," a global trading system still riddled with mercantilist antitrade policies. He also had to confront a citizenry steeped in the Physiocratic notion that agriculture produces the greatest wealth. His *Report*, in other words, can be interpreted

as a practical critique of mercantilism, rather than as a return to it.

Hamilton first attacked the notion that agriculture was naturally more productive than manufacturing. After all, manufacturing extends the division of labor, which Smith considered the fount of wealth. Manufacturing also encourages the use of labor-saving machinery, draws additional people into the workforce, promotes immigration, maximizes the use of human capital, encourages entrepreneurship, and creates a relatively stable domestic demand for agricultural products. Given the numerous and important benefits of manufacturing, the rest of the world's immersion in mercantilist practices, and the nation's still precarious independence, it might be prudent, Hamilton suggested, for the government to encourage American manufacturing.

In a stunningly modern analysis, Hamilton proceeded to weigh the relative costs and benefits of protective tariffs (duties or imposts), quotas (quantity limitations or prohibitions on imports), bounties (payments for production), premiums (prizes), patents (protection of intellectual property rights), and quality-control regulations (inspection of imports to ensure their safety and soundness). Unlike many early-nineteenth-century protectionists, Hamilton rejected protective tariffs and quotas in favor of bounties, patents, and inspection regulations. The federal government depended heavily on customs duties for revenue, so imposing quotas or high tariffs was out of the question. Protective (high) tariffs actually reduce revenue by greatly decreasing imports. In this way they protect domestic manufacturers from foreign competition. Moreover, Hamilton deduced that production bounties produced a smaller drag on the economy than tariffs and quotas did—an insight so profound and original that it did not regularly appear in international-economics textbooks until the 1930s.

### DAVID RICARDO

Still, a major conceptual hole remained to be filled. As Adam Smith pointed out, trade came naturally to people. Most early Americans had no trouble believing that exchange was mutually beneficial to both buyers and sellers. Even some of those steeped in Physiocracy saw that trade could create wealth by putting resources to their most highly valued uses. Economic life is not a zero-sum game that merely shuffles property from one owner to another, as the mercantilists believed. But troubling questions remained. Was it not possible under free trade that a highly advanced, efficient economy like that of Great

Britain could oppress or dominate a less developed economy like that of the United States? Would not British producers simply undersell Americans both at home and abroad?

David Ricardo, a prominent London stockbroker turned public policymaker and political economist, showed that such fears were unfounded. His concept of comparative advantage has been called the only idea in the social sciences that is both true *and* nontrivial. Ricardo showed that a nation was better off trading even when it could not produce anything more efficiently than its trading partner could. It should make and trade away whatever it was comparatively good at producing, even if the other country was absolutely better at making it. If the other country did likewise, total output would be maximized.

Despite that theoretical breakthrough, many Americans, particularly in the urban North, continued to call for protective tariffs. With the spurt of industrialization that accompanied Jefferson's trade embargoes and the War of 1812, manufacturers obtained enough political clout to raise tariffs to protective levels. By the 1820s and 1830s tariffs had become a major political battleground. As followers of Smith, Hamilton, and Ricardo, most modern economists argue that nineteenth-century America became rich in spite of its high tariffs, not because of them.

What made America wealthy, some scholars argue, was its surprisingly modern financial sector. In this sector Smith, Hamilton, and Ricardo made important theoretical contributions and, in Hamilton's case, practical contributions as well. Together, they showed that financial markets helped to ensure that physical capital (land, ships, buildings, and machinery) and labor were put to their most efficient uses. Banks, insurers, and securities (stock and bond) markets were political lightning rods at times, but they proliferated widely, especially in the North. In many ways Smith, Hamilton, and Ricardo were ahead of their time. America's economic might owes much to them.

See also **Government and the Economy; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Conkin, Paul. *Prophets of Prosperity: America's First Political Economists.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Matson, Cathy, and Peter Onuf. *A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1990.

McNamara, Peter. *Political Economy and Statesmanship: Smith, Hamilton, and the Foundation of the Commercial Republic.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998.

Ricardo, David. *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005.

Peskin, Lawrence. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004.

Wright, Robert E. *The Wealth of Nations Rediscovered: Integration and Expansion in American Financial Markets, 1780–1850.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

*Robert E. Wright*

# EDUCATION

This entry consists of eleven separate articles: *Overview*, *Elementary*, *Grammar, and Secondary Schools*, *Colleges and Universities*, *Professional Education*, *American Indian Education*, *Education of African Americans*, *Education of Girls and Women*, *Education of the Deaf*, *Proprietary Schools and Academies*, *Public Education*, and *Tutors*.

## Overview

In the early colonial period, Massachusetts passed an education law (1642) that required instruction in religious principles and civic obedience to the laws of Massachusetts. The Old Deluder Satan Act (1647) required reading and writing schools for towns with at least fifty families. It required grammar schools, like the Boston Latin School (1635), for towns with at least one hundred families. Grammar schools offered classical instruction in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew along with rhetoric, logic, and mathematics, and they prepared students for Harvard College (1636). Other New England colonies followed Massachusetts's plan. The Connecticut colony, for example, adopted a similar grammar school plan in the early eighteenth century that prepared students for Yale College (1701).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the population became more urbanized and ethnically diverse. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) saw the increase in the German-speaking population of Pennsylvania as a problem. He advocated English schools emphasiz-

**Oldest Wood Schoolhouse.** This school, the oldest existing wood schoolhouse in the country, was built during the 1700s in St. Augustine, Florida. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

ing not only the English language, but also English culture and history to assimilate the recent German immigrants into the colony. Franklin wanted all children to attend school in common, an approach leading to the common school concept.

Two years after his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749), Franklin published *Idea of an English School* (1751). In the latter he proposed an education that emphasized practical instruction in commerce and public service rather than ministerial training, thus laying foundation for the academy school to follow. In 1751 the Academy of Philadelphia, based upon his idea, opened its doors. Nevertheless, William Smith (1727–1803), the first provost of the college, developed a curriculum that was less practical than Franklin had proposed; it included science, history, logic, mathematics, and geography. In 1755 it became a college and was renamed the College of Philadelphia. It added the first colonial medical school, established by John Morgan in 1765. The college remained open until 1779, when the state took it over and converted it into the Uni-

versity of the State of Pennsylvania following charges of subversive Loyalist activities there. After a lengthy legal battle, the College of Philadelphia reopened in 1789. In 1791 it merged with the University of the State to form the University of Pennsylvania.

Smith began teaching in Pennsylvania charity schools sponsored by the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG; 1701). In 1753 he published *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, in which he outlined the importance of providing an education to meet the needs of the people. In 1754 New York adopted the Mirania idea and established King's College (Columbia College in 1784), with Samuel Johnson (1696–1772) as its first president. Smith later presided over the opening of Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, in 1782.

## THE REVOLUTION AND REPUBLICAN EDUCATION

The Revolutionary generation brought more changes in education, changes based upon republican ideals.

For many, the future of the new Republic depended upon an educated citizenry. The Continental Congress addressed the need for education when it adopted the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. Article 3 displayed the unbridled faith of the Revolutionary generation in a republican education, stating that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." In 1795 Connecticut adopted a similar idea of using the sale of public lands in the Western Reserve of Ohio to finance education.

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was in the forefront of those who believed that an enlightened population was essential for the future of the Republic. To accomplish this, Jefferson in 1779 submitted to the Virginia legislature a Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, which proposed schools at the public's expense. Jefferson wanted all children to attend the first three years of reading and writing school. The highest achievers would advance to grammar schools. The best would attend six more years of school, half of whom would then advance to the College of William and Mary (1693) for three years. Although the bill failed, Jefferson remained committed to republican education.

Jefferson saw higher education as the culmination of a republican education and proposed to state legislators his idea of a university open to all qualified citizens of Virginia. Jefferson enlisted architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820) to design the new university. In 1816 Virginia passed a bill resulting in the establishment of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, which opened in 1825, one year before Jefferson's death.

Noah Webster (1758–1843) wanted an American educational system with a nationalistic perspective. Although he believed that children should receive instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, he also stressed the need to teach republican virtues and patriotism. In 1783 he published the *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, in which argued for a national language and culture distinguishable from those of Europe. Webster included a federal catechism in his spellers to evoke patriotic loyalty to the new Republic.

In 1798 Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) wrote an essay titled *Of the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic*. Here he advocated an education that would produce "republican machines." Unlike Jefferson and Webster, Rush believed that the foundation of republican education should be laid upon Christianity and virtue.

## CHARITY SCHOOLS

In the 1790s and onward, urban populations continued to increase, while at the same time there was an increase in poverty. Many equated poverty with crime, especially among immigrants. To correct this, educators advocated the expansion of charity schools, which grew not only in number but in kind to include juvenile reformatory schools. New York State founded the New York Free School Society (1805). It aimed at providing a common school experience that would develop better citizens, especially among the poor and the immigrant populations, based upon the Lancasterian system.

Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838), born in England, developed a new monitorial method of instruction in which the older and best students instructed assigned groups of younger students. With this method, Lancaster enabled teachers to instruct as many as five hundred students at a time. This factory system of education depended upon submission to highly regimented instruction. Lancaster, a Quaker, was opposed to physical punishment, replacing it with obedience to order achieved through military-style marching and drilling. Following the publication of his *Improvements in Education* (1803), many American charity schools began adopting Lancasterian methods, which laid the foundation for the common schools of the 1830s.

## FEMALE EDUCATION

Between 1754 and 1829, some wealthy families provided women with private tutors who offered primary-level instruction. Some religious sects, such as the Quakers and Moravians, included female departments in their schools. With the Revolution and the idea of a republican education, females increasingly gained access to schools.

In 1787 Benjamin Rush addressed the students at the Young Ladies' Academy in Philadelphia (1787), the first female school in America. In his speech, "Thoughts upon Female Education," Rush pointed out the necessity of educating females so they could become good republican mothers teaching sons and husbands to be better citizens. In *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), Mary Wollstonecraft also advocated an educated female population. She believed it better for parents to educate children at home. Thus, it was necessary for mothers to attain an education. Furthermore, she thought educated females led to a more civilized society. James Armstrong Neal (1774–1808) agreed in his work, *An Essay on the Education and Genius of the Female Sex* (1795). He equated the level of civilization with the educational level of the female citizenry.

Female academies increasingly proliferated, especially in the North. In 1792 Sarah Pierce (1767–1852) founded Litchfield Female Academy in Connecticut. Her students included Catharine Beecher (1800–1878) and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896). Catharine Beecher went on to found Hartford Seminary (1823) in Connecticut. Byfield Female Seminary (1807) near Boston was instrumental in female education. In 1821 Mary Lyon (1797–1849) attended Byfield. She went on to become a teacher and principal at Adams Female Academy (1824) in New Hampshire and Ipswich Female Seminary (1828) in Massachusetts. Another Byfield student was Zilpah Grant (1794–1874), who founded Ipswich Seminary. Emma Willard (1787–1870), who founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821, trained a large number of female teachers. In 1824 Worcester, Massachusetts, began the first high school for females. In New England, farm families often sent daughters to work in the textile mills, where they received an education in addition to wages.

## NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION

The first Great Awakening (1730s–1750s) increased interest in the Christian conversion of Native Americans and African Americans. Itinerant minister Samuel Davies (1723–1761) preached New Light Presbyterianism in Virginia well into the 1750s. He believed conversion depended upon religious instruction. In 1759 Davies took the position of president of the College of New Jersey (1746), later Princeton University. The religious revivals of the late eighteenth century encouraged others to educate Indians and African Americans with the aim of integrating them into "civilized" society.

In 1769 Congregationist minister Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779) founded Dartmouth College in New Hampshire to educate Native Americans. Fifteen years earlier he had established Moors Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, for Native Americans. One of his former students, Samson Occom (1723–1792), a Mohegan, helped raise funds for Dartmouth. The school, however, rejected most Indian applicants.

Early on, the College of William and Mary (1693) in Virginia opened its doors to Native Americans in hopes of preserving peace. By the time the school closed its doors to Native Americans in 1777, however, most of the Indian students were war captives or hostages.

In the late eighteenth century, Baptist missionaries were the most active in educating Native Americans. They worked among the Cherokees in Georgia

and other southeastern tribes. In 1821 Sequoyah (1776–1843) produced his Cherokee *Syllabary*, which helped increase literacy among the Cherokees. These efforts came to abrupt ends with the pressure to remove the "civilized tribes" from the Southeast, culminating with *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), involving the illegal residence of missionary and educator Samuel A. Worcester on Cherokee tribal lands.

## AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

In the colonial period, the SPG was the organization most active in educating African Americans, the purpose being their religious conversion. Following the Revolution, John Rogers of the Trinity Episcopal Church established the African Free School (1796) as an offshoot of the New York State Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves (1785). The graduates included the actor Ira Aldridge (1807–1867); the first black pharmacist in New York City, James McCune Smith (1813–1865); the editor of *Freedom's Journal*, John B. Russwurm (1799–1851); and the physician Martin Delany (1812–1885). The Quakers' educational efforts among African Americans began to surpass those of the SPG in the late eighteenth century. Anthony Benezet (1713–1784) opened the Philadelphia African School in 1782. Quakers in Delaware formed the African School Society in 1801.

Given reluctance among whites to provide schools for them, African Americans began opening their own. In so doing, African Americans reflected the general emphasis on the need for republican education to produce good citizens and as a means of upward social and economic mobility. In 1787 Richard Allen (1760–1831) and Absalom Jones (1746–1818) began the Free African Society in Philadelphia. The society assumed the responsibility of educating African Americans in the city.

In 1798 Prince Hall (c. 1735–1807), founder of the first black Masonic lodge (1787), opened the first school for African American children in Boston in his son's home in 1798. In 1808 the school, known as the African School, was moved to the African Meeting House. It remained there until the opening of the Abiel Smith School in 1835.

In the South, free African Americans educated their children despite white opposition. In 1790 the Brown Fellowship Society opened a school in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1803 African Americans founded the Minors' Moralist Society in Charleston, dedicated to educating orphaned and indigent black children. Daniel A. Payne (1811–1893), later bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal

Church, began his education in the society school. In 1829 Payne opened a school in Charleston. He continued until 1835, when white opposition resulting from Nat Turner's Rebellion (1831) forced him to close.

The fear of slave rebellion in the South in the early nineteenth century led many African American churches to hold clandestine Sabbath schools for both free and enslaved African Americans. These schools offered more than religious instruction; they provided instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic as well.

See also **Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Revivals and Revivalism; Work: Teachers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *"When I Can Read My Title Clear": Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783.* New York: Addison-Wesley, 1970.

Gilreath, James, ed. *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen.* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1999.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Nash, Margaret A. "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia." *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 171–192.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Spring, Joel. *The American School, 1642–1993.* 5th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

*Bradley Skelcher*

## Elementary, Grammar, and Secondary Schools

Education during the colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods was diverse and is best discussed within regional contexts.

### NEW ENGLAND

In colonial New England a child's education was not just a family responsibility but a civil and church matter. Formal education began in New England during the late 1630s, only a few years after the Puritan migration to Massachusetts. For Calvinists being able to read the Bible was paramount, and thus education was essential to the success of their religious experiment. A two-tier educational system developed during the seventeenth century, consisting of the dame school and the elite grammar schools. Dame schools were usually set up in the private homes of women who charged a modest fee to give boys and girls formal instruction in reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic. Not surprisingly, discipline in a Puritan school or household was strict and all teaching and learning doctrinaire. Students were forced to memorize the *New England Primer*, containing the catechism as well as poems, prayers, and hymns that espoused Puritan theology, warning children of satanic temptations as well as describing the horrors of eternal damnation.

Massachusetts was the first region in colonial America to establish secondary or grammar schools for boys. In 1635 the Boston Public Latin School was established to educate the sons of the elite in both the classics and further religious studies (some schools also taught algebra, geometry, and geography). After primary school, most boys either joined an apprentice program or attended a grammar school. Boys who were destined for Harvard College were educated at a grammar school, beginning at the age of seven or eight. Moreover, to maintain religious orthodoxy, both the church and the civil authorities in the Massachusetts Bay Colony took direct responsibility for the education of their children. This can be seen in two seventeenth-century laws passed by the Massachusetts General Court. In 1642, by Massachusetts law, parents of illiterate children were fined. In 1647 the Old Deluder Satan Act was the first law that provided for a public-supported system of education. This law required towns of over fifty households to provide a teacher of reading and writing and towns with over a hundred households to establish a grammar school also.

During the eighteenth century, Massachusetts had an especially high literacy rate for males, reaching 80 percent. Although the literacy rate for females was below 50 percent during the same period, it was still relatively high in comparison to the other regions of colonial America. In the nineteenth century girls began to attend town schools in New England at levels comparable with boys; many women turned to teaching basic literacy in elementary

schools, especially in outlying districts, while male teachers dominated the town grammar schools. In the first decades of the eighteenth century only 30 to 40 percent of women could write; that number reached 80 percent by the 1890s. This is explained by increased attendance in both elementary and secondary schools for girls during the last half of the nineteenth century.

### THE MID-ATLANTIC

Colonial education in the middle colonies lacked the support of any civil authority and generally developed along sectarian lines. In Pennsylvania the Quakers did not establish a state-controlled system of education, but they did set up elementary schools that provided basic literacy. Essentially children were taught to read the Bible. In the middle colonies, the majority of schools were denominational, yet in the major towns, such as Philadelphia, nonsectarian private secondary schools or academies began to emerge during the first half of the eighteenth century, offering the student a variety of practical subjects such as navigation, agriculture, and surveying besides the classics, mathematics, and English. After independence prominent figures including Benjamin Franklin, influenced by the Enlightenment and the American Revolution, pushed for a more secular and utilitarian secondary education that reflected the republican nation and commercial society. This led to the further growth of small private schools and academies (sometimes referred to as the English Grammar School), which were popular among the new merchant classes. Also, throughout the eighteenth century, some parents hired private tutors to instruct children in the classics, modern languages (particularly French), arithmetic, art, and even dancing.

New York City established only a few grammar schools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The authorities in New York did, however, encourage the work of the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in supporting ten charity schools during the course of the eighteenth century. Some of these charity schools taught African Americans as well as poor whites. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, a few African free schools were established in progressive towns like Philadelphia and New York. Both Pennsylvania and New York provided state funds for charity schools by the early nineteenth century.

### THE SOUTH

Education in the South during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century reflected the region's paternalist and agrarian society. In 1779 Thomas Jefferson encouraged education reform in Virginia to spread knowledge to a "free" society. Jefferson's plan included a free elementary education for all white boys and girls as well as the founding of twenty state-supported secondary schools that provided a grammar school education for talented white boys. But Jefferson's ideas on state-sponsored education did not pass in the Virginia legislature, and there was little discussion of a state tax-supported system in Virginia until the early decades of the nineteenth century. Any education received by slaves during this period was minimal because most state laws forbade it. Even so, some basic literacy was taught to slaves on a few plantations and farms. By the Civil War, only 5 percent of blacks were literate.

In the eighteenth century and through the antebellum period, education in the South was not considered a civic concern (as in New England) but instead mostly an individual and private matter. Much of the teaching came from informal sources, such as the family and the church. The planter class hired tutors to provide their sons with an education based on humanism—mainly focusing on the Latin and Greek classics, as well as history, philosophy, law, music, and science. Southern aristocrats' daughters studied French from the plantation tutor. More often, however, girls were taught manners and other social graces from their mothers. In large towns such as Savannah and Charleston, some formal education took place in the guise of new private schools advertising a broad curriculum. Similar to the mid-Atlantic states, most of the formal education in the South was provided by churches and philanthropic societies, such as the SPG, which established several charity schools. With this tradition of both informal and formal education, basic literacy rates among white males were surprisingly high. In the South Carolina backcountry, for example, literacy rates for white males may have reached 80 percent.

As demand for skilled labor increased during the colonial era, the Southern colonies legally established an apprenticeship system. This marked the first time the Southern colonies enforced education. The system was put in place not only to provide an opportunity for those who wanted to learn a trade, but also for orphans and the destitute. Most children of the rural poor, however, had no formal education because farms were too scattered to establish a community school. In Virginia and Maryland, however, wealthy planters sometimes bequeathed funds to establish "free schools" for the poor. These schools taught the basics: reading, writing, and arithmetic.

If a family could afford it, a small fee was charged, but otherwise it was free. Even though formal schooling was limited in the colonial and Revolutionary periods, the South was nevertheless influenced by the common school movement of the 1830s, with common schools emerging especially in North Carolina and the upper regions of the Piedmont.

## THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE NEW TERRITORIES

The new Republic created as a result of the American Revolution relied on a new civic-minded and educated electorate. As a result, there was a push for state-supported education in settled areas as well as the new territories. Independence soon led to an American nationalism that valued education not just to provide for good citizenship but also to cultivate loyalty for the new national government and to construct national identity. Noah Webster was the most famous advocate of this new American nationalism in education which led to the rise of the common school movement of the 1830s. The common school reformers called for a state-supported school system that provided all children with a common curriculum, arguing that if children from diverse backgrounds were taught a common political and social ideology, a strong sense of community could be constructed and social problems limited. This movement provided the blueprint for the later development of the modern state public schools.

Although the common school movement also influenced the development of public-funded education in the new territories, an earlier policy—the Northwest Ordinance—enacted by the new national government had lasting effects on the development of American education. After the Revolution, settlers flooded into the new territories, and in 1787 the Northwest Ordinance established public support for education in the new territories (north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi). Each township in the new territories was divided into thirty-six sections, with the sixteenth section required to provide either a school or at least apply the rents and sales received from that section explicitly for education.

*See also* **Northwest and Southwest Ordinances.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Best, John Hardin. "Education in the Forming of the American South." *History of Education Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (spring 1996): 39–51.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783.* New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

———. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876.* New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Perlmann, Joel, Silvana R. Siddali, and Keith Whitescarver. "Literacy, Schooling, and Teaching among New England Women, 1730–1820." *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (summer 1997): 117–139.

Rippa, S. Alexander. *Education in a Free Society: An American History.* White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1997.

Spring, Joel H. *The American School, 1642–1993.* 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.

Vinovskis, Maris A. "Quantification and the Analysis of American Antebellum Education." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13, no. 4 (spring 1983): 761–786.

*Jeremy David Rowan*

## Colleges and Universities

Colleges and universities in the new American nation were established slowly and deliberately until the American Revolution, at which point establishments ceased for a decade and then resumed in increasing numbers through the 1820s. During this period, these institutions were substantially devoted to imparting "liberal education," with the purpose of forming leaders and citizens for colonial and then republican society. The functions of advancing knowledge and providing graduate or professional education, commonly associated with higher education from the late nineteenth century onward, were not adopted by colleges in the new American nation, apart from informal or ancillary modes, the medical school at the College of Philadelphia being one possible exception. Even taking that into account, there were no "universities" in the new nation as that term would later be understood.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, just three colleges had been founded in the colonies, and their religious character reflected the fierce sectarian divisions that had arisen in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and engulfed its universities and colleges. In Massachusetts, the Puritans—who became Congregationalists—founded Harvard College (1636); in Virginia, the Anglicans established the College of William and Mary (1693); in Connecticut, Congregationalists who leaned toward Presbyterianism founded Yale College (1701). Thus, the significant role of higher education in defining religious orthodoxy—and the concomitant battles among the Christian sects for control—was extended to the earliest colonial colleges and continued in the colleges established before the American Revolution.

At the same time, another significant and related characteristic of institutional governance was extended from Europe to the colonial colleges. These

colleges combined the degree-granting authority of the European universities with the governance model of the European colleges and halls, which had originated as safe domiciles for young students living far from home. The latter, being governed by nonresident trustees who were usually clergymen or men of affairs, became more responsive to the public (and religious) purposes represented by the nonresident trustees than were the universities, being governed by the teaching masters.

In the American colonies, this collegiate form of governance was coupled with the power to grant degrees and became the normative model of organization in American higher education. As a result, the colonial colleges were profoundly shaped by not only religious but also public purposes. In fact, the colonial colleges commonly regarded today as exemplary private institutions were, in this early period, regarded as virtually public institutions, being sponsored and, to some extent, funded by the colonial governments. Hence, the general pattern resulted that the nine colleges established before the American Revolu-

tion were, with the exception of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, founded one to a colony in conjunction with the established or predominant Protestant sect in the colony. This general correlation among colony, sect, and college reduced competition for public funds and, to some extent, sectarian bickering, at least within the college itself.

In New York the Anglicans fought off the Presbyterians to establish tenuous control over King's College, later Columbia, in the early years after its founding in 1754. In pluralistic Pennsylvania an alliance of Presbyterians and Anglicans dominated the future University of Pennsylvania from its chartering in 1755. New Jersey was a partial exception to the pattern in as much as the dominant Presbyterians split their efforts between the College of New Jersey (1746), later Princeton, founded by English and Scottish Presbyterians, and Queen's College (1766), later Rutgers, founded by Dutch Reformed Presbyterians. Yet both groups shared virtually the same doctrine, and the colleges nearly merged in 1793. In anomalous Rhode Island the Baptists founded the fu-

## Colleges and Universities Chartered to Grant Degrees before 1820

| Current Name of Institution | Year Opened for Collegiate Instruction | Permanent Location as of 1820 |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Harvard University | 1638 | Cambridge, MA |
| College of William and Mary | 1694 | Williamsburg, VA |
| Yale University | 1702 | New Haven, CT |
| Princeton University | 1747 | Princeton, NJ |
| Columbia University | 1754 | New York, NY |
| University of Pennsylvania | 1755 | Philadelphia, PA |
| Brown University | 1765 | Providence, RI |
| Dartmouth College | 1769 | Hanover, NH |
| Rutgers, The State University | 1771 | New Brunswick, NJ |
| Washington and Lee University | 1782 | Lexington, VA |
| Hampden-Sydney College | 1783 | Hampden-Sydney, VA |
| Dickinson College | 1784 | Carlisle, PA |
| Mount Sion College | 1785 | Winnsborough, SC |
| College of Cambridge (SC) | (1785) | Never opened for instruction. |
| Franklin and Marshall College | 1787 | Lancaster, PA |
| Transylvania University | 1789 | Lexington, KY |
| St. John's College | 1789 | Annapolis, MD |
| College of Charleston | 1789 | Charleston, SC |
| Williams College | 1793 | Williamstown, MA |
| Cokesbury College (MD) | 1794 | No longer operating. |
| University of North Carolina | 1795 | Chapel Hill, NC |
| Union University | 1795 | Schenectady, NY |
| Washington College Academy | 1795 | Limestown, TN |
| College of Beaufort (SC) | (1795) | Never opened for instruction. |
| Alexandria College (SC) | (1797) | Never opened for instruction. |
| University of Vermont | 1799 | Burlington, VT |
| Middlebury College | 1800 | Middlebury, VT |
| University of Georgia | 1801 | Athens, GA |
| Bowdoin College | 1802 | Brunswick, ME |
| Jefferson College | 1802 | Washington, PA |
| Washington College | 1806 | Merged in 1865. |
| Baltimore College | 1804 | Baltimore, MD. Merged in 1830. |
| Tusculum College | 1805 | Greenville, TN |
| University of South Carolina | 1805 | Columbia, SC |
| St. Mary's Seminary and University | 1805 | Baltimore, MD |
| University of Orleans and College of New Orleans (LA) | (1805) | Never opened for instruction. |
| George Peabody College for Teachers | 1806 | Nashville, TN |
| University of Maryland | 1807 | Baltimore, MD. Granted first B.A. degree in 1859. |
| Ohio University | 1808 | Athens, OH |
| Hamilton College | 1812 | Clinton, NY |
| Georgetown University | 1815 | Washington, DC |
| Allegheny College | 1817 | Meadville, PA |
| Miami University | 1818 | Oxford, OH |
| Asbury College | 1818 | Baltimore, MD |
| Colby College | 1818 | Waterville, ME |
| University of Cincinnati | 1819 | Cincinnati, OH |
| University of Pittsburgh | 1819 | Pittsburgh, PA |
| University of Tennessee | 1820 | Knoxville, TN |
| Centre College | 1820 | Danville, KY |
| University of Virginia | 1825 | Charlottesville, VA |
| Worthington College | 1820s | OH |

ture Brown University (1765), and in the northern colony of New Hampshire the Congregationalists es-tablished Dartmouth (1769). Notwithstanding this cooperative pattern among colony, sect, and college, these foundings were rarely harmonious and were often fraught with disputes among religious parties and between the colonial government and clerical leaders.

## DEBATE OVER LIBERAL EDUCATION

Stemming from these conflicts, the nature of liberal education at the colonial colleges became a matter of dispute as well. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the content and nature of liberal arts at Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary largely conformed to the accommodation, inherited directly from Europe, between the scholastic "liberal arts" (*artes liberales*) at the universities and the "humanistic studies" (*studia humanitatis*) that had emerged over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This early colonial program comprised studies in grammar, rhetoric, logic, history, ethics, and metaphysics, with a smattering of mathematics, astronomy, and geography. Most of the subject matter was drawn from Greek or Latin texts and taught by recitations—oral, catechetical quizzing conducted in class.

While this accommodation constituted the bulk of liberal education throughout this period, modifications of this formal program began to appear in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and then to grow in the 1790s and subsequent decades. On the one hand, the modifications concerned whether and how far "modern" authors could be incorporated into the formal curriculum. Such authors included Isaac Newton (1642–1727) in natural science, William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and John Milton (1608–1674) in literature, and Joseph Addison (1672–1719) in rhetoric. Princeton led the efforts to make these modifications during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, but even there the changes were largely marginalized and did not yet breach the dikes built by traditional practice around the formal curriculum.

On the other hand, the modifications were devoted to building what was reflected in the title of a pamphlet written in 1765 by Joseph Priestley, *A Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life*. Over the subsequent decades, as the essay was republished and eventually appeared in an American edition in 1803, there were increasing calls to incorporate the useful study of sciences, modern languages, and social and political subjects appropriate for citizens of a republic. Priestley emigrated to the United States in 1794 and settled near Philadelphia, where he was offered, but declined, a chair in chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, the other early institution associated with efforts to broaden the traditional liberal education. Even there, however, these reforming efforts were blunted by the established faculty, and associations outside of the colleges and universities led the effort for reform. Thus, in Philadelphia in 1796, the American Philosophical Society

held an essay contest for writings describing "the best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States" (*Essays on Education in the Early Republic*, p. xv).

Despite the perceived impracticality of the formal curriculum, students graduated from the colleges and entered a variety of vocational fields, particularly those of the "learned professions" of theology, law, and medicine, as well as teaching. Until 1700 more than half of the liberal arts graduates, all of whom attended Harvard, entered the ministry. At that point, the fraction dropped to a norm of about 40 percent, which held steady through 1750, and reflected graduates of only Harvard and Yale, since William and Mary had become moribund. During the 1750s, as more colleges opened for instruction, this percentage remained consistent and then slid to 30 percent by 1776. Meanwhile, the percentage entering medicine grew from about 5 percent at the beginning of the eighteenth century to about 15 percent by 1776. Law and commerce also saw their respective fraction of college graduates increase to that of medicine, about 15 percent, by 1776. Teaching at all levels consistently attracted about 5 percent of college graduates. These percentages did not vary significantly among the different colleges. After the American Revolution, the fraction of college graduates entering the ministry dropped steadily, while that entering law grew steadily, passing the clergy in about 1820. The fraction entering other fields generally remained consistent over the same period.

Meanwhile, the calls to modify the traditional substance and form of liberal education increased in volume and number in the early decades of the nineteenth century. But the changes made were minimal and largely confined to extracurricular literary and debating clubs and societies formed by the students. In 1828 the Yale president Jeremiah Day (1773–1867) and faculty issued a famous report in which they rebutted a proposal (made, predictably, by a member of the external board of trustees) "to leave out of said course the study of the *dead languages*, substituting other studies therefore" (*Reports*, p. 3). Even as it quoted the Roman writer Cicero (106–43 B.C.) in rebuttal, however, the Yale *Reports* also employed the language of Francis Bacon (1561–1626), the philosophical champion of the new empirical sciences. This rhetorical shift indicated that the prospect for substantial change in the formal curriculum was clearly on the horizon.

## COLLEGE FOUNDINGS

Part of the reason for the intransigence and uniformity of the colleges was that the leaders of newly founded colleges had graduated from the eastern colleges and adopted the curriculum of their alma maters, if for no other reason than to legitimate their new foundations. For the early nineteenth century, the precise number of colleges is indeterminate because some were founded in name only, others were merely chartered, and still others began to offer instruction but closed soon thereafter. The table presented here, drawn largely from the research of historian Jurgen Herbst, includes virtually all colleges chartered by 1820 to grant degrees. The institutions are listed by the year in which they opened for collegiate instruction, which is a more salient, if elusive, criterion than the date of chartering. The institutions that never opened for instruction, as noted in the table, are listed by the date of their charter, and their charter date is included in parentheses. Some of the institutions opened earlier as academies that did not grant bachelor's degrees.

In surveying these colleges, the instruction they offered, and the vocations entered by their students, it is important to remember that they were all closed to women during this period. Even progressive observers such as Samuel Harrison Smith, winning essayist in the 1796 contest on liberal education sponsored by the American Philosophical Society, observed "that the great object of a liberal plan of education should be the almost universal diffusion of knowledge" (Smith, p. 189). By this qualification he referred to "female instruction," though hoping that it would be "marked by a rapid progress and that a prospect opens equal to their most ambitious desires" (Smith, p. 217). Tutored or self-taught women, who looked on from the outside, were not satisfied with this hope. Yet though they might call for the equivalent of a college education—as did Emma Willard in her *Plan of Female Education* (1818)—even these proposals did not through the 1820s entail the granting of a college degree.

*See also* **Professions.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Day, Jeremiah.] *Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College.* New Haven, Conn.: Hezekiah Howe, 1828.

Herbst, Jurgen. *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government, 1636–1819.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Humphrey, David C. *From King's College to Columbia, 1746–1800.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Kelley, Brooks Mather. *Yale: A History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974.

Kimball, Bruce A. *The "True Professional Ideal" in America: A History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992.

Priestley, Joseph. "An Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life." In *Lectures on History and General Policy.* Edited by J. T. Rutt. London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, 1826.

Smith, Samuel Harrison. "Remarks on Education: Illustrating the Close Connection between Virtue and Wisdom. To Which Is Annexed a System of Liberal Education" (1797). In *Essays on Education in the Early Republic.* Edited by Frederick Rudolph. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

*Bruce A. Kimball*

## *Professional Education*

From the 1750s through the 1820s, America's nascent professional class saw a rise in standardized educational practices attuned to their respective fields, conducted at an increasing number of institutions of higher education. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a number of colleges added course work in law, medicine, and a more systematized theological training. In the years after the Revolution, that progress grew into a larger number of specialized schools and programs.

### LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

By the mid-eighteenth century young men wishing to pursue a professional life in medicine, the law, or the clergy had essentially two choices: return to the mother country or pursue an apprenticeship under the tutelage of a master. Despite the increase in the number of American colleges in the eighteenth century, the colonial professoriate continued to be dominated by various sects' clergy, emphasizing liberal arts study and avoiding particular training for a profession. Numerous colonials took medical degrees at Edinburgh or read law at the Inns of Court, gaining both professional knowledge and personal contacts that assisted them for the remainders of their professional lives. Likewise, returning to the mother country was the only way that a prospective clergyman of the Church of England from the colonies could receive final instructions and ordination. But education in the Old World had drawbacks, too. Studies in Britain or Europe were expensive, time-consuming, and, in the view of worried colonial parents, dangerous. The alternative was apprenticeship. Like artisans, young men pursuing entrance into the medical and legal fields followed patterns of apprenticeship, learning the "art and mystery" of their chosen field by serving for a period of time under a master, progressing from doing chores and routine tasks into

their own practice of the profession. Although the apprenticeship system has long been characterized as a poor education, it actually provided young lawyers and doctors with skills that served them well within their colonial communities.

## MEDICAL AND LEGAL EDUCATION

The first American medical school was proposed by Philadelphia physician John Morgan in 1765. Morgan, a veteran of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) who subsequently took a medical degree at Edinburgh, called for a program that would be a part of the College of Philadelphia (later, the University of Pennsylvania), judging the liberal arts to be an integral aspect of a doctor's training. Two years later a similar plan was launched in New York, affiliated with King's College (Columbia). Each school required matriculates to hold a bachelor's degree or proficiency in Latin, natural philosophy, and mathematics. Over three years of study, students took courses with professors and gained practical knowledge through apprenticeships or work in hospitals, eventually taking comprehensive examinations and receiving the doctorate of medicine. The two medical schools transformed American medical education, offering degrees that would set apart their alumni and mark the rise of the medical profession in the colonies. By 1776 the two schools had graduated a total of forty-nine physicians. In other colonies, calls for the creation of professional education opportunities failed or met serious resistance. Virginians demanded that the College of William and Mary offer training in medicine and law, but attempts failed until the removal of imperial controls during the Revolution.

## AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The years immediately following American independence saw a rise and proliferation of professional educational endeavors in the new American states. Collegiate legal education, particularly addressing the need for training and codification on the new American system of laws, began in 1779, when the College of William and Mary appointed George Wythe as its first professor of law and police. In 1789 James Wilson began teaching law at the University of Pennsylvania, and James Kent was appointed professor of law at Columbia College in 1794. Harvard received an endowment for legal training in the 1781 will of Isaac Royall but was unable to secure the proceeds until 1815, when it appointed Isaac Parker as the first Royall Professor of Law; two years later Harvard established a School of Law, granting bachelor of law degrees at the successful completion of three

years' study. Six students graduated in the class of 1820.

Despite colleges' moving into new roles in educating young professionals, much of the most important work in the area continued to be under the supervision of a single determined master, operating without the support of a college or university or a charter. Tapping Reeve began his career as a legal educator in 1774, taking in apprentices in his home in Litchfield, Connecticut. By 1784 he was able to construct a small building to house the Litchfield Law School. Known for his thorough and systematic instruction, Reeve and the instructors who later joined him offered classroom lectures in various areas of the law, as well as providing prospective lawyers with access to debating societies, moot courts, and regular examinations. The school offered a comprehensive legal training for its numerous students, many of whom went on to serve on the bench and in the local, state, and federal governments.

The post-Revolutionary period ushered in numerous collegiate plans for the education of young ministers. Most pre-Revolutionary colonial clergymen took bachelor's degrees at colleges and then stayed on for further education. By the late 1760s Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton) had established professorships of divinity. The minister's training was often completed by serving an apprenticeship, much as his contemporaries pursued careers as master artisans, doctors, or lawyers. In the case of the theology student, he studied under the supervision of a senior clergyman, reading Bible studies, biblical languages, Judeo-Christian history, and homiletics, and learned the role of the pastor firsthand by following his supervisor on his ministerial rounds. The diversification of American religion in the early national period likewise showed diversity in training, experience, and intelligence among the clergymen. The Methodist and Baptist movements emphasized personal conviction and commitment far more than formal training and education, and that educational difference allowed for much larger numbers of young men to pursue the ministry, particularly in expanding frontiers where college and theological training were not available. Likewise, the number of graduates of long-established colleges who pursued the ministry dropped significantly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to Samuel Eliot Morison, 52 percent of Harvard graduates between 1642 and 1721 became ministers; fewer than 20 percent of those who graduated between 1782 and 1804 pursued a career in the church.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Herbst, Jurgen. *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government, 1636–1819*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936.

*George W. Boudreau*

## American Indian Education

Beginning with the Massachusetts seal, depicting an Indian pleading "Come Over and Help Us," educating American Indians was a major part of the effort to "civilize" the Indian during the Revolutionary era and the early Republic. These efforts presaged the proliferation of off-reservation boarding schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The architects of federal Indian policy placed great importance on Indian education.

European missionaries viewed Indians as proud savages in need of the humility of European ways of life. As the historian James Axtell has noted, the colonists shared the hope that they could, in their oft-repeated phrase, "reduce Indians to civility." Many individuals concerned with the education of American Indians believed that if they changed Indians' outward appearance, Indians would assimilate more quickly. Thus they cut Indians' hair, gave them European clothes, and taught them civilized arts such as agriculture and domestic work. The colonists brought Indian children into schools to remake them as Europeans. They also set aside funds to support the education of Indians at such institutions as Henrico College, William and Mary College, and Harvard College. Yet these schools enrolled very few Indian students.

The institution most closely associated with the education of American Indian children was Moor's Charity School. Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779) established Moor's, a charity school for poor Indian and white boys and girls, in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754. Previously, Wheelock had tutored Indian children such as Samson Occom, a member of the Mohegan tribe, in writing and religion. Wheelock believed other American Indians could experience the same kind of success as that achieved by Occom. The majority of Indian students came from neighboring Algonquian and Iroquoian communities. In addition to civilizing Indians, Wheelock argued that an Indian school also protected the English frontier. Establishing his school during the Seven Years' War, Wheelock argued that education pacified Indians and prevented future warfare. Moor's accepted both male and female Indian students, a novelty for its time. Girls took classes in basic writing and reading but spent the majority of their time learning how to take care of a colonial home, as was typical of schools for Euro-American girls. Boys attended morning prayers, attended classes in the classical languages, and spent the afternoons engaged in agricultural labor.

In 1763 Wheelock wrote "A Proposal for Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture and Manufacture among the Pagans in America" and sent it to officials in England. Wheelock outlined his plans for an Indian college and enlisted Occom to help raise funds for this venture. Between 1765 and 1768, Occom willingly made several trips to England and Scotland, raising more than £12 thousand for Wheelock's school. After securing the funds, Wheelock moved Moor's to Hanover, New Hampshire, and established Dartmouth College in 1769. However, like its predecessors, Dartmouth attracted few Indian students. Between 1770 and 1780, only 40 Indians attended school at Dartmouth, compared to 120 non-Indians. The apparent gap between the school's intent—to educate Indians—and its results—educating more whites than Indians—caused a rift between Occom and Wheelock. Indeed, Axtell describes Wheelock as possessing little talent for and less interest in educating Indians at Dartmouth. Much of his rhetoric of Indian education was a scam to raise money for Dartmouth in England.

Indians who attended white schools and colleges had a great impact on Indian affairs during the American Revolution and early Republic. Alexander McGillivray, whose father was Scottish and his mother a Creek Indian, attended school in Charleston, South Carolina, where he received a classical education. He returned to the Creeks and fought with the British during the American Revolution. After the Revolution he ascended to high positions among the Creeks because of his opposition to the sale of Creek land. He corresponded with Spanish and American politicians and was well versed in the political language of republicanism. Joseph Brant, a Mohawk, had similar experiences. In the 1760s Brant attended Moor's School and learned how to work in an English world. Education provided McGillivray, Brant,

and others with an opportunity to act as cultural go-betweens and achieve prestige.

After the Revolution, Americans continued in the attempt to educate Indian children. In many post-Revolution treaties, American officials inserted provisions for the education of Indian children. For instance, the Treaty of New York, signed by the Creeks and the United States in 1790, provided for five Creek children annually to attend schools outside Creek country. Both American and Indian leaders pushed for Indian education; for the Americans, the goal was to civilize Indians and open land for American settlement.

In the early nineteenth century, Thomas McKenney, a secretary of Indian affairs, placed great emphasis on Indian education. Beginning in 1816, when he served as the superintendent of Indian trade, and into the 1820s, he supported a national school system for Indians. Although this effort failed, other American Indian groups, such as the Cherokees, requested teachers and schools. Moravians and Presbyterians answered the Cherokees' call. At schools headed by Moravian missionaries, Cherokees received a vocational education—agriculture for Cherokee males and housekeeping for Cherokee females. Presbyterian schools, on the other hand, emphasized classroom instruction. Cherokees took courses in reading, writing, and mathematics, along with agriculture and housekeeping. Both Moravians and Presbyterians, however, faced a great obstacle in the language barrier. Few Cherokees seemed willing to teach missionaries their language, and thus education was confined to mixed-blood Cherokees or those who could speak English.

Euro-Americans attempted to change Indians through education during the Revolutionary period. Americans established schools within Indian communities and brought them into their own schools to teach Indians the English language and the Euro-American way of life. Yet Indians took what they wanted from the education experience. Some assisted their people in maintaining the integrity of Indian ways, whereas others sought to build bridges between Indians and whites.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Moravians; Presbyterians.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Axtell, James. *The School upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974.

———. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Caughey, John Walton. *McGillivray of the Creeks.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.* Abridged edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Wright, Bobby. "'For the Children of the Infidels'?: American Indian Education in the Colonial Colleges." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12 (1988): 1–14.

*William J. Bauer*

## Education of African Americans

Despite the lack of quality records regarding the status of African American education in the early Republic, some generalizations can be made. The educational opportunities were greater for free blacks than for slaves, greater for northerners than for southerners, and greater for city dwellers than for rural people. Overall, however, educational opportunities for African Americans were either nonexistent or substandard. This assessment stems primarily from the significant obstacles placed in the path of African Americans, but it does not negate the tireless efforts of many African Americans, and some white reformers, to make significant strides in education.

In the absence of public education, religious institutions took the lead in African American education, either by establishing schools or by providing general education in Sabbath schools, which often supplied the only educational opportunity for African Americans. For instance, in Philadelphia the Society of Friends developed the first black schools in 1770, and in 1784 Anthony Benezet's will set aside money to endow an African American school. Other denominations, particularly Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, also supported black education, especially the literacy required to read the Bible. Additionally, as black and white churches separated, the African Methodist Episcopal Church often took the lead in education. Schools, second only to churches, provided the bulwark for both the African American community and an African American identity during this period.

Schools, whether religious, private, or public, were concentrated primarily in urban areas, and pri-

marily in the North, though some southern cities, such as Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans, also had schools for free African Americans. Regardless of the location, these schools suffered from a dearth of funding. African Americans were excluded from most public facilities, and when separate facilities were provided, in most cases they were unequal in terms of both their physical structure and their curriculum. Nevertheless, contemporary observers gave great credit to the efforts of the African American community; given its lack of resources, even small gains represented significant sacrifices. African Americans clearly recognized the role that education could play in their elevation in society. Nevertheless, schools lacked not only funds but students. Although African Americans valued education, the need for children to work, the unwillingness of employers to allow children to attend school, and society's unwillingness to allow educated African Americans to move up in the world combined to keep enrollment low. For example, in 1813, out of Philadelphia's African American population of approximately 11,000, only 414 were enrolled in schools, and in New York in the 1820s, only 600 to 800 out of more than 10,000 African Americans were enrolled.

Although the totals for African American education may not have been impressive during this period, individual achievements did stand out. Schools represented a first step for the emerging African American leadership during this period. In the 1820s the United States saw its first African American college graduates: Alexander Lucius Twilight (Middlebury), Edward Jones (Amherst), and John Russwurm (Bowdoin). In North Carolina John Chavis, a well-educated Presbyterian minister, operated a prestigious day school for whites and an evening school for children of his own race. Additionally, people who would later become prominent in the abolitionist movement, including Henry Highland Garnet and Samuel Ringgold Ward, received their formative schooling during the years of the early Republic.

In the early nineteenth century, southern whites often divided in their attitude toward African American education. Religious leaders emphasized the need for African Americans to be able to read the Bible, whereas others denied the need for African American education. Opponents expressed two contradictory claims: that blacks could not be educated, and that educated blacks (whether slave or free) represented a threat to society. In the wake of the publication of David Walker's *Appeal* in 1829, an African American tract calling for slaves to violently resist slavery, and Nat Turner's 1831 revolt, the second claim triumphed, and most southern states passed laws that either outlawed the education of slaves or banned group meetings, which prevented any organized slave education. Prior to 1830, however, most southern states did not have such laws, and thus slaves may have had better access to education than in subsequent years.

The percentage of slaves who were literate will never be known, but most estimates place this number at below 5 percent. They received their education from their owners, missionaries, or fellow slaves, or through subterfuge—or through a combination of methods. For example, in the 1820s in Baltimore, Frederick Douglass learned through a combination of the aid of his female owner and by using bread to bribe white neighborhood children to teach him. Based on the records of slave literacy, slave owners may have had good reason to be leery of literate slaves, as not only Douglass, but also the leaders of revolts, including Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner, learned to read and write during this period.

The overall record of the education of African Americans during this period would receive a low grade, but two key themes must be remembered. First, in some ways, African American opportunities in this period exceeded those of the subsequent thirty years. Some northern public schools were integrated, and in most southern states it was still legal for African Americans to congregate and to teach slaves to read and write. Second, the record must not be judged against an ideal but rather against the reality of African Americans' low status in both the South and the North. The overwhelming majority of African Americans were either slaves themselves or had been slaves until the North passed emancipation laws, and thus they had neither the resources nor the time to devote to schooling that other groups had. Measured against their privation, the achievements of African Americans in education are commendable and hard-won.

*See also* **Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *"When I Can Read My Title Clear": Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Curry, Leonard P. *The Free Black in Urban America 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Litwack, Leon F. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Nash, Gary B. *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840.* Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Woodson, Carter G. *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861.* New York and London: Putnam, 1915.

*John M. Sacher*

## Education of Girls and Women

Prior to the American Revolution, few avenues of formal education were open to girls and young women. Throughout the colonial period, young boys and girls typically learned to read at "dame schools" run by women in their homes. Beyond this rudimentary level of instruction, educational options for young women were limited. "Adventure schools" offered training in "ornamental" subjects such as music, drawing, needlework, and dancing, and boarding schools (sometimes referred to as "finishing" schools) sought to prepare elite women for their entrance into polite society. Given the haphazardness of women's education, those well-educated women who came of age prior to the Revolution—notably Abigail Adams, Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, and Mercy Otis Warren—tended to be largely self-educated, or relied on the support of male relatives to provide them with access to books and other learning materials. On the whole, little formal attention was paid to the education of women in the mid-eighteenth century.

During the early national period, education for both men and women became linked to patriotism and thus a subject of national importance. Social and political thinkers asserted that the success of the young Republic rested in an enlightened, well-educated citizenry. Advocates of education insisted that citizens had the right—indeed the duty and responsibility—to acquire various forms of "useful" knowledge. Both men and women benefited from this belief in the strong importance of education. The decades following the Revolution were known as "the age of the academies," as hundreds of new schools were created to meet the political and practical needs for educated citizens.

Between 1780 and 1820, educators established approximately four hundred female academies and seminaries, offering white middle- and upper-class women unprecedented access to educational opportunities. Female academies could be found in all parts of the nation, including both larger cities and smaller towns. Like the male academies founded during this time period, most of these academies were single-sex institutions, although a sizable minority were coed-ucational, such as the Bradford Academy in Massachusetts. Both women and men founded and taught at academies for women. In the 1790s Susanna Rowson in Massachusetts and Sarah Pierce in Connecticut established well-known and highly regarded academies for young women. In Philadelphia the physician Benjamin Rush and other leading male citizens lent their support to the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, a prestigious school that attracted women from all parts of the nation. Often, female academies were associated with existing male institutions, such as the Female Academy in New Brunswick, New Jersey, whose trustees were affiliated with Queen's (Rutgers) College.

More comprehensive than most existing adventure or boarding schools, these academies provided women with instruction in grammar, history, geography, rhetoric, composition, moral philosophy, and, in some cases, Latin, botany, chemistry, and astronomy. The curricula offered at female academies were similar to those offered at most male academies, attesting to the growing belief in women's intellectual equality with men. Although some female academies continued to offer music, dance, needlework, and painting, these subjects were no longer thought to comprise the main purpose of women's education. Rather, education aimed to prepare women to become both "useful" and "ornamental" members of society. Properly educated for their roles as lively, articulate, and entertaining companions, women would set the tone for early national society, providing harmony and stability for the young nation.

By infusing women's domestic and social roles with political and patriotic significance, proponents of women's education celebrated the intellectual attainments of women. Yet despite this enthusiasm, the subject of women's education was marked by a fundamental tension between the recognition of women's intellectual capacity and concerns about the uses women might make of their education. Prescriptive writers worried that women might become so distracted or interested in education that they would neglect their families and domestic duties. Despite their enlightened faith in women's intellectual equality with men, prescriptive thinkers generally believed that men and women were dissimilar beings with contrasting manners, morals, and dispositions. Ultimately, this belief in sexual difference worked to sustain and justify prescribed gender roles for men and women. Whereas men sought exclusive access to political and economic spheres, women were urged to limit themselves to the domestic and the social.

In an effort to resolve this tension, proponents of women's education insisted that educated women would not seek access to traditionally male spheres of power and prestige. Female educators strenuously championed women's intellectual capacities while simultaneously expressing ambivalence about prescriptive ideas about gender roles. Summarizing this trend, the educator Emma Willard (1787–1870) insisted that women and men's education needed to reflect their "difference of characters and duties." Yet when Willard petitioned the New York State legislature for state support and funding of a female seminary in 1819, she hoped to ensure that women's education received the same "respectability, permanency, and uniformity of operation" as male colleges and institutions. Although her proposal was rejected, Willard established the Troy Female Seminary (later the Emma Willard School), which served as a leading institution of women's education throughout the nineteenth century. In the years that followed, educators opened similar schools, including the Hartford Female Seminary (founded by Catharine Beecher in 1823) and Mount Holyoke (founded by Mary Lyon in 1837). These seminaries offered women the equivalent of a college education without explicitly referring to themselves as colleges. Successors to the female academies first founded in the early national period, these schools were clear precursors to the women's colleges that emerged by the mid-nineteenth century.

Women's increasing access to education had far-reaching effects. Literacy rates for white women rose from approximately 50 percent in the eighteenth century to approximately 90 percent by the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, educated women showed determination to expand their roles in society. Some women chose to become teachers themselves—either temporarily teaching school for a few years before marriage, or in some cases creating professional, lifelong careers for themselves as educators. Other women became successful authors, producing textbooks, fiction, poetry, and other influential works. There was also a connection between women's education and the growing reform movements of the antebellum period. Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), known for her work in the abolitionist and women's rights movements, was a graduate of Willard's Troy Seminary. Many educated women saw reform and activism as ways to increase the scope of their influence in society. By emphasizing women's intellectual capacity and equality with men, early national ideas about education offered women increasing avenues for empowerment and opportunity.

*See also* **Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Professions; Women: Rights; Women: Writers.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kerber, Linda. *Women of the Republic: Ideology and Intellect in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1986.

Nash, Margaret. "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia." *Journal of the Early Republic* 17:2 (summer 1997): 171–192.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experiences of American Women, 1750–1800.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Schwager, Sally. "Educating Women in America." *Signs* 12:2 (winter 1987): 333–372.

*Lucia McMahon*

## Education of the Deaf

The Connecticut Asylum for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Persons (later the American School for the Deaf) opened its doors in Hartford, Connecticut, on 15 April 1817, with Thomas H. Gallaudet (1787–1851) as principal and Laurent Clerc (1785–1869) as head teacher. Aside from a short-lived school in Virginia, there previously had been no provision for the formal education of deaf children within the United States. Gallaudet, an evangelical minister, had visited British schools two years earlier at the behest of a group of parents in and around Hartford to study the methods of teaching deaf children in use there, with the aim of opening a school in the United States. The private schools of Britain, however, treated their techniques—which focused on oral communication and permitted no use of signed language—as proprietary secrets. Gallaudet then traveled to the Royal Institution for the Deaf in Paris, a publicly supported school that pioneered the use of sign language in the instruction of deaf students. Impressed by what he saw, Gallaudet convinced Clerc, an instructor and former student at the Paris school, to return with him to Hartford, where Clerc taught Parisian sign language to Gallaudet and other teachers at the new school. The language that later became known as American Sign Language resulted from the fusion of Parisian sign language with existing regional American sign languages.

Clerc was instrumental in helping to establish schools for the deaf in several other states as well, while his former students founded or taught in

schools around the nation using his methods. By 1829, schools had been established in New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Ohio; altogether, more than thirty were established during Clerc's lifetime. The schools used what today would be termed a bilingual approach, making use of natural sign language along with finger spelling and written English, in addition to an invented system known as "methodical sign language" designed to represent English vocabulary and grammar on the hands. (This proved to be too unwieldy for effective instruction, however, and was largely abandoned by the 1850s.)

Similar to many such institutions founded during the Second Great Awakening of the early to mid-nineteenth century, the schools for the deaf were intended in part to serve as Protestant missions. Just as evangelical churches sent missionaries to Africa, Asia, and American Indians in the West, so did they support schools for the deaf as missions to deaf people, who were described by Henry B. Camp as "a community of heathen at our very doors." The emphasis on religious education, along with the employment of both hearing and deaf instructors using bilingual methods, continued until the late nineteenth century.

Due to the relatively low incidence of deafness, the schools were necessarily residential. Students from rural areas—the great majority—met other deaf people for the first time and learned how to communicate beyond the level of pantomime and gesture. They encountered the surprising knowledge that they shared an identity with others. From their new common language and common experience, they began to create an American deaf community and culture that has persisted to this day.

*See also* **Disability.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Lane, Harlan. *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf.* New York: Random House, 1984.
Van Cleve, John Vickrey, and Barry A. Crouch. *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America.* Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1989.

*Douglas C. Baynton*

## *Proprietary Schools and Academies*

Proprietary schools and academies were the dominant institutions of professional and practical education in the early American Republic. Because the U.S. Constitution contained no provisions for a federally funded system of schools, and since most states supported only the barest minimum of primary schools, Americans turned to private enterprises like proprietary schools and academies to educate the citizens of the new nation. As a result, much of the support for proprietary schools and academies relied upon the initiative of individuals, the resourcefulness of communities, the zeal of religious denominations, and the beneficence of the wealthy.

### PROPRIETARY SCHOOLS

Proprietary, private venture, or entrepreneurial schools were secular, tuition-supported private schools that offered specialized and practical instruction in medicine, law, or business. Like the operators of academies, proprietors frequently incorporated their schools by petitioning the state for a charter. In contrast to academies, these schools were not the primary occupation of their proprietors. Instead, proprietors established proprietary schools with other professionals in their field who wanted to supplement their income and augment their status in the community.

**Medical schools.** In colonial America, those seeking medical training had few options beyond an apprenticeship with a local physician or enrollment in a European medical school. By the end of the eighteenth century, few American colleges had medical faculties; furthermore, collegiate medical training was unsystematic and academic standards were low. Lacking competition from early American colleges, proprietary medical schools flourished in the early Republic.

Proprietary medical schools such as the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York (1812) and the Castleton Medical College in Vermont (1818) emerged as an alternative to the apprenticeship system, which was often a protracted and inconvenient arrangement for the physician and a haphazard experience for the student. These schools were cooperative enterprises of two or more local physicians. Cooperation permitted the physician-instructors (called preceptors) to maintain a medical practice while supplementing their income with student tuition fees.

Proprietary medical schools often had few books, limited equipment, and no clinical facilities. The quality of the instruction depended upon the training of the preceptors and the variety of ailments that the preceptors had encountered. Proprietary medical schools rarely issued degrees, and the licensing of graduates was practically nonexistent. The rapid increase in the number of schools in the 1820s and the ensuing competition for tuition dollars

pushed many proprietary medical schools to offer superficial training programs. By the 1830s, the declining quality of these schools prompted calls for reform in medical education.

**Law schools.** Like proprietary medical schools, proprietary law schools faced few initial challenges from early American colleges, which had inadequate law faculties and no systematic legal curriculum. Early legal education in the colonies borrowed from the British traditions of self-education and clerkship, but the increased demand for lawyers after the American Revolution necessitated new institutions for legal training. Thus, between 1782 and 1828 enterprising judges, usually state court judges in the North, chartered proprietary law schools both to address the new demand for lawyers and to supplement their meager salaries.

Proprietary law schools varied in size but not in quality. Unlike proprietary medical schools, law school proprietors often required students to have a liberal arts education before commencing legal study. These schools commonly featured excellent law libraries and an outstanding, systematic program of lectures, tutorials, moot courts, and informal examinations. Proprietary law schools did not issue diplomas or degrees, and its graduates usually took the bar examinations after completing the course of study.

The superiority of the training that students received in proprietary law schools enhanced the popularity of the schools and the reputation and influence of the proprietor and his graduates. The first proprietary law school was Litchfield Law School in Connecticut, founded by Judge Tapping Reeve in 1782. Over a fifty-year span, hundreds of its graduates served in the highest levels of federal and state governments. Collectively, these schools scattered thousands of competent public servants, lawyers, businessmen, and educators to every region and state of the new nation.

Despite their success, proprietary law schools had begun to decline by 1829. Colleges that sought the financial gains enjoyed by proprietary law schools reproduced the latter's format of legal instruction, luring instructors and students away from the proprietary schools in the process. Other colleges, like Washington College (later Washington and Lee University) and Yale, simply incorporated nearby proprietary law schools into their own law faculties.

## THE ACADEMY MOVEMENT

The terms "academy," "institute," and "seminary" refer to schools with any number of different courses of study, sources of financial support, and types of administrative organization. Because of this variability, there is no consensus among historians as to the characteristics that define an academy. Generally, academies were flexible, independent, and often transient enterprises that adapted to the educational needs of its students and local communities. The curriculum of any academy was ultimately contingent upon the education and aptitude of the schoolmaster. Yet depending on the proximity of the academy to other schools, academies provided a community with any course of study its citizens required, from elementary instruction to a college preparatory curriculum. Most academies served as secondary schools, offering an education in practical subjects to students who already knew how to read and write but had no desire to attend a college in the future.

Although academies occasionally received money or equipment from the state, tuition fees, lottery proceeds, and endowments were their primary sources of revenue. Academies relied upon a self-perpetuating board of trustees to manage the finances of the school. In most cases, trustees incorporated the academy by petitioning the state legislature for a charter. A charter authorized the trustees to act as a corporate body to raise funds for the school by lottery, manage the school's endowment, hire or fire a schoolmaster, and prosecute parents who refused to pay a tuition debt.

**Franklin's proposed academy in Philadelphia.** Benjamin Franklin published the first plans for an academy in the American colonies. In *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749) and *Idea of the English School* (1751), Franklin blended seventeenth-century British educational thought with his own brand of materialism and individualism to envision a school that could fill the niche for practical and professional studies necessary for success in the mercantile economy. Franklin proposed an academy that would teach an "English" curriculum through experiments, exercises, and observations. The English curriculum featured an assortment of course options, including accounting, geometry, astronomy, English grammar, writing, rhetoric, history, geography, ethics, natural history, gardening, commerce, and mechanics.

Franklin's proposal challenged the two dominant educational institutions of the period, the Latin grammar school and the colonial college, both of which regarded the classical curriculum to be the

only acceptable course of study. Like most academies founded in the early Republic, renowned institutions like Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts (1778) and Philips Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire (1781), modeled themselves after Franklin's English school. More broadly, Franklin legitimized the democratic and pragmatic character of the academy, thereby aligning the institution with the prevailing values of the early American Republic and guaranteeing its popularity among the middle class.

**Denominational academies.** Soon after Franklin published his *Idea of the English School*, religious denominations began a massive program of establishing academies that persisted well into the mid-nineteenth century. The religious revivals of the 1730s and 1740s, known as the Great Awakening, partly inspired this effort, and the Presbyterians were, by far, the most active denomination, establishing sixty-four academies in seven states by the end of the eighteenth century. Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Baptists, and Methodists collectively founded hundreds of academies throughout the United States. Nevertheless, financial difficulties, fluctuating enrollment, and inadequate staffing forced most of them to close. Although the character of religious academies varied from denomination to denomination, their greatest legacy was offering educational opportunities to women, free blacks, American Indians, and the poor.

**Education for women.** One lasting contribution of the academy movement was the popularization of education for women. In the early Republic, most Latin grammar schools and colleges steadfastly refused to admit women students. Beyond the common practice of hiring a tutor, female academies, seminaries, and institutes became the sole institutions for educating women. As with academies for young men, there was a great deal of variation among the courses of study in female academies. They ranged from ornamental subjects like embroidery and music to the rigorous academic subjects featured at elite academies for men.

Reform-minded male intellectuals were the early proponents of opening academies to women. In the mid-1780s theologian and poet Timothy Dwight founded one of the first academies to admit women students at Greenfield Hill in Connecticut. In 1787 physician Benjamin Rush, a leading advocate of female education in the early Republic, helped to establish the famous Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia. With the founding of Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Female Academy in 1792, women emerged as proprietors and instructors, rather than merely students, of academies. The extraordinary success of Pierce's academy inspired other women to open female academies and seminaries. Two of the most important female academies in the early Republic were Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary (1821) and Catharine and Mary Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary (1823). By the end of 1820s, female academies were a permanent part of the educational landscape in rural and urban communities throughout the North and the South.

**Military schools and mechanics institutes.** Military academies and manual labor schools emerged as two variants of the academy movement. The earliest military academies, the United States Military Academy (1802) at West Point, New York, and the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy at Norwich, Vermont (1819), offered a course of study suited for training military engineers and officers. Despite their beginnings in the North, military academies flourished in the South between 1839 and the Civil War.

The other variant of the academy movement, the manual labor school, or the mechanics institute, began as an experimental school offering systematic instruction in agriculture or mechanics. One of the first manual labor schools was established at Lethe, South Carolina, in 1786, but these institutions did not become prevalent until later in the nineteenth century when large manufacturing industries emerged in northern cities.

**Classical versus practical education.** In 1828 the faculty of Yale College issued its famous report that defended the virtues of the classical curriculum against the superficiality and expediency of academy education. The tension between colleges and academies, as well as the opposition of classical and practical studies, was nothing new. Nevertheless, criticisms like those presented in the Yale Report of 1828 did little to thwart the growth of academies in the early Republic. Challenges to academy education in subsequent decades came from advocates of public education, whose campaigns for a free, comprehensive, and state-supported system of schools led to the demise of the academy movement.

*See also* **Professions: Lawyers; Professions: Physicians.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Beadie, Nancy, and Kim Tolley, eds. *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727–1925.* New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002.

Brown, Elmer. *The Making of Our Middle Schools: An Account of the Development of Secondary Education in the United States.* New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783.* New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Gawalt, Gerald W. *The Promise of Power: The Emergence of the Legal Profession in Massachusetts, 1760–1840.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979.

Kaufman, Martin. *American Medical Education: The Formative Years, 1765–1910.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976.

Klafter, Craig Evan. "The Influence of Vocational Law Schools on the Origin of American Legal Thought, 1779–1829." *American Journal of Legal History* 37 (1993): 307–331.

Knight, Edgar W. *The Academy Movement in the South.* Chapel Hill: [University of North Carolina Press?, 1919?].

Ludmerer, Kenneth M. *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education.* New York: Basic Books, 1985.

Sizer, Theodore R., ed. *The Age of the Academies.* New York: Teacher's College Press, 1964.

Sloan, Douglas. *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal.* New York: Teacher's College Press, 1971.

Smith, William A. *Secondary Education in the United States.* New York: Macmillan, 1932.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

*Terry L. Stoops*

## Public Education

Education was an important issue in the new American nation. Luminaries like Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Rush talked about it at length because all of them associated ignorance with tyranny. Jefferson took great pride in his contributions to education, especially the founding of the University of Virginia. His innovative *Plan for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* (1779) eventually earned him a place in the pantheon of American public education. But Jefferson did not live to see his now-famous plan implemented. Truth be told, the progress of education in the new American nation owes as much if not more to the efforts of local officials, civic leaders, and community activists. Between 1780 and 1830 they laid the groundwork for the system of public schools and colleges that would emerge in the United States in the antebellum era and after.

Whether well known or not, those who worked on behalf of education had one thing in common. They all agreed that America's future was at stake. Education would not only make Americans better citizens but also better parents, workers, and reli-gionists. But although all might agree on the importance of education, there was no consensus about how it should be defined or delivered. Was the home or the school to bear primary responsibility? To the extent that schools were needed, what kind of institutions should they be? Public schools were not a given. There was no common understanding in the new American nation that government should provide for essential needs. Nor was a sharp distinction made between public and private—between that which concerned everyone and that which concerned individuals or minorities. Over the half-century between 1780 and 1830, Americans would come to recognize something that the French writer Alexis de Tocqueville called the tyranny of the majority. As they did, they saw the importance of distinguishing between public and private in many spheres of American life, including education.

### SERVING THE COMMON GOOD

As long as most Americans believed that the interests of the individual were synonymous with those of the group, there was no reason for them to make a sharp distinction between the public and the private domain. Nor was there reason to object when only a handful of people were deemed suitable for leadership roles or when government extended to individuals or small groups those prerogatives and privileges associated with institutions charged with acting for the common good. For example, colonial legislatures sometimes incorporated bridges, roads, canals, and banks, making them in effect the exclusive partners of the state in exchange for providing indispensable services. But as economic activity expanded and competition increased, expectations changed. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it had become apparent that the marketplace could be relied on to meet many of society's most pressing needs. Now government could promote the common good by acting as an arbiter or even as an agent for those pursuing private gain. At the same time, the courts discouraged politicians from interfering unnecessarily in the affairs of individuals or established organizations. Arguing for his alma mater, Daniel Webster convinced the United States Supreme Court in 1819 (in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*) that the New Hampshire legislature had to respect the original charter of Dartmouth College. Government and the courts also began to treat corporations not as instruments of the state but as entities beholden to their shareholders. In other words, Americans now began to distinguish between the public and the private domain.

When the state took an active interest in education in the eighteenth century, it was because leading Americans believed that the future of the Republic was at stake. It could not survive if its citizens were ignorant. Being well informed may not have been a sufficient condition for practicing the rights of citizenship, but government had to make sure that all Americans were educated nevertheless. First and foremost, it had to protect the free flow of information. Nothing could be allowed to stand in the way of free speech, a free press, and freedom of association. Government could also contribute to popular education indirectly by encouraging volunteers to create and endow learned institutions such as libraries, museums, and lyceums. It could multiply its impact by providing incentives for the establishment of schools, colleges, and universities.

Of course, some Americans wanted government to do much more for the cause of popular education. Jefferson's *Plan for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* called for a state-supported system of elementary, secondary, and higher education that would not only ensure an informed citizenry but also provide educational opportunities for talented youth from impoverished families. In 1786 the physician Benjamin Rush proposed a similar plan for Pennsylvania. It called for a three-tiered system consisting of township schools, regional colleges, and a state university. When the American Philosophical Society sponsored an essay contest on education in 1795, the co-winners, Samuel Knox and Samuel Harrison Smith, both argued for a comprehensive system of national education. But these plans failed to gain any traction because many Americans still believed that education was primarily a family responsibility. Associating it with personal goals such as economic success and social standing, they resisted the idea that anyone should have to pay for the education of other people's children. Public education meant to them nothing more than that training or socialization which took place outside the home.

However, a growing number of Americans either needed or wanted to be educated outside the home by the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the back alleys of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston there were many neglected children who would receive no education at all if the matter were left entirely to the discretion of their families. All across the United States, but especially in the nation's towns and villages, there was also a gathering demand for the kind of academic and practical training that would help those on the cusp of respectability open opportunity's door. Civic and religious leaders responded by seeking philanthropic contributions as well as municipal and state assistance for elementary education. In Charleston, South Carolina, for example, the city's Orphan House ran a school that many would have regarded as a public institution. That Philadelphians were of like mind can be demonstrated by pointing to the work of the Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys, established in 1799, and the accomplishments of the Friends' (Quakers') "public" schools. Although not accountable to the community as a whole, the schools run by these organizations constituted an informal educational system that taught literacy to the children of different classes and races in separate schools. The Philadelphia English and Latin Academy, on the other hand, exemplifies a different concept of what public education meant in the second half of the eighteenth century. Opened in 1751 and chartered four years later as the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, it anticipated the development after 1780 of countless proprietary schools for adolescents and young adults who hoped that a practical education at a more advanced level would improve their prospects.

Many proprietary schools began as private ventures whose primary purpose was to make a living for their schoolmasters. Some evolved into academies, an institutional type that proved to be much more stable, in part because the demand for their services persuaded many local and state governments to shower them with money, land, or legal privileges. Incorporating forty by 1817, New York also invested directly in many academies. Farther west, Ohio chartered about one hundred between 1803 and 1840. As corporations, they were expected to have a self-perpetuating board of directors, which was usually composed of local leaders. The typical academy had such a close economic and social relationship with its community that even though it was privately controlled (and most likely charged tuition), it was still perceived as a public institution—a perception that was reinforced by its practical curriculum, which served the common good by facilitating private gain.

### EVOLVING CONCEPTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Beginning in the 1790s, the concept of "public" in American education gradually began to mean much more than schools that served the common good. As Americans drew a sharper distinction between the individual and the community, they also began to associate certain characteristics with public institutions, including and especially schools. But it would take some time for these characteristics to gain wide

acceptance. More than two generations would pass before most Americans would understand public education to mean schools that were publicly supported, publicly controlled, open to all, and tuition-free. Nevertheless, movement toward this consensus commenced even while the Republic was new. In the Land Ordinance of 1785 Congress set an example by providing that one section of public land in each township of the Northwest Territory should be designated for the support of primary schools. Some state governments followed this lead by creating common school funds to encourage public support by local authorities. Using receipts from the sale of land in its Western Reserve, Connecticut established such a fund in 1795, and both New York (1805) and Virginia (1810) did the same not too long thereafter. Massachusetts did not create a permanent school fund until 1834, but it was a pioneer in another way, enacting legislation in 1789 that provided for a system of town schools. The Massachusetts Education Act called for reading, writing, and grammar schools to educate boys and girls, age seven to fourteen, at public expense. Building on the initial steps it took in 1784 when it established the University of the State of New York, Albany attempted in 1795 and then more successfully in 1812 to bring about the realization of a state educational system. The Michigan territorial legislature took similar steps in 1817, passing a bill for a comprehensive system of elementary, secondary, and higher education, but the promise of this legislation was still unfulfilled in 1835 when Michigan became a state and the state constitution charged the legislature with implementing a system of common schools. These reforms notwithstanding, public education was still struggling to establish its identity in the 1830s.

Although there was no consensus about what public education meant, some conceptual patterns had begun to emerge by 1830. In rural areas a communal concept existed; it combined public control with more than a little public support and open access. District schools in Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York received both state and local revenue, practiced some form of local governance, and admitted all white comers, though they sometimes made up for budget shortfalls by charging tuition. Some local schools admitted blacks and Indians, but many, especially in Ohio, did not. Enrollments in these schools were high, but their terms were brief and attendance was usually inconsistent. In Philadelphia and New York City, on the other hand, the average citizen would have equated public education with charity schools that received public support. Founded in 1805 by a small group of public-spirited citizens, the privately controlled Free School Society presided over schools in New York City that concentrated on the education of the poor. It provided some schooling for poor blacks from 1834 until its demise in the 1850s. By then the city had an elected school board and a more democratic approach to public education. In 1818 a board of "controllers" was established in Philadelphia whose job was to help local directors operate schools for the poor at public expense. Indigent children of African descent were completely excluded at first, but by the end of 1826 two segregated schools were up and running for them. The board's mission remained unchanged until 1834 when new legislation made it responsible for publicly supported and publicly controlled schools that, theoretically at least, were open to high- as well as low-income children.

In Boston the situation was quite different. At first, public education there seemed to mean publicly supported and publicly controlled schools for children from respectable families. Established in 1789, the city's School Committee did not make provision for the education of the poor until it organized a Primary School Board in 1818. Modeled after the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, the Primary School Board accepted mostly illiterate children. But enrollments grew slowly because many poor children worked, and their immigrant parents found the cultural bias of the city's public schools to be off-putting. Nevertheless, more than a few transferred to these public schools from other institutions during the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century. When Horace Mann came on the scene in the 1830s, he promoted that form of public education, which combined public support with public control and open access. Mann's efforts met with great success in Massachusetts. Elsewhere, his conception of public education attracted considerable attention, especially in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and the upper Midwest, but it had to compete with one that tied together at least some public support with private control and open access. By the 1830s many academies operated on this basis. Anticipating public high schools, they provided a broad and practical education that went beyond the basics. Although they were often the objects of intense local pride, their survival usually depended on the degree to which they met the needs of their students. The end result was an all-purpose institution.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

As late as 1850 academies and colleges in the United States had more than a few features in common.

Above all, they were exclusive—that is, most Americans had no direct experience with them. In this respect they fell outside the borders of public education. But long before that, the most important colleges in the United States had exhibited at least some of the features of public institutions. For example, they received special treatment from the state even though they were also free to set their own direction. Having self-perpetuating boards of trustees from their inception, both Harvard and Yale enjoyed considerable independence, but over the years both schools came to expect substantial amounts of government oversight and assistance. In 1780 the new Massachusetts constitution committed the Commonwealth to looking after Harvard College and placed the governor, lieutenant governor, and several members of the legislature on the Board of Overseers. Twelve years later Yale accepted $30 thousand from the state of Connecticut in exchange for having eight civil servants on its nineteen-member board of directors. New York renamed King's College in 1784, making it Columbia, and put the school under the aegis of the University of the State of New York, but the college regained some of its institutional independence when it obtained a self-perpetuating board of trustees soon thereafter.

These developments notwithstanding, more than a few Americans had come to believe by the end of the eighteenth century that higher education should be a government responsibility. Between 1785 and 1820 ten states (Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Michigan, Ohio, and Vermont) chartered their own institutions of higher education, although provisions for state support and state control were usually slow in coming. After 1810 the ties between government and many established institutions of higher education began to weaken. Harvard received its last regular appropriation from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1823; state grants to Columbia and Yale ended in 1819 and 1831 respectively. The Dartmouth College case raised questions about the degree to which government could exercise control over colleges with existing charters. But these developments were not definitive, and the distinction between public and private in higher education would remain a work in progress until at least the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the fifty years between 1780 and 1830, public education in the United States was in transition. Although a few people equated it from the beginning with schools that were publicly supported, publicly controlled, tuition-free, and open to all, most took a while to associate it with something more than that which took place outside the home. They were encouraged, even forced, to recast their views because Americans were becoming more diverse, more competitive, and more committed to individualism. As these changes gradually took hold, public education approached and eventually crossed an important conceptual and institutional threshold. It became more akin to what most Americans would come to regard as public education.

*See also* **Dartmouth College v. Woodward; Jefferson, Thomas; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Work: Teachers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brown, Richard D. *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876.* New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Mabee, Carleton. *Black Education in New York State: From Colonial to Modern Times.* Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1979.

Schultz, Stanley K. *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Silcox, Harry C. "Delay and Neglect: Negro Public Education in Antebellum Philadelphia, 1800–1860." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (October 1973): 444–464.

Thelin, John R. *A History of American Higher Education.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Tolley, Kim. "The Rise of the Academies: Continuity or Change?" *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (summer 2001): 225–239.

Whitehead, John S. *The Separation of College and State: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale, 1776–1876.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1992; New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

*William W. Cutler III*

## Tutors

Private education arranged by parents for their children was especially popular in elite southern families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the North, schools—rather than private tutors—were more common both in the colonial and early Republic eras. Colonial New England towns often pooled resources to create common schools, institu-

## ELI WHITNEY

Needing to repay some debts before pursuing a career in law, Eli Whitney—a young Yale graduate—left New England in 1792 to work as a tutor on a Georgia plantation. This seemingly prosaic journey proved incalculably important to the social and cultural history of the young nation. In less than a year's time Whitney had invented the cotton gin and sealed the fate of both northern and southern societies. In the late eighteenth century, a glutted tobacco market had caused many planters to rethink the value and utility of growing that crop. An alternative crop, long-staple cotton, a variety that could easily be separated from its seeds, only grew in coastal territories. In contrast, short-staple cotton could be grown much more widely but was extremely difficult to clean. Whitney's cotton gin mechanically removed fiber from seed, spurring enormous growth in the cultivation of cotton and thereby greatly increasing the demand for slaves.

*Rodney Hessinger*

nomic development as northerners did; in northern eyes, education was thought to spur economic progress and social stability. Finally, in the agricultural and stratified South, only the elite could afford to spare the labor of their children, so private education with a tutor became a privilege of those living within the great plantation houses. Ironically, southerners often employed northern young men as tutors, since the North educated a much larger share of its population. For example, Eli Whitney (1765–1825), best known as the inventor of the cotton gin, worked as a tutor for a family in Georgia shortly after graduating from Yale.

Tutoring promoted important family and gender dynamics. In late-eighteenth-century planter families, tutors were often expected to assume disciplinary control of young children, allowing fathers to develop more affectionate bonds with the young. While sometimes using force to implement discipline, tutors could also serve as a model to emulate, assuming the role of a wiser, older brother. Young men and women received distinctive types of training from tutors. While such instructors provided young men with education in utilitarian fields such as mathematics and Latin, equipping the young man for crop sales and courthouse transactions, household educators were more likely to give young southern belles instruction in skills such as French, music, and dancing. Yet even for young men, the goal was more to create a complete gentleman who could drop classical allusions into conversation than equip him for a career in the marketplace.

Another distinct type of tutoring evolved in the colleges of the young nation. Professors relied on the assistance of young men to teach lessons to the students enrolled in their schools. These young men were most often recent college graduates themselves, only a couple years older than their charges. In fact, where impoverished young men were entering colleges at advanced ages, as they were in New England, tutors were younger than some of their students. Colleges in the early Republic suffered from disciplinary problems, and the use of youthful tutors only exacerbated this trend. Tutors had trouble commanding the respect of students, so they often adopted a domineering stance that only created further conflict. As in southern families, tutors were instructing their students in a classical curriculum that seemed out of touch with the wider world. Until college education became more relevant and the teaching profession itself became more professionalized in the late nineteenth century, college students would continue to challenge the authority of tutors.

tions where children were provided with the language skills necessary for reading the Bible; the towns thereby promoted moral order in their communities. Northern states organized teaching much more systematically in the early nineteenth century as public schools became the norm and tutoring declined further in significance. Nonetheless, one could expect to find tutors in elite families in both North and South in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America. Generally, young men—and sometimes women—who had yet to become settled in marriage or occupation filled such roles for well-to-do families.

In theory, tutoring can be seen as distinct from apprenticeship, which involves instruction by a master craftsman in pragmatic labor skills. In practice, however, the distinction was murkier, for apprenticeship often included instruction in reading and writing as well as training in a trade. In ideal form, tutors were hired by wealthy families to provide education and cultural polish for young members of the gentry. The South relied on tutors longer and more fully for several reasons. For one, families were more scattered in settlement, making collective education less workable. In addition, southerners did not develop the penchant for the public financing of eco-

In general, the fate of tutors stood in inverse relation to the notions of equality in the early Republic. As Americans became more committed to this ideal, they turned increasingly toward publicly funded schools that offered the prospect of equal opportunity for all. Tutors seemed to hark back to an aristocratic society that aimed to prepare gentlemen to rule rather than allowing all to compete for political authority. Since the South bore a more tortured relationship to notions of equality, it is not surprising that tutors enjoyed a longer and more prosperous history in that region.

*See also* **Childhood and Adolescence.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Smith, Daniel Blake. *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Kett, Joseph F. *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present.* New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Farish, Hunter Dickenson. *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1943.

*Rodney Hessinger*

**ELECTION OF 1796** Historians have often stressed the dramatic, transforming character of the election of 1800 as the first peaceful electoral transition from an administration of one party and set of principles to that of another in modern history. They have even, with some help from Thomas Jefferson, labeled the election the Revolution of 1800. But however transforming 1800 may have been, the election of 1796 was America's first national electoral competition for political power, both between individuals and political organizations.

Everything about the election of 1796 was unprecedented, except for its complex legal mechanism, carefully laid out in Article II of the Constitution: In sixteen state contests for sixteen sets of electors (selected in whatever fashion each state chose), each elector would submit two names for president, with no preference given to either name. The person gaining the most votes would be elected president, and the second–most popular person would be elected vice president. This system had been used twice before but had not been truly tested, because George Washington was the first choice of every presidential elector both in 1788 and 1792, and John Adams's selection as vice president in those years had generated neither much controversy nor much enthusiasm.

By 1796, however, much had changed. The fiscal policies of Alexander Hamilton and the foreign policy of all Federalists, including President Washington, had begun to polarize the nation. When Washington announced his determination to retire from public life in September 1796, a two-month campaign to elect men who would defend, or alter, the Federalist worldview began in earnest.

This was not, however, like any modern presidential campaign, nor indeed any campaign that followed it. It presented to the nation two strong, and recently labeled, national factions, but no real parties. There were two coordinated attempts to present two competing tickets—John Adams of Massachusetts and Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Aaron Burr of New York for the Republicans—but some states were far more receptive to these tickets than were others. Washington himself gave not the slightest hint of his personal preference for any candidate or either faction until every elector had cast his vote and Adams's election seemed assured in late December 1796. This left national political figures from every region to decide whether to push one of the supposed tickets or to advance other combinations, especially Jefferson and Pinckney, or to ponder whether they should, or even could, exert any influence at all.

In such a campaign, divisive national issues were often subordinated to considerations of local interest or of individual relations to a host of potential candidates. Nevertheless, the campaign was spirited, conducted by letters, newspaper essays, and public addresses. The correspondence between various public figures, and sometimes from a public figure to a known or probable presidential elector, was of two kinds: confidential (not meant to be shared widely, if at all), and quasi public (intended to be shown to others, and occasionally even to be published, usually anonymously). Most of the potential candidates for the presidency or vice presidency, however, refrained entirely from campaigning, and declined even to announce their willingness to serve. Adams and Jefferson stayed at home for the entire contest and said virtually nothing to any visitors that could be used to much effect. It was, however, clear that they were willing to serve, and only a public declaration that they would not serve would have discouraged most, but not all, of their supporters. To this there was one exception. Aaron Burr campaigned openly and energetically for Jefferson but was widely considered to be campaigning for himself.

The end result of the election fully reflected its pre-party (or at most, proto-party) character. Adams won narrowly in the electoral college (not in the House of Representatives, as he had believed he would in the late winter of 1796), gaining 71 electoral votes to Jefferson's 68, with the remaining 133 votes spread among Pinckney, Burr, and nine other candidates, including Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. The efforts of both Federalists and Republicans to promote clear tickets had failed. John Adams won by doing well in most of the middle states, where Jefferson ran poorly, and by winning one elector each from Federalist-leaning districts in Virginia and North Carolina. Jefferson, unable to secure every Virginia and North Carolina vote, became vice president.

*See also* **Adams, John; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalists; Jefferson, Thomas; Washington, George.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cunningham, Noble. *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789–1801.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

Dauer, Manning. *The Adams Federalists.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Ferling, John. *John Adams: A Life.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Freeman, Joanne B. "The Presidential Election of 1796." In *John Adams and the Founding of the Republic.* Edited by Richard Alan Ryerson. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2001.

Kurtz, Stephen. *The Presidency of John Adams: The Collapse of Federalism, 1795–1800.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

*Richard Alan Ryerson*

**ELECTION OF 1800**   In 1800 Thomas Jefferson defeated John Adams, winning the presidency in the most important and complex election between the adoption of the Constitution in 1787 and the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Jefferson's inauguration on 4 March 1801 signaled a new era in democratic self-government in the new nation, as the candidate of an opposition party peacefully took office while his defeated rival—the incumbent president—quietly left office. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world had regime change been accomplished so peacefully and smoothly. The campaign, however, was hardly harmonious and the route from the election to the inauguration of Jefferson was anything but smooth. In the aftermath of the election Congress wrote and sent on to the states what became the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution to create a new method of electing the president.

### THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign was one of the nastiest in American history. Since 1797 Adams had been president while Jefferson, his political rival, had been vice president. In July 1798 Congress had passed the federal Sedition Act, which made it a crime to speak or write disparagingly of the president or the Congress, but not the vice president. Thus, as the nation moved toward the election, Federalist U.S. attorneys arranged for the arrest of twenty-five supporters of Jefferson. Fourteen of these men were indicted and ten were convicted. The Sedition Act harmed Adams, and the public hostility to the suppression of political dissent may have cost him the election. Even with the Sedition Act hanging over them, supporters of Jefferson denounced Adams as favoring a monarchy and claimed he had arranged a marriage with one of his sons and the daughter of the English king in order to bring back the British monarchy. The Jeffersonians further accused Adams of sending diplomats to England to procure "pretty girls as mistresses" for the president and his running mate. Adams's supporters, on the other hand, accused Jefferson of being an atheist (he was in fact a deist) and of planning to set up a guillotine in the new national capital to execute his opponents and bring to the United States a reign of terror similar to that of the French Revolution.

Beyond the nastiness, there were significant differences between the two candidates. Adams favored Britain in the ongoing wars in Europe, while Jefferson was much closer to France. Adams wanted to strengthen the army and navy in preparation for a possible war with France; Jefferson favored a smaller military and wanted to avoid a military encounter with any nation but favored war against Britain, rather than France, if forced into the European conflicts. Adams and members of his party supported the recently chartered Bank of the United States; Jefferson was opposed to the Bank. Jefferson wanted to see all Indians on the East Coast removed to the West; Adams believed that the Indians needed to be "civilized" but had never suggested their removal. Adams had never owned a slave and was on the verge of giving diplomatic recognition to Haiti, the republic created by former slaves who had overthrown their French masters; Jefferson owned about two hundred slaves at the time of the election, supported the insti-

tution of slavery, and was hostile to both emancipation and Haitian independence.

In this context Jefferson won a slim electoral majority, gaining seventy-three electoral votes to Adams's sixty-five. There was no popular vote, so it is impossible to know it this outcome reflected the true will of the electorate. Jefferson's political strength came mostly from the South, where slaves were counted (under the three-fifths clause of the Constitution) for purposes of allocating representatives in Congress *and* for the allocation of presidential electors. Without those electors created because of slaves (who of course could not vote), Jefferson would not have had an electoral majority. Ironically, in this election a man who owned about two hundred slaves gained his office because of the political power of slavery that was built into the process of electing the president. Despite the fact that Jefferson gained a majority of the electoral votes, he did not immediately win the election due to the complexity of the electoral process and a political mistake by Jefferson's supporters.

**THE HOUSE CONTEST**

Under the original Constitution the presidential electors voted for two candidates. The candidate with the most votes became president, if that candidate had a majority of the number of electors. The candidate with the second highest total became vice president. The framers assumed that each elector would vote for the two "best" candidates, and thus they would become president and vice president. This worked out in the first three elections. Washington had the most electoral votes in the first two elections and Adams was the runner-up. In 1796 Adams ran for president and was challenged by Jefferson. Adams had the most votes and gained the presidency, while Jefferson was runner-up and became vice president. However, Adams and Jefferson were not only rivals, but also political opponents. This led to a strained administration. It also taught leaders of the Federalist Party and the Democratic Republican Party that they needed to have a coordinated vote in the next election.

Thus, in 1800 all sixty-five Federalist electors voted for Adams, and all but one voted for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who was slated to be the vice president. This party discipline is remarkable, especially because at the time Alexander Hamilton, who had little faith in Adams, was trying to manipulate the Federalist electors to support Pinckney as president. But, Hamilton failed, and had the Federalists been in the majority, they would have reelected John Adams and replaced Jefferson with their own candi-

date. But the Federalists did not have a majority. The Democratic Republicans had seventy-three electors. All of them cast their ballots for Jefferson and for Aaron Burr. The party leaders assumed that Jefferson would then become president and Burr vice president. But the Constitution provided that if there was a tie in the electoral college, the House of Representatives would choose the president, with each state delegation casting a single vote. While Jefferson's supporters had a majority in the House, they did not control a majority of the delegations. Jefferson expected Burr to step aside and become vice president. But instead, the New York politician asserted that he had an equal right to be president and appealed to Federalists in Congress for support. The Democratic Republicans controlled eight delegations, the Federalists controlled six, and two others were evenly divided between Federalists and Democratic Republicans. Thus, for thirty-five ballots Jefferson won eight delegations, Adams won six, and two were tied and unable to cast a ballot. On the thirty-sixth ballot, Federalists from Vermont, Delaware, and Maryland abstained, thus allowing their states to cast ballots for Jefferson, and he was elected president.

In the wake of this terribly divisive election, Jefferson took office peacefully. In his inaugural he extended an olive branch to the Federalists, characterizing the bitter campaign as merely a "contest of opinion" and asserting that all Americans accepted the "sacred principle" that "the will of the majority . . . to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression." The shared belief in these principles led Jefferson to declare "we are all Republicans—we are all Federalists."

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Constitution: Twelfth Amendment; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Hamilton, Alexander; Presidency, The: John Adams; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Quasi-War with France.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ben-Atar, Doron, and Barbara B. Oberg. *Federalists Reconsidered.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Borden, Morton. *The Federalism of James A. Bayard.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Ferling, John. *Adams vs. Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.

Levy, Leon. *Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. *Jeffersonian Legacies.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Peterson, Merrill D. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

*Paul Finkelman*

## ELECTION OF 1824

The election of 1824 saw the breakup of the Democratic Republican Party, a party that had dominated American politics since 1800. Although Thomas Jefferson's party had previously always agreed to support either the incumbent president or the nominee of the party's congressional caucus, in 1824 four Democratic Republicans insisted on carrying their candidacy right through to the electoral college. When the Virginian supporters of William Harris Crawford of Georgia organized a congressional caucus for 14 February 1824, in the hope of pulling party loyalists behind him, only 66 Democratic–Republicans (out of 187) attended, and the supporters of other candidates denounced it as an attempt to dictate to the electorate. The popular appeal of these protests ensured that never again would a congressional caucus be used to nominate a presidential candidate.

Though most historians see the election of 1824 as a contest among ambitious personalities, each candidate represented a clear regional outlook and constituency. The main objection to Crawford was that he represented the so-called radicals of the South Atlantic states, who were eager both to protect slavery and to prevent the federal government from adopting tax-and-spend policies hostile to the interests of the exporting states. Their considerable political influence met opposition even in their own states: western counties in these states wanted federal assistance for "internal improvements" (improvements in transportation infrastructure) and initially regarded John C. Calhoun of South Carolina as their candidate, who looked strong in Pennsylvania as well. In the southwestern states, a similar demand for roads and canals produced early support for Henry Clay of Kentucky, the most public advocate of the American System of high tariffs and federal appropriations for internal improvements. Clay had criticized General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee for leading U.S. forces into Spanish Florida in pursuit of hostile Creeks in



**John Quincy Adams Copper Cent.** During the 1800s politicians used coins and currency already in circulation as a means of free advertising. This large copper coin is stamped with the name of John Quincy Adams, a candidate for the presidency in 1824. © DAVID J. & JANICE L. FRENT COLLECTION/CORBIS.

1818 and risking war with both Spain and Britain. But Jackson's actions, which hastened the acquisition of Florida in 1819, were widely popular in Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, especially among those who wished to expel the surviving native tribes, and the general soon overwhelmed Clay's candidacy in the Old Southwest, outside sugar-growing Louisiana.

A series of events made Jackson more than merely a regional candidate. A grassroots movement on his behalf among the Scotch-Irish of western Pennsylvania made it politically difficult for the various Republican factions in the state to back anyone else. In March 1824 a Republican state convention overwhelmingly named him, rather than Calhoun, as the state's favorite. At that point Calhoun withdrew and became the sole candidate for vice president, and Jackson inherited Calhoun's strength in the Southeast and Middle states. Jackson won Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and South Carolina, and in North Carolina he directly benefited when a coalition of Jackson and Adams supporters calling themselves the People's Ticket carried the state against Crawford.

In New England, Southern candidates suffered from the almost universal revulsion (in the wake of the Missouri Compromise) against Southern dominance in national politics. John Quincy Adams was

the only viable candidate free of the stain of slave-holding, and he proved almost unstoppable not only in New England but also in the areas to the west that Yankees had settled during the previous quarter century. In New York, a coalition of groups calling themselves the People's Party rebelled against the attempt of old Republicans led by Martin Van Buren to give that state's votes to Crawford. Though this coalition failed to wrest the right to choose the electors from the state legislature, its success in the assembly elections ensured that Adams won the lion's share of the state's electoral votes.

In the Middle Atlantic and Border states, both Adams and Crawford were unpopular because they were commonly identified with areas in the old Atlantic economy that opposed protecting American industries. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, Jackson benefited from being portrayed as a supporter of the American System. In the Ohio Valley, where there was strong demand for internal improvements, Clay was the front runner, but he was opposed by both New England settlers and those who resented his pursuit of debtors as attorney of the Bank of the United States following the Panic of 1819. Challenged by Jackson, who was portrayed as the people's champion, Clay lost Indiana and Illinois to him but carried Ohio and the slave states of Kentucky and Missouri. Through intrigue Clay lost important electoral votes in New York and Louisiana, where the choice of electors was made by the state legislature.

The consequence of this confusing election was that no candidate won a majority of electoral college votes and so, according to the Constitution, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, with each of the twenty-four state delegations casting one vote. Only the top three candidates—Jackson with 99 electoral votes, Adams with 84, and Crawford with 41—could be considered, but as Speaker of the House, Clay (missing out with 37 votes) could act as kingmaker. The House that made the decision on 9 February 1825 had been elected in 1822–1823 and so did not reflect the recent popular election. This fact worked against the outsider Jackson, who had done surprisingly well in the electoral college, though it is a myth to say that he won more of the popular vote than any other candidate. At a critical moment in the session, New England representatives in Congress threw their support behind internal-improvement measures, which enabled Clay and his friends to claim that Adams was the most likely to back the american system as president. That gave Adams the three states Clay had won, plus Illinois

and Louisiana, to add to the six New England states. In addition, Adams's private assurance that he was not opposed to appointing Federalists to office gave him Maryland and swung the divided New York delegation his way, to give him the necessary thirteen states.

These bargains, though necessary, were denounced as corrupt by the disappointed candidates, especially when Adams appointed Clay as secretary of state. These opponents united to obstruct Adams's presidency and worked to replace him with Jackson in 1828. Thus the election of 1824 started the process from which the national Republican and Democratic Parties would emerge.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Democratic Republicans; Jackson, Andrew; Presidency, The: John Quincy Adams.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hopkins, James F. "The Election of 1824." In *The History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968.* Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and Fred J. Israel. Vol. 1. New York: Chelsea House, 1971.

Livermore, Shaw, Jr. *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. *The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818–1828.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000.

Risjord, Norman K. *The Old Republicans: Southern Conservatism in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

*Donald J. Ratcliffe*

**ELECTION OF 1828**    The election of 1828 was one of the nastiest in American history. In some ways, the contest was an extension of the previous presidential election in 1824. On both occasions, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson vied for the highest office in the land. In 1824 a total of four candidates ran, with the electoral votes scattered among them. Jackson won the most popular and electoral votes, but lacked a majority in both categories. Thus, the election went to the House of Representatives, where Adams was chosen primarily because of behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Henry Clay. Jackson cried foul when Clay was subsequently appointed secretary of state by Adams. The thunder of "corrupt bargain" rumbled throughout the nation, and as a result, campaigning for the election of 1828 began immediately.

The meanness of the campaign engendered charge and countercharge. Jackson's supporters declared that Adams, while acting as secretary to his father, then ambassador to Russia, had procured a young American girl for the tsar's pleasure. Adams's forces, in turn, announced that Jackson's mother was a prostitute and that he was the result of her liaison with a mulatto. Notwithstanding such tawdry accusations, the election actually involved important issues. Jackson's supporters argued that the will of the people had been cheated in the 1824 election because he had received the highest number of popular and electoral votes. On the election of 1828, insisted Jackson forces, teetered the very survival of constitutional, majoritarian democracy.

Such an argument was a rather new concept. The founding fathers had embraced democracy, but their emphasis was more on representative republicanism. They referred to the nation as a republic and believed firmly in deferential government. In other words the elite, educated men of the nation should lead, and the masses should defer to the elite's superior judgment. Jackson challenged and ultimately dismantled this system. He was not born into aristocracy. Rather, he was the first president reared in poverty. He struggled, fought, and worked his way to a position of respect and power. As a result, the people connected with him in a way they had never done with prior presidents. Even George Washington, revered as the nation's father, had not achieve such a status. Both the broadening right of suffrage throughout America and Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) played significant roles in the election. Ultimately, Jackson became a symbol of burgeoning democracy and was venerated as representative of the common man. He promised reform in government and the people believed him.

John Quincy Adams appeared in stark contrast to Jackson's humble origins. Born into an elite Massachusetts family and educated at Harvard, Adams was the son of the nation's second president and had held a plethora of offices, including secretary of state under President James Monroe. After winning the questionable election of 1824, he announced in his First Annual Address that government was "invested with power" and made continual comparisons between the progress of Europe and the backwardness of America. He insisted that the nation should not "slumber in indolence," nor should the legislature be "palsied by the will of our constituents." This and other statements of Adams had the tone of haughtiness and aristocracy about which Jackson and his supporters warned. Adams's more-or-less-rejection of the popular will as a guide for America's leaders paralleled that tone. Furthermore, the belief that the burgeoning United States was second to the decadence of centuries-old Europe angered Americans.

Jackson opposed that belief. His victory over the British at New Orleans, the crushing of an army that had defeated Napoleon's best by a ragtag group of yeoman militia, quickly became a symbol of America's greatness. As the commander of such a triumph, Jackson personified the nation's finest attributes. This, in fact, was the very reason that his popularity exploded following the battle and why the road to the executive office opened before him. Add the alleged corruption of 1824 and the inborn aristocracy of Adams, and Andrew Jackson's success in the election of 1828 was virtually assured.

Once presidential victory arrived, the nation witnessed an inauguration like no other. People flooded the streets in order to see "their" champion. Whereas in the past the ceremony to usher in a new leader had been an affair for Washington society only, this time the elite found itself surrounded by the members of the "rabble" who now felt they had license to partake in democratic government. America would never be the same.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Election of 1824; Jackson, Andrew.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hargreaves, Mary W. M. *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams.* Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1985.

Remini, Robert. *The Election of Andrew Jackson.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1963.

———. *Andrew Jackson: The Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832.* New York: Harper & Row, 1981.

*Matthew Warshauer*

## EMANCIPATION AND MANUMISSION
Emancipation is the process of freeing slaves through government action. Manumission takes place when masters free their slaves voluntarily. When a government ends slavery completely, the process is known as abolition. Before the Revolution slavery was legal in all thirteen British mainland colonies. Some of the northern colonies allowed masters to manumit their slaves, and there was a significant free black population in all of them. On the eve of the Revolution, voluntary manumission was illegal in most of the South, and even where it was permitted, the practice was not common.

During the Revolution thousands of masters freed slaves who were willing to fight in the American army or local militias. Throughout New England male slaves became free black soldiers, and many were able to gain liberty for their wives and children as well at this time. Even in the South some masters freed slaves so that they could fight in the army. For example, in the legislative session of 1782–1783, Virginia passed a law declaring that all slaves who had served in the army and been honorably discharged were entitled to their freedom and condemning as "contrary to the principles of justice" those masters who tried to reenslave former soldiers.

Beyond wartime manumissions, a number of the newly independent states of the North began to take steps to end slavery. In its 1780 constitution Massachusetts declared that "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and in fine of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness." In a series of cases, including *Commonwealth v. Jennison* (1783) the Massachusetts courts interpreted this clause to have ended slavery in the state. New Hampshire's 1783 constitution contained a similar clause that was read the same way. Vermont, which became the fourteenth state in 1791, unambiguously abolished slavery. In 1780 Pennsylvania passed the nation's first gradual emancipation act. The law provided that the children of all slaves born in the state would be free at birth, but subject to an indenture. The law was a compromise between those who wanted to end slavery immediately and those who opposed any emancipation on the grounds that it would take private property from people, in violation of the basic principles of the Revolution. Although the law did not require masters to emancipate their slaves, it seems to have led to that result. In 1790 the first U.S. Census, which was conducted ten years after the law went into effect, found 6,537 free blacks and 3,730 slaves. By 1800 the free black population had grown to over 14,000 while there were just 1,706 slaves in the state. At the end of the early national period the 1830 census found 37,930 free blacks and only 403 slaves in the states. Over time slavery had literally died out in Pennsylvania. In 1784 Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar laws, and in 1799 and 1804 New York and New Jersey did the same. In 1790 the northeastern states had just over 40,000 slaves and about 27,000 free blacks. By 1830 the slave population was under 2,800 while there were over 122,000 free blacks in the region. Meanwhile, Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816),

Illinois (1818), and Maine (1820) had entered the Union as free states. The Constitutions of those states banned slavery, although some slaves were held into the 1830s in Indiana and into the 1840s in Illinois.

Before the Revolution manumission in the South was rare and in many places illegal. The free black population was small. During the Revolution some southern masters freed slaves who joined the army, but most masters did not. During the war, however, some southern masters concluded that slaveholding violated their political principles, their religious principles, or both. In 1782 Virginia allowed masters to voluntarily free adult (but not truly old) slaves. In 1780 Virginia had about 2,000 free blacks; by 1810 that number had increased to over 30,000, as thousands of individual masters—including George Washington—took advantage of this law to manumit their slaves. In this period the free black population in Virginia grew faster than either the white population or the slave population. However, these manumissions did not affect the overall importance of slavery to the state, as the slave population grew from about 288,000 in 1790 to 383,000 in 1810 and to over 453,000 by 1830. The free black population in the state in 1830 was about 47,000. In the rest of the South, there was a similar burst of manumissions during the Revolutionary period. South Carolina's free black population went from 1,800 in 1790 to over 4,500 by 1810; but then the rate of growth slowed, reaching about 7,900 in 1830 and then hardly growing at all in the next three decades.

In Maryland and Delaware, however, manumission was more common in this period. Maryland had only about 8,000 free blacks in 1790, but by 1810 that number had grown to about 34,000; at the end of the early national period, the 1830 census found about 53,000 free blacks in the state. More important, in 1810 the slave population peaked at 111,000 and by 1830 had dropped to 102,000 as manumissions and sales reduced the percentage of slaves. This trend, started in the Revolutionary period, would continue until slavery came to an end. By the eve of the Civil War, Maryland would have about 83,000 free blacks and only about 87,000 slaves. The rate of manumission was even higher in nearby Delaware, which had over 15,000 free blacks by 1830 and about 3,300 slaves.

The Revolution in the North led to emancipation and abolition. John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were leaders of the New York Abolition Society while Benjamin Franklin was the president of Pennsylvania's society. Collectively these opponents of slavery worked for a state-sponsored solution to slavery. As

governor of New York, John Jay signed the state's gradual emancipation law. But, despite the implementation of ideology that led to southern manumissions after the Revolution, individual opposition to slavery did not threaten the institution in the South. George Washington freed his slaves at his death, but he is remarkable as the only leading southern founder to do so. Washington contrasts sharply with Thomas Jefferson, who manumitted a handful of slaves (all members of the Hemings family); at his death his two hundred or so slaves were sold off at auction.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Abolition Societies; African Americans: African American Responses to Slavery and Race; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Jefferson, Thomas; Liberty; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Slavery: Overview; Washington, George.**

BIBLIOGRAPY

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Franklin, John Hope. *The Free Negro in North Carolina*, *1790–1860.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943, 1995.

Nash, Gary B., and Jean R. Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

*Paul Finkelman*

**EMBARGO**   An embargo, or prohibition of trade with foreign nations, was integral to Jeffersonian Republican commercial policy and diplomacy from 1805 to 1814. The policy evoked heated debates among contemporaries and historians, the latter having variously described it as a form of pacifism, a preparation for war, an agrarian critique of commerce, and an extension of the Jeffersonian Republicans' deep commitment to the carrying trade. Rather than viewing individual measures as the embodiment of a particular worldview, however, the most famous embargoes—restrictions against Haiti in 1805 and 1806 and Jefferson's total Embargo Act of 1807—are best understood within the context of a diverse Jeffersonian Republican coalition acting within precarious geopolitical circumstances.

### EMBARGO AGAINST HAITI

As Haitian revolutionaries fought for their independence from France, President Thomas Jefferson kept a watchful eye on the situation, adjusting economic policy to fit developments. At first, concerns about French designs in North America convinced him to allow the burgeoning American trade to the island to continue. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 reduced these concerns, while the arming of private American vessels elevated the threat of open war against the French naval blockade of the island. News of bloody massacres at the hands of the Haitians heightened racist anxiety about an independent black republic so close to the United States's own slave populations. After first passing trade restrictions in March 1805, in February 1806, to the relief of concerned southerners and the chagrin of northern merchants involved in the Haitian trade, Jefferson and the Republican-controlled Congress refused to recognize the island's independence and prohibited trade to the revolutionaries. Legal trade resumed in the spring of 1810 but with restrictions against Haitian vessels entering the United States. Official recognition did not occur until 1862.

### A COERCIVE MEASURE

The impact of the Haitian embargo paled in comparison to Jefferson's more controversial embargo passed by Congress on 22 December 1807. In this instance, Jefferson and Republican loyalists sought to close American markets completely until France or Britain agreed to respect America's neutral commerce. In 1803 the resumption of war between the two rivals had increased European demand for American crops and served as a boon to U.S. commerce. British naval supremacy, especially after the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805, left France particularly reliant on American merchants to transport their colonial goods. America's good fortune, however, depended on the willingness of belligerents to allow its ships access to enemy ports.

Good will eroded in early 1806 as the British navy blockaded Continental ports, challenged U.S. involvement in the colonial trade, and increased impressments of American sailors who, Britain suspected, had deserted the Royal Navy. In April, a large congressional majority responded by passing a Non-Importation Act limiting the importation of certain British manufactured goods. The measure remained

in effect for only a short time, however, in hopes that James Monroe, minister to Britain, and special envoy William Pinkney could reach a diplomatic settlement. Negotiations led to a draft treaty in December 1806 that appeared to meet many of America's commercial demands but that proved unsatisfactory to the administration and its Republican merchant advisers. Further negotiations between the two nations fizzled in the spring of 1807. In June, tensions heightened when the British frigate *Leopard* fired on an American warship, the *Chesapeake*, and forcibly removed four British deserters. In September, reports from France warned of the seizure of American ships suspected of funneling British goods into the Continent in violation of the Emperor Napoleon's 1806 Berlin decree. His Milan Decree of November 1807 confirmed that was French policy. Britain, in turn, responded with Orders in Council requiring neutral nations to stop at British harbors and pay transit fees. When Congress convened in December 1807, the administration contemplated war but ultimately asked members for an embargo to "keep our seamen and property from capture, and to starve the offending nations." Wide majorities in both houses complied.

From the beginning, then, Jefferson's embargo had both defensive and offensive purposes. It kept American vessels and resources out of harm's way, saving them for possible war. At the same time, it withheld American raw materials—especially cotton, timber, and wheat—as leverage to encourage the belligerents to acknowledge America's neutral rights. Smuggling, especially across the Canadian border, undermined the embargo's impact and led to subsequent legislation and executive orders banning trade with Canada and Spanish Florida and giving government officials expansive powers to inspect and seize suspicious vessels. American exports dropped to one-fifth of their pre-embargo levels. The coastal trade between states remained legal but large bonds were required. New England Federalists decried the measure as "Francophile" and denounced its heavy-handed enforcement as an egregious abuse of executive power. Joining them were a small number of states'-rights "Old Republicans" like John Randolph who lamented the centralization of authority and the rejection of the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty.

Despite many complaints and some violations, the embargo gained broad public support from a loyal Republican majority—in part because it preserved peace while simultaneously laying the groundwork for possible war. Petitions from Republican strongholds throughout the nation praised the measure, branded opponents as unpatriotic, and anticipated that this form of commercial warfare would win concessions from Europe. Supporters of the act argued that it offered "equal suffering from all"; the nation's diverse agricultural and commercial interests from all regions would share the hardships of protecting national honor and commercial rights.

## RESULTS

Everyone did suffer, but to varying degrees. American artisans and nascent manufacturers, especially in mid-Atlantic localities, benefited from a lack of foreign competition. Southern planters and western farmers claimed they suffered the most, being deprived of markets for their crops or access to European finished goods. In all likelihood, however, New England commercial populations of fisherman, sailors, and merchants were hit hardest by the port closures. By late 1808 patience in this region ran out, sparking cries for secession that foreshadowed the Hartford Convention of 1814. In the meantime, initially optimistic reports from Europe about the embargo's impact gave way to more mixed notices, some even suggesting that French and British officials welcomed the policy. Federalist gains in state and national elections in the fall of 1808 suggested that neither the nation nor the Republican Party could bear the sacrifices much longer.

At the behest of northern Republicans, and more reluctantly the outgoing president, Congress backed away from a complete embargo, repealing it for good on 1 March 1809. In its place a Non-Intercourse Act opened trade with neutral nations while continuing the ban on trade with France and Britain. Some southern supporters of the embargo did not let the bill go quietly, however, arguing that Non-Intercourse ended the policy of equal suffering, allowing northern merchants to trade but preventing southern planters access to their chief markets except through expensive, circuitous, and potentially illegal routes. South Carolina representative David Williams and Georgia representative George Troup unsuccessfully lobbied to extend the embargo and, if necessary, declare war. Instead, Congress and the incoming president, James Madison, placed their faith in the assurances of British minister David Erskine, whose diplomatic negotiations had appeared to settle the dispute. In light of these discussions and as an act of further good will, Madison announced the renewal of trade with Great Britain in April 1809. When Westminster refused to accept Erskine's agreement, however, Non-Intercourse was reinstated while Congress began an extended debate on how to pro-

EMOTIONAL LIFE

ceed. Unable to reach any consensus on a policy that would affect different groups equally, in May 1810 a Congress close to adjournment passed Macon's Bill No. 2, which lifted all trade restrictions against France and Britain while empowering the president to reimpose Non-Intercourse if one of the belligerents lifted its trade restrictions and the other did not do so within the following three months. The measure was so weak it was openly mocked at home and abroad, where it had no impact in changing European policies.

During its fifteen months of enforcement, Jefferson's embargo became paradoxically a symbol of national and party unity and a source of sectional frustration and national weakness. Its negative legacy and lack of success tainted Jefferson's legacy and Republican political economy. Attempts at other forms of economic coercion were equally controversial and unsuccessful. In 1812 the declaration of war against Britain was preceded by a ninety-day embargo. In the summer of 1813 Madison sought a new embargo law, but Congress refused to pass it. Madison succeeded in getting another embargo later in 1813, but it was repealed in the spring of 1814 after Britain and its allies had secured the abdication of Napoleon.

*See also* **Chesapeake Affair; Haitian Revolution; Hartford Convention; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Politics: Political Parties; War Hawks; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Matthewson, Tim. "Jefferson and Haiti." *Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 2 (May 1995): 209–248.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Perkins, Bradford. *Prologue to War*, 1805–1812. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

Sears, Louis Martin. *Jefferson and the Embargo.* 1927. Reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1978.

Spivak, Burton. *Jefferson's English Crisis: Commerce, Embargo, and the Republican Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

*Brian Schoen*

**EMOTIONAL LIFE**   Although emotion is an elusive subject for research, it can provide insight into a society's workings. In early America, emotions colored every aspect of the new society from domestic to diplomatic relations. Historians examining the years 1754 to 1829 have found fairly ample evidence of how early Americans both described and prescribed emotional ideals—the cultural expectations of emotion. Yet evidence of the social expression of emotion—records of how people communicated and negotiated emotion—is harder to come by. Most problematic of all in the study of emotion during the early American period is finding surviving traces of the inner dimension of emotion, or subjective experience.

### EMOTIONAL IDEALS OF THE ERA

In the wake of the Enlightenment, emotion achieved a newfound appreciation in the culture of the Old and New Worlds. A tremendous number of writers and thinkers devoted themselves both to describing and prescribing emotional ideals. According to their prescriptions, achieving civility required that people cultivate yet carefully control their emotions.

Scottish moral philosophers frequently read in America—Francis Hutcheson in *On the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (1728); David Hume in *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739); and Adam Smith in *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759)—argued for the efficacy of emotion in fostering virtue. Benevolence, based on the ability to feel for others, was to be the glue that bound individuals together in society. Likewise, advice and conduct books, such as Lord Chesterfield's *Letters of Advice to His Son* (1775), urged the cultivation of finer feelings alongside the restraint of unruly personal passions. Popular literature—such as articles in the eighteenth-century periodical *The Spectator*, published in England by Joseph Addison and frequently reprinted on the other side of the Atlantic, and the first original novel ever published on American soil, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1795)—also celebrated emotion. At the same time, American theologians preached the importance of emotion for Christian conversion. Jonathan Edwards helped provoke the First Great Awakening with his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746); his grandson Timothy Dwight assumed the presidency of Yale College and helped begin the Second Great Awakening in 1795.

Notably, these emotional ideals, far from being associated exclusively with femininity, applied to men and women alike. And although there were certain associations between emotional sensibility and gentility, by the time of the Second Great Awakening the capacity for feeling was widely understood to cut across lines of race and rank as well as gender.

## EXPRESSION AND COMMUNICATION

American emphasis on emotion was sparked in part by the confrontations among cultures brought about during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). During that war the British and British Americans, the French, and Native Americans alike contested the rules of savagery and civility, using emotion as a means of keeping score. Indeed, emotions played key roles in mediating colonial encounters: Europeans participated in Indian condolence ceremonies, and the French and English competed in the arena of civility and sensibility, as spelled out in both popular political pamphlets and official communiqués. Throughout the period 1754 to 1829, Americans preferred to cast themselves as inherently civilized and all Indians as savage. Yet they could not help admiring what they saw as the Indians' natural elegance of emotional expression. In 1785 Thomas Jefferson praised the eloquence of Shawnee Chief Logan in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, General Anthony Wayne paid tribute to his Indian opponents' civility and capacity for sympathy.

Emotional expression also contributed significantly to political language. Thomas Paine called on all Patriots to consult "the feelings and passions of mankind" in his 1776 pro-Revolution pamphlet *Common Sense.* In 1783 George Washington delivered an emotional speech on behalf of the new nation in response to the Newburgh conspiracy. Countless new senators and representatives sought to use their own finely honed senses of sympathy and resentment as a means of displaying their honor in the course of conducting the business of government. American political leaders relied on expressions of emotion to define and defend their positions.

In many areas of public life outside politics as well, expressions of emotion helped send important messages. Reform movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially abolitionism, used the language of humanitarian sensibility as a rallying cry. Like the evangelical minister John Wesley, who demanded (in a piece widely reprinted in the 1770s and after called *Thoughts on the Keeping of Negroes*) that slaveholders pay attention to "the flowing eyes, the heaving breasts" of those they held in bondage, activists urged their fellow citizens to show the strength of their feeling for others by having compassion for the enslaved.

## SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE

To track changing ideas about emotion or shifting levels of expression is one thing, but it is quite another to attempt a history of emotion as experienced internally. Historians who investigate records with the potential to reveal personal emotions, such as speech recorded in court testimony, letters exchanged among friends and family members, and the emotions mentioned in diaries, agree that between 1754 and 1829 people devoted ever-increasing amounts of effort to the deliberate regulation of their emotions. Some emotions, such as social sympathy and romantic love, appear to have been granted greater importance; other emotions, such as anger, inspired ambivalence. Ultimately, however, beyond the general conclusion that Americans increasingly valued emotional control, determining the relative prevalence of any given emotion presents great difficulties.

Historians of emotion have turned to theories and methods drawn from many other disciplines, especially psychology, anthropology, and sociology, along with philosophy and literary theory. Historians influenced by psychological theory tend to argue against significant change over time, convinced that certain universal emotions largely transcend the particularities of time and place. Conversely, scholars influenced by anthropological theories tend to emphasize that emotion is contingent—that is, emotional experience is shaped through discourse. Between these two extremes lie approaches that try to account for both the commonalities of human emotion across culture and the very real variations in prescriptions for and expressions of emotion. If all human beings have the same potential to experience emotion, yet variations in the apparent occurrence of emotion are real, then attention to the patterns of which emotions are prized or pilloried, expressed or repressed can tell scholars a good deal. Such trends can reveal much about the structuring of society and may also ultimately offer clues to changing subjectivity.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; Antislavery; Character; Courtship; Happiness; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Paine, Thomas; Reform, Social; Sensibility; Sentimentalism.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cayton, Andrew R. "'Noble Actors' upon 'the Theater of Honour': Power and Civility in the Treaty of Greenville." In *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830.* Edited by Andrew R. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Corrigan, John, Eric Crump, and John Kloos, eds. *Emotion and Religion: A Critical Assessment and Annotated Bibliography.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Eustace, Nicole. "Vehement Movements: Debates on Emotion, Self, and Society during the Seven Years' War in Pennsylvania." *Explorations in Early American Culture* 5 (2001): 79–117.

Hemphill, Christina Dallett. *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Knott, Sarah. "Sensibility and the American War for Independence." *American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 19–40.

Reddy, William. "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions." *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 327–352.

Stearns, Peter N., and Jan Lewis, eds. *An Emotional History of the United States.* New York: New York University Press, 1998.

*Nicole Eustace*

**ENCYCLOPÉDIE**    There is little evidence to suggest that the twenty-eight volumes of the first folio edition of the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts and Trades) (1751–1772), compiled by Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert, circulated widely in British North America. A London translation of Diderot and d'Alembert's preface, *The Plan of the French Encyclopaedia* (1752), could be ordered from colonial booksellers, however, and the single-volume *Select Essays from the Encyclopedy* (1772) could be found in subscription libraries. British North American readers might also have encountered excerpts of articles from the *Encyclopédie* in such publications as Sir William Blackstone's four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769) or in the numbers of *The Annual Register.* But far more common as reference works were the two volumes of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia: or, a Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728), of which the original *Encyclopédie* project was to be a translation, and the three volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or a Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* (1771), for which the *Encyclopédie* served as a model.

The improved commercial and cultural relations between France and the new United States, which flowed from their alliance during the American Revolution, made the *Encyclopédie* more readily available to Americans during and after that conflict. Booksellers in Alexandria, Virginia, and Philadelphia advertised copies for sale, including the less-expensive thirty-nine volume quarto (1771–1781) and octavo (1778–1782) editions. The Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, which was involved in publishing those editions, discussed the prospects of marketing them in America with Benjamin Franklin. In 1781 Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, convinced that state's council to purchase the *Encyclopédie* for the public's benefit. Jefferson subsequently obtained a copy for personal use, as did James Madison.

Greater interest was expressed in the United States for the successor to Diderot and d'Alembert's compendium, the *Encyclopédie méthodique, ou par ordre de matières, par une société de gens de lettres, de savans et des artistes.* Unlike the original *Encyclopédie,* which was arranged alphabetically, the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Methodical Encyclopedia, arranged by subjects, by a Society of Men-of-Letters, Scientists and Artist) was a collection of dictionaries written on specific subjects. Ultimately it would consist of 102 parts, or *livraisons,* which appeared in 166½ volumes of text and 51 volumes of illustrations. Charles Joseph Panckoucke, the editor-in-chief, began publication in 1782, but the series was not completed until 1832. The *Encyclopédie méthodique* headed the list of books that James Madison, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson recommended for purchase by the Continental Congress in 1783. Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Francis Hopkinson, and James Monroe were among those who subscribed to its volumes, as were the College of William and Mary and the American Philosophical Society. By far the most active American promoter and supporter of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* was Thomas Jefferson. In 1783 he suggested that Panckoucke appoint an agent in Philadelphia to solicit subscriptions and to supervise the distribution of the respective *livraisons* in the United States. While no such arrangements were made, Jefferson did take up these tasks informally during his residence in Paris from 1784 to 1789.

Jefferson was also a contributor to the *Encyclopédie méthodique,* which he described as a "valuable depository of science." Early in 1786 Jean Nicholas Démeunier, the editor of *Économie politique et diplomatique* (1784–1788), one of the dictionaries constituting the *Encyclopédie,* asked for his advice on drafts of articles on the United States and on a number of the states. Jefferson agreed. In a series of exchanges with Démeunier, he provided documentation for, corrections of, and comments on the Articles of Confederation, the debt of the United States, their population and their codes of law—including the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom, of which he was an author. But Jefferson's most extensive and substantive revisions to the "États-unis" (United States) entry concerned the remarks on

"*l'association des Cincinnati et des dangers de cette institution*" (the Society of the Cincinnati and the dangers posed by that organization). In preparing the materials for this section of the *États–unis* article, Démeunier had relied on the Comte de Mirabeau's *Considerations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus* (1784), a pamphlet that portrayed the Cincinnati as enemies to republican equality. Although Jefferson also opposed the order and hoped for its dissolution, he objected to Démeunier's "unjust and incorrect Philippic" against George Washington and his fellow officers. In its place he provided a more generous construal of the history of the Cincinnati based upon correspondence and conversations with Washington and Lafayette. Démeunier went on to incorporate most of the recommended changes in the final draft.

During the summer of 1786, the "États–unis" article appeared in volume two of *Économie politique et diplomatique.* His participation notwithstanding, Jefferson expressed strong reservations about some of the article. Yet when Panckoucke also printed copies of the article separately, Jefferson forwarded them to correspondents in Europe and the United States. He also arranged to have the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom excerpted from the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and distributed to embassies in Paris. Jefferson's collaboration with Démeunier could be seen as well in the article "Virginie," large sections of which were taken verbatim from the former's *Observations sur la Virginie* (1786), the French edition of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). The entry "Virginie," published in the fourth and final *livraison* of *Économie politique et diplomatique* (1788), also included the text of the new Constitution of the United States. Démeunier subsequently reprinted all the entries on America in pamphlet form as *L'Amérique Indépendante, ou Les différentes constitutions des treize provinces . . . sous le nom d'États–Unis de l'Amérique* (Independent America, or the Different Constitutions of the Thirteen Provinces . . . Called the United States of America)(1790). This pamphlet, and the original *Encyclopédie* articles, would prove to be important resources in the course of debates over constitutional reform in the National Assembly in the early years of the Revolution in France.

Although Jefferson predicted that the *Encyclopédie méthodique* would be "universally diffused" and would "go down to late ages," its impact in the United States was less than he anticipated. The factors of cost, delays in publication and distribution, and the barriers of language combined to limit its circulation and influence. The standard reference collection in the new American nation would be the *Encyclopaedia; or,*

*A Dictionary of Arts*, *Sciences*, *and Miscellaneous Literature* (1798), based on the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

*See also* **European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Jefferson, Thomas.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boyd, Julian. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Vol. 5 (1952); Vol. 6 (1952); Vol. 9 (1954). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950–.

Darnton, Robert. *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Jackson, Sidney. "The *Encyclopédie Méthodique*: A Jefferson Addendum." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 73 (1965): 303–311.

Lundberg, David, and Henry F. May. "The Enlightened Reader in America." *American Quarterly* 28 (1976): 262–271.

Lutz, Donald. "The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought." *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 189–197.

Watts, George B. "The *Encyclopédie Méthodique.*" *PMLA* 73 (1958): 348–366.

———."Thomas Jefferson, the *Encyclopédie* and the *Encyclopédie Méthodique.*" *French Review* 38 (1965): 318–325.

Wilson, Douglas. "Thomas Jefferson's Library and the French Connection." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (1993): 669–685.

*Martin J. Burke*

**ENGINEERING**   *See* **Civil Engineering and Building Technology.**

**ENVIRONMENT, ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY, AND NATURE**   By the eve of the American Revolution, travelers in the mainland colonies of British America were encountering a natural environment that had been transformed in significant and lasting ways during the prior century. Though inland communities remained home to the subsistence cultures of rural farming families and Native Americans, who transformed the environment in their own distinct and often destructive ways, the main sources of environmental change in the eighteenth century were the efforts of European settlers, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans to adapt to the development of a transatlantic market economy. While farmers in New England and the middle colo-

***The Subsiding of the Waters of the Deluge*** **(1829).** A painting by Thomas Cole, a leader of the Hudson River school of American landscape painters. SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC/ART RESOURCE, NY.

nies had begun to supply wheat, lumber, and other daily necessities to Europe and the British West Indies, the planters of Virginia and the Carolinas provided exotic items such as tobacco, rice, and indigo to consumers throughout the Atlantic world. Overseas markets extended their influence as far west as the vast Indian country between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, where organized networks supplied a booming fur and skin trade.

The impact of the new Atlantic commerce on North American ecology was profound. Inhabitants of colonial North America learned to perceive of their physical surroundings in basically capitalist terms. Natural resources increasingly were viewed as commodities, articles of value capable of being exchanged for other goods or money. Though ecological consequences varied according to region, every colony touched by the Atlantic economy suffered deforestation, epidemics, soil exhaustion, and decreasing

numbers of game animals. Market forces would continue to transform the North American environment, east of the Mississippi River, during a period of national development and growth that extended from the American Revolution to the start of the Jacksonian era.

### ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE, 1776–1800

The environmental history of the post-Revolutionary period revolves around two key developments: the expansionist land policy of the new federal government and the commercial boom of the 1790s. When the North American colonies declared their independence in 1776, they complained that the Proclamation of 1763 had denied white colonists access to the fertile lands west of the Appalachians. The signing of the Treaty of Paris (1783) brought the era of British restrictions on colonial expansion to a decisive close. The Continental Congress worked quickly to promote settlement of western lands. The Land

Ordinance of 1785 advanced a sweeping vision in which federal authorities would transform the vast terrain between the Appalachian Mountains, north of the Ohio River, and the Mississippi River into rectangular lots to be granted as private property to enterprising citizens. Such a vision left little room for coexistence with the tribes that had dominated Indian country for centuries, initiating as it did a fatal struggle between red and white peoples for exclusive control of eastern North America. East of the Appalachians, many white Americans enjoyed the benefits of a surging economy. With western Europe recovering from a series of wars, the demand for North American products rose dramatically. The price of wheat, for instance, climbed high enough to tempt subsistence farmers in the mid-Atlantic states, whose primary aim had previously been to feed, clothe, and shelter an extended family, to begin to produce large surpluses (quantities of farm products beyond what was required for subsistence) for overseas trade.

**New England.** While the environmental effects of these developments would be felt throughout eastern North America, the environments of New England and the South Atlantic colonies (Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia) have received the most extensive study. New England has been one focus of an important debate among environmental historians over the timing of the transition to a market economy and its role in the transformation of the early American environment. According to William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (1983), by the eve of the Revolution, prior Native American and European understandings of the New England environment had given way to a perception of the landscape as a source of commodities. Deforestation due to trade in white pine masts, turpentine, pitch, and tar had resulted in a drier landscape more vulnerable to erosion from high winds. Beaver, fox, and lynx had grown scarce as trappers and traders sought valuable pelts.

In *Ecological Revolutions* (1989), Carolyn Merchant argues that market attitudes prevailed only among the wealthy elite of New England's coastal towns. Inland communities with little access to markets practiced a traditional blend of Native American and medieval European agriculture that aimed to feed, clothe, and reproduce the family. This form of subsistence farming was far more ecologically sensitive than farming for the market would later be. After clearing forest trees by cutting or burning, farmers used small lots for crops for just a few years, rotating corn, beans, and squash between three fields. Those fields then lay fallow (unused) or served as pastureland for up to eight years, then reverted to forest while a new lot was cleared for the growing of crops. Such methods worked effectively to preserve soil nutrients.

Environmental historians agree that ultimately, between the Revolution and 1800, broader developments would further integrate all of New England, including inland villages, into an expanding market economy. Federal land policy opened new terrain for settler farmers. The Iroquois lost title to two million acres in upstate New York in 1787. The peak in European demand for meat and grain in the 1790s, coupled with state-funded construction of turnpikes and canals, powered the growth of commercial agriculture.

At the same time, subsistence farming families also suffered the effects of another crisis. Though children were a necessary source of labor, sons needed to inherit farms when they came of age. As inland families grew due to sound farming methods, land in turn grew scarce. Within a few generations, many farms had been divided into small subunits in which less space for tillage, pasture, and woodlot could be spared.

Rural families responded to these tensions either by migrating to western lands, where they could preserve subsistence traditions, or by remaining in New England and raising cash crops for the market. For many families who did remain, the transition to commercial farming was disastrous. As more land was taken up by cash crops, the ecological balance of the entire farm was upset. Crop yields diminished as the soil was deprived of nutrients. The stage was set for the abandonment of New England farms in the nineteenth century.

**The Chesapeake and the Carolinas.** The ecological impact of the Atlantic economy was felt with even greater intensity in the region of warmer temperatures and more abundant rainfall that stretched from the Chesapeake Bay to the Carolina low country. Relying on the labor of enslaved Africans, southern plantation owners cleared Virginia forests and drained Carolina swamps to grow massive quantities of staple crops (including rice, tobacco, corn, and indigo) for overseas export. Merchants based in large towns, meanwhile, worked closely with southeastern Indians to organize a booming fur and deerskin trade as timber merchants cut oak, hickory, cedar, and pine to meet demands for lumber in the West Indies and Europe.

Europeans were not the only group to make an impact on the southern environment. Adapting to a transformed landscape, Native American tribes including the Creeks altered their subsistence ways to begin raising cattle for market. By the 1780s Backcountry cane fields suffered from heavy grazing. African contributions to environmental change went beyond expertise in rice cultivation. Raising African imports including yams, eggplant, and peanuts in small provision gardens, slaves maintained a more ecologically balanced form of agriculture on the edges of southern plantations.

Plantation agriculture, hunting, and logging altered the southern environment in interconnected ways. Beavers, bears, buffalo, elks, muskrats, wild turkeys, and passenger pigeons grew scarce in large portions of the southern colonies by the mid-1760s as deforestation destroyed habitats. The lack of beaver dams in turn contributed to severe floods in the Chesapeake colonies throughout the 1770s. Those floods were so destructive in part because row crops such as tobacco were planted along ridges arranged in long, straight lines. Field slaves then used hoes to carve ditches between the ridges. Plantations laid out in this manner were vulnerable to erosion when rainwater turned the ditches into raging streams. Those same single-crop fields were more vulnerable to pests including insects, squirrels, and crows. Deforestation even altered the southern climate. The absence of oaks and flowering trees led to colder springs, warmer summers, and earlier frosts. Planters, slaves, and small farmers all suffered from changes in the disease environment. As the aedes mosquito found breeding grounds in new ditches and reservoirs, populous towns such as Charleston endured epidemics of yellow fever and malaria.

The environmental strains of plantation agriculture ultimately contributed to its westward expansion. Commercial tobacco growing, for instance, was hard on the rich soil of Virginia, leaving it acidic and less fertile within a few years. Pine, sedge, and sorrel quickly took over fields abandoned by slaveholders, replacing the oaks that originally had enriched the soil. Though some planters rotated crops and allowed fields to lie fallow, the soils of the tobacco South were depleted by 1800.

Large planters began to cross the Appalachians in search of new land. Small farmers had preceded them, settling the eastern Mississippi Valley in the late eighteenth century as the great planters bought up the best lands in Virginia and Carolina. In 1793 planters received further encouragement to migrate when Eli Whitney invented the gin that made commercial farming of cotton possible. Whitney's invention spelled the end of a South Atlantic region dominated by rice and tobacco and the beginnings of a new Cotton Kingdom that would extend south to Alabama and Mississippi and across the Mississippi River to the edges of the Great Plains.

## A MARKET ENVIRONMENT, 1800–1829

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, government officials at the federal and state levels promoted a transportation and market revolution. Its beginnings were evident between 1796 and 1812 as the federal government moved to reduce the price of western land and ensure easy credit to speculators (investors gambling that the price of land would boom) and potential settlers. At the same time, eastern states saw a frenzy of turnpike, bridge, and plank road construction. The real revolution, however, began with the U.S. victory in the War of 1812 (1812–1815). With European demand for American foodstuffs again surging, national and state governments devoted public funds to the construction of roads and canals that would provide backcountry and western farmers easier access to markets.

The transportation and market revolutions altered the environment of eastern North America in two kinds of ways. Direct consequences included disruptions to the fragile ecosystems of rivers and lakes by canal and dam construction and the burning of vast quantities of firewood aboard new steamboats. Indirect consequences were perhaps more profound. New forms of transportation helped create new regions and economic zones. Vast stretches of southern North America, much of it formerly Indian country, become part of the Cotton Kingdom. The Great Lakes were integrated with the Erie Canal (1825) in western New York and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Such developments created a sectionalized economy in which each region was dominated by a single form of enterprise. Southern plantations provided raw cotton to a New England focused on textile manufacturing. Pennsylvania and the Great Lakes region turned to coal, iron, and copper production, as the Midwest and the Northwest Territory north of the Ohio Valley took over as the primary growers of wheat. The environments of all these regions were transformed by their new economic roles.

**The southern shift to cotton.** Focusing on the cotton South and New England gives a more precise sense of the patterns of environmental change. Though corn remained the most common southern crop throughout the early nineteenth century, the shift to raising cotton for export marked a significant mile-

stone. The boom in cotton prices after the War of 1812 inspired settler farmers to migrate south and west from Virginia and Maryland. Large numbers of wealthy planters quickly followed. Clustered around the main branches of the Mississippi River, planters began to integrate the region into worldwide commerce, shipping their harvests south to New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico.

The environmental consequences of these developments followed a familiar pattern. New pathogens caused yellow fever and malaria epidemics in New Orleans and elsewhere. Prairies and pine forests felt the impact of grazing cattle. Hunters pursued wild species to the brink of extinction as planters and lumber merchants felled trees. Environmental damage was limited, however, by the low level of industrialization throughout the Cotton Kingdom. Due in part to the lack of suitable rivers, the entire region supported fewer sawmills than the state of New York. The consequences of row-crop agriculture, though, continued to be devastating. Heavy rains poured through the ditches in cottonfields and cornfields as they carried off valuable topsoil. Like any monoculture (an agricultural system dominated by a single crop), the plantation South was ecologically unstable. Single-crop fields promoted the development of soil toxins and the rapid multiplication of parasites, including the cotton bollworm. Planters imposed a cost on the soil that southern farmers would continue to pay throughout the nineteenth century.

**Industrialization in New England.** New England farmers also faced hardships due to environmental degradation. With access to better transportation, farmers began to participate in the market economy in new ways, beyond raising cash crops, that the landscape could not long sustain. Potash making, home manufacture of shingles and barrel staves, selling of firewood, and production of livestock placed excessive demands on New England ecosystems. Already reeling, New England farms suffered a fatal blow from the construction of the Erie Canal, which opened the region to overwhelming competition from the farms of the Midwest and upstate New York.

The eventual ecological decline of New England farms helped set the stage for early industrialization, which in turn created new environmental challenges. As farms faltered, many landless sons and daughters turned to wage labor in new manufactories including textile mills and sawmills. This new source of cheap labor, combined with the introduction of the power loom in 1815, fueled an explosive textile industry along New England rivers ideal for generating power. Sawmills also expanded, depleting forests as they worked further and further upstream. Construction of dams for the new industries altered the ecology of rivers in which fish, including salmon, were blocked from upstream spawning grounds. By the late 1820s, the signs of modern industrial pollution were already evident. As textile mills turned to steam power, burning coal transported from western mines through the new Erie Canal, smoke blackened the skies over fast-growing cities.

The real onset of industrialization would have to await the railroad and textile boom of the 1830s. Furthermore, the white settlement of western North America still lay in the future. Yet after little more than a half century of national development, residents of the United States found themselves faced with a set of environmental challenges that still confront them today.

*See also* **Agriculture; Cotton; Economic Development; Lumber and Timber Industry; Nature, Attitudes Toward.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cowdrey, Albert E. *This Land, This South: An Environmental History.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Hallock, Thomas. *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1746–1826.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

———, ed. *The Columbia Guide to American Environmental History.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Seelye, John. *Beautiful Machine: Rivers and the Republican Plan, 1755–1825.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Silver, Timothy. *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Worster, Donald. *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

*Christopher Iannini*

**EPIDEMICS** Epidemic diseases, introduced from both tropical Africa and Western Europe were frequent visitors to the British North American colonies during the late colonial period and to the United States during the early years of the new nation. The two major epidemic diseases that broke out in the period from 1754 to 1829 were smallpox from the British Isles and yellow fever from West Africa via the West Indies. A number of other diseases, including diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, and mumps also appeared in epidemic form and swept parts of eastern North America. This vulnerability to exotic disease continued through the nineteenth century. Cholera, spreading from an initial outbreak in South Asia, struck the United States of America for the first time in 1831 and 1832.

Epidemics typically broke out among urban populations that had little or no immunological experience with the pathogen. The outbreaks could be spectacularly frightful and impress themselves into cultural memory. Yellow fever and smallpox wreaked concentrated havoc in cities and spread terror and sickening fear both within and outside the immediate zones of infection.

Epidemics of yellow fever, a mosquito-borne viral disease, were spread by the arrival in port cities of ships from the West Indies, where the disease was endemic. The transmission of yellow fever depended upon an infected individual being bit by an *Aedes aegypti* mosquito that would in turn bite an uninfected individual. The first epidemics in the British North American colonies took place in the late seventeenth century. A succession of epidemics occurred in the mid–eighteenth century. Philadelphia was struck twice in the 1740s, once in 1762, and then three times in the 1790s. The most famous of these was the 1793 epidemic that killed nearly four thousand, sweeping away to death 10 percent of the urban population. In the early nineteenth century, yellow fever epidemics began to strike the southern ports of New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah. The only effective public health policy was the imposition of quarantine upon ships that were known or suspected to carry the disease.

The yellow fever outbreaks rent the fabric of family and community life. The means of transmission was unknown, and the disease was feared to be contagious. As ever, desperate circumstances brought out the worst and the best. Some families abandoned their sick. Others stayed to nurse their loved ones through the moment of death. The wealthy took flight from the cities; the poor were left to the ravages of the disease. The high fevers and characteristic black vomit that signaled the approach of death inspired particular horror and unleashed racial fears and prejudices. In Philadelphia, African Americans volunteered to care for the sick and did so valiantly; after the epidemic had receded, fearful whites blamed them for the outbreak.

Smallpox was also a deadly viral disease, but unlike yellow fever, it was highly contagious and spread directly from human to human. Immigrants from the British Isles, where smallpox infection was endemic and the principal victims were children, introduced it into the British North American colonies. There, the disfiguring pox destroyed both old and young; survivors of smallpox carried their immunities into adulthood, but the disease never became fully endemic and thus new generations reached adulthood without immunity. In the colonies, smallpox leapt beyond the communities of whites and their slaves into the worlds of the Native Americans, where it wreaked disaster. The death rates among Native Americans are thought to have ranged from 25 to 50 percent. During the epidemic of 1775–1782, smallpox ravaged most of the North American continent, killing more than one hundred thousand and disfiguring many more.

Until the late eighteenth century, the only recourse against smallpox infection was a form of inoculation known as variolation that had been in occasional use since the 1720s. Variolation was dangerous; it involved the intentional subcutaneous introduction of smallpox pus and produced immunity in the 95 percent of the initiates who survived the procedure. The first enforced use of this technique took place during the American Revolution, when General George Washington made the decision to inoculate by variolation all of the troops of the Continental Army. At the end of the eighteenth century, a new type of inoculation, known as vaccination, used what is thought to have been either a cowpox or horsepox virus that proved safe and effective. The broad acceptance of vaccination in the United States reduced greatly the threat of smallpox and constituted a major advance in the efficacy of public health interventions.

*See also* **Health and Disease; Malaria; Medicine; Smallpox.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Duffy, John. *Epidemics in Colonial America.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953.

Fox, Elizabeth A. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82.* New York: Hill & Wang, 2001.

Powell, J. H. *Bring Out Your Dead. The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Reprint: 1993.

*James L.A. Webb Jr.*

**EQUALITY** The idea of equality is not a single concept, and its complexity is evident throughout the revolutionary era and early Republic. For some, equality was the Christian idea of the individual's direct relationship to God and the Protestant's disdain for papal hierarchy. For others it was a political notion of equal representation, or of the individual's equal rights and liberty in law, both natural and civil. For still others, it meant a rough equality of condition thought to be efficacious to a republic. In general, Americans during the nation's early years held to combinations of some or all of these ideas with varying degrees of consistency. Assumptions about race and gender were persistent challenges. Even the most egalitarian thinkers found the implications of their principles discomfiting if not entirely unthinkable. To understand the meaning of equality at this time requires one to ask, of what kind and for whom?

**COLONIAL BACKGROUND**

During the years 1629 to 1641, New England Puritans, seeking refuge from persecution by mainstream Anglicans, sought to practice their beliefs in a "purified" worship. Yet they were loath to extend this freedom to non-Puritans. Although the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties* was to apply to all inhabitants residing within the colony, the General Court could determine who qualified for residence and expel or punish anyone who was deemed to have "exceeded the bounds of moderation." Equality was initially the equality of Puritan believers and those willing to conform to Puritan strictures.

Early Quakers (the Society of Friends) and German Pietists in the mid-Atlantic colonies in the years 1675 to 1725 were more tolerant of nonconforming neighbors in their midst. Pietists generally avoided politics, but Quakers who controlled the government of Pennsylvania for the first six decades of the colony accepted all denominations as expressions of the Holy Spirit. More individualistic in their understanding of differences, they affirmed William Penn's belief that the "Liberty of Conscience is every man's right, and he who is deprived of it is a slave in the midst of the greatest liberty." This led to a very liberal granting of equal legal rights to colonists, whether members of the Society of Friends or not.

A more peculiar development occurred in the southern colonies, settled largely from the south of England between 1642 and 1675. The region was known for its support of the Stuart monarchy during the Puritan Revolution; class position and personal status were accorded great importance in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Many who arrived aspired to attain the position of gentlemen landowners, with all of the deference accorded such a position in England. As John Randolph of Roanoke announced, "I am an aristocrat. I love liberty; I hate equality." That said, there was a kind of formal equality that evolved with slavery.

The paucity of labor proved an early inducement to the African slave trade on a more intensive level than elsewhere in America. This fact set in motion a unique dynamic between the larger landowners and the more middling and lower-class white colonists. By 1776 what had been the "equality of aristocrats" was transformed into the equality of white males. Basic legal rights were recognized, such as the right to sue and testify in court, the right to enter contracts, and the right to vote if one met minimal property requirements—all rights denied, not only to slaves, but to the few black freedmen who resided in Virginia. Consequently, vertical ties of allegiance from lower to upper classes were reinforced by a concept of equality within the race. That fact influenced the republican ideology that galvanized Virginia's resistance to England in the Revolution.

Equality, or the lack thereof, manifested itself in specific legal frameworks or religious practices. More problematic was the expression of equality in social life. Europeans, regardless of how egalitarian in political, philosophical, or religious matters, were steeped in medieval customs of hierarchy and status. Deference to one's betters was ingrained and, with the possible exception of the Quakers, was characteristic of most of the American colonists as well. Persons of wealth were accorded respect. Those with less were simply expected to give way when superiors were present, and were certainly never to presume familiarity. The Virginia gentry were held in awe by the middling to lower freemen, while slaves were always to show obeisance. In this context, it is often wondered how a revolutionary spirit and republican ideas of equal and natural rights ever came to the forefront of the American consciousness.

## FROM ENGLISHMEN TO ALL MEN

The religious ideas of the mid-Atlantic and New England states reinforced the belief that equality before God ought to be affirmed in law. Lockean ideas of the Enlightenment formed an important part of the theological understanding of man's original and natural rights in the state of nature. Elisha Williams preached in 1744 in Boston that "all are born . . . naturally equal, i.e. with an equal right to their persons; so also with an equal right to their preservation; and therefore to such things as nature affords for their subsistence." What followed was a Lockean account of how reason and differences in ability produced the natural right to property and the necessity for limited republican government. With prosperity and population growth, these ideas resonated with Americans who took umbrage at any claim that disparaged their status in the empire.

Ironically, in the southern colonies it was precisely the concern with domestic issues of status that prompted similar philosophical and political developments. If gentlemen planters were reluctant to submerge their status within their own society, they were especially reluctant to assume a position of inferiority with respect to their British counterparts in the empire. When British policy changed with the need for revenue, these status-conscious southern leaders asked why they did not have the same rights as all Englishmen to consent to the taxation of their properties. Richard Bland of the Virginia House of Burgesses articulated this point early in 1766: "These Acts which imposed severer Restrictions upon the Trade of the Colonies than were imposed upon the Trade of England, deprived the Colonies . . . of the Privileges of English Subjects, and constituted an unnatural Difference between Men under the same Allegiance, born equally free, and entitled to the same civil Rights."

Whether originally conceived of as equality before God, the equality of all believers, or the equality of freeborn aristocrats, the concept of equality came to mean equal legal and political status with the inhabitants of the mother country. By the end of the eighteenth century, the colonists would no longer tolerate being the "subjects of subjects."

As resistance to British colonial policy intensified, the assertion of equal status was replaced by a more universal claim to their equal *natural rights*, or rights given by God or nature to all humanity. With the decision to declare for independence, Thomas Jefferson penned perhaps the most famous statement on equality along these lines in the American Declaration of Independence: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

## EQUALITY OF CONDITION

Few sentences have been the source of so much debate. Is the statement simply about rights, or is it a basic assertion about the social conditions necessary for "happiness"? Does it describe, or does it also prescribe, the form equality ought to take in the new nation? Some writers have attempted to find a case for material equality, or equality of condition, during the Revolution and founding periods, and this has produced some interesting evidence.

For one, the culture of deference stemming from medieval views on status was irrevocably undermined. The urban artisan and working classes discarded much of their reserve with respect to their supposed social superiors. In cities like Boston and Philadelphia, often to the consternation of the higher sorts, artisans and day laborers were suffused with a spirit of republican equality that encouraged a more outspoken and participatory attitude. Yet the general sense was not so much in favor of material equality as a celebration of social freedom—the freedom to take pride in oneself regardless of occupation or wealth.

Others have detected a celebration of rough material equality considered to be especially conducive to a republic. Thus we find a statement by the minister Enos Hitchcock of Providence in 1793: "This soil is distributed in such portions amongst the inhabitants, and holden by such tenure, as afford the greatest security to the continuation of free government." In the absence of vast aristocratic fortunes, Americans need not fear domination by any particular group. Such fortunes, it was believed, gave means to bribe legislators and control government, but a rough equality of condition would avoid that unhappy prospect. Yet Hitchcock stopped short of prescribing anything other than equal laws. It was enough that in America

> property is rendered secure, by the equality of law to all; and every man, being master of the fruits of his own labour, enjoys the right of property—no arbitrary imposition of taxes or of tythes, no lordly exactions of rents, chill the heart of industry, nor repress the cultivators exertions—no mercantile corporations, with exclusive rights, damp the ardent spirit of enterprise.

Jefferson's experience with the profound poverty evident in France caused him to question whether liberty and large disparities in property ownership

are compatible. In 1785 Jefferson noted the poverty of the French lower classes and monopolization of land by the aristocracy—lands left "undisturbed only for the sake of game." He was "conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable, but the consequences of this enormous inequality" led him to conclude that legislators could not "invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind." By "natural affections," he believed it would be sufficient in most cases to eliminate laws that required all land to go to the eldest son. But "whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right." That was not the case in America, but in France, as he noted in the *Autobiography*, he saw "the monstrous abuses of power under which this people were ground to powder." Such circumstances might require redistribution. This was not advocating material equality per se. It merely meant lessening that inequality that left some near starvation. Thus in his Second Inaugural Address in 1805, Jefferson could still congratulate America for the "equality of rights maintained, and that state of property, equal or unequal, which results to every man from his own industry or that of his fathers."

As with Jefferson and Hitchcock, most Americans of this period considered a rough material equality as desirable but not a main objective. The idea made sense only in relation to liberty. Individuals were to be free to pursue opportunities and reap the consequences. A rough equality of property was a happy accident of the equal application of law, but it was not to be a hindrance to the equal right to pursue opportunities and acquire the rewards of industry.

Freedom from artificial restrictions came to be the dominant conception of equality in economic matters after the Revolution, but profound social tensions were revealed as ideals conflicted with lived experience. Few embodied that tension more than Jefferson. The idea of equal freedom was rarely extended beyond white male adults. The most egregious inconsistency was the institution of slavery. Jefferson's conceptual struggle was indicative of a wider societal ambivalence.

### EQUALITY FOR WHOM?

Jefferson's eloquence in defense of equal rights makes the fact of his ownership of slaves particularly jarring. The thinking of many of his contemporaries tended toward a justification of the "peculiar institution" by various theories of racial inequality. Rather than ignore the obvious conflict between the claim of equal rights and the existence of slavery, Jefferson wrestled with both, and this struggle has highlighted the inconsistencies in his life and thought. He would move for emancipation, but only if followed by colonization or deportation back to Africa. He would assert that the "unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people," but later contend that "no person living wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained and expressed on the grade of understanding allotted to them by nature, and to find that in this respect they are on a par with ourselves."

Equally problematic was the legal and political position of women. Accepted as equal intellectually, women were considered emotionally and physically unsuited to political life and public leadership. The Revolution was a political act, and even the most ardent of male liberal Patriots, or "Whigs" as they called themselves, could not conceive of women as having a political character or role. Yet during the Revolution women were depended on for providing food, shelter, and funds, and even for military intelligence. Equality was not so much the issue, but the role and status of women was steadily reconceived. The idea of republican motherhood was a first step in recognizing a political place for women in the family. Mothers were enjoined to impart republican values of independence, loyalty, thrift, and industry to their children.

Writing to John Adams on 31 March 1776, Abigail Adams famously asked him to "remember the ladies." She hoped he and the other representatives in Congress would "be more generous and favourable to [women] than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could." Yet her call was only for an improvement in legal status or a lessening of inequality. "Regard us then," she continued, "as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in imitation of the Supreem [*sic*] Being make use of that power only for our happiness." John Adams responded with the observation that the move to independence had "loosened the bands of Government every where." Everywhere, people seemed to be agitating for their rights; Abigail's was but "the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerful than all the rest were grown discontented."

## DEMOCRACY IN AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY

John Adams's reply was prophetic for society as a whole. With independence and the establishment of the U.S. Constitution, American civil society saw a whirlwind of political and social organizing for all sorts of causes.

The first political contests of the early Republic gave rise to the first two-party system, with the more democratically oriented Republicans under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison squaring off against the more conservative Federalist Party of Alexander Hamilton and John Adams. These were great social events at the local level and stirred the political consciousness of a whole generation of Americans. Combined with a dynamic economy, the years following the heated election of Jefferson to the presidency in 1800 saw tremendous movements of people both geographically and across social strata. Individuals became far more mobile socially, some moving up the socioeconomic ladder, while the relative status of established ranks was diminished. That dynamism contributed to the further erosion of earlier deferential social norms. How Americans thought of equality was given new expression in American religious, economic, and political life.

The Second Great Awakening, beginning in the 1790s and lasting until the Civil War, was a period of increased religious enthusiasm and organization. Like the first Awakening in the 1740s, the trend favored popular charismatic and "low" church forms of devotion, with emphasis on revivals and evangelism. These movements drew from the older wells of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist faiths but were less hierarchical. The spirit of renewal unleashed a powerful desire to reform not only the individual, but society. From these sources sprang the temperance movement, the antislavery movement, education reform, and the movements for women's suffrage. The ideals of the Revolution were reexamined with an eye toward perfecting American equality in faith, in law, and in representation. Although the roots of the reform societies can be found in this period, their most important influence would not be realized until after 1830.

For many born after 1776, consistency with the Declaration became paramount as a means of demonstrating their worthiness of their Revolutionary and republican inheritance. The period saw a visceral reaction against unearned status that severely crippled the Federalist Party in all but a few New England states, ushering in the so-called Era of Good Feelings (1820s), a time when the predominant party was Jefferson's Democratic Republicans. Even in busi-ness, entrepreneurs exulted in the equal rights of all individuals to pursue opportunities and for the common man to make good for himself and his family.

Equality in America was a complex blending of the equality of all believers, equality before God, equality in rights both natural and legal, and the lessening of the arbitrary distinctions of aristocracy. It was the working out of these ideals that eventually produced the great reform movements of the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Adams, John; American Character and Identity; Antislavery; Class: Overview; Democratic Republicans; Democratization; Education: Overview; Election of 1800; Era of Good Feeling; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalist Party; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Hamilton, Alexander; Happiness; Jefferson, Thomas; Quakers; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Revivals and Revivalism; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Wealth Distribution; Women: Rights.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Akers, Charles W. *Abigail Adams: An American Woman.* 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 2000.

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald S. Lutz, eds. *American Political Writing during the Founding Era, 1760–1805.* 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1983.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Writings.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, distributed by Viking Press, 1984.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1986.

Morgan, Edmond S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia.* New York: Norton, 1975, 2003.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Sandoz, Ellis, ed. *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era, 1730–1805.* 2nd ed. 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1998.

Wright, Donald R. *African Americans in the Early Republic, 1789–1831.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1993.

*Hans Eicholz*

**ERA OF GOOD FEELING**    The Era of Good Feeling generally refers to the period in American history between 1815 and 1825, particularly to the two administrations of President James Monroe (1817–1825). The term originated in an article in the Boston *Columbian Centinel* published on 12 July 1817. The newspaper used the term to refer to the general mood of the country immediately after the War of 1812 (1812–1815), which was nationalistic, harmonious, and prosperous. Historians' use of the term for American history between 1815 and 1825 is, however, somewhat misleading, because the entire period cannot be considered an era of "good feeling."

The period indeed started on positive notes. When the war ended in January 1815 with victory at the Battle of New Orleans, the American people became strongly nationalistic. Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, commented that "the war has renewed and reinstated the national feelings and character which the Revolution has given, and which were daily lessened." The heightened nationalism resulted in one-party rule at the national level by the Republican Party, which had led the war efforts. The political dominance of the Republicans culminated in the presidential election of 1820, when Republican candidate Monroe received all electoral college votes except one.

The political monopoly of the Republican Party also owed much to the postwar economic prosperity of the United States. European demand for American cotton and foodstuffs remained high between 1815 and 1818, and American farmers and planters expanded their acreages by purchasing more land. But the positive political and economic environments following the War of 1812 turned to ones of discontent and dissension after 1819.

One cause of this transition to discontent was the economic difficulties resulting from the Panic of 1819, which lasted until 1823. European demands for American cotton and other agricultural products declined from late 1818, leading to a severe depression in the American economy.

At almost the same time that the Panic of 1819 hurt the nation's economy, a political crisis shook the United States. In 1819, the House of Representatives began debating a bill to admit the Missouri Territory to the United States as a state. The southern states supported the territory's application, while northern states opposed its admission as a slave state. Eventually, in March 1820, Speaker of the House Henry Clay engineered the Missouri Compromise: Congress admitted Missouri as a slave state while admitting Maine, theretofore a part of Massachusetts, as a free state. In addition, the agreement declared that the remainder of the Louisiana Territory above the 36°30' parallel—the southern boundary of Missouri—was to be free of slavery. Thus, it was the Missouri Crisis that started the sectionalization of national politics based on the slavery issue.

Although the domestic political situation became volatile, the United States achieved an important diplomatic success with President Monroe's issue in December 1823 of the Monroe Doctrine, which declared the Western Hemisphere would in the future be free of European interference. Britain supported the Doctrine for its own purposes, which ultimately made it succeed.

Close to the end of Monroe's administration, the Republican Party became fractured into personality-driven factions. In the presidential election of 1824, five Republican candidates—William H. Crawford of Georgia, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee—vied for the presidency. The election ended with the victory of Adams.

Thus, the Era of Good Feeling started on positive notes of heightened national feelings, domestic political stability, and economic prosperity. In time, however, the Panic of 1819 ended the postwar prosperity, the Missouri Crisis sectionalized national politics, and domestic political stability based on one-party rule ended in 1824.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Election of 1824; Missouri Compromise; Monroe Doctrine; Panic of 1819.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dangerfield, George. *The Era of Good Feelings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952.

Feller, Daniel. *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815–1840.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Moore, Glover. *The Missouri Controversy, 1819–1821.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953.

Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

*Songho Ha*

**Waterloo Inn.** In 1817 James Monroe, who served as president during the "Era of Good Feeling," embarked on a tour of the northern United States. Early in the tour Monroe's party stopped at the Waterloo Inn, a popular watering hole along the route between Baltimore and Washington, D.C., shown here in a 1827 lithograph by F. F. DeRoos and T. M. Baynes. PICTURE HISTORY.

**ERIE CANAL** The Erie Canal was the greatest American engineering project of the first half of the nineteenth century, though it was completed only a quarter of the way through it.It was the single most important factor in the emergence of New York as the "Empire State" and New York City as the economic center of the new nation. The canal sent settlers and manufactured goods through New York to the frontier and funneled grain, salt, lumber, and other raw materials to New York City for sale to the nation and the world. The canal cut the cost of freight transportation through its territory by up to 90 percent and reduced delivery times from uncertain weeks to scheduled days. By channeling overland through western New York, the canal bypassed traditional trade routes centered on Lake Ontario, limiting Canada's share of economic growth. By reaching westward before the American southern states, especially Virginia, which had tried for decades to canalize the Potomac, New York's canal delivered national economic dominance to the North. As the first human-made artery communicating with

the continental interior, the canal provided an early bond of national unity, soon strengthened by other canals, railroads, and eventually highways. The Erie Canal began the process of both tying the nation together and dividing it: the canal helped establish a national free-market industrial economy, but its locus in New York sowed division between the slave-based agrarian economy of the South and the rest of the country that eventually helped undermine the Union.

### ARTIFICIAL RIVER
For all its impact, the original canal—begun in 1817 and completed in 1825—was a remarkably slender waterway. Stretching 363 miles from the Hudson River north of Albany to Lake Erie at the nascent village of Buffalo, the canal was just forty feet wide on its surface, narrowing to twenty-eight feet at a four-foot depth: it was a small prism of water dug across the breadth of New York. The path of the canal followed the lay of the land as much as possible to maintain levels and minimize expensive, traffic-slowing lockage. Long levels from Utica to what be-

## DEWITT CLINTON

In popular imagination, DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828) created the Erie Canal. In fact, the plan for a canal linking the Hudson River with Lake Erie originated in 1807 with Jesse Hawley's newspaper essays. The following year, state-appointed surveyor and future Erie engineer James Geddes determined that the canal was feasible. Clinton had little if any interest in the project or canals generally until 1810, when fellow state senator Jonas Platt sought Clinton's influential support for a bill to conduct detailed surveys. To his credit, the once and future New York City mayor and future governor then seized on the canal as a means of ascendancy for the state and himself. Clinton served on the state canal commission from its creation in 1810 until his removal from its leadership in 1824, an unpopular maneuver by political opponents that prompted his reelection later that year as governor, holding the office until his death. During his first six years on the commission, Clinton emerged as the canal's most effective advocate, neutralizing the negative influence of commission head Gouverneur Morris, who until his death in 1816 clung to the impractical notion of a 360-mile inclined plane instead of the traditional locks and levels ultimately employed. After the War of 1812 suspended canal planning, Clinton's leading role at a public meeting in New York City in December 1815 and his authorship of a widely distributed memorandum to the legislature set the state on its course toward building the canal and placed Clinton in his role as its greatest champion. After construction began in 1817, Clinton—as commission head (and governor)—guided the project toward completion in a timely and economical manner unique to engineering projects in the new nation. Not standing for reelection as governor in 1823 and turned out of the canal commission the following year, Clinton presided as governor once again for spectacular celebrations of the canal's completion in 1825. Contemptuous of enemies and indifferent to allies, Clinton was rarely secure in his political life. As the greatest advocate of the Erie Canal, Clinton's name endures.

*Gerard T. Koeppel*

came Syracuse (seventy miles) and from the village of Rochester to what became Lockport (sixty-five miles) comprised over one-third of the canal's length and were the two longest canal levels in the world. Topography and water supply required the construction of eighty-three hand-operated locks, each 90 by 15 feet. Lake Erie is 572 feet above the Hudson but sag between Syracuse and Rochester required seven of the locks to lower the line, making a total of nearly 700 feet in elevation changes. Over four hundred feet of ascent occurred in the first one hundred miles of canal up the Mohawk River valley from the Hudson, requiring fifty-three locks; half of these were needed in the first thirty miles to Schenectady. The most challenging lockwork was located near the western end of the canal, where a double flight of five locks surmounted a forested, sixty-six–foot rock ridge at Lockport. Eighteen major aqueducts and several high embankments carried the canal trough over substantial rivers and valleys. To navigate the new waterway, boats sixty feet long and seven feet wide were designed to carry up to one hundred passengers or thirty tons of cargo. Animals were the motive force, initially horses but soon sturdier mules that towed the boats at four miles per hour.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For nearly its entire length, the Atlantic coast is separated from the continental interior by the Appalachian Mountains and the Adirondack Mountains. The gap between these ranges lies in central New York State, where the Mohawk River runs in a westerly direction 125 miles from its mouth at the Hudson River above Albany to Rome. The traditional route of water travel into New York's interior—first by fur traders in native canoes and later by diversified merchants in increasingly larger paddled and poled shallow-draft boats—was up the length of the rapids-strewn and flood-prone Mohawk to a portage of several miles at what became Rome, then down shallow and meandering Wood Creek, across windswept Oneida Lake, and down the Oneida and treacherous Oswego Rivers to Lake Ontario at Oswego. Interior travel further west was up the Seneca River from the Oswego River to Seneca Lake, a hundred miles east of Lake Erie. There was no river route to Lake Erie; the only water route to Lake Erie and the other Great Lakes was from Lake Ontario via a steep portage around Niagara Falls, a route barely explored and rarely taken before the late 1700s. From Lake Ontario there were two major, competing

## LABORERS

In popular imagination, gangs of immigrant Irish laborers built the Erie Canal. In fact, during the first half of the construction period (1817–1821), the overwhelming majority of laborers were the families and hands who worked the small farms through which the canal line passed. The entire middle section of relatively level, dry land was contracted for and built (1817–1820) largely by these homesteaders, who had emigrated from no further away than New England. The state canal commissioners overseeing the construction reported proudly in 1819 that three in four canal laborers were American born. Gradually, contracts for multiple of the canal's hundreds of short sections were taken up by local and regional merchants and associations of contractors, suppliers, and speculators who needed larger labor crews. In the remote western sections, where work began in 1819, the scattered resident population could not supply adequate labor. Nor were area farmers willing to muck out or risk sickness in the extensive Montezuma swamps. This work increasingly fell to Irish immigrants hired right off the boat in New York City who sang their way into American folklore: "We are digging a ditch through the mire, Through the mud and the slime and the mire, dammit! And the mud is our principal hire; In our pants, down our boots, down our necks, dammit!" When the deadly work of blasting the canal trough through a long rock ridge in western New York was done, Irish laborers remained to become prominent settlers of the canal-made city of Lockport.

The Irish became the most notable and, for their considerable brawling, notorious immigrant group on the canal, but preceding them were substantial numbers of skilled and semiskilled Welsh, who often worked on the canal's masonry structures. Regardless of national origin, the tens of thousands of unskilled laborers who worked on the canal over nine construction seasons earned the same low wages: as little as fifty cents for day work, or from eight to ten dollars a month including room, board, laundry, and whiskey.

*Gerard T. Koeppel*

routes to market: on the tangle of New York waterways to the Hudson and, often preferably, down the St. Lawrence River to Montreal, and eventually the Atlantic.

### CONCEPTUALIZATION

Jesse Hawley (1773–1842) was a pioneering western New York grain merchant who went bankrupt trying to get produce east along crude roads and unimproved waterways. While confined to debtor's prison in Canandaigua in 1807, Hawley wrote a series of newspaper essays under the pseudonym "Hercules" outlining how and why an Erie-Hudson canal should be built. Over the next several years, the Hercules essays circulated among the influential New Yorkers who would plan and build the Erie Canal. Hawley himself subsequently became a prominent citizen of Rochester and Lockport, two among the numerous cities created by the canal.

There were several other early proponents. Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816) may have informally suggested a cross-state canal as early as 1777; he subsequently led the first state canal commission (1810–1816) but induced ridicule for the project by insisting it be built on an inclined plane spilling Lake Erie into the Hudson, instead of with locks and levels using local water sources. State assemblyman Joshua Forman (1777–1848) sponsored an 1808 resolution for the first survey that proved the canal possible; in 1819 he founded what became Syracuse, the canal-made city that shipped salt to the nation. State senator Jonas Platt (1769–1834) drafted the 1810 legislation that created the canal commission; Platt sought and won influential support for the bill from fellow senator DeWitt Clinton, who had given no prior thought to canals. Upon Morris's death in 1816, fellow commissioner and future governor Clinton emerged as the canal's greatest and most effective proponent, hitching his own destiny to that of the canal.

### PLANNING

The seven-member commission established in 1810 oversaw several rounds of surveys. It was stifled, however, by popular, economic, and technological uncertainty and ultimately by the War of 1812, during which the British burned future canal terminus Buffalo.

Interest in the canal revived quickly after the war. A public meeting in New York City in late De-
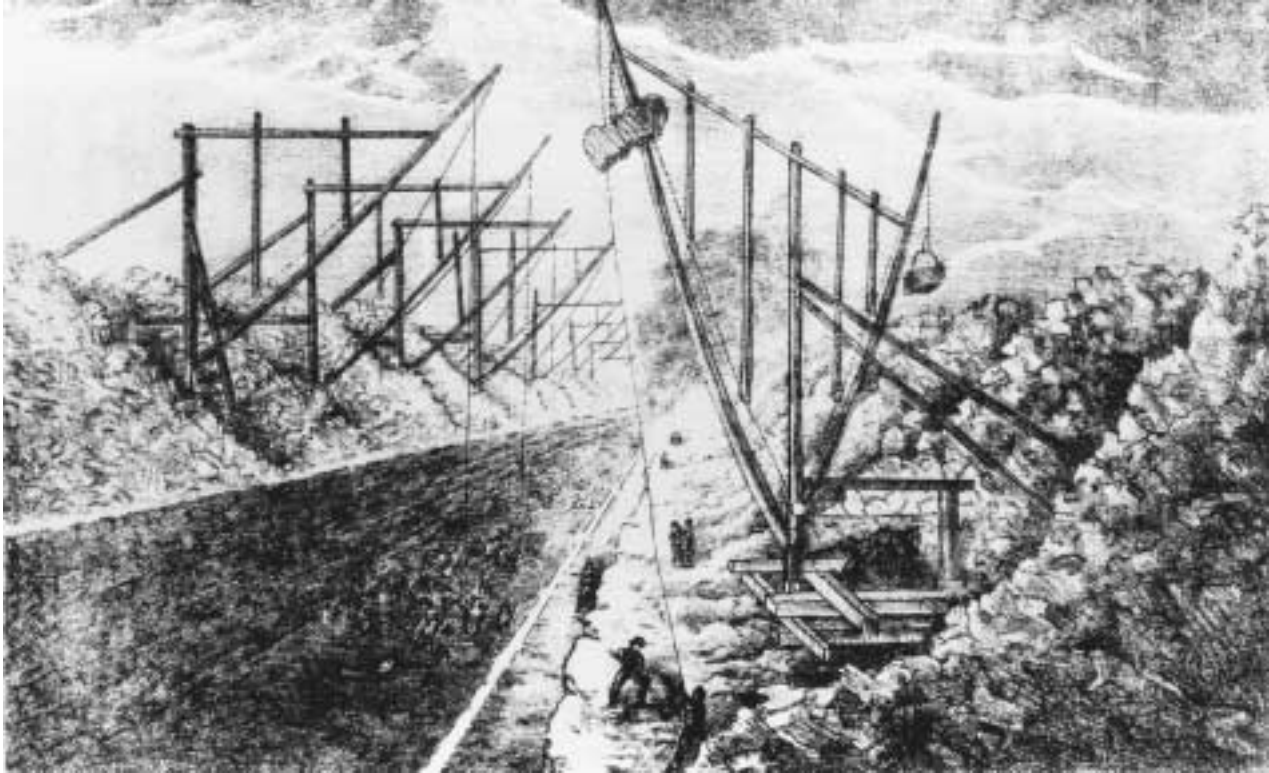
**Excavation of the Lockport Lock.** During construction of the Erie Canal, the most challenging lockwork occurred near the western end of the canal, where a double flight of five locks surmounted a forested 66-foot rock ridge at Lockport, New York. This illustration from 1825 shows laborers operating manual pulley cranes during excavation at Lockport. ©CORBIS.

cember 1815 produced a persuasive memorandum by state Republican Party leader Clinton, which was circulated throughout the state and brought the question of construction before the legislature for the first time in 1816. Intense opposition came from Lake Ontario interests and regions distant from the canal line, especially New York City, whose merchants feared heavy taxes to support an expensive upstate project. Political interests, centered on Clinton's emerging Republican rival Martin Van Buren, feared that Clinton, narrowly defeated for the presidency in 1812 while running as a Federalist, was using the canal for personal political gain. Others questioned whether country surveyors with no engineering education or experience could build a canal more than ten times longer than the nation's only other significant canal. The twenty-seven-mile Middlesex Canal in Massachusetts was notorious for staggering construction costs and delays and financial strain on its prominent private investors.

Clinton settled for another round of surveys but claimed leadership of a new five-man canal commission stacked with supporters. They included Joseph Ellicott (1760–1826), influential agent for the Hol-

land Land Company, which owned 3.3 million mostly vacant acres of westernmost New York that the canal would profitably settle.

By 1817 popular imagination had overwhelmed political opposition sufficiently so that the legislature approved construction of the middle section of what the commissioners estimated to be a $5 million project, by far the most expensive engineering project in the nation's history. Heeding its merchants' fears, none of the thirty New York City–area legislators voted in favor.

New York State moved ahead without any federal support. In 1809 President Thomas Jefferson called New York's project "madness," clinging to false hope that his own Virginia would be the first to reach the interior by canalizing the Potomac. On the final day of his presidency in 1817, Jefferson's successor and fellow Virginian, James Madison, vetoed a bill that would have provided federal money to canal projects like New York's. Madison's veto, on the grounds that Congress had no express constitutional authority to fund canals, came as New York's legislature was debating its canal bill; contrary to

what Madison might have wished, his veto helped unify opinion in New York behind the project.

A sophisticated canal fund, administered by a financial board separate from the canal commission that oversaw construction, featured state bonds, duties on auction and salt sales, taxes on steamboat passengers, and tolls. By 1833 total tolls surpassed the eventual construction cost of $7 million; when tolls were abolished fifty years later, the canal had earned a profit of over $40 million.

## CONSTRUCTION

The canal was constructed in three sections for engineering, financial, and political reasons. The commissioners initially sought approval in 1817 only to build the ninety-six-mile middle section, from Utica on the Mohawk River to Montezuma on the Seneca River, calculating that the legislature would be more willing to approve a limited objective and that quick progress on one section would win popular support and legislative approval for completion of the entire project. The middle section featured the fewest elevation changes (only nine locks) and no significant engineering challenges, and ran through country that was settled enough to provide local labor. The ceremonial first shovelful of dirt was turned near Rome on Independence Day 1817, and the section was completed and open for travel by October 1820.

The middle section established the pattern for future construction. The work was bid out in segments of generally less than one mile. The winning bidder, especially in the early years, was often the farmer whose land would be bisected by the canal; the laborers were his sons and farmhands. In later years, especially in the unsettled western region of the state, bidders took up multiple contracts and hired immigrant labor gangs to do the hardest and most dangerous work: mucking out malarial swamps that disabled many hundreds of workers and blasting through rock that killed or maimed dozens.

Most of the work was basic manual labor with axes and shovels, digging a ditch along a line laid out by country surveyors and assistants training themselves as practical engineers. Benjamin Wright (1770–1842) was a county judge and surveyor in Rome when he conducted some of the early canal surveys; named Erie chief engineer in 1817, Wright subsequently was involved in canal and railroad projects from Canada to Cuba and is regarded at the turn of the twenty-first century as the "Father of American Civil Engineering." Erie principal engineer James Geddes (1763–1838) was a pioneer salt manufacturer in the area that became Syracuse when he conducted the initial Erie survey in 1808, using a leveling instrument for only his second time; he later engineered canals for Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the federal government. Nathan Roberts (1776–1852), an itinerant math teacher when Wright hired him, designed the Lockport locks and later served as Erie chief during the canal enlargement begun in the 1830s. Among the notable young graduates of the so-called Erie School of Engineering were John Jervis (1795–1885) and Canvass White (1790–1834). Rome farm boy Jervis rose from Erie axeman chopping down trees for a survey crew to become Wright's successor as chief engineer and to be counted among the country's most innovative canal and railroad engineers. A grandson of the first white settler on the Upper Mohawk, White started as a Wright assistant and later developed and patented the hydraulic cement that made the Erie and subsequent canals watertight; his engineering career rivaled Jervis's but was cut short by ill health.

Innovations multiplied along the Erie line, often created by the contractors themselves to maximize efficiency and improve what were often slender profit margins. Large trees were toppled by a cable attached high on the trunk and winched by a handcranked endless screw. Stumps were pulled by a cable on a huge overhead wheel turned by a harnessed team of oxen. Rome contractor Jeremiah Brainard developed a rounded-basin wheelbarrow that was lighter, sturdier, and easier to unload than the centuries-old box-shaped barrow.

When the middle section appeared headed to successful completion in 1819, the legislature approved construction of the eastern and western sections. The 109-mile eastern section, with its dozens of locks, was completed in 1823, ending nearly two centuries of frustrating navigation on the Mohawk River, which was consigned to supplying water for the canal built along its banks. The 158-mile western section featured a spectacular embankment spanning the Irondequoit Valley east of Rochester, a landmark bridge across the Genesee River, and the Lockport locks. The western section was completed in 1825 after a bitter struggle between Buffalo and neighboring Black Rock to be the canal's western terminus. Black Rock lost and within thirty years was annexed into Buffalo, which the canal rapidly made into the state's second-largest city. Beginning in late October 1825 DeWitt Clinton, once again governor, presided over grandiose, canal-length celebrations, culminating in New York City, which already was gaining fortune and fame from the canal it had opposed.

**LEGACY**

The Erie Canal launched the nation's canal era, which peaked in 1860, when over 4,200 miles of mainline and lateral canals linked the nation's natural waterways as far west as Illinois. The Erie's success also induced a canal mania that spawned numerous ill-conceived canal projects; the Panic of 1837 and the subsequent national depression was caused in part by a bust in canal stock, the country's first technology bubble.

The original canal was enlarged to seventy feet wide and seven feet deep between 1836 and 1862, but by the late 1800s railroads had dramatically reduced mule-pulled boat traffic. The enlarged canal was replaced entirely by a twelve-foot-deep canal, built from 1905 to 1918 and designed for motorized barges; in the early twenty-first century, traffic was primarily recreational boaters.

*See also* **New York City; New York State; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cornog, Evan. *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769–1828.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hosack, David. *Memoir of DeWitt Clinton: With an Appendix, Containing Numerous Documents, Illustrative of the Principal Events of His Life.* New York: Seymour, 1829.

Reisem, Richard O. *Erie Canal Legacy: Architectural Treasures of the Empire State.* Rochester: Landmark Society of Western New York, 2000.

Shaw, Ronald E. *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792–1854.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1966.

———. *Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790–1860.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Way, Peter. *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780–1860.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Whitford, Noble E. *History of the Canal System of the State of New York, Together with Brief Histories of the Canals of the United States and Canada.* Albany, N.Y.: Brandow, 1906.

*Gerard T. Koeppel*

**EROTICA**   The vast majority of erotica that circulated in the United States between 1750 and 1830 was of European provenance. According to the scholar Peter Wagner, a large number of erotic books, including classics by Ovid and Boccaccio, English erotic poetry and fiction, and French libertine novels, could be found in the libraries of many eighteenth-century American gentlemen. During the French Revolution, readers in the new Republic became especially interested in the memoirs and other licentious writing of the French *philosophes.*

Certainly one of the most popular works of erotica in America during this period was John Cleland's fictional classic, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, or *Fanny Hill.* First published in two volumes in London between 1748 and 1749, Cleland's work consisted of two long letters recounting the life of a country girl forced by the death of her parents to move to the city and become a prostitute. Fanny's epistolary confessions described a wide range of sexual activities in explicit detail, including lesbianism, cross-dressing, flagellation, orgies, and public sex.

American printers showed an early interest in the *Memoirs.* In 1786 Worcester printer Isaiah Thomas Sr. wrote to an English bookseller seeking to buy a copy, probably with the intention of publishing his own edition. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, substantial numbers of the book were sold in rural bookstores and by itinerant peddlers in New England. In 1817 the final inventory of New Hampshire bookseller Anson Whipple, an affiliate of the Thomas firm, revealed 293 copies of the book in stock. Evidence from prosecution records in 1824 establishes that the *Memoirs* were also sold in New York City, though in an expensive imported edition accessible only to the wealthy.

Other genres of European writing, including antimasturbation literature, sex manuals, and transcripts of adultery trials relating the sexual scandals of the aristocracy, probably provided erotic content for American readers. The quasi-pornographic antimasturbation tract, *Onania, or, The Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution, and All Its Frightful Consequences in Both Sexes, Considered*, first published in England in 1708, was frequently reprinted in the colonies. Imported copies of *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, a collection of folklore about sex that first appeared in English in 1684 and contained extensive descriptions of female anatomy and reproduction, also circulated widely. As early as 1744, Northampton minister Jonathan Edwards initiated a church inquiry into the "lascivious expressions" of certain young men who had read the *Master-Piece* and had taunted local women with their newly acquired "unclean" knowledge. Between 1766 and 1831, American printers also published thirty-two native editions of the *Master-Piece.*

American authorship of erotica was evidently scarce before the mid-nineteenth century, when a

domestic pornography industry began to emerge. Before then, fans of bawdy literature like William Byrd II and Benjamin Franklin wrote occasional ribaldry, such as Franklin's "Letter of Advice to a Young Man on Choosing a Mistress" (1745). Quasi-medical works on sexual subjects may also have served as a form of homegrown erotica, such as a book published anonymously in Virginia in 1787, *A Treatise on Gonorrhoea. By a Surgeon of Norfolk, Virginia.*

In the early Republic the sale of erotic works only infrequently triggered criminal charges. The doctrinal basis for such prosecutions was the English common law of obscene libel, which the King's Bench adopted in 1727. In the first published American obscenity case, *Commonwealth v. Sharpless* (1815), Pennsylvania authorities indicted six men for charging a fee to see a lewd painting "representing a man in an obscene, impudent, and indecent posture with a woman." In upholding their convictions on appeal, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania embraced the reception of English common-law prohibitions against obscene speech. In *Commonwealth v. Holmes* (1821), the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts set a further precedent in support of sexual censorship by upholding the conviction of printer Peter Holmes for selling an illustrated copy of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure.* The same year, Vermont enacted the first state statute banning the publication or sale of "obscene" pictures and books.

*See also* **Sexuality.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

De Grazia, Edward. *Censorship Landmarks.* New York: Bowker, 1969.

Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Knopf, 2002.

Wagner, Peter. *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America.* London: Secker and Warburg, 1988.

*Donna I. Dennis*

# EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

This entry consists of four separate articles: *Enlightenment Thought*, *The French Revolution*, *Mary Wollstonecraft*, and *Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule*.

## *Enlightenment Thought*

The Enlightenment was an intellectual movement in eighteenth-century Europe that influenced the American Revolution and helped shape American political institutions. Enlightenment authors addressed religion, politics, and economics and were diverse in their writings and nationalities. The Frenchman Voltaire wrote literature and advocated religious and political liberty in his *Philosophical Letters* (1734). The Scotsman David Hume wrote history and encouraged political and commercial liberty in his *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary* (1753). The Englishman Richard Price wrote moral philosophy and the political essays *Two Tracts on Civil Liberty* (1778).

### SCIENCE AND NATURAL LAWS

Although diverse, Enlightened writers shared a scientific outlook that influenced the development of American political institutions. Enlightened authors applied the scientific methods of observation and experimentation to study human beings and their social activities. Although not widely employed until after 1730, this scientific method of social thought developed from the scientific revolution of the 1600s. During the seventeenth century, scientists such as Isaac Newton (1642–1727) argued that the physical universe was orderly because it functioned according to natural laws. Newton maintained that through observation and experimentation, scientists could discover these natural laws that governed the physical world. In the 1700s, Enlightened thinkers applied these scientific ways of thinking to the study of human nature and human society. They used the scientific method of observation to study human nature and called this study the "science of man." They believed their scientific studies would reveal natural laws of human behavior that governed social activities such as religion, economics, and politics. They referred to the study of these natural laws as the "science of politics."

One such natural law was self-preservation. Enlightenment writers believed that the pursuit of self-preservation was ingrained in human nature. The Englishman John Locke (1632–1704) maintained that the law of self-preservation also included liberty and property. He argued that individuals possess natural liberty to pursue their own preservation, and he maintained that individuals use liberty to acquire property as the material means of preservation. Because these means of preservation—liberty and property—were grounded in human nature, Locke identified them as rights of human nature. He called them "natural rights." Locke defined the purpose of gov-

ernment as the protection of these rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of property. Locke's influence was evident in the American Declaration of Independence, which defined the purpose of government as the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

## MONTESQUIEU

Locke's ideas were only part of the Enlightenment that influenced American politics. Two other important groups of Enlightenment thinkers were the French philosophes and the Scottish common-sense philosophers. The most influential French philosophe in America was Baron de Montesquieu. In 1748 Montesquieu published *The Spirit of the Laws.* Therein, he explicitly wrote about the "science of politics." By this he meant the study of how political laws affected the natural laws of human behavior. Commerce was one example. Montesquieu argued that politics could constructively channel the pursuit of self-preservation and property by encouraging commerce and promoting the virtues of labor and diligence that accompanied commerce.

Montesquieu also emphasized the separation of powers. He argued that the natural law of self-preservation required protection against, as well as encouragement of, government because the powers of government could be abused. Such powers could threaten personal security through policies of religious intolerance or arbitrary taxation. Thus, Montesquieu sought to create political institutions that governed effectively but were limited in power. He suggested separating the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government. Each separate power, he hoped, would limit the power of the other two. American Revolutionary leaders followed Montesquieu's advice by writing the separation of powers into their state and national constitutions. John Adams particularly praised the achievement of separation in his *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* (1787–1788).

## SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHERS

Americans understood the separation of powers in tandem with the ideas of Scottish philosopher David Hume. Hume argued that the pursuit of self-preservation often kindled ambition as humans sought property and power beyond mere personal security. Similar to Montesquieu, Hume viewed ambition as constructive in commerce. Yet Hume feared ambition in politics. He maintained that ambitious people often formed factions or small groups that pursued private interests in politics, not public good.

Hume and his American readers sought to limit the effects of faction. They viewed the separation of powers as achieving this end by ensuring that each of the three powers counterbalanced the ambitions and factions in the other two. The American Revolutionary James Madison expressed this view in *Federalist* No. 51 (1788). He defended the separation of powers in the U.S. Constitution by explaining that "ambition must be made to counteract ambition."

In addition to Montesquieu and Hume, Americans also read Scottish common-sense philosophers such as Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) and Thomas Reid (1710–1796). Hutcheson and Reid argued that all human beings possessed a common moral sense by which they distinguish virtue from vice. They proposed this common moral sense in opposition to eighteenth-century skeptics. Skeptics doubted whether the scientific study of human nature could establish fixed moral rules for human behavior. Hutcheson and Reid insisted that it could. They maintained that the human mind possessed a moral sense that naturally approved of virtues such as self-love and benevolence and disapproved of corresponding vices. Hutcheson explained this moral sense in his *System of Moral Philosophy* (1755) and Reid in his *Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* (1764).

Many Americans appealed to moral-sense theory to establish common moral ground within their religiously diverse and tolerant society. Such theory became a prominent part of American education and law after the Revolution. The president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751–1819), appealed to moral sense in his *Lectures on Moral and Political Philosophy* (1812). Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story (1779–1845) made similar appeals to moral sense in his *Commentaries on the Constitution* (1833). Thus, moral-sense theory helped Americans combine different elements of Enlightenment thought into a coherent social philosophy. With it, Americans balanced ambition in commerce and politics with agreed-upon social virtues in education, culture, and law.

*See also* **Federalist Papers; Philosophy; Politics: Political Thought.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John. *The Political Writings of John Adams.* Edited by George W. Carey. Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 2000.

Madison, James, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

May, Henry F. *The Enlightenment in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

White, Morton G. *Philosophy*, *The Federalist*, *and the Constitution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

*Christopher S. Grenda*

## The French Revolution

Between 1789 and 1792, the French Revolution seemed like the natural successor to the American Revolution. When news arrived that the French National Assembly had declared, on 26 August 1789, "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," Americans offered celebratory toasts, wrote sentimental poems, and congratulated themselves on having inspired a global movement for liberty. Polite praise for the French continued through the winter of 1791–1792, when Americans learned that the French had established a constitutional monarchy. A select number of Americans, like Vice President John Adams, denounced the French Revolution from the beginning. In Adams's mind, the French Revolution was a dangerous utopian experiment. But in general Americans applauded the French and their attempts to secure revolutionary liberty and equality.

### THE RADICALIZATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The radicalization of the French Revolution in late 1792 and early 1793 changed everything, because it forced Americans to reconsider the meaning of transatlantic revolution. In particular, three events—the establishment of the French Republic on 22 September 1792, the execution of King Louis XVI on 21 January 1793, and the emergence of a British-led European military alliance united in opposition to France—dramatically transformed the environment in which Americans interpreted news of the French Revolution. Those events altered the terms of debate by shifting public attention away from a relatively moderate dispute over different versions of constitutional monarchy and toward a more brutal clash between monarchy and democracy. They also spawned a series of interconnected developments that directly impinged on the lives of common Americans. British raids on American maritime vessels disrupted commerce and infuriated ship captains and merchants. French minister Citizen Genet's attempts to recruit Americans as military agents for French-commissioned privateers and French-sponsored expeditions against Spanish Louisiana and Spanish Florida incited civic unrest and diplomatic intrigue. Violent scuffles between French and British sailors stationed in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York became legal nightmares for municipal officials. All the while, political refugees from Britain, Ireland, France, and Haiti spilled into American ports, requesting material assistance and demanding a public voice.

By affecting so many areas of American life, the radicalization of the French Revolution confronted residents of the United States with a number of difficult questions. Should the United States support revolutionary France in its military clash against Great Britain and its counterrevolutionary allies? If so, how? If a policy of neutrality was the most appropriate course, what did neutrality mean in practical terms? Moreover, did the United States need to institute internal reforms to more closely approximate the example set by revolutionary France? If so, what role should the average citizen play in promoting and establishing those reforms? All of these questions revolved around basic concepts—liberty, equality, popular sovereignty, and the role of the United States in spreading revolution—that had first been raised during the American Revolution. But the French Revolution amplified them and recast them. Whereas the United States in 1776 stood alone as a beacon of revolutionary freedom, from 1793 onward it stood alongside a more noticeable and more powerful beacon, France. Determining exactly how the American Revolutionary tradition resembled or differed from its more influential French revolutionary counterpart became a concern of pressing immediacy.

### THE POLARIZATION AND POPULARIZATION OF AMERICAN POLITICS

The need to define the Revolutionary American republic against France and its archenemy, Britain, divided the American populace and served as the catalyst for a decade of vicious political conflict. Democratic Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, campaigned to reassert or extend the social and political reforms of the American Revolution. They also argued that the United States should do what it could—short of war—to assist Revolutionary France in its military clash with the British-led European military alliance. Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, derided the egalitarian excesses of the French Revolution and viewed the public fervor associated with it as a portent of social disorder. They simultaneously sought to curtail American involvement in French military affairs, even if it meant closer cooperation with Great Britain.

The political clash between Democratic Republicans and Federalists in the 1790s was the most heat-

ed internal dispute in the United States before the American Civil War. Friendships broke apart, fist-fights erupted in government halls, newspaper writers spewed forth invective, and talk of civil war and anarchy pervaded public arenas. Passions were so intense that zealots on both sides advocated partisan organization, even though many educated individuals at the time considered political parties illegitimate and dangerous. Advocacy of partisanship, in turn, sparked an amazingly high degree of popular participation in national politics; voter participation rates in many areas surged, and common citizens ran for political office with a surprising degree of boldness and success.

Popular political activity was generally more noticeable and aggressive among those who steadfastly supported the French Revolution. Thousands of individuals participated in large parades and elaborate "civic festivals" celebrating French military victories and revolutionary anniversaries. Members of Democratic Republican societies wrote resolutions, offered toasts, and agitated for political reform. A person could make a public political statement simply by donning a cockade (a ribbon worn on a hat or shirt) as a badge of party loyalty.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POPULAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Pro–French Revolution zealots took part in popular political activity for a variety of reasons. Some were inspired by the abstract ideological claims of the French Revolution and the chance to repay France for assistance during the American Revolution. Others, remembering British atrocities during the American Revolutionary War, viewed the current Anglo-French struggle as an opportunity to humble Great Britain. African Americans considered the French Revolution—and the slave rebellion on Haiti associated with it—as an opportunity to push for emancipation or revolutionary rebellion. Local activists and artisans, meanwhile, frequently used French revolutionary rhetoric to agitate for a number of goals: to destroy vestiges of social hierarchy and political privilege, to exact revenge against resented elites, and to stake their claim to a prominent role in the American political system.

No matter the individual reasons, what is striking in the hullabaloo over the French Revolution is the degree of persistence with which many Americans promoted the French cause. It is tempting to think that the horrors of the French revolution's Reign of Terror—mass executions on the guillotine, arbitrary trials, and the centralization of power in the Committee of Public Safety—uniformly alienated Americans, but that is not the case. Many residents of the United States expended a good deal of energy justifying the excesses of the French Revolution. The scale and rigidity of the Old Regime in France, they argued, necessitated a tumultuous and violent revolution. In addition, Great Britain—revolutionary France's current enemy—had a long history of crimes against its own citizens and others', so any criticism of political practices should begin with Americans' former antagonist. Accounts of French revolutionary crimes, furthermore, could not always be trusted because Americans received much of their news through British sources, and many Americans believed—indeed, were certain—that British writers were generally untrustworthy, especially when it came to descriptions of the French. Some Americans not only justified French revolutionary horrors, they also appropriated the rhetoric of violence to intimidate opponents and rally supporters. Toasts to "the guillotine" were not uncommon, and a pamphlet circulating in Philadelphia reveled in the possibility of President George Washington's execution by guillotine.

The fervor and stubbornness of American enthusiasm for the French Revolution indicates that much more than politics and ideology was at stake. Indeed, support for the French Revolution frequently took on religious overtones. Preachers related apocalyptic biblical passages to French revolutionary developments, while newspaper authors emphasized the overthrow of the Catholic Church. Just as common, ordinary citizens rejoiced because they believed the French Revolution represented a critical step in the coming of a secular millennium. The new age these enthusiasts hoped for revolved around the spread of universal rights, global peace, and republican government, rather than the second coming of Christ. The specific doctrines of secular millennialism mattered less, however, than the hopeful exuberance associated with the French Revolution. The cultural movement known as the Enlightenment rested on the assumption of progress, but the type of progress usually described before the American and French Revolutions was a slow, evolutionary change. In the 1790s, the pace of change seemed to accelerate and a utopian age appeared imminent.

## SLAVERY

That the French Revolution, despite its lofty rhetoric, did not usher in a golden age is evident in white elites' inconsistent approach toward the issue of slavery. For while disputes over issues like representation, lib-

erty, and equality clearly precipitated the onset of the slave revolt in Saint Domingue (the early name for Haiti), the vast majority of white Americans failed to see a connection between the French and Haitian Revolutions (1791). They saw the former as an indication of freedom's progress in the civilized world and the latter as an unwarranted descent into anarchy.

When genteel Americans did take notice of the connection between the French and Haitian Revolutions, they did so in a rather peculiar manner. In the spring and summer of 1793, elite and middling residents of seaport towns opened their homes to French slaveholders fleeing the devastation of the Haitian Revolution in the belief that hospitality directed toward these refugees equated to practical support for the French Revolution. In actuality, white Americans befriending slaveholders from Saint Domingue provided sustenance for a group of aristocratic elites determined to preserve European forms of hierarchy. In addition, by siding with those who opposed the efforts of Haitian revolutionaries, genteel Americans denied Caribbean slaves the opportunity to determine their own political destiny. Most important, white Americans aiding slaveholding refugees belied their own public professions about gradual emancipation in the United States; universal abolition might be a nice idea in the abstract, but it simply could not be endorsed at the present time.

Sensing an opportunity to undermine the credibility of their opponents, Federalists mocked Democratic Republicans in the South who espoused French revolutionary ideology even while holding African Americans in bondage. If Jefferson and his followers were really sincere in their protestations about tyranny, why did they not shed their own tyrannical practices and emancipate their slaves? As powerful as this argument was, Federalists did not employ it to full advantage for two basic reasons. First, Southern slaveholders represented an important segment of the Federalist Party and an undue emphasis on the tension between support for revolutionary liberty and toleration of chattel slavery might damage partisan unity across sectional lines. Second, Federalist propagandists in the North deployed the slavery issue in crosscutting ways. Even as they criticized Democratic Republican slaveholders' unwillingness to live up to the ideals of the French Revolution, they raised the specter of racial disorder in northern communities as a means of convincing people of the dangers of the French Revolution. In that sense, Federalist critics of Democratic Republicans' stance on slavery were by no means idealistic humanitarians determined to promote the interests of African Amer-

icans. Rather, they were political opportunists who twisted the issue of slavery to fit their particular goals. In some cases it suited their needs to provoke their opponents about emancipation, but in other cases they found it useful to warn of the upheavals racial equality might cause. Partisan politics at the national level thus trumped a more sustained ideological and sectional debate over slavery.

It was African Americans themselves who most fervently and consistently took up the task of exposing the possibilities and limitations embedded within the relationship between French revolutionary ideology and American slavery. In the mid-1790s, free blacks in the North signaled their approval of French revolutionary ideals by participating in street parades and civic feasts. Southern slaves enjoyed fewer opportunities for open expression of their beliefs, but they were no less aware of and exhilarated by the international revolutionary movement. Gleaning bits and pieces of knowledge from a variety of sources— including talkative masters, sympathetic white artisans, and Afro-Caribbean sailors temporarily stationed in port—American slaves developed a sophisticated, albeit unstable, network for relaying information. Indeed, the extent of shared intelligence among slaves in the revolutionary Atlantic world demonstrates how transnational upheaval captivated African Americans. Not satisfied simply to learn about French revolutionary affairs and the contest over its meaning in the United States, a number of slaves decided to take action. Some set fire to white Americans' buildings, sparking a wave of paranoia among slaveholders. Others mocked white rhetoric about revolution by proclaiming "Freedom to Africans." At least one slave, Prosser's Gabriel of Richmond, Virginia, used the opportunity created by partisan conflict over the French Revolution to initiate a slave rebellion. No ordinary uprising, Gabriel's Rebellion reached out to various Frenchmen in the United States and had as its goal the overthrow of Federalist merchants and their slaveholding allies. Unfortunately for Gabriel and his co-conspirators, the plot was discovered before it was launched, and the brutal repression that followed made it clear to any observer that Democratic Republican support for the French Revolution did not translate into sympathy for the plight of enslaved Americans.

## THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONCLUSION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

As the French Revolution proceeded from the Reign of Terror to the Thermidorean reaction, and from the Directory to Napoleon's coup d'état in November 1799, diplomatic events continued to affect the

American interpretation of transnational revolutionary struggle. In 1795 the Senate authorized and President Washington signed into law a pact, Jay's Treaty, establishing peaceful relations with the United Kingdom. The announcement of this Anglo-American accord sparked a series of massive popular protests, because pro-French individuals felt it catered to the British and betrayed American obligations to revolutionary France. Yet in the long run Jay's Treaty tempered American attitudes toward the French Revolution by resolving the Anglo-American war crisis of 1794–1795 and by facilitating commercial growth.

Three years later, the XYZ Affair again brought the United States to the brink of war, but this time the crisis was a Franco-American one. On 3 April 1798, President John Adams, who was elected in 1796, disclosed a packet of diplomatic materials—some of which referred to mysterious French officials "X," "Y," and "Z"—documenting a pattern of French belligerence and intrigue. Almost immediately, Democratic Republicans renounced their claims about the interconnectedness of the French Revolution and the progress of American freedom. They also declared their willingness to serve the United States in a war against France. Bombastic displays of popular support for President Adams persisted through the spring and summer, and Congress actually authorized the Quasi-War, an undeclared naval war against France.

The most important response to the XYZ Affair, however, occurred when a cohort of "high" Federalists succeeded in getting congressional approval for two controversial legislative measures, the Alien and Sedition Acts. These acts extended the length of time it took for immigrants to become naturalized citizens with full voting rights and gave the federal government power to punish individuals who spoke or printed anything thought to be slanderous against the Federalist administration. Accurately asserting that the Alien and Sedition Acts were implemented as partisan weapons designed to eviscerate Federalists' opponents, Jeffersonian politicians began reasserting themselves in public by portraying themselves as the defenders of American civil liberties. Democratic Republicans also took a more moderate position on the issue of transnational revolution. The principles of the French Revolution were still praiseworthy in the abstract, and the French Republic merited good wishes in its ongoing military struggle against Britain and its tyrant, King George III, but the cause of American freedom was carefully distanced from practical developments in Europe. Napoleon's rise to power, as a result, did not undermine or retard Jefferson's rise to power because most citizens in the United States had already begun thinking of their nation as the only home for revolutionary republicanism. In a similar vein, Jefferson's victory in the election of 1800 assumed significance not simply as a seminal achievement for the Democratic Republican Party, but also as a great triumph for the American political system. Whereas the peoples of Europe continued to struggle against tyranny, social degradation, and material devastation, white Americans could revel in their freedom, equality before the law, and prosperity.

Although the French Revolution did not produce the same degree of violence and upheaval in the United States as it did in Europe, it had a tremendous impact on American life. Transatlantic turmoil spawned by the French Revolution prompted a wave of millennial yearning and an unprecedented amount of partisan organizing and conflict. It brought into relief the contradictions at the heart of the popular commitment to liberty and slavery. Indeed, though the American Republic was technically independent, events across the Atlantic constituted the frame within which Americans sketched the broad contours of their political and cultural identity. In that sense, the French Revolution decisively shaped the maturation of the United States.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Election of 1800; Haitian Revolution; Jay's Treaty; Quasi-War with France; XYZ Affair.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, W. B., ed. *Works of Fisher Ames, as Published by Seth Ames.* 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1983.

*American Political Prints, 1766–1876: Catalog of the Collection in the Library of Congress.* Edited by Bernard F. Reilly. Available from http://loc.harpweek.com/default.asp.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Banning, Lance, ed. *Liberty and Order: The First American Party Struggle.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Bloch, Ruth H. *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Branson, Susan. *These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Cobbett, William. *Peter Porcupine in America: Pamphlets on Republicanism and Revolution.* Edited by David A. Wilson. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

DeConde, Alexander. *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy under George Washington.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958.

Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Durey, Michael. *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hazen, Charles Downer. *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* [1897]. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1964.

Hunt, Lynn, ed. *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History.* Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress.* Available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mtjhtml/mtjhome.html.

Jefferson, Thomas, and Abigail and John Adams. *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams.* Edited by Lester J. Cappon. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Jefferson, Thomas, and James Madison. *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, 1776–1826.* 3 vols. Edited by James Morton Smith. New York: Norton, 1995.

*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution.* Center for History and New Media (George Mason University) and American Social History Project (City University of New York). Available from http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution.

Manning, William. *The Key of Liberty: The Life and Democratic Writings of William Manning, 'a Laborer,' 1747–1814.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Paine, Thomas. *The Contents of Thomas Paine's Writings, Containing the Major and Minor Works, and Letters of Thomas Paine.* Edited by Philip S. Foner. Available from http://www.thomaspaine.org/contents.html.

Sutherland, D. M. G. *France 1789–1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799.* Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. Washington Resources at the University of Virginia Library. Available from http://etext.virginia.edu/washington/fitzpatrick.

*Matthew Rainbow Hale*

## Mary Wollstonecraft

Born 27 April 1759 in Spitalfields, London, Mary Wollstonecraft was the second of seven children born to Edward and Elizabeth Dixon Wollstonecraft. Wollstonecraft's father was a drunken bully who squandered the family's money and failed repeatedly at every occupation he tried. He not only terrorized his family and reduced them to genteel poverty, he also diminished his daughters' chances of making respectable marriages and denied them formal schooling beyond sketchy lessons in Yorkshire. The oldest son inherited money from a grandfather in preference to his siblings, had a full university education, and became a lawyer, an injustice that shaped Mary Wollstonecraft's views on the education of men and women for the rest of her life.

After failing at most of the acceptable occupations for ladies, including sewing, teaching, and working as a lady's maid and governess, Wollstonecraft began a girls' school in London but quickly ran into financial trouble. Turning to writing, she produced a pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1786), which earned ten pounds and brought her to the attention of Unitarians Joseph Priestley and Richard Price, who in turn introduced her to her lifelong friend and patron, the publisher Joseph Johnson. Johnson's *Analytical Review* hired Wollstonecraft as a writer in 1787, for which she reviewed European works, teaching herself Dutch, French, Italian, and German in the process.

Although she cultivated a bohemian image, Wollstonecraft also turned out profitable books, including *Mary: A Fiction* (1788); *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788), an anthology for children; and an anthology for female readers in 1789. Already incensed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's attitude toward women, Wollstonecraft then read Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), which prompted her to write her groundbreaking work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), in less than three months. Johnson promoted the work as a companion piece and challenge to Thomas Paine's 1791 *Rights of Man*, and the book enjoyed wide circulation in radical circles in Britain and France. Determined to live a genuine existence free of artificial restraints, Wollstonecraft pursued relationships with men, including the artist Henry Fuseli and the American naval captain Gilbert Imlay, that gave her great emotional anguish.

At a dinner for Thomas Paine in 1791, Wollstonecraft had met the author and reformer William Godwin. She met him again in 1796, and they became lovers. Wollstonecraft became pregnant, and in March 1797, at Godwin's insistence, they married. Wollstonecraft gave birth to a daughter (the writer Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley) but died of puerperal

fever on 10 September 1797 in London. Godwin oversaw the posthumous publication of *The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria* in 1798, and followed that year with his *Memoirs*, a frank recounting of Woll-stonecraft's sexual history that scandalized her readers and alienated many former admirers.

American readers responded very positively to *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, which appeared excerpted in literary magazines like the *Ladies Magazine* and the *Massachusetts Magazine* in 1792. The first complete American edition appeared in 1793 and went through three printings, surpassing in circulation Paine's *Rights of Man.* There was much for Americans to admire in Wollstonecraft's work. Far from a revolutionary overturning of gender roles, her plans for the reform of female education and the civic responsibilities of women struck a chord with Americans. As prominent women like Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray argued, women needed a revolution in manners, to shed artificial cunning and flirtation in order to be better spouses, mothers, teachers and nurses—occupations that, over time, would confer status in the new nation. The notion of the importance of motherhood won the support of many conservatives. Americans also liked Woll-stonecraft's emphasis on the ability of commerce to bring down social distinctions, as related in her 1796 work, *A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark*, and her portrayal of women's friendship across class lines, in *Maria.*

However, the release of Godwin's *Memoirs* shocked American readers just as it had Europeans. As the French Revolution burned out, its supporters became disillusioned and Americans became disgusted with Napoleonic France. Some critics attacked Wollstonecraft as an immoral fanatic and derided her ideas about women's education. Nevertheless, Woll-stonecraft had framed the case for women's rights in words that had special significance for Americans and echoed key philosophical texts revered by the new nation's intellectual elite. Even critics used her terms when defining the role of women, keeping these issues in circulation until the rediscovery of Wollstonecraft by women activists in the second half of the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Education: Education of Girls and Women; Paine, Thomas; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Rights; Women: Writers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gordon, Lyndall. *Vindication: A Life of Mary Wollstonecraft.* New York: HarperCollins, 2005.

Gunther-Canada, Wendy. *Rebel Writer: Mary Wollstonecraft and Enlightenment Politics.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2001.

Janes, R. M. "On the Reception of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women.*" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39 (April–June 1978): 293–302.

Tomalin, Claire. *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft.* Rev. ed. London and New York: Penguin, 1992.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 203–230.

*Margaret Sankey*

## Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule

Americans first became aware of Napoleon Bonaparte in the mid-1790s, while he was a commander in the wars of the French Revolution. Newspaper accounts portrayed him as a gifted general along the lines of Julius Caesar. In particular, descriptions of Napoleon's youthful character, elevated reading taste, and magnanimous treatment of conquered enemies pushed many Americans to think of him as a liberal humanitarian. So inspiring were these printed testimonies that at least two individuals in the Philadelphia area, including an African American servant of soon-to-be Pennsylvania governor Thomas Mc-Kean, named their children "Buonaparte." The hunger for news about Napoleon contributed, in turn, to a profusion of misinformation. Rumors about Bona-parte's whereabouts and situation became a minor newspaper industry, and in 1799 it took approximately one month to discredit a rumor that the French general had died in Egypt during a military campaign in North Africa.

Though Napoleon did not assume political power until November 1799, Americans long before then grasped the depth of his political influence. When French and British officials initiated peace talks in June 1797, Americans attributed it to the daring accomplishments of Napoleon. In a similar way, observers of American domestic politics suggested that the European victories of Bonaparte had a moderating impact upon the political disputes between Federalists and Democratic Republicans. A few individuals, like U.S. representative Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina, identified a malicious element in Bonaparte, but most Americans in the mid-to-late 1790s viewed Napoleon with appreciation and awe.

### THE GENERAL BECOMES A DICTATOR

News of the 9 November 1799 coup d'état bringing Napoleon to power reached most parts of the United

States by late January 1800, but it was not immediately clear how his emergence as a political leader should be understood. At times, Federalist politicians and newspaper editors denounced Bonaparte's rise as another example of the unstable political wrangling and illiberal ideology of the hated French Jacobins. In other situations, they praised Napoleon's regime for quashing democratic despotism and for establishing a foundation upon which international peace and French domestic tranquility might be developed. Democratic Republicans also gave mixed signals about the significance of Bonaparte's assumption of political power. He seemed to some the fulfillment of the French Revolution, a republican champion who persistently opposed monarchists. To others, however, Napoleon represented the betrayal of French revolutionary ideals and the dangers of a standing army.

The ambivalent and relatively nonpartisan approach toward Napoleon was undergirded by the Anglo-French peace treaty of 1802, which temporarily removed the immediate impetus for American discord regarding European politics. By the end of 1802, moreover, most Americans agreed that Napoleon operated as a dictator, not as a benevolent republican. Still, Democratic Republican and Federalist commentators found reason to praise Napoleon's regime. A writer for a Virginia newspaper noted that while Bonaparte continually disregarded constitutional procedures, he was "endowed with the most splendid talents." The author meant that Napoleon had charisma and panache and displayed the ability to shape events in his image. In an era when international conflict forced Americans to make difficult decisions about the character of the United States, and when Americans were developing the myth of the self-made man, the figure of Napoleon was appealing because he exemplified the way in which strong-minded individuals seemed to impose their ideas on external circumstances rather than yielding to the inscrutable forces of fate.

### LOUISIANA AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

Reasons for bitter party conflict over the question of Napoleon reemerged rather quickly with the crisis over French occupation of the Louisiana territory. In 1800 France acquired the territory from Spain in a secret agreement. Napoleon hoped to reestablish a French presence in the New World and planned to use the Louisiana territory as the main source of timber and food for the sugar-producing island of St. Domingue. Once news of France's acquisition of Louisiana reached the United States, however, President

Thomas Jefferson moved quickly to protect American interests along the Mississippi River valley. While hinting at the possibility of an Anglo–American alliance if Napoleon did not moderate his imperial designs, Jefferson sent ministers to Paris in hopes of acquiring New Orleans and the right to navigate along the Mississippi River. Federalist politicians, in contrast, urged Jefferson to summon an army and take possession of Louisiana by force; only a sycophantic, Francophilic American would not stand up to the foreign threat looming on the western horizon. Unfortunately for the Federalists, the same St. Dominguans who initiated a massive slave uprising in 1791 indirectly gave the Democratic Republican Party a public relations coup when they successfully thwarted Napoleon's attempts to reconquer their island in the first few years of the nineteenth century. For when Napoleon became frustrated with his inability to reassert French force in the New World, he decided to cut his losses and authorized the sale of the entire Louisiana territory—not just the city of New Orleans—to the United States for the bargain price of $15 million. War with France had not only been averted, but a tremendous territorial boon to the United States had been acquired through peaceful negotiation.

Not coincidentally, the Louisiana Purchase (1803) occurred just before a new round of Anglo-French warfare (1803–1815) enveloped the Western world. As with the military strife of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars provided a framework for vicious rhetoric and partisanship in the United States. Federalists attacked Napoleonic France for its aggrandizing, ambitious policies. Napoleon seemed to aim at nothing less than global domination, and comparisons to the Antichrist were not uncommon. Federalists also lauded the merits of Great Britain as it bore the burden of defending political liberty against the tyrannical assaults of France. Democratic Republicans, on the other hand, held up France as the defender of liberty even as they condemned the hypocritical rhetoric of Napoleon. By contending with monarchical, aristocratic Britain, France facilitated the survival of American republicanism. This did not mean that Democratic Republicans favored an alliance with Napoleonic France and a declaration of war against the British. Rather, Jefferson's administration pursued a policy of neutrality, one in which the United States would seek to establish favorable relations with both Britain and France.

Neutrality during the Napoleonic Wars was much easier to proclaim than to achieve. Caught in the middle of yet another round of Anglo-French

conflict, the United States struggled to defend its interests and national honor. Especially damaging to Americans' economic welfare were foreign restrictions on U.S. trade and naval attacks perpetrated by British and French ships. As a result, President Jefferson issued the Embargo of 1807, which prohibited American trade with all foreign countries. Unfortunately for Jefferson and his Democratic Republican colleagues, the embargo was a dismal failure: American exports declined from over $100 million in value in 1807 to just over $20 million in 1808; Federalists enjoyed a partial revival of popular support; and Britain and France refused to modify their policies. Jefferson's successor, James Madison, sought to curtail these negative consequences by repealing the embargo and by promulgating the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, which prohibited trade with Britain and France only. Like its predecessor, however, the Non-Intercourse Act persuaded neither British nor French authorities to respect American maritime and commercial rights. Undeterred in their attempt to influence peaceably European policy toward the United States, Madison and Congress experimented with yet another piece of legislation. Macon's Bill No. 2 (1810) repealed the ban on trade with Britain and France, but simultaneously authorized the president to reimpose that ban on either nation if the other decided to rescind its restrictions on American trade.

At this point, Napoleon sensed a weakness in American policy and exploited it to the advantage of France. In particular, Napoleon had his foreign minister declare that France was lifting its ban on American shipping. Though the actions of Napoleon's minister represented a clear attempt to manipulate American policy, Madison followed through on the promise of Macon's Bill No. 2 and reimposed restrictions on trade with Britain. In other words, Napoleon forced Madison's hand and not so subtly pushed Americans to take a more aggressive stand against the British. And when officials from Britain refused to alter their stance on trade restrictions, Americans appeared to have no choice but war with that nation. Formal conflict came to pass when Congress declared war on Britain in June 1812. Though American ships achieved a number of dramatic triumphs over British vessels, the land confrontation in the struggle that became known as the War of 1812 (1812–1815) was a series of virtually uninterrupted disasters. The United States survived the war with its territorial integrity intact and self-confidence growing, but only because Napoleon's forces occupied the vast majority of Britain's resources, military manpower, and political energy.

## THE LEGACIES

When Napoleon's enemies defeated his armies and forced him to abdicate in the spring of 1814, Americans responded, predictably, by dividing into partisan camps. Federalists rejoiced at the fall of Bonaparte and viewed the relative indifference among the French populace as a sign that his regime had never been very popular. Democratic Republicans argued that peace would be a blessing for Europe, but lamented the possibility of a return to French monarchical rule. After Napoleon returned from exile in 1815 for his 100 Days Campaign, Americans once again interpreted events along political lines. Federalists feared that the Napoleonic forces of disorder would threaten European stability, while Democratic Republicans claimed that Bonaparte fought for the right of self-determination. In the end, the duke of Wellington defeated Bonaparte's French army at the Battle of Waterloo (1815), and Napoleon's influence upon the United States underwent a drastic transformation. After that date—and more particularly after Napoleon's exile to a remote South Atlantic island, St. Helena—the French commander ceased to affect American life through direct political and military activity.

Yet Bonaparte's legacy in the United States persisted well beyond his political demise. Napoleonic military tactics became a staple for the education of cadets at West Point, while the Congress of Vienna (an assembly of European delegates gathered together in 1814 and 1815 for the express purpose of stabilizing international relationships in the wake of Napoleon's fall) indirectly assisted American economic and cultural growth by successfully establishing the framework for a century of relative transatlantic tranquility. No matter how Americans after 1815 viewed Napoleonic politics and warfare, they generally expressed amazement at the way in which the French general shaped the entire Western world in his image. Referred to as a "luminous star," a "great man," and the subject of "wonder, astonishment, and pity," Bonaparte seemed to comprehend and harness the vast potential of individual willpower in a way that few others in history ever had. Napoleon's name and image, therefore, became one of the most powerful symbols of Romantic belief in the nineteenth century. Transcendentalist thinker Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote about him in a collection of essays, *Representative Men* (1850). Andrew Jackson kept a bust of Napoleon on a bookshelf throughout his career. And dashing Civil War general George B. McClellan reveled in his nickname, Little Napoleon. As late as the 1920s, a poll found that Americans considered Bonaparte one of the three greatest figures

of history, along with Jesus Christ and Henry Ford. Napoleon died in exile on St. Helena in 1821, but the French general's image continued to evoke for Americans the power of individual exertion and visionary self-confidence.

See also **Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; French; Haitian Revolution; Louisiana Purchase; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Presidency, The: James Madison; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, Fisher. *Works of Fisher Ames, as Published by Seth Ames.* 2 vols. Edited by W. B. Allen. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Classics, 1983.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Banning, Lance, ed. *Liberty and Order: The First American Party Struggle.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Bergeron, Louis. *France under Napoleon.* Translated by R. R. Palmer. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Cappon, Lester J., ed. *The Adams–Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

*A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875.* Available at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw.

Dumbauld, Edward. *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Hickey, Donald. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Holtman, Robert B. *The Napoleonic Revolution.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1967.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress.* Available at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mtjhtml/mtjhome.html.

Jefferson, Thomas, and James Madison. *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, 1776–1826.* 3 vols. Edited by James Morton Smith. New York: Norton, 1995.

Kaplan, Lawrence S. *Jefferson and France: An Essay on Politics and Political Ideas.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The Louisiana Purchase: Jefferson's Noble Bargain?* Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2003.

Lyon, E. Wilson. *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759–1804.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

Markham, Felix. *Napoleon.* New York: New American Library, 1963.

*Napoleon Series Site Map.* Available at http://www.napoleonseries.org/index/sitemap.cfm.

Reilley, Bernard F., Jr., ed. *American Political Prints, 1766–1876: Catalog of the Collection in the Library of Congress.* Available at http://loc.harpweek.com/default.asp.

Shulim, Joseph I. *The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte: A Study in American Opinion.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Smelser, Marshall. *The Democratic Republic, 1801–1815.* New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Sutherland, D. M. G. *France 1789–1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution.* London: Fontana, 1985.

*Matthew Rainbow Hale*

# EUROPEAN RESPONSES TO AMERICA

When news of the Battle of Yorktown, decided by the capitulation of General Charles Cornwallis on 19 October 1781, reached London, British ministers who had viewed King George III's military involvement in America as folly rose in prominence. Critics of the military conflict in America viewed it as an extension of the conflict between Britain and France and thought that Britain was foolish not to subordinate its American concerns to the contest with France. In a memorable speech at the outset of the American Revolution, the leading British statesman of that age, William Pitt the Elder, had foretold that the war with America would lay Britain prostrate before the power of France. After Yorktown, new British ministers tried to prevent military defeat from becoming a complete diplomatic defeat as well, and fighting in America virtually ceased. Britain recognized an independent United States by the Peace of Paris of 3 September 1783. The American Revolution had a major impact not only on British diplomacy but on European diplomacy as a whole. The Revolution also affected European economies by spurring the establishment of free trade policies. Finally, the Revolution left its mark on European monarchies and national identities.

### DIPLOMACY

"Every nation in Europe," said Benjamin Franklin, "wishes to see Britain humbled, having all in their time been offended by her insolence." By the time of Yorktown, the truth of this was clear. France allied itself with the new American Republic and against Britain mainly because of the French leaders' desire to seize the diplomatic opportunity Britain had given them; but spite also played a part in the decision. The French defeat—largely at the hands of Pitt the Elder—in the Seven Years' War imbued the court at Versailles with bitter rancor toward King George III.
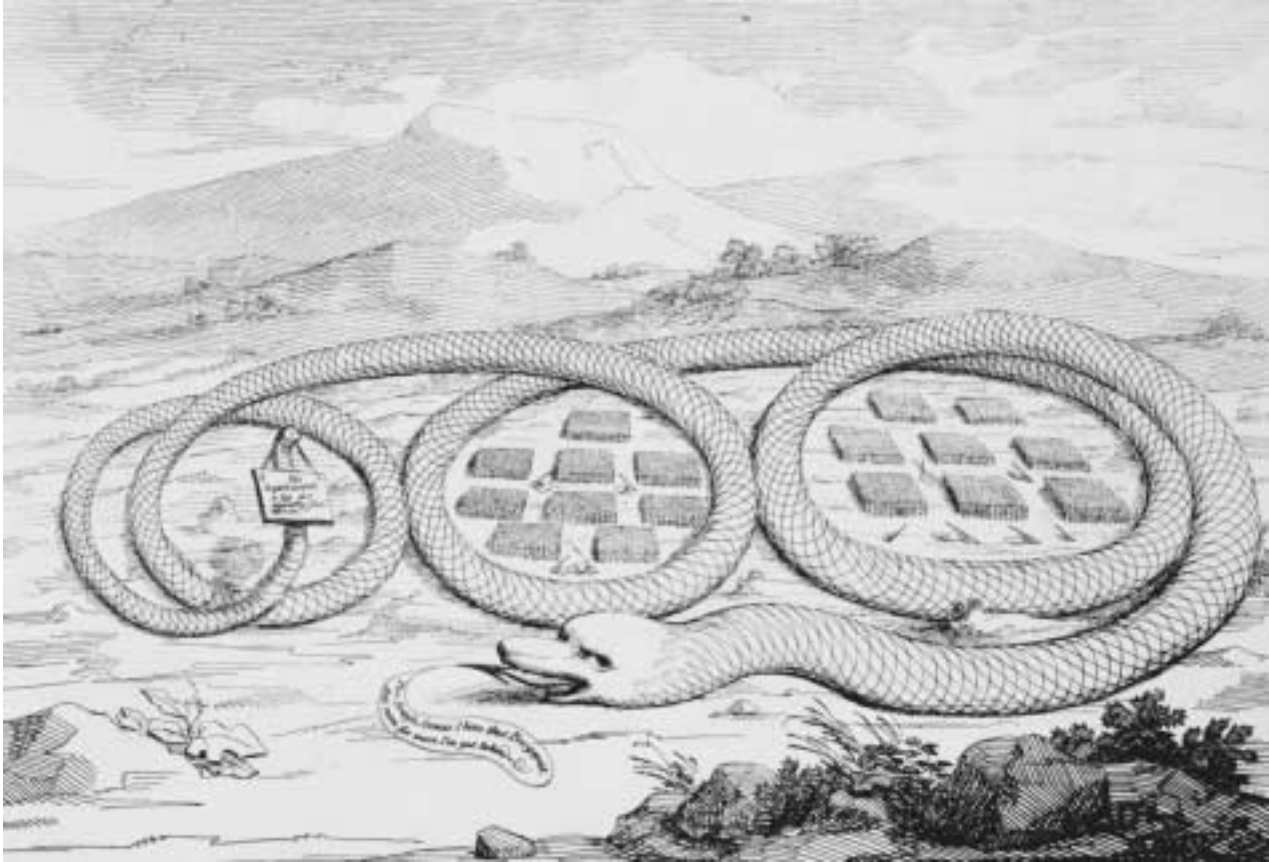
***The American Rattle Snake.*** This etching by the British satirical artist James Gillray was published in London in April 1782 to mark the opening in Paris of peace negotiations between Great Britain and the United States. Gillray portrays America as a snake coiled around the British army encampments. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Other European states, like the Netherlands and Russia, welcomed the opportunity to weaken Britain but opted for neutrality rather than outright war. Even neutrality implied hostility toward Britain. As the legitimate sovereign in America, George III expected European princes to support him against rebels. Instead, neutral European states aided America through trade. Dutch neutrality failed as a policy, and Britain forced war upon them.

In the era of the American Revolution, the European states can be divided into two groups. There was a European center comprising Britain itself, France, and to some extent the Netherlands. These three states vied among themselves for supremacy, although the Dutch were experiencing a long, slow defeat in the contest. France and Britain were locked in bitter contest. British defeat in the War of the American Revolution induced the same kind of spite in Britain as in France, contributing to the unyielding mind-set of Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, during which Britain truly, single-mindedly, and successfully fought France for supremacy in Europe.

Around the European center, there was a periphery comprising Spain, the German Empire with its principalities, and Russia, among other states. Some in this group welcomed the war because they hoped that a British loss in America would lead to a loosening of British power elsewhere. The Spanish, Germans, Russians, and other peripherals expected France to carry most of the costs, although some private individuals in these states were prepared to assist France themselves.

The most important peripheral state to join France was Spain. At one time a mighty power, Spain had declined to marginal status by the time of the American Revolution. This decline dated at least to the seventeenth century, but the Seven Years' War had hastened the process because Spain was humiliated, although it gained some North American possessions from France. Not content with the expulsion of France from North America and the humbling of Spain there, the Royal Navy dispatched Captain Cook to investigate whether Spain's South American colonies might also be opened to British trade. The Span-

**Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man.** This 1774 mezzotint by Philip Dawe illustrated for the English the lawless behavior of Americans in its depiction of a group of Boston men forcing tea down the throat of John Malcolm, a customs official who has been tarred and feathered. The Liberty Tree and the Boston Tea Party are visible in the background. ART RESOURCE, NY.

ish court felt therefore the same rancor toward Britain as did its counterparts at Versailles. Further, a family alliance bound the two courts, the French ruling house of Bourbon having placed one of its members on the throne of Spain. The two branches of the Bourbon family eagerly joined hands. They undertook joint naval action in 1779, threatening the English coast with invasion. In addition, the Spanish monarchy sent money, war materiel, officials, and military officers to America.

A small number of Europeans came to America to offer their personal assistance. The Marquis de Lafayette was perhaps the most famous. A major general in the Continental Army during the Revolution, he also played a prominent role in French politics during the French Revolution. Baron Friedrich von Steuben of Prussia was almost as famous, becoming inspector general of the Continental Army. Two other Europeans who made major contributions to the American cause were Count Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko, both from Poland.

However, these famous names belied the European reality. Whether at the center or on the periphery, most Europeans knew little of America and placed little value on its Revolution. America was a backwater. French scientists thought that even nature in America was feebler than in Europe, plants and animals smaller and weaker, and natural process more prone to decay. Although America had already produced a great philosopher, Jonathan Edwards, few Europeans read American books, and fewer valued American political ideas. Despite the contributions to the American Revolution of some German volunteer officers, reactions in Germany and Russia mostly reflected this combination of ignorance and disdain.

American notions of political liberty or representative government were attractive to very few Germans. Instead, Germans thought of America, when they did think of it, mostly as a place of fantasy or escape. "Here or nowhere is my America!" wrote the greatest German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, over the door of his house in Weimar. Under the nominal sovereignty of the German emperor, German princes were nevertheless effectively independent, and they could even go to war with one another. Some German princes opposed Britain in spirit. Silas Deane, an American diplomat in Europe, recommended Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick as a possible commander of American forces. Other German princes supported King George III, who after all was himself a German prince and who eventually married his eldest son to a daughter of the Brunswick house. American notions of republican liberty had

even less appeal in Russia than in Germany. Empress Catherine the Great and Tsar Alexander I both had some sympathy with republican notions, but Catherine stayed neutral. The British attempted to obtain her cooperation against America; she suspected British motives, yet she did not want to seem too hostile to Britain. Nor did Alexander assist the French Revolution. Hostility to all revolution then hardened in Russia in the early nineteenth century. When a French visitor, the Marquis de Custine, visited Russia in 1839, he discussed American notions of a representative republic with Tsar Nicholas I. Reminding Custine of the legacy of Tsar Alexander I, who had established a constitutional monarchy in Poland, Nicholas told Custine that the constitutional system was vile, complaining that a monarch should not have to stoop to petty deals with base politicians.

## ECONOMY

After news of the Battle of Yorktown was reported to the Scottish economist Adam Smith, the carrier of the news said that the British nation was ruined. Smith replied coolly that there was much ruin in the British nation. He had predicted before the Revolution that a political separation of America from Britain would in fact make both parties more prosperous. Smith was not alone in this view. The eccentric but brilliant English economist Josiah Tucker had been even more outspoken than Smith on the subject, saying well before the Revolution that American colonies were a burden to Britain.

Smith described the principles that had long governed British thinking on matters of international trade and colonial administration. Calling these principles mercantilism, he said that states attempted to achieve a favorable balance in trade with one another, leading nations to regulate and limit trade. These were futile attempts because each nation viewed wealth as something to be gained at the expense of its neighbors. When states left trade free, wealth increased in absolute terms because merchants had larger markets and therefore incentives to invest more capital in larger and more efficient systems of production. So long as Britain controlled American commerce, Smith believed, regulation would tend to stifle trade. American independence would open American markets and rationalize British production.

The removal of British regulations in America stimulated transatlantic trade. The former colonies soon bought more British goods than they had before the war, with exports to North America from England and Wales rising from 2,460,000 in 1772–

1773 to 5,700,000 in 1797–1798. Then, during the French Revolution, Britain blockaded European ports, and it enjoyed the Atlantic trade without much rivalry or interference from other European powers. These opportunities more than repaired the loss of its thirteen American colonies, and Britain rose to unparalleled economic and political power in the nineteenth century. Britons learned from Smith. "We are all your students now," the younger William Pitt told Smith during the wars of the French Revolution.

The movement toward free trade was a permanent European legacy of the American Revolution. However, this movement further exacerbated the contrast between the European center and the European periphery. Britain, France, the Netherlands (which included Belgium until 1830), and parts of Germany and Italy all made rapid economic progress, partly owing to the spread of free trade policies, while the peripheral region fell behind.

## MONARCHY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In the late nineteenth century, the liberal English economist Walter Bagehot explained how the American Revolution had changed the role of the British monarchy. American colonists were wrong about the monarch, said Bagehot. They thought George III was a tyrant, but instead he was a fool and a madman. However, King George did nearly as much damage as if he had been a tyrant. His incapacity triggered the American Revolution, a misfortune that revealed to the British that their monarchy required an adjustment. In Bagehot's view, Britain's poor showing in the War of the American Revolution impugned George III's active, daily oversight of government.

Bagehot's opinions echoed those opposed to George III's policies, and Bagehot implied that these ideas reflected public opinion at large in Britain. However, the most careful recent scholarship has failed to establish clearly how the various parts of the British public reacted to the American Revolution. No doubt, opinion was split, and changed over time. Exactly how it was split, and exactly how it changed, however, is not known. One result was clear: Britain established a foreign office, replacing the cumbersome system that previously mixed the management of foreign policy.

Such reforms, many of them consequences of the American Revolution but more of them of the French Revolution, allowed European monarchies to become powerful symbols of national identity. Some scholars have argued that the American Revolution created national identity. Others have argued instead that Britain had a strong national identity before the American Revolution, which that event recast and strengthened. What is indisputable is that a spring of nationalism welled up in the American Revolution and the French Revolution, and in the nineteenth century that spring became a European torrent. For the most part in Europe, monarchs succeeded in making the monarchy a symbol of this torrent of identity. The rise of free trade and the emergence of powerful European national identities, symbolized by renewed and in some cases reformed monarchies, were the two most important European reactions to the American Revolution.

*See also* **British Empire and the Atlantic World; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; Lafayette, Marie-Joseph, Marquis de; Revolution, Age of; Revolution: European Participation; Treaty of Paris.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders.* New York: Knopf, 2003.

Dickinson, H. T. *Britain and the American Revolution.* London: Longman, 1998.

Dull, J. R. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America: 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Namier, Sir Lewis. *England in the Age of the American Revolution.* London: Macmillian, 1963.

Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c.1500–c.1800.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.

Palmer, R. R. *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Scott, H. M. *British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Tuchman, Barbara W. *The First Salute.* New York: Knopf, 1988.

*John A. Taylor*

**EXPANSION** In a little over two hundred years, a few tiny, beleaguered English settlements evolved into a mighty nation that would soon extend its

**Towering Rock Formations.** In August 1805 the Lewis and Clark expedition stopped near these rock formations along Tower Creek in Idaho. © DAVID MUENCH/CORBIS.

boundaries across the entire North American continent. Although "expansion" accurately describes the geographical transformation that would continue throughout the nineteenth century, the term connotes passivity and inexorability. The growth was so rapid, deliberate, energetic, and violent that it could just as well be described as an "explosion" that overwhelmed those colonists' five rivals—the French, Spanish, Dutch, British, and Native Americans.

The English colonists had several competitive advantages over their opponents, the most important of which was their rapidly expanding population. The Spanish lusted after silver and gold, which they failed to use as the foundation of a system of public credit and private power. Generous agricultural subsidies failed to attract many Spanish colonists because there was a shortage of labor in Spain. Although the French engaged in some farming, they primarily sought such natural resources as beaver

skins in North America and sugar in the West Indies. For instance, French leaders thought they had acted wisely when they did not pursue England's tentative queries about trading all of Canada for the sugar island Guadeloupe after the French and Indian War ended in 1763. This diplomatic blunder reminds historians how fortune (as well as particular decisions by particular leaders) plays a major role in history. If France had controlled Canada at the time of the American Revolution, the Revolutionaries might have won more easily and then successfully conquered Canada.

The Dutch simply did not have a large enough population at home to compete against the swarms of English who rushed over to the New World in four discrete waves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The English colonists quickly turned to agriculture and trade (even as some continued to look for gold), activities that transformed the landscape

**Expansion**

Number of persons
per square mile

- 45 or more
- 18–45
- 0–18
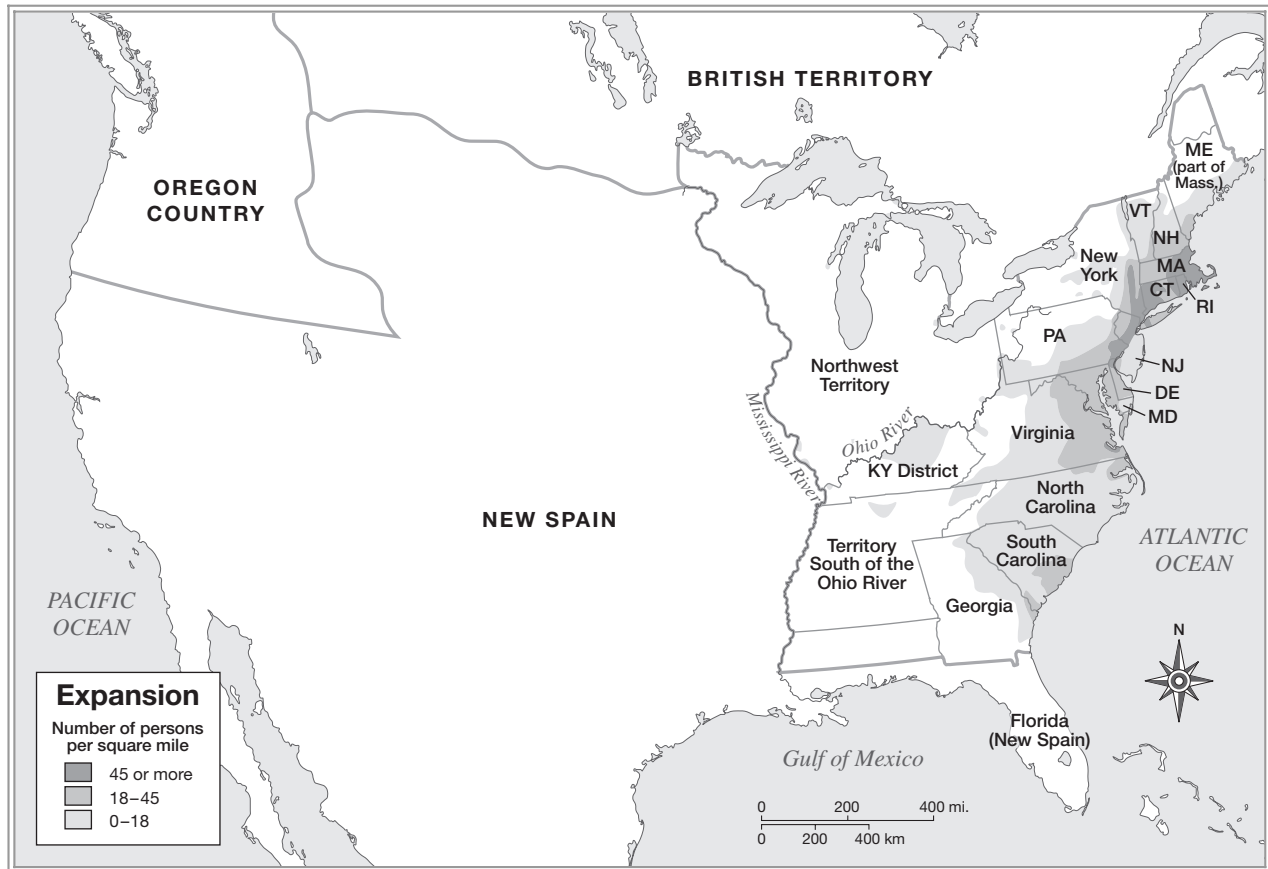
and provided sustenance for a populace that grew from about one million settlers in 1740 to four million in1790. They imported the dynamic, flexible common law system of rural capitalism: a free market in land, labor, and goods. Lightly taxed and well fed, the colonists were soon much taller than their European counterparts. Fully aware of their growing power and needs, the colonists chafed at the constraints the British put upon them after the French and Indian War: although the British had given them rights and access to all lands east of the Mississippi, they banned any further migration. Caught between these four competing European empires, the Native American tribes had neither the technology nor the cultural traditions to overcome numerous plagues, internal disputes, and the vast number of determined colonists.

### THE IDEOLOGY OF COLONIZATION

From the beginning, the English colonists had continental aspirations, for which they had several ideological justifications beyond immediate self-interest and providing for one's family. Virginia governor Alexander Spotswood's expedition in 1716 to the

Blue Ridge Mountains was self-consciously nationalistic; he foresaw "a new English nation" sweeping across the frontier. Both Europeans and Americans preferred to wrap up their imperial ambitions in legal rhetoric. The king of England granted his colonists royal charters extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a grant covering not only Native Americans but also the French. The king authorized these grants on the legal theory that the English had "discovered" these lands even though Native Americans already lived there. Like his European rivals, the king based this circular, self-serving argument on the theory that non-Christian leaders had no capacity to establish their own title and that the Europeans were the first Christians to discover and thus legitimately own the lands.

When Chief Justice John Marshall faced the question of title in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, he did not rely on euphemisms or noble principles. He invoked the doctrine of "conquest," bluntly stating that the Native Americans had lost a "contest for empire" because of their inferior military capacities. Sovereignty is a phenomenon described by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes: "In the exercise of sover-

eign right, the sovereign is the sole arbiter of his own justice. The penalty of wrong is war and subjugation." The philosopher John Locke provided a jurisprudential justification for English title: the Native Americans had no natural law property rights to the land because they had not cultivated the land (even though many tribes actually had extensive agriculture).

For most of the colonists, religious beliefs were not a pretext for a land grab. Many of the English left their native land to pursue their religious beliefs in the new country. The Puritans' desire to practice their religion (and suppress other religious views) enabled them to endure the harsh environment of New England. John Winthrop Jr.'s famous claim that the Puritans were establishing "a Citee on a Hill" combined religious and political aspirations. William Penn created Pennsylvania to protect the freedom of conscience. Many of the English sought to save the souls of the heathen natives, while others sought to eliminate them or at least move them out of the way. Thus, the early colonists believed in "Manifest Destiny" long before John O'Sullivan invented that phrase in 1845 to describe how Americans "overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." English racism also was a tool of empire. Unlike the French, who often went "native" in every sense of the word, the English remained more culturally and sexually isolated from their local rivals. They quickly embraced race slavery throughout the colonies, a system that achieved a high level of productivity at relatively little cost because the black slaves could not easily escape. The "rights of Englishmen" to representation, the common law, and the jury did not apply to anyone else.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR DOMINION: WARS, SKIRMISHES, AND REVOLUTION

All the contestants paid a high price in terms of lives lost during these protracted struggles for control of the continent, which did not cease until the end of the nineteenth century. The list of atrocities, ranging from the slaughter of entire villages to isolated murders, is agonizingly long. During King Philip's War in 1675, Wampanoag Indians killed more than six hundred whites. The colonists retaliated by killing over four thousand Wampanoags—40 percent of the tribe. A century later, John Floyd described to Thomas Jefferson the hard life on the Kentucky frontier:

> We are all obliged to live in forts in this country, and notwithstanding all the caution that we use, forty-seven of the inhabitants have been killed and taken by the savages, besides a number wounded,

since the first of January last. . . . Whole families are destroyed without regard to age or sex. Infants are torn from their mothers' arms, and their brains dashed out against trees.

Thus, for almost three hundred years, the colonists engaged in a "total war" that included civilians as well as combatants.

While the colonists continued their long war with the Native Americans, they faced a more dangerous threat from the French, who were wealthy, far better organized, and generally more effective in developing alliances with the Indians. The French sought to contain British expansion by building a ring of forts along the western frontier. When George Washington, a leading speculator in western lands, tried to negotiate with the French, they told him of "their absolute Design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G— they would do it." On his return trip in 1754, Washington helped trigger the French and Indian War by ambushing a French scouting party at Great Meadows (in what is now southwestern Pennsylvania).

England's eventual victory over France revealed that one of the perils of empire is ingratitude. The British had spent a great deal of money to defeat the French and maintained the Americans should help reduce the resulting national debt. The Americans, no longer threatened by the French and their Native American allies, saw no reason to pay any additional taxes without their own consent. After all, they had spilled their own blood to help Britain expand its empire. But the controversy extended beyond taxation without representation. In 1763 the British tried containment once again by proclaiming that colonists could not move into western lands already occupied by the Indian tribes, who now were also British subjects engaging in a lucrative fur trade, and by building forts to enforce the mandate. Even worse, in 1774, the Quebec Act extended Canadian jurisdiction to the Ohio River while also protecting loathed French Catholicism. In 1775 the Continental Congress responded to these constraints (as well as the escalation in the use of force by both sides) by invading Canada, knowing that such an act made reconciliation all but impossible. One year later, Thomas Jefferson turned those actions into the enduring words of the Declaration of Independence. The king's efforts to combat colonial expansion were listed among the Declaration's complaints justifying armed revolution: "[The king] has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, &

raising the conditions of new appropriations of land."

## THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM

Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson were geopoliticians of the first rank. In 1748 Franklin described Captain Christopher Middleton's arduous attempt to find the fabled North-West Passage to the South-Sea, a quest to facilitate the shipping of furs and other valuables to growing markets in Asia. Franklin would later fund another failed effort to find the nonexistent river route. As soon as Europeans began conquering the New World, they also started constructing a global market tying together Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Franklin understood sooner than most of his fellow colonists the need for coordination between the different colonies; his newspaper published the first political cartoon, a drawing of a snake cut into many pieces that were marked as various colonies, resting above the admonition "Join or Die." Less noticed is the snake's hissing recommendation to "Unite and Conquer." That snake would later consolidate, warning "Don't tread on me." Franklin envisioned dramatically increased colonial coordination when he drafted the Albany Plan of Union, which described itself as a "Plan of a proposed Union of the Several Colonies . . . For their Mutual Defence and Security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America." Even more important, Franklin developed the revolutionary premise that England's constitution must apply equally throughout the empire. Jefferson would transform this notion into an "Empire of Liberty" offering unlimited opportunities and equal rights to any white males who would venture into the wilderness. In 1801, soon after Gabriel's slave revolt reminded Southerners of their vulnerability, Jefferson described his hemispheric vision to James Monroe in terms intimating political, cultural, and even racial uniformity:

> However our present interests may restrain us within our own limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface.

Jefferson, the son of a surveyor, understood the necessity of exploration as precondition to establishing title and sovereignty. He organized the Lewis and Clark expedition to satisfy both his insatiable scientific curiosity and to begin the process of establishing sovereignty as far as the Pacific Ocean.

These examples of American leadership should not obscure the role that untold thousands of unknown, individual American settlers made throughout this era to change the face of the continent. Whatever the French, the British, the Native Americans, or American leaders said or did, the pioneers relentlessly risked their lives and fortunes to explore and develop new lands. Just before the Revolution, Lord Dunmore, governor of the Virginia colony, described this force to the Earl of Dartmouth, colonial minister and secretary of state for the colonies:

> The Americans acquire no attachment to Place: But wandering about seems engrafted in their Nature. . . . In this colony Proclamations have been issued from time to time that restrain them. But . . . they do not conceive that Government has any right to forbid their taking possession of that Vast tract of Country, either uninhabited, or which serves only as a Shelter for a few scattered Tribes of Indians. Nor can they easily be brought to entertain any belief of the permanent obligation of Treaties made with those People, whom they consider but little removed from brute Creation.

Embracing rather than fighting the inevitable, Dunmore issued a proclamation granting title to new settlers who moved beyond the Allegheny Mountains and provided surveyors to facilitate development.

Heavily influenced by the economist Thomas Malthus and the French physiocrats, Madison and Jefferson believed the United States' population surge was a short-term boon that would eventually undermine their ideal of agrarian republicanism. Explosive population growth would enable the Americans to spread the "empire of liberty" across the continent. As Madison argued in *The Federalist Number Ten*, this increase protected the Republic because a large republic is less prone to factionalization and tyranny than a small one. Thus the fortuitous Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon, which doubled the size of the new nation, not only augmented American power but also protected republicanism by providing an essential outlet for continued growth. Dissenting Federalists accurately observed that the purchase also provided new opportunities for the slave economy. The two Virginians understood that there was only a finite amount of arable land. Eventually, a surplus populace would move to the cities, which would turn that overflow into a dependent, corrupt faction, vulnerable to demagoguery. However, the steadily swelling populations of numerous urban centers indicated that many Americans did not perceive their cosmopolitanism to be incompatible with republicanism. In the meantime, Jefferson required that any growth be of the right kind of people. He refused to let the new citizens of Louisiana imme-

diately elect their own representatives because they were not of Anglo-American stock, preferring to wait until enough Anglo-Americans moved into the new territories before permitting elections. Jefferson also believed (or more accurately, blindly and self-servingly hoped) that expansion would resolve the slavery issue. Somehow slavery would disappear or at least become diluted as it spread westward. He never explained how his admired yeoman farmers could easily coexist with the new plantations, which would increase the demand for slaves.

While Jefferson preferred to enlarge the country and take residual title from Native Americans through negotiations and purchases, Madison preferred conquest. Twice Americans invaded Florida, only to retreat for diplomatic reasons. American leaders started the War of 1812 with the hopes of conquering Canada. Like most American military operations during that war, the invasion failed miserably. But a diplomatic return to the status quo obscured profound victories for expansionists. Andrew Jackson had effectively crushed any residual Native American resistance east of the Mississippi before he defeated the British at the Battle of New Orleans. Madison partially rejected the traditional Republican Party antipathy to the powerful federal government that Alexander Hamilton had argued was necessary to support and protect this union; Madison supported a second national bank but vetoed a bill to build federal roads to link the newly settled lands with the Atlantic Coast.

Aided by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, President James Monroe paved the way for continued American expansion, both formal and informal. In 1819 the Monroe administration purchased Florida from Spain. In 1821 Russia attempted to forbid all foreign shipping as far south as Vancouver Island. Bluffing brilliantly, Adams convinced the British not to invade Alaska. When the British minister asked if the Americans were planning to invade Canada again, Adams replied, "Keep what is yours, but leave the rest of the continent to us." Relying on suggestions from the British, Adams next persuaded Monroe to declare in the Monroe Doctrine that no European nation could expand anywhere in either hemisphere, a dramatic step toward Jefferson's vision of hemispheric hegemony. Having secured the northern flank, Americans turned to the Southwest. Once again, individual settlers made foreign policy on the ground by moving in large numbers into Texas and pouring into the lands west of the Mississippi, thereby guaranteeing more conflicts with Native American tribes and the Spanish. The historian

Henry Adams best described the Americans' assessment of their next opponent:

> In the end, more than half the territory of the United States was the spoil of the Spanish empire, rarely acquired with perfect propriety. To sum the story up in a single word, Spain had immense influence over the United States; but is the influence of a whale over its captors, —the charm of a huge, helpless, and profitable victim.

But the coming victories carried with them another peril facing successful empires: virulent internal dissension.

### SLAVERY THREATENS THE CONSENSUS

Territorial expansion aggravated the sectional fault line of slavery, an issue swept off the table since the Constitutional Convention. When Southerners originally agreed to join the Union, they mistakenly thought their region would grow more quickly than the North. But thanks to immigration and the attractions of a free market culture, the North's population quickly outpaced the South's. The constitutional compromise giving Southerners three-fifths of a vote for every slave enabled Virginians to be president for twenty-four years; but events quickly revealed that the South could not control the House of Representatives. Consequently, the South desperately defended equality in the Senate, demanding that half of any new states, with their invaluable two senatorial seats, be admitted as slave states. In 1820 Representative James Tallmadge Jr. of New York broke the taboo by proposing that Missouri be admitted into the Union only if it banned the importation of new slaves and emancipated all slaves born there at the age of twenty-five. Tallmadge explained that slavery's "baleful consequences would surely conquer the West." Tallmadge's victory in the House demonstrated the loss of southern influence. Senator Henry Clay averted immediate conflict by pushing through the Missouri Compromise, which admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state.

The historian Vernon Parrington offers one interpretation of the unstable situation of the United States. The nation was torn, he argues, between three rival forms of imperialism, each with its emerging utopian vision. The North was starting to create the world's second "industrial capital order." The South relied on cotton to create a "dream of expanding fields of white bolls and black slaves, reaching into Mexico and embracing the West Indies." The West preferred an individualistic society for whites only, seeking "county-seat towns where land holdings mounted in value with every new wave" (p. xiii) of immigrants. No longer seriously concerned about

external opposition, the growing country would turn on itself in a gruesome civil war to resolve this sectional competition.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Albany Plan of Union; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; British Empire and the Atlantic World; Concept of Empire; Constitutional Convention; Declaration of Independence; French; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Frontier; Frontiersmen; Geography; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Missouri Compromise; Monroe, James; Monroe Doctrine; Spanish Empire; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, Henry. *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson.* New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1986.

Adams, Henry. *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of James Madison.* New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1986.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Enlarged ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

Bradford, William. *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647.* Edited by Samuel Eliot Morrison. New York: Knopf, 2001.

Chernow, Ron. *Alexander Hamilton.* New York: Penguin, 2004.

DeVoto, Benjamin. *The Course of Empire.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Eckert, Allan W. *That Dark and Bloody River: Chronicles of the Ohio River Valley.* New York: Bantam, 1995.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Writings.* New York: Library of America, 1987.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Writings.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1982.

McDougall, Walter A. *Freedom Just around the Corner: A New American History 1585–1828.* New York: HarperCollins, 2004.

Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History.* Vol. 1: *Atlantic America, 1492–1800.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Parrington, Vernon Louis. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Dover, 1996.

Van Alstyne, Richard W. *The Rising American Empire.* New York: Norton, 1974.

Williams, William Appleman. *The Contours of American History.* New York: Norton, 1988.

Wilson, James Gordon. *The Imperial Republic: A Structural History of American Constitutionalism from the Colonial Era to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.* Aldershot, U.K., and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002.

*James G. Wilson*

**EXPLORATION AND EXPLORERS**  Following the first tentative probings of the continent from the early sixteenth through the middle of the eighteenth centuries, a second critical period of exploration in the United States began. Whereas the earliest phase of exploration was almost exclusively commercial in nature, this second phase, although maintaining a commercial thrust, was also related to imperial ambitions for territory and to the period of scientific awakening in Europe and North America that is known as the Enlightenment. During this exploratory phase, from 1754 to 1829, the grand game of imperialism, with explorers as the chief players, was completed over most of what is now the United States, leaving the bulk of that territory under firm American control. In addition, most regions of the present-day United States were brought to the light of Euro-American science, which began to understand the continent in ways very different from those of earlier periods. The first phase of exploration of what became the United States dealt with discovery or "finding"; the second phase involved the process of exploration or "understanding," as the traditions of Enlightenment science developed. By the end of the 1820s North America was no longer thought of as an Asian promontory; the Renaissance worldview had given way to an Enlightenment geographical conception based on detailed examination of both Atlantic and Pacific coastal regions and considerable penetrations of the continental interior.

Five groups of explorers were involved in scientific, geopolitical or imperial, and economic or commercial explorations in the United States. The Spanish operated primarily out of their settlements in northern Mexico and the Rio Grande valley. Russian explorers moved down the Pacific coast from their

**Eskimo Lodges on the Sea.** This engraving by George Francis Lyon appeared in *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage*, published in London in 1824. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

fur-trading establishments in the Aleutians. French scientific explorers investigated the coastal areas of the Pacific Northwest, and other French explorers continued, as members of British or American fur trade ventures, to push south out of the St. Lawrence valley and west out of Louisiana (the western portion of the Mississippi drainage basin) even after the cession of Lower Canada to Great Britain and Louisiana to Spain in 1763. British naval explorers explored the Pacific Northwest and the colonial British probed westward from the Atlantic seaboard and south and west from trading posts in the western Great Lakes and Hudson Bay drainage basins. Finally, Americans at the time of the French and Indian War (1756–1763) and after the War for Independence began major explorations into the territories west of the Appalachians and, by 1804, west of the Mississippi.

### SPANISH EXPLORATION, 1776–1821

The lands of northern New Spain, including the internal provinces of New Mexico and Texas, served as points of departure for two principal types of Spanish explorers: the pathfinders who marked trails and geographical features across regions previously unexplored; and the explorer-colonizers who conducted explorations as part of the process of establishing temporary or permanent settlements. Between the cession of Louisiana Territory to Spain at the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 and the achievement of Mexican independence in 1821 (and thus the end of Spanish exploration in what is now the United States), both pathfinders, such as Franciscan friars Dominguez and Escalante and trader Pedro Vial, and explorer-colonizers, such as Franciscan missionary explorer Fray Francisco Garcés and Spanish army captain Juan Batista de Anza, were active in the territories that now make up the American Southwest.

The Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776–1777 took the friars north from the Rio Grande valley of New Mexico in search of a rumored city of bearded Indians and a northern route to California. They crossed the southern Rockies into the Great Basin (the first Europeans into that area) and proba-

bly fell just short of reaching Great Salt Lake before returning to the Rio Grande settlements. Pedro Vial was a trader employed by the government of New Spain to locate trading routes between Santa Fe and San Antonio, St. Louis, and New Orleans. Vial's several crossings of the southern Great Plains in the 1780s and 1790s provided the basis for the eventual opening of the Santa Fe Trail between that New Mexican city and St. Louis in 1821.

During the final phase of Spanish exploration, explorer-colonizers established the Old Spanish Trail linking the Rio Grande valley settlements of Santa Fe and Albuquerque with the Arizona mission settlements and the new mission-presidios along the California coast from San Diego north to San Francisco. The most prominent of the clerical explorers was Fray Francisco Garcés, who explored the Gila and Colorado River valleys in the mid-1770s and also joined Captain Juan Batista de Anza on Anza's pioneering explorations of the route from the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers across the Mojave Desert and Cajon Pass to the San Gabriel Mission near today's Los Angeles, a route now crossed by major interstate highways and the Union Pacific railroad. Other colonizing explorations in the Upper or Alta California coastal area aimed to establish the mission-fort settlements designed to protect Spanish territory from the possible encroachment of Russian fur traders moving down the Pacific coast from the north. Sergeant Jose Francisco de Ortega discovered San Francisco Bay in 1769, and Alferéz (Sublieutenant) Gabriel Moraga explored the entire Great Valley of California between 1806 and 1819, revealing much about the Sierra Nevada, the interior river valleys, and mountain passes across both the Sierras and the coastal ranges. After 1821 and Mexican independence, Spanish explorers were no longer active in the American Southwest. But they had laid the foundation for later explorations by the Americans and eventual United States control over the Southwest.

### RUSSIAN EXPLORATION, 1770–1812

Russian explorations in the United States were entirely commercially driven by the Russian fur trade, first established in the Aleutians in the 1770s. The southward push of the merchant fur traders (*promyshlenniks*) along the coast of Alaska and, by 1812, to northern California was simply an extension of the rapid Russian advance eastward across Siberia in search of sable fur. By the time these fur traders had reached the Aleutians, the seal and sea-otter trade had begun to develop and the pelts of marine mammals supplanted sable as the primary goals of the fur

trade companies. Although their explorations of (mostly coastal) Alaska were significant, the Russian explorers were overextended, undersupplied, and undermanned by the time they had begun to penetrate as far south as Vancouver Island. And although Russian commercial explorers reached northern California and established Fort Ross in 1812, that venture was never economical. The Russians' chief contribution to North American exploration was in posing a potential imperial challenge that forced Spain to colonize California and Britain and France to pursue significant explorations of the Pacific Northwest in what is now the Washington and Oregon coastal region.

### FRENCH EXPLORATION, 1754–1829

Like the Russian explorers, French explorers in this period were motivated almost entirely by the fur-trade and related concerns, such as the discovery of a water route between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Even though official French exploration of the continental interior ceased with the French and Indian War, French coastal exploration in the Pacific Northwest, initially stimulated by the promise of riches in the sea-otter trade with China, was significant. But exploration along the Pacific Coast also was a part of the traditional French exploratory objective of linking the Atlantic and Pacific via a sea-level route: the illusory Northwest Passage. Finally, French exploration in the Pacific Northwest was important for the advancement of Enlightenment science. In 1785–1786 the navigator Jean François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, was commissioned to explore the Pacific Ocean and investigate whaling and fur prospects, search for a passage between Pacific and Atlantic, and establish French claims in the "northwestern parts" of North America. Accompanying La Pérouse were a number of civilian scientists, including a physicist and three naturalists. Although Captain James Cook's explorations in the Pacific Northwest a decade earlier were more important than those of La Pérouse, for scientific purposes his expedition's work provided the most solid investigations of the coastal regions of the Northwest before American explorers of the early nineteenth century.

### BRITISH AND ANGLO-AMERICAN EXPLORATION, 1754–1792

British exploration of what is now the United States during this era was, like that of official French exploration, largely maritime and commercial but with overtones of imperial ambitions to match those of the Russians, Spanish, and French. This was particularly true along the Pacific Coast, where Captains

James Cook in the 1770s and George Vancouver in the 1790s led some of the century's most important exploratory endeavors. They produced excellent maps of the coastal region of Washington and Oregon. Vancouver depicted the course of the Columbia River approximately 100 miles inland and provided representations of the great volcanic peaks of the Cascade Range. Cook demonstrated the limited likelihood of a sea-level strait connecting the Atlantic and Pacific, slowing down the British naval maritime search for the fabled Northwest Passage. Civilian scientists on both missions collected considerable amounts of scientific data, particularly ethnographic data and information on "natural history."

Other British exploration in the present-day United States was largely confined to the hunting expeditions of settlers into the woods and valleys to the west of their farmsteads and villages along the Atlantic seaboard. This "Anglo-American" exploration (to distinguish it from "American exploration" of the postrevolutionary era) was often only a brief prelude to settlement; explorers such as Dr. Thomas Walker and James Robertson in the 1750s, among the first to view the great interior river systems west of the Appalachians, were followed closely by settlers like Daniel Boone who opened up the Ohio-Tennessee-Cumberland region for American settlement. In many instances the lands between the Appalachians and the Mississippi were actually settled by frontier farmers before they were officially "explored"; one of the primary geographical tasks of the new American government was to sort out conflicting land claims over land that was already being farmed but had never been mapped by an explorer, official or otherwise. The objectives of Anglo-American exploration, like those of other exploratory groups, were to find marketable land for settlement, to collect animal skins and pelts, and to locate a passage to the Pacific and the wealth of the Orient. The first major American explorations after Independence had the same general goals.

### AMERICAN EXPLORATION, 1804–1829

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the goals, priorities, and results of exploration in what was becoming the continental United States underwent a dramatic shift. The imperial clash between the British, Spanish, and Americans for possession of North America was still very much a part of the business of exploration in 1800. But by 1807, continuing through 1829, commercial exploration—primarily by representatives of the fur trade in western North America—became the primary exploratory incen-

tive. What could be termed "imperial exploration" at this time was carried out under the auspices of the government of the early Republic. America's epic exploratory endeavor, the expedition of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, had multiple goals: commercial, geopolitical, and scientific.

The primary objective of Lewis and Clark—as stated by Thomas Jefferson, the sponsor of their expedition—was to locate a water route to the Pacific via the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. In doing so, Jefferson hoped they would also open the newly acquired territory of Louisiana to American merchants and farmers, thereby consolidating the American hold on the western interior and eventually wresting the Columbia basin and Pacific Northwest away from the British. It was, after all, an American sea captain, Robert Gray in the ship *Columbia* out of Boston, who had first discovered the Columbia River in 1792, giving the young Republic at least some claim over the lands it drained. Although Lewis and Clark succeeded in negotiating the lengthy Missouri River to its source and thence down Pacific slope waters to the Columbia and the Pacific, they failed in their objective to locate a commercially feasible water route. But they did not fail in their goal of opening the trans-Mississippi region for American commerce. Within a year of their return to St. Louis, American fur trading posts were located in the remote western interior, as far as the junction of the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers in south-central Montana.

U.S. Army explorers, such as Zebulon Pike (in 1807–1808) and Stephen Long (in 1820), explored the central and southern Great Plains westward to the Colorado Rockies with the intent of defining the southern limits of the Louisiana Territory and the boundary between the United States and the interior provinces of New Spain. Civilian explorers Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis were commissioned by the government to ascend the Red River with much the same objective. All these explorers had some measure of success in collecting new geographical information on the southern portions of the Louisiana Territory (paralleling the contributions of Lewis and Clark in the territory's northern and western reaches). But it was the fur trade explorers between 1807 and 1829 who truly opened up the West for American exploitation.

If Lewis and Clark, Pike, and other government explorers were "diplomats in buckskin," then the members of the Rocky Mountain fur trade were "expectant capitalists." Profit-seeking rather than securing political claims to territory remained the chief goal of the fur-trade explorers. Fur-trade exploration

began with John Colter, George Drouillard, and Andrew Henry, employees of Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company. From 1807 to 1810 they began to clarify the relationships between the source regions of the Missouri, Snake, and Colorado Rivers as the result of their search to establish trade relationships with tribes of the northern Plains and Rockies. Lisa's men were followed by John Jacob Astor's grand scheme to establish Astoria, an American fur–trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. A westbound party of Astor's men, led by Wilson Price Hunt in 1810, and an eastbound party led by Robert Stuart in 1812, laid down almost the entire route that would, a few decades later, become the Oregon Trail.

After these promising beginnings came a ten-year hiatus resulting from the War of 1812 and Indian resistance to American traders on the upper Missouri. Then the Rocky Mountain fur trade emerged again, this time under the auspices of William Henry Ashley and his Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Although the members of the fur trade were active in western exploration until the conclusion of the fur-trade era in the early 1840s, it was the decade of the 1820s that represented the high–water mark of fur-trade exploration. Chief among the fur trade explorers was Jedediah Strong Smith, who, in less than a decade in the West, saw more territory than any explorer before or after him. Smith's journeys took him from the Missouri and Platte to the Snake and Columbia, south to Great Salt Lake, across the Great Basin to California, throughout California and north into Oregon and Washington, and into the lower Colorado River country and across the Great Basin back to Great Salt Lake. Smith's manuscript map was lost, but the geographical knowledge it contained was not. American maps in the 1830s clearly demonstrated the significance of the fur trade in contributing to American knowledge of the western interior. With that knowledge came political control, and with the Louisiana Territory firmly in American hands, the country was poised for the military expansion that followed.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Cartography; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Expansion; French; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Frontier; Fur and Pelt Trade; Geography; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Louisiana Purchase; Mississippi River; Natural History; Northwest; Spain; Trails to the West.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Allen, John Logan. *Passage through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. Reprinted as *Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest.* New York: Dover, 1991.

———. *Jedediah Smith and the Mountain Men of the American West.* New York: Chelsea House, 1991.

Allen, John Logan, ed. *North American Exploration.* 3 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Cook, Warren. *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

DeVoto, Bernard. *The Course of Empire.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1952; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the American West.* New York: Knopf, 1966; New York: Norton, 1978.

———. *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery.* New York: Penguin, 1987.

Lavender, David. *Land of Giants: The Drive to the Pacific Northwest, 1750–1950.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

Weber, David. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

*John Logan Allen*

ENCYCLOPEDIA

OF THE

*New American Nation*

# Editorial Board

ENCYCLOPEDIA

OF THE

*New American Nation*

*The Emergence of the United States,*
*1754-1829*

2

FAIRS *to*
POVERTY

PAUL FINKELMAN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

**CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS**
*An imprint of Thomson Gale, a part of The Thomson Corporation*

THOMSON

GALE

**THOMSON**

✦ ™

**GALE**

**Encyclopedia of the New American Nation**
**The Emergence of the United States, 1754–1829**

Paul Finkelman

*F*

**FAIRS**   Agricultural fairs were a minor part of agriculture and rural life in the early Republic. But their rise and fall from 1811 to 1830 marked the beginning of farmers' commitment to improve agriculture through such techniques as selective livestock breeding, crop selection, fertilization, and crop rotation.

The first agricultural societies and fairs appealed to elites. In 1785 educated gentleman farmers and planters organized societies in Philadelphia and Charleston, South Carolina, to discuss the application of science to agriculture. Members included merchants and professionals as well as such prominent citizens as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. These societies offered premiums for the best essays on fattening cattle and the best experiments in wheat growing and pumping water. The city of Washington established a series of market fairs in 1804 and 1805. Organizers awarded premiums to the best examples of each type of livestock sold. In 1809 Washington-area residents organized the Columbian Agricultural Society, which held regular fairs and awarded prizes for the best livestock exhibited rather than sold. The agricultural societies and fairs of the early 1800s, however, were not popular with the majority of people who actually raised most of America's crops and livestock.

In September 1811 Elkanah Watson organized and established the first true farmers' fair at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Watson was a promoter and entrepreneur who had begun to raise merino sheep, an imported breed noted for fine wool. He understood that the existing organizations dedicated to improving agriculture appealed only to urban elites, gentlemen farmers, and amateur scientists. Watson believed that the message of improvement would be more palatable to working farmers if accompanied by entertainment and camaraderie. Fairs needed to feature enough pageantry to "seize upon the farmer's heart" as well as his mind. The 1811 event began with a parade of members of the society adorned with wheat cockades in their hats, livestock, and a band. Exhibits consisted of livestock along with field and orchard crops, and the Berkshire Agricultural Society presented certificates, ribbons, and engraved silver pieces as awards. Over the next few years, Watson broadened the appeal of the fair by adding competitions for domestic manufacturers, a church service, and an Agricultural Ball.

The blend of education and entertainment accounted for the popularity of agricultural fairs into the 1820s. Watson even wrote a book to promote his vision, *History of Agricultural Societies on the Modern Berkshire System* (1820). Visitors observed the difference between common livestock and improved

breeds. Exhibitors displayed sheep with heavier and finer fleeces, stronger oxen, more prodigious hogs, cows noted for producing rich milk in large quantity, and prolific bulls. They wanted to attract those who wished to purchase breeding stock. Exhibits of domestic manufactures were common by the mid-1810s, reflecting the importance of homemade textiles in the years before factory cloth dominated. This new style of fair, dedicated to experiencing improvement rather than merely discussing it, appealed to farm families, especially those with access to New York City and urban markets in New England. Organizers in Fredericksburg, Virginia, conducted that state's first fair in 1823.

The message of improvement was powerful enough to convince some state legislatures to appropriate funds to support county agricultural societies and their fairs. In 1819 the New York legislature authorized payments to Allegany and Genesee Counties to support agricultural societies. Two years later the legislature appropriated money for Livingston and Monroe Counties. Each county was responsible for providing matching funds to be used for fair premiums. In 1819 the Massachusetts assembly provided an annual payment of two hundred dollars to be used for premiums to every incorporated society in the state with capital stock of one thousand dollars that served a county of twenty-five thousand people.

In the late 1820s the popularity of agricultural societies and fairs waned. Increasing production through improved livestock breeding, crop selection, and cultivation practices was difficult for farmers to accept during a period of low commodity prices. Most agricultural societies in Pennsylvania and Connecticut disbanded after 1825 and only one society remained by 1830 in New York, the home of the most societies and fairs. State legislatures also withdrew financial support. While a few agricultural societies sponsored fairs in the 1830s, only the return of agricultural prosperity in the 1840s contributed to a new interest in forming agricultural societies and conducting fairs following Watson's Berkshire plan.

*See also* **Agriculture; Livestock Production.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Kelly, Catherine E. "'The Consummation of Rural Prosperity and Happiness': New England Agricultural Fairs and the Construction of Class and Gender, 1810–1860." *American Quarterly* 49 (1997): 574–602.

Kniffen, Fred. "The American Agricultural Fair: The Pattern." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 39 (1949): 264–282.

———. "The American Agricultural Fair: Time and Place." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 41 (1951): 42–57.

Mastromarino, Mark A. "Cattle Aplenty and Other Things in Proportion: The Agricultural Society and Fair of Franklin County, Massachusetts." *UCLA Historical Journal* 5 (1984): 50–75.

———. "Elkanah Watson and Early Agricultural Fairs, 1790–1860." *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 17 (1989): 104–118.

McNall, Neil Adams. *An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley, 1790–1860.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952.

Neely, Wayne Caldwell. *The Agricultural Fair.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

Turner, Charles W. "Virginia State Agricultural Societies, 1811–1860." *Agricultural History* 38 (1964): 167–177.

*J. L. Anderson*

**FALLEN TIMBERS, BATTLE OF** By 1794, the northwestern Indian policy of the Washington administration was in crisis. Insisting upon the Ohio River as the southern boundary of their territory, Indians under the Miami chieftain Little Turtle routed expeditions led by Generals Josiah Harmar and Arthur St. Clair in 1790 and 1791, respectively. With the credibility of his administration at stake, Washington selected Anthony Wayne to command a third and final strike against the Indians.

Having spent the better part of two years raising and training his Legion of the United States, Wayne faced a delicate situation as he began his advance in July 1794. Not only were the Indians determined to resist, but they were armed and encouraged by British officials who operated out of Detroit and other posts that were supposed to have been abandoned to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1783). Now, Wayne discovered that the British had recently rebuilt and garrisoned Fort Miami at the Maumee rapids, near present-day Toledo, a site that Wayne had targeted for his attack upon the Indians. To further complicate matters, John Jay was in London attempting to reach an agreement to avert the apparently inevitable war, resulting in Secretary of War Henry Knox's instructions to Wayne to avoid conflict with the British if at all possible.

On 20 August, Wayne's legion was attacked by the Miami Indians at a clearing called Fallen Timbers (because a tornado had uprooted many trees, leaving the wreckage scattered over the area), near Fort Miami. In a battle of only forty minutes, the legion

launched a bayonet charge that dispersed the Indians in disorder. Though both sides suffered about 150 casualties, the confidence of the Indians was broken. Even more dispiriting was the refusal of the British to allow refuge to the fleeing Indians inside Fort Miami or to offer any resistance at all as Wayne destroyed the Indian fields surrounding the fort.

The British had built Fort Miami at the Maumee rapids, a strategically important site. Fearing the imminence of war with the United States, the British had used the fort as a base from which to arm the Indians and encourage attacks upon the frontier. They gave every indication that they would fulfill their promises to support the Indians against attack by United States forces. Circumstances changed this situation, however, just at the time of Wayne's advance. With John Jay in London and the prospects strong for a peaceful resolution to the diplomatic crisis, British officials ordered the detachment at Fort Miami to avoid military conflict unless directly attacked (similar orders had been given to Wayne by Secretary of War Henry Knox). Thus, despite their promises to the Indians and provocative actions on Wayne's part, the British refused any assistance to the defeated Indians.

With British credibility shaken, the Indians had little choice but to come to terms with Wayne. In the Treaty of Greenville of 3 August 1795, the Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami tribes ceded three-fourths of modern Ohio and northeastern Indiana to the United States. This treaty, along with the final evacuation of British posts in the Northwest, as mandated by Jay's Treaty (1794), opened that region, particularly Ohio, to a flood of American settlement.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians: Old Northwest; Northwest; Ohio; Treaty of Paris.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gaff, Alan D. *Bayonets in the Wilderness: Anthony Wayne's Legion in the Old Northwest.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Nelson, Paul David. *Anthony Wayne: Soldier of the Early Republic.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

*Daniel McDonough*

**FAME AND REPUTATION**   Early national concepts of fame and reputation differ greatly from their late-twentieth and early-twenty-first-century equivalents. While today fame connotes little more than notoriety, in the early national period it encompassed an entire ethic. Similarly, reputation meant more than one's public image; an almost tangible possession, it encompassed a person's entire identity and sense of self.

The concept of fame had particular power among the early national political elite, though its roots reached back to the beginnings of western civilization; *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, by Plutarch (c. 46–after 119 A.D.) was a literal guide to gathering fame, describing and ranking a spectrum of heroes who had achieved immortal fame—the highest of goals. In the early American Republic, young gentlemen schooled to find models of personal behavior in Plutarch and other classical texts imbibed this idea from a young age. As Alexander Hamilton put it in *The Federalist* No. 72 (1788), "the love of fame" was the "ruling passion of the noblest minds."

As suggested by Plutarch's panoply of great men, a man earned fame by doing great deeds for the state—an assumption that evokes fame's aristocratic cast. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) mapped out a hierarchy of such acts in his widely read *Essayes* (1625), assigning fame to "fathers of their country" who reigned justly; "champions of the empire" who defended or expanded territories; "saviors of empire" who surmounted national crises; lawgivers who governed posterity through their laws; and—highest of all—"founders of states and commonwealths." For early national leaders engaged in the creation of a new nation, this sensibility infused their political efforts with a sense of lofty purpose as well as deep personal meaning. Seekers of fame wanted to make history and leave their mark on the world. America's founding generation assumed that they were doing just that. "We live in an important era and in a *new*-country," Benjamin Rush observed in 1788. "Much good may be done by individuals and that too in a *short* time."

Fame was considered a noble passion because it transformed ambition and self-interest into a desire to achieve great goals that served the public good. Even as fame fueled and inspired a man's ambitions, it reined them in; one could only achieve everlasting fame through public service. In essence, fame was a selfish virtue, enabling leaders to be simultaneously self-serving and public-minded; in a sense, it humanized the seemingly lofty and unreachable ideal of community-minded republican virtue.

Reputation was equally important, but to a broader range of people. Men and women of all ranks had a reputation, though its precise meaning differed

from group to group. For artisans, farmers, or merchants—people of business or productivity—it connoted reliability and honesty. For women, it was tied to concepts of personal virtue. For political leaders, it represented their political currency, gaining them office and influence; particularly before political parties were acceptable, it was reputation that won a man power and office.

There were many dimensions to the concept of reputation. Fame, rank, credit, character, name, and honor all played a role. Rank was a somewhat impersonal way of referring to a person's place within the social order. Credit was more personalized, encompassing a person's social and financial worth; people with good credit were trustworthy enough to merit financial risks. Character was personality with a moral dimension, referring to the mixture of traits, vices, and virtues that determined a person's social worth. Taken together, these qualities formed a name or reputation—an identity as determined by others. Reputation was not unlike honor, and indeed, early Americans often used those words interchangeably. Honor was reputation with a moral dimension. A person of good reputation was respected and esteemed; an honorable person was notably virtuous.

Although concepts of fame and reputation had a long-standing historical past, different cultures shaded and altered their meanings. In early national America, the gradual democratization of politics subtly altered their significance. Traditionally, European leaders worried about their honor and reputation among their peers. Increasingly concerned with gaining popular political approval, American leaders looked to a broader audience. A prime example of this was the American practice of advertising political duels in newspapers. By publishing detailed accounts of their encounters—signed by name, despite dueling's illegality—leaders attempted to prove their qualities of leadership to the public and gain political support. "Europeans must read such publications with astonishment," gasped a writer in an 1803 issue of *The Balance* (Hudson, N.Y.).

Eventually, the increasingly shifting and changeable nature of American society had its impact. Urbanization and the rise of manufacturing made cities and towns ever larger, more complex, and anonymous. It is no accident that the early nineteenth century marks the rise of the "confidence man" or "con man," a person who relied on his very *lack* of reputation for personal gain. Winning confidence through his genteel appearance and manners, he could cheat people in one town or city, then re-

make himself in another. In such a constantly changing world, even simple notoriety was a noteworthy accomplishment. Over time, this more democratic notion of fame grew to replace its more aristocratic forebear.

*See also* **Classical Heritage and American Politics.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, Douglass. "Fame and the Founding Fathers." In *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays.* Edited by Trevor Colbourn. New York: Norton, 1974. Reprint, Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1998.

Braudy, Leo. *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History.* New York: Vintage Books, 1997.

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

McNamara, Peter, ed. *The Noblest Minds: Fame, Honor, and the American Founding.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

*Joanne Freeman*

**FAMILY LIFE**   *See* **Domestic Life.**

**FARM MAKING**   In all regions, despite their differences, most colonists established farms from the beginning of settlement. Colonial settlers faced several obstacles as they acquired land for farms. Once land was obtained, either through a fee simple or quitrent process, farmers cleared it and determined how much would be in crops. Many farmers found the Indian method of slash-and-burn to be the easiest method to clear the land. Land was cleared of plants and small foliage and the undergrowth was then burned. This method made the land available for planting corn and other non-row crops in the Native American style. Farmers also removed trees by girdling their trunks. Using this method meant it took time for a tree to die, but over time, settlers would be able to clear their land for crops.

In the Northeast, colonists encountered rocky, acidic, clay soil that proved difficult to clear easily. Farmers spent years removing glacier rocks and other debris from the ground. These farmers established small-scale, general farms in which they raised a variety of crops and livestock. Wheat, rye, barley, corn, and other crops along with cattle, hogs, chick-

**Sheep Shearing.** This woodcut of a farm family shearing sheep illustrated the chapter covering the month of May in an American almanac published around 1810. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ens, and sheep were common across the region. By the end of the colonial period, however, farming had begun to decline in the upper Northeast. Lumber and naval stores as well as financial and manufacturing operations continued to be important in the nineteenth century. Farm size varied from state to state, but most farmers had fewer than two hundred acres. By the nineteenth century, agriculture in the Northeast had ceased to be the only occupation as farm families fell to roughly two-thirds of the population. In the nineteenth century, New England became a center for sheep production. At the same time that the South started to emerge as a center for cotton production, the New England states began exporting large quantities of wool each year to Britain and other manufacturing hubs.

In the mid-Atlantic states, agriculture developed around livestock raising and dairy and grain production. In the colonial period, Chesapeake Bay farmers raised tobacco for the British market, with production concentrated in Virginia rather than Maryland. Quickly dubbed the breadbasket of the colonies, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and later Maryland produced wheat and raised livestock. During this time, farmers began to move from the dual purpose cow and started distinguishing between those that produced large quantities of milk and those that were best for providing beef. The production of butter and cheese allowed farm women to sell their surplus in the Philadelphia and international markets. In proprietary colonies, farmers acquired land subject to quitrents, with an average-size farm at 135 acres. In the nineteenth century, mid-Atlantic farmers continued to improve and clear their lands. Wheat re-

mained an important commercial commodity, although most farmers raised corn for family and local consumption. The raising of livestock in Maryland and other locales became an important industry in places where tobacco was no longer planted.

In the southern states, commercial agriculture drove the economy and society from the start. Colonial settlers planted tobacco, hemp, rice, indigo, and other crops for export. Tobacco farming expanded quickly across Virginia during the colonial period. The development of the Carolinas and Georgia saw the emergence of rice, sugar, hemp, and indigo production. Southern crops, however, depleted the soil, and planters and farmers found it necessary to use field rotation practices. Planters ran large operations, while family farms remained small, with farmers placing only a portion of their land into staple production while the remainder was used to sustain self-sufficiency. Planters gained large land grants from headrights and generous grants from colonial governments. Initially, labor was performed by indentured servants, but by the 1680s slavery had spread across the South. Originally used to farm tobacco, rice, hemp, and indigo and to raise livestock, slaves in the nineteenth century were concentrated on cotton plantations. The development of the cotton gin changed the structure of farms across the South.

When farmers migrated to the new western states, they found a different climate, topography, and soil. As New England and mid-Atlantic farmers moved to the Old Northwest, the land flattened out and the soil became more productive. Crops that could no longer be grown in the East, such as wheat, flourished in what would later be called the Middle

West. Settlers found that clearing land required breaking the prairie. While this was time-consuming and costly, once it was broken, farmers did not spend years clearing and rebreaking the soil. In the nineteenth century, the Middle West became a region not just for wheat and other crops, but also for livestock raising and feedlots. European immigrants from northern and central Europe joined settlers from New England, the mid–Atlantic, and the Upper South in the Midwest after 1820.

*See also* **Agriculture; Cotton; Livestock Production.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Drache, Hiram M. *History of U.S. Agriculture and Its Relevance to Today.* Danville, Ill.: Interstate Publishers, 1996.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *American Agriculture: A Brief History.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994.

*Stephanie A. Carpenter*

**FASHION**    Both as a concept and a changing array of consumer goods and cultural practices, fashion served as an important means of social communication in eighteenth–century British America. Composed not only of objects and styles, but also of behaviors and the arenas in which such items and actions were displayed, fashion provided for connection as well as personal distinction. It possessed intensely local significance as a tool for distinguishing among and within social groups, yet also expressed participation in a cosmopolitan Atlantic world. While most inhabitants of the colonies recognized the symbols of power that fashion conveyed, they did not necessarily regard or respond to those markers in the same ways. Thus, fashion was a primary register of cultural and political contest.

For Anglo colonists, England was the locus and source of all things fashionable, although many modes actually originated in France. A burgeoning Atlantic trade made the adoption of European fashions, from fabrics and fans to teapots, possible, while waves of immigrants, many trained in the fashion trades, also spurred the transmission of modes. Newspaper advertisements for imports regularly deployed the adjective "fashionable" as a powerful selling point for the rising volume and selection of items that suffused even middling colonial households by the middle of the eighteenth century. Indeed, the British Empire's smooth operation depended on consumption of fashionable goods in colonial outposts



***Alice Lawrason Riggs.*** Cephas Thompson painted this portrait of a fashionable American woman around 1815. The sitter, the wife of a prominent Baltimore merchant, wears a high-waisted Empire-style gown. THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

and the consumer appetites for novelty that changing fashions fed. As social critic Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733) observed, fashion was a "strange, ridic'lous vice" that nonetheless "turned the trade." This trade reached across the Atlantic and into the heart of North America, as diplomatic and social relations on the frontier created amalgams of Indian, Anglo, and French fashions.

In contrast to more recent cycles, fashions in dress changed slowly during the eighteenth century, indicated by seasonal variety in fabrics and more glacial shifts in the widths of hoop-supported skirts or the cuts of sleeves—changes subtle enough to be acknowledged and adopted by the people "of fashion." Likewise, the display of fashionable practices, from dancing the minuet to drinking tea, the imperial good par excellence, and the social spaces in which those occurred (and in which fashionable dress could be displayed to great advantage) signified high status and participation in the empire. While fashion's appropriation and refashioning by slaves, servants, and other "lower sorts" due to theft and an underground trade in stolen and secondhand goods made it an un-

and furnishings grew more restrained. By 1764, when Britain's Parliament moved to diminish its war debt by collecting taxes on items such as sugar and French fabrics, the climate was ripe for calls to reject imports and the fashions they expressed. In response to the following year's Stamp Act, which levied a one-pence duty on all paper and paper transactions, merchants in the northern port cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia pledged not to import goods until the bill was repealed, and outraged colonists swore not to consume such articles. Supporters used the public prints to enforce the boycotts, promoting the virtuous behaviors of genteel "people of fashion" while attempting to create new "American" fashions, namely homespun cloth, domestic tea, and minimalist mourning garb. Yet after the Stamp Act's much-celebrated repeal, colonists jettisoned the new modes, never widely adopted but symbolically important nonetheless.

With Parliament's passage of the Townshend Act of 1767, designed to raise revenue through the assiduous collection of duties on certain items, including beloved tea, some colonists revisited boycotts. Resistance leaders called upon Anglo women in particular to discipline their appetites and thus prove themselves good female patriots, foregoing fashion's cultural power while gaining a new kind of visibility, yet also scrutiny. Extravagant display, from the form-fitting macaroni mode for men to high, ornamented hairstyles for women, characterized the period between the repeal of all Townshend duties except the tea tax in 1770 and 1773, demonstrating that many colonists had little use for asceticism and understatement. The Tea Act of 1773, which gave Britain's East India Company a monopoly on the sale of tea to the colonies, defined tea, once the hallmark of female-orchestrated gentility and participation in the empire, as a symbol of subjugation, and the colonists who consumed it complicit in a despotic, tyrannical regime. In 1774 the First Continental Congress's Association enacted colonywide nonimportation and nonconsumption resolutions, clamping down on appetites for all things fashionable in language that decried forms of "extravagance and dissipation," which undermined professed American values of virtue, simplicity, and sacrifice. Such regulation persisted through the onset of hostilities between Britain and the colonies in 1775, as hunting shirts and leather breeches joined traditional military uniforms. Benjamin Franklin himself donned the persona of rustic American, along with the beaver hat and homespun suit that conveyed it, when appearing before the French court at Versailles to plead for French assistance. Yet the American Revolution resolved little in

**Benjamin Franklin (1794).** Franklin donned the persona of a rustic American, along with the beaver hat and homespun suit that conveyed it, when appearing before the French court at Versailles to plead for French assistance. GETTY IMAGES.

stable marker of rank, other forms of social distinction, such as speech and carriage, countered fashion's democratizing potential. Thus was the very idea of fashion rife with contradiction: desirable as an expression of high rank, yet disdained as the province of mere pretenders to status; displaced onto consuming women, but avidly pursued by both sexes; connected to other celebrated concepts such as gentility, taste, and refinement, yet also suggesting luxury, appetite, and effeminacy; and fueling commerce through consumption, but creating a potentially uneasy dependence on markets.

**FASHIONING A REVOLUTION**

Due to its considerable influence, fashion served as a flashpoint for cultural and political contests during the revolutionary era. By the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, some Anglo colonists and Indians alike, facing ailing postwar economies after more than a decade of increasing consumption, called for retrenchment and a lessening of dependence on foreign "luxuries," even as English bourgeois styles in dress

the battle over fashion, which shaped the contest not only between England and the newly created United States of America, but between Whigs (Patriots) and Tories (Loyalists), merchants and artisans, slaves and masters, men and women—all competing to see who would define fashion for the new nation.

### THE NEW NATION

Revolutionary leaders had cast fashion as a threat to the Republic while promoting an American antifashion stance that was itself a fashion, one that they often failed to adopt. The new nation and its leaders needed to appear legitimate in the eyes of the world, and European modes retained their ability to communicate power and status, locally and internationally. Many Anglo Americans continued to regard Europe as the seat of the *mode* (the fashionable) as goods flooded an American confederation of states powerless to enact national commercial policy in the mid-1780s. Social critics pinned the Republic's potential demise on appetites for fashionable "gewgaws."

Fortunately for Americans faced with the dilemma of signifying both prestige and virtue, European fashions themselves grew more understated in the final decades of the eighteenth century, the so-called age of democratic revolutions. The Empire-style gown that became popular in the 1790s served the image of American, republican simplicity well, projecting it onto white women clad in simple white gowns, standard-bearers of virtue, if not rights. Meanwhile, the displacement of Indians beyond the literal and figurative borders of the nation made the interpretation of Indian-influenced frontier dress as an American folk form possible, and unthreatening.

With the emergence of partisan politics in the 1790s, Democratic Republicans used fashion to attack ostensibly foppish, elitist Federalists. Whereas George Washington had donned a suit of homespun for his 1789 inauguration, in 1793 he appeared in velvet. The cut and cloth of a man's breeches, and the color of one's cockade—ribbons worn during the French Revolution—signified political allegiance, in fact, created it. The influx of refugees from the slave revolt in Saint Domingue to cities such as Charleston and Philadelphia helped create a distinct African American style that recalled the French Revolution's contagion of social upheaval. With Thomas Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800, the fashion of genteel understatement triumphed; Jefferson would famously greet guests donned in a banyan (a robelike garment), the height of genteel fashion for the learned, leisurely set. Into the nineteenth century, Anglo American men traded knee breeches and bro-

cade for long trousers and somber cloth, while the high-waisted, corset-free Empire dress for women persisted into the 1810s. Indeed, men's and women's "fashionable" garb steadily diverged throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, mirroring the rise of an ideology of separate "male" and "female" bourgeois spheres of influence as white men abandoned obvious ornamentation in favor of other representations of power available to them alone.

*See also* **Clothing; Consumerism and Consumption.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baumgarten, Linda. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*, *the Colonial Williamsburg Collection.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2002.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons*, *Houses*, *Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter Albert, eds. *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994.

Haulman, Catherine Anna. "The Empire's New Clothes: The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth Century British America." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2002.

Shannon, Timothy J. "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson and the Indian Fashion." *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 53 (1996): 13–42.

Shields, David S. *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Kate Haulman*

**FEDERALISM**   As a form of government, "federalism" describes a system of divided powers, each sovereign within its limited realm but concerned with different spheres—one general, the other local. The federal system created by the United States Constitution is the first specimen of this type, though many other states have subsequently adopted federal forms.

Over time, federalism has come to convey a variety of meanings, some of them contradictory. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the meaning of federalism—like its related terms, federative system, federal union, federal state—is difficult to disassociate from a strong central government within a

single nation-state. In its eighteenth-century significication, however, a federal relationship meant compact, alliance, or treaty among independent sovereignties seeking a cooperative relationship. The federative power, as the seventeenth-century philosopher John Locke defined it, concerned those powers of war and peace, of treaty and alliance that commonwealths had need of in their transactions with other states. The formal compacts among equal parties resulting from the exercise of this power—written constitutions, treaties, alliances—were things to which the adjective "federal" might apply. European publicists could speak of the "federal constitution" of Europe as actually existing, and meant by the term the web of treaties, laws, and restraints that was to govern the relations of civilized states.

### THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE

At the root of the federal principle was the idea of a covenant or *foedus* (its etymological root). This and "synonymous ideas of promise, commitment, undertaking, or obligating, vowing and plighting one's word," as S. Rufus Davis has suggested in *The Federal Principle* (1978), were joined together with two other things: "the idea of cooperation, reciprocity, mutuality," and "the need for some measure of predictability, expectation, constancy, and reliability in human relations" (p. 3). As important as each of these three concepts—commitment, reciprocity, predictability—is to human relations generally, when states and peoples had need of such values they made use of the term "federal."

European colonists perched on the eastern rim of North America were not in fact the first inhabitants of the continent to make use of ideas recognizably "federal." A recognition that strength lay in union and danger in discord; a pledge of perpetual peace within, and of concerted action toward enemies without; an understanding of how individuality might be preserved by common action; the vital significance attached to sworn oaths and plighted faith—all these hallmarks of the federal principle were reflected in the institutions and norms of various Indian confederacies, especially the great league of the Iroquois or Six Nations.

Such a constellation of ideas was also central to the Articles of Confederation formed among the American states in the aftermath of their 1776 Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. The experience of the Revolutionary War, however, showed how difficult it was for states to cooperate in an enterprise they all regarded as vital. When the framers of the Constitution met in Philadelphia in 1787 to ad-

dress the deficiencies of the Articles of Confederation, they had to find a solution that somehow avoided the extremes of "anarchy" and "consolidation"—what the Virginian James Madison termed "a perfect separation and a perfect incorporation, of the 13 States." Neither alternative found significant support within the convention. As James Wilson noted in his important explication of the new Constitution, "consolidation" would demand "a system of the most unqualified and unremitted despotism," whereas separation into "a number of separate states, continuous in situation, unconnected and disunited in government" would make the states "at one time, the prey of foreign force, foreign influence, and foreign intrigue; at another, the victims of mutual rage, rancor, and revenge."

### CONSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION

As an experiment in federal government, the U.S. Constitution was unique in creating a general government that could carry its laws into execution through a regular executive and judicial establishment, one that did not depend on requisitions or edicts to the states to do its legitimate business. Conscious that the states would have to give up some of their sovereignty, and conscious, too, of the impossibility of legislating for communities as opposed to individuals, the framers brought forth a new political edifice devoted to federal objects yet fashioned on the norms and institutions of constitutional government existing within the American states. Unlike the state governments, which generally claimed a plenary authority over the lives and liberties of their citizens, the federal government was one of enumerated and limited powers. The powers so granted, as James Madison emphasized during the ratification debates, were "few and defined" and would be exercised "principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce." Supremacy was accorded neither to the federal government nor the state governments but to the Constitution itself, though the more perfect union was justified by Federalists as being an indispensable means to the preservation of both states and nation.

What were the limits of the powers respectively given to the federal government and the states under the Constitution? And where was the authority lodged to decide this delicate question? Those questions arose immediately with the formation of the new government in 1789 and remained of key importance.

The controversy pit "nationalists" like Alexander Hamilton, the first secretary of the Treasury, against

"State rights" or "compact" theorists like Thomas Jefferson, a clash that achieved its first great expression in the contrary opinions of Hamilton and Jefferson over the constitutionality of a national bank in 1791. Hamilton took an expansive view of the implied powers vested in the national government by the Constitution, a view later unfolded eloquently and authoritatively in a Supreme Court opinion of 1819, *McCulloch v. Maryland.* Chief Justice John Marshall acknowledged that the powers of the national government were limited and enumerated but nevertheless found that Congress enjoyed "the right to legislate on that vast mass of incidental powers which must be involved in the constitution, if that instrument be not a splendid bauble." Marshall continued, "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional."

The contrary position of the "compact school," by contrast, held that the federal Constitution was a creature of the states, each of whom enjoyed the right to accede or not to the compact, and who, as the original parties, must ultimately retain the right to interpret the extent to which the compact was fulfilled. In cases not within the compact, wrote Thomas Jefferson in his draft of the Kentucky resolutions, the pretended legislation of Congress was "void, and of no force." Some, like John C. Calhoun, insisted that each state enjoyed a right to nullify a federal law within its jurisdiction that, in its judgment, was unconstitutional; others who subscribed to the compact theory, like John Randolph, were content with affirming a constitutional right of secession. According to this view, the national judiciary did not enjoy the ultimate authority to decide the line of partition created by the Constitution. That power instead lay with the original contracting parties, the people of the states.

In between these rival understandings of the Constitution lay a third view, one which was probably more expressive of the general consensus from 1789 to 1829 than either of the two extreme alternatives. The moderates saw a "partly national, and partly federal" system, though they were not always in agreement among themselves. Some carved out an ample dominion for federal power while also believing that it would be utterly contrary to the spirit of the constitution to preserve the Union by force, a position adopted by constitutional commentator William Rawle in 1825. Other moderates, by contrast, chastised secessionists for counseling action that was patently unconstitutional. But they also believed that the theory of implied powers was equally destructive of the constitutional order, a position taken by James Madison. Despite these differences, the moderates were united in the conviction that to push either national or state powers too far would destroy the constitutional order, which they saw as a vital barrier against powerful tendencies toward anarchy or despotism.

## PRINCIPLE AND POLITICS

It is customary to associate the clash between national sovereignty and the compact school with North and South, but in the period from 1789 to 1829 the picture is more complicated. After Jefferson became president in 1801, his administration accepted a more expansive conception of federal power. By the same token, many northern Federalists brought against his administration the same charge of unconstitutionality that Republicans had made against the Federalists in the 1790s. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, they argued, went far beyond the implied powers claimed by the administrations of George Washington and John Adams from 1789 to 1801. They also claimed unconstitutional usurpation against Jefferson's Embargo of 1807–1809 and later against "Mr. Madison's War" of 1812, when several New England states refused to heed the president's call to mobilize their militia for national service. From 1815 to 1830, similar flip-flops occurred over the issues of internal improvements, the national bank, and the protective tariff, with leading political figures sometimes reversing their previous judgments of what was constitutional. The most contentious issue, temporarily put to rest by the Missouri Compromise, concerned the extension of slavery.

The elapse of three decades from the establishment of the federal government did not bring a greater consensus on the fundamentals, but rather a drift toward constitutional doctrines mutually antagonistic and irreconcilable. This lack of consensus regarding the basics of American federalism—the sense, as the statesman Henry Clay put it, "that we are as much afloat at sea as the day when the Constitution went into operation"—was felt to be profoundly threatening to the sustenance of the constitutional order. Thirteen years after Marshall's confident opinion in *McCulloch* he wrote despairingly to a close friend that his hopes for the Union were nearly at an end. "The union has been prolonged thus far by miracles; I fear they cannot continue."

*See also* **Anti-Federalists; Articles of
    Confederation; Bank of the United States;
    Federalist Papers; Federalist Party;
    Federalists; Hamilton, Alexander;
    Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James;
    *McCulloch v. Maryland*; Missouri
    Compromise; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Beer, Samuel H. *To Make a Nation: The Rediscovery of American
    Federalism.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University
    Press, 1993.

Berger, Raoul. *Federalism: The Founders' Design.* Norman and
    London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Davis, S. Rufus. *The Federal Principle: A Journey through Time
    in Quest of a Meaning.* Berkeley: University of California
    Press, 1978.

Hendrickson, David. *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the Ameri-
    can Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas,
    2003.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. *The Federal Constitution.* Vol. 5 of *New
    American Nation, 1776–1820.* New York: Garland, 1991.

Rakove, Jack N., ed. *Interpreting the Constitution : The Debate
    over Original Intent.* Boston: Northeastern University
    Press, 1990.

*David C. Hendrickson*

**FEDERALIST PAPERS** *The Federalist* (also
known as the "Federalist Papers") is a collection of
eighty-five essays on the U.S. Constitution written
under the pseudonym *Publius* by Alexander Hamil-
ton, James Madison, and John Jay. Hamilton con-
ceived of the project as a means of countering anti-
Federalists, opponents of the Constitution who were
busily writing their own essays warning of the dan-
gerous powers given to the proposed national gov-
ernment. Madison and Hamilton eventually wrote
all but five of the essays, which appeared serially in
New York City newspapers between October 1787
and August 1788. They were also published in book
form in 1788.

Although the procedure for ratification required
only nine states to approve the proposed Constitu-
tion, New York's support was crucial both because
of the centrality of the state and because of its impor-
tance as a center of trade. If New York had voted
against ratification, the Constitution would likely
not have gone into effect, even with the necessary
nine votes elsewhere. Ironically, *The Federalist* had
little impact on ratification in New York. Although
New York City elected representatives to the special

convention who favored ratification, rural New
Yorkers were suspicious, and the final makeup of the
state convention had a clear majority opposed to rat-
ification. Hamilton and his supporters eventually
wore down the opposition, though, and New York
became the eleventh state to ratify the Constitution
on 26 July 1788. Despite failing to influence many
New York voters, *The Federalist* had a major impact
beyond New York. The essays were reprinted
throughout the states and served almost as a debat-
er's handbook for the forces in favor of ratification
at other state conventions.

*The Federalist* examined a number of major is-
sues, such as the flaws in the Articles of Confedera-
tion (which governed the United States of America
until the Constitution was ratified), the nature of
federalism with its division of power between a na-
tional and state governments, and the powers of the
various branches of government as well as why
those powers were necessary. Although *The Federal-
ist* does contain some innovative political philosophy
(most famously, Madison's *Federalist No. 10,* with its
novel argument that a republican government is
safer in a large, not small, republic), it focuses mostly
on practical considerations of how government
should function. In this, the authors exhibit what
would become a distinctly American, pragmatic atti-
tude. Because nearly all agreed that America should
have a republican government, the writers ignored
many of the philosophical questions that had en-
gaged Western political philosophy up to that time.

*The Federalist* also served an extremely important
rhetorical function. The moment for such an ambi-
tious series of political essays was brief. A few dec-
ades after 1787–1788, the essays would probably
not have had a significant impact because of the ex-
plosion of newspapers. The essays themselves fos-
tered a tone of civility in the debate and contributed
to the larger discursive framework that the authors
were attempting to establish. The well-wrought,
carefully reasoned political essays became virtual en-
actments of the kind of deliberation the authors
hoped the national government would foster.

*The Federalist* almost never mentioned specific
anti-Federalist writers or essays, even though those
attacks shaped the project. The invisibility of the
anti-Federalists within the essays was part of Publi-
us's rhetorical strategy to establish himself as a neu-
tral commentator offering an unbiased overview,
rather than as a partisan responding to specific
charges. These tactics reinforced the overall thrust of
*The Federalist.* Instead of trying to score every possi-
ble debating point, the authors attempted to shift the

entire realm of the debate away from considerations of competing interests to considerations of the public good, as they defined it.

They also argued themselves into a more reasonable position. Both Hamilton and Madison had argued vigorously for an even more powerful national government during the Constitutional Convention. Now called upon to defend the Constitution to people suspicious even of the powers that were given, they offered a moderate view of what the national government would actually be empowered to do.

Hamilton and Madison had read widely in political philosophy and drew upon a large range of historical and political writings in articulating their understanding of the Constitution. Perhaps most important, David Hume, the Scottish enlightenment thinker, influenced both men on a number of important issues.

*The Federalist* continues to have a significant role in the American political tradition. Not only do political scientists still turn to it as the most authoritative guide to the U.S. Constitution, but legislators, presidents, and U.S. Supreme Court justices continue to study its pronouncements in their efforts to understand the Constitution.

*See also* **Anti-Federalists; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, Douglass. *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays.* Edited by Trevor Colbourn. New York: Norton, 1974.

Furtwangler, Albert. *The Authority of Publius: A Reading of the Federalist Papers.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.

Wills, Garry. *Explaining America: The Federalist.* New York: Penguin Books, 1982.

*Andrew S. Trees*

**FEDERALIST PARTY**   One of the first two U.S. political parties, the Federalists came into being, ironically, in the anti-party years of the early 1790s, when parties were thought to be dangerous factions undermining the Republic. Federalism had considerable early success, many significant achievements, and fleeting popular support. Federalists won the first three presidential elections, controlled Congress for most of the 1790s, established the new national government, and kept the nation at peace. Over time, however, the Federalists lost their popular support and with it, their grip on power. Out of power and in opposition to their bitter rivals, the Jeffersonian Republicans, or Democratic Republicans, Federalists either tried to imitate and mirror their opponents or devolved into stinging and increasingly self-defeating attacks. But the Federalist Party had a significant if brief moment during the 1790s and helped to set the agenda for early American politics and government.

### EMERGENCE OF PARTIES

The first federal elections of 1788–1789 were not conducted along party lines. Members of Congress were elected, much as representatives had long been chosen, based on reputation and renown. Since they were now the officers of the new federal government and since the great majority had supported the ratification of the new Constitution of 1787, these men appropriated the term *Federalist* to indicate their support for the Constitution and the new regime. But party identities and identification were weak in the early Republic. Not until 1792 was there a clear opposition group in place to challenge the policies of the administration and its allies in Congress. Furthermore, attitudes toward parties were still negative and neither side claimed to be one. Rather, Federalists considered themselves "the government" or "the nation" and branded their opponents as a "faction," a term that had unhealthy, unrepublican connotations. The Democratic Republicans also denied that they were a party and claimed instead to be protecting the Constitution from the depredations of the Federalist "party" faction that had improperly seized control of the government. Scholars have debated whether it is proper to speak of Federalists and Democratic Republicans as full-fledged parties or merely as loose alliances or proto-parties. No matter where one falls out on this question, it is clear that the competition between the two entities—whatever we may choose to call them—was as intense as any ever seen in American political history and reflected two radically different visions for the future of the nation.

### LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

The Federalists coalesced in the first several national Congresses and were comprised of a group of representatives and senators who supported the legislative initiatives of the administration of George Washington. Although President Washington and Vice President John Adams headed the administration, the party's intellectual and political leader was Alexander Hamilton, who began his tenure as secretary of the Treasury in September 1789 and cultivated allies in Congress. Hamilton's ambitious program—

creation of a national bank, assumption of state debts from the Revolution, imposition of an excise tax, the establishment of public credit, and encouragement of manufactures—sparked heated opposition and touched off the first party conflict.

Federalism appealed to merchants, many large landowners, those engaged in commerce, and the wealthy more generally. Federalists were concentrated in urban port towns (especially in the Northeast), in New England, and in parts of Virginia and the Carolinas (especially Charleston). In addition to Washington, Adams, and Hamilton, key party leaders included John Jay (New York), Fisher Ames (Massachusetts), John Marshall (Virginia), Rufus King (New York), Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (South Carolina), and Thomas Pinckney (South Carolina), along with newspaper editors such as Noah Webster, John Fenno, and Benjamin Russell.

### PROGRAMS AND ISSUES

Federalists favored a strong central government and an activist state, stressing the energy and primacy of the executive branch. They favored a foreign policy of neutrality that would keep the United States out of the persistent conflict between Great Britain and France, though many Federalists sympathized with the British. Commercially, the Federalists sought to expand their trade networks with England and extend their shipping to other markets as well. Federalists also favored a loose construction of the Constitution, believing that whatever was not expressly forbidden could be fully legitimate and constitutional. Federalists seized on this interpretation to enact a powerful and sweeping vision of the United States, one that foresaw the country emerging under centralized authority as an industrial, financial, and military power to rival Britain.

These views were exemplified by Federalist actions on some of the major policy debates of the 1790s. In the Neutrality crisis of 1793, Federalists rejected Republican calls to aid France in favor of a strict impartiality so as not to antagonize Great Britain. In 1794, Federalists called out troops to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion among western Pennsylvania farmers angered over an excise tax. The next year the Federalist-controlled Senate approved the unpopular Jay's Treaty, a commercial agreement with England that—for all of its shortcomings—maintained the peace between the two nations.

### IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Beyond programs and issues, the Federalist Party also was marked by an attitude or an ideology of un-

abashed elitism that defined the party at least as much as its policies and programs. That elitism did much to undermine the Federalists in their day and to stigmatize them in historical treatments since. Federalists generally subscribed to an older conception of politics that stressed deference by the people to their leaders. Federalists believed that once the tiny electorate had selected its duly chosen leaders (the "constituted authorities," in a favorite Federalist phrase), the public's responsibility between elections was to defer to the judgment of those leaders, not to try to influence officials toward alternative positions. The party was unprepared to operate in any system not premised on deference, since it lacked a grassroots (or even top-down) political organization. These beliefs led Federalists—most prominently George Washington himself—to vehemently denounce the Democratic Societies (popular clubs which met to discuss topical political issues and sometimes produced addresses and resolutions) as dangerous, extraconstitutional bodies of great potential mischief and to mock them as "self-created societies." This attitude did much to explain both the party's conception of governing and politics and its eventual downfall as these sentiments grew increasingly anachronistic in a democratizing society.

This attitude was also reflected in the political culture of the Federalists. The party centered its celebrations around Washington, especially his birthday of 22 February, which became the highest holy day of the Federalist calendar. The day was marked throughout the nation with parades, the firing of cannon, and dinners, toasts, and processions, all of which served to solidify in the public mind the link between Washington, the administration and its policies, and the Federalist Party. While Washington tried to remain above politics and party and govern as a disinterested national leader, he increasingly sided with Hamilton over Jefferson on political matters and behaved more like a partisan. By the end of his second term, Washington was acting as (and was seen by his opponents) as a strong Federalist despite his Farewell Address of 1796, which warned against domestic political divisions.

Federalist political culture mirrored its ideology by promoting deference. But despite their reservations and ambivalence, Federalists at times practiced popular politics and mobilized public opinion effectively on behalf of their measures. Federalists consistently and explicitly linked Washington's incomparable stature to support for party policy. By framing issues as a choice between supporting Washington and legitimate government or supporting some for-

eign or radical element (be it Citizen Genêt, the Whiskey rebels, the Democratic Societies, or opponents of Jay's Treaty), Federalists regularly rallied the public to their side. Federalists utilized newspapers, petition drives, sometimes even door-to-door campaigning to press their points and produce the desired results. Even though many Federalists were troubled by the use of such tactics, the party often wielded them to great effect, frustrating and defeating their opponents.

### DECLINE

**Difficulties under Adams.** The Federalists began to lose their popular touch when Vice President John Adams succeeded Washington in 1797. Far less popular than Washington and much less adroit politically, Adams was also plagued by a disloyal cabinet and by a fierce division in Federalist ranks between those loyal to the president and those who took their marching orders from Hamilton, out of office but still highly influential. The party also lost its once-sharp political touch. In an ill-advised effort to stamp out the Democratic Republicans and their partisans in the press (all of whom Federalists considered illegitimate anyway), the Federalist Congress passed in 1798 the Alien and Sedition Acts, which were designed to curb the influence of recent immigrants and make criticism of government leaders or policies illegal. But these efforts backfired disastrously. Rather than destroying the opposition, the acts and the high-handed, arbitrary way they were carried out invigorated and revived the Republicans, especially the party newspapers. When he stood for reelection in 1800, Adams presided over a badly divided party and faced a furious and revived opposition. Matched against Jefferson and Aaron Burr, Adams lost the contest, winning sixty-five electoral votes to seventy-three each for his Republican rivals. After a protracted process, the House of Representatives ultimately selected Jefferson as president. When Adams returned to Massachusetts in a bitter fury, no one could know that the Federalists had had their last taste of the presidency.

**Elections of 1804 and 1808.** After Adams's narrow loss in 1800, younger Federalists in particular tried to regroup by appropriating the organizational tactics and campaign methods of the Republicans to build a national political party organization. Despite such efforts, Federalists never again came close to winning the presidency. Jefferson was reelected by a 162 to 14 margin in the electoral college in 1804, defeating Charles C. Pinckney, who carried only Connecticut and Delaware. In 1808 Federalists again ran

Pinckney, this time against James Madison. Federalist fortunes revived only briefly due to the unpopularity of Jefferson's embargo of 1807, which was designed to hurt Britain but which seemed to do the most damage to the American commercial economy. Even with this issue handed to them by the Jeffersonians, Federalists could do little better in 1808. Pinckney again ran strongly in New England, where opposition to the embargo was strongest and carried Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Delaware plus scattered electors from Maryland and North Carolina. Despite making a stronger showing than four years earlier, Pinckney nonetheless lost decisively, carrying just 47 electoral votes to Madison's 122.

**Election of 1812.** The closest the Federalists came to winning the presidency was in 1812 as a significant antiwar sentiment hindered Madison's reelection. Federalists tried to make common cause with antiwar Republicans and ran a fusion ticket that, while potentially adding new members to their base, also ran the risk of upsetting many Federalists who worried that an alliance with Republicans would undermine the party's independence and legitimacy. New York City mayor De Witt Clinton was nominated for the presidency with Pennsylvania's Jared Ingersoll as the vice presidential nominee. In the end, Madison prevailed by only 128 electoral votes to 89 for Clinton. Pennsylvania proved to be the key as Madison carried its 25 electoral votes. Had Clinton carried them, he would have won the election by a narrow margin.

**Hartford Convention.** Now thoroughly routed, losers of four consecutive presidential elections and increasingly becoming a regional party only, Federalists struggled with their future as the War of 1812 raged. In December 1814 and January 1815, delegates representing each of the New England states met at Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss their grievances. Some delegates urged secession of the New England states from the union. That proposal was defeated and the convention issued a moderate set of proposals (such as opposition to the three-fifths clause in the Constitution and to territorial expansion) designed to strengthen the power of the states and restoring the influence of New England Federalism. The Hartford Convention became, at best, irrelevant and, at worst, in the eyes of some, a near-traitorous gathering as news of the resounding victory of the Battle of New Orleans (8 January 1815) arrived and with it the prospect of peace. By merely discussing secession at Hartford, the Federalists finished themselves as a viable political party in many

minds. Rufus King was nominated for the presidency against James Monroe in 1816 but he lost badly, 183 electoral votes to just 34, as King carried only Connecticut, Delaware, and Massachusetts. The 1816 election marked the effective end of the Federalist Party at the national level. The party lingered for awhile in New England but never again nominated a presidential candidate. Some Federalists retreated into literary endeavors, hoping to redirect culture and society—a political project carried on by other means.

The Hartford Convention, the presidential election defeats, and the slow evaporation to extinction as a party stood in stark contrast to and marked a sad end to what had once been a visionary and vibrant party with many achievements to its credit. Federalists, it can be argued, served the nation well in their time but ultimately were too much at odds with the direction of the nation's political development to survive as a party.

*See also* **Adams, John; Alien and Sedition Acts; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Hamilton, Alexander; Hartford Convention; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Newspapers; Washington, George; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Banner, James M., Jr. *To The Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815.* New York: Knopf, 1970.

Ben-Atar, Doron, and Barbara B. Oberg, eds. *Federalists Reconsidered.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Estes, Todd. "Shaping the Politics of Public Opinion: Federalists and the Jay Treaty Debate." *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 393–422.

Fischer, David Hackett. *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy.* New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Foletta, Marshall. *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Kerber, Linda K. *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Todd Estes*

**FEDERALISTS** The American Revolution, a struggle against encroaching British authority, left most Americans deeply distrustful of centralized power. Yet between 1787 and 1790 the Federalists achieved what had once seemed impossible: the fusion of thirteen disparate former colonies into a potentially powerful national union.

### NATIONALISM IN 1787

During the 1780s, despite American mistrust of strong central government, many concluded that Congress's powers were inadequate under the Articles of Confederation. Faced with economic depression throughout the decade, many states were unable to deal with their Revolutionary War debts. The lack of a national commercial policy fueled a trade imbalance with Britain; consumer debt soared, leaving merchants vulnerable to creditors; debt and high state taxes threatened farmers with foreclosure. America's feeble diplomatic credibility, with diplomats such as John Adams and John Jay repeatedly humiliated by their vague and uncertain authority, made it nearly impossible to secure favorable treaties or trade concessions.

Americans were increasingly divided between what historians have labeled "cosmopolitans" and "localists." The former mostly included those with broad economic and social contacts—merchants, urban artisans, commercial farmers including southern planters—who wanted energetic state and continental governments to promote trade, stabilize the currency, and pay public debts. Localists, including farmers and rural artisans, wanted government kept small, seeking state debtor relief and paper money to depreciate individual debts and tax burdens.

Localists generally dominated state governments. Cosmopolitans looked to the central government, but the Confederation Congress was nearly impotent. With no taxation power, Congress failed to raise much revenue through requisitions upon the states; dangerous sectional divisions and separate state interests undermined foreign policy. Increasingly, cosmopolitans pondered a new national government to institute a single national trade policy and tariff and to block inflationary paper money.

George Washington's 1785 call for a conference between Virginia and Maryland, bypassing Congress to settle a dispute over the Potomac River, inspired former congressman James Madison of Virginia to call for a broader convention on trade at Annapolis. There, in September 1786, Alexander Hamilton of New York, once a distinguished officer on Washington's staff, urged that a general convention meet in Philadelphia the following May to revise the Articles and strengthen the union. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts and similar popular outbursts sparked by debt and taxes encouraged responses to Hamilton's call, especially when the Continental government proved unable to defend its Springfield arsenal from the Shaysite rebels. Perhaps most important, the disorders persuaded Washington himself to chair the convention. Congress endorsed the plan in February 1787, and every state but Rhode Island agreed to attend.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND THE EMERGENCE OF FEDERALISM

The Constitutional Convention was divided between those who wished merely to strengthen the Articles, and those who wished to replace them with a new national government. Leaders of the centralizing group included Madison, Hamilton, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, and Rufus King of Massachusetts, all delegates from large states with broad economic ties. Their main proposal was Madison's, calling for a bicameral legislature, with both houses proportional to population, that would choose a national executive and judiciary and have a veto over state laws. When the small states objected, the nationalists adjusted, accepting a compromise that preserved equal state representation in the Senate and dropping the veto on state laws. But federal laws were declared supreme, and the courts were expected to strike down incompatible state statutes. The centralizers achieved a genuine national government in federal balance with the states—the key, they believed, to preserving the republican legacy of the Revolution.

Despite some historians' long-standing arguments that the Convention was a virtual conspiracy to promote a particular economic interest, a remarkably heterogeneous group ultimately supported the new constitution. Of fifty-five delegates, four left in protest and three refused to sign the final document. At least forty-five, from large states and small, backed ratification. The ability of this compromise system to unite a wide range of viewpoints, backgrounds, and private interests was the key strength of those who now began to call themselves "Federalists."

### FEDERALIST CONSTITUENCIES AND THEIR PRIORITIES

The framers' decision to submit the Constitution to popularly elected state conventions transformed ratification into a broad public debate. The pro-Constitution stand of Washington and Benjamin Franklin, arguably the two most eminent men in America, helped sway opinion, but only to a point: Americans were wary of mere appeals to authority.

The pro- and anti-constitutional schism resembled the prior divide between cosmopolitans and localists. Federalists tended to be people with broader connections and interests: merchants, lawyers, and other educated professionals; clergy; and commercial farmers and planters. They found themselves faced mainly by yeoman farmers and rural leaders with mainly local connections, who feared broad new powers exercised by a distant elite. Those with entrenched interests in existing state powers were also frequently hostile. The Federalists branded their opponents "anti-Federalists," shrewdly tarring them with the stigma of a purely negative agenda.

In general, Federalists were concentrated in the east. Coastal areas, dependent on trade, linked economically, culturally, and intellectually to other states and other countries, favored a revitalized government that looked beyond their immediate localities. They viewed their generally inland, western opponents as ignorant backcountry rustics supported by self-interested state politicians.

Federalists enjoyed a key advantage in their overwhelming enlistment of printers, most of whom were eastern, commercially oriented, and cosmopolitan. A concerted Federalist campaign was mobilized in newspapers and pamphlets, where the "Federalist" label first emerged in print. Once a term for opponents of the nationalists, it was now used to invoke the layered system and emphasis on balanced powers that had emerged at Philadelphia. Federalist writers stressed the Constitution's preservation of popular sovereignty through the electoral delegation of authority and its steady equilibrium of powers. A pivotal argument, developed by Madison in the influential *Federalist Papers*, contradicted the traditional assumption that republics could function only on a small scale. Such republics, Madison observed, had invariably failed when factions achieved a majority and became tyrannical. In a large-scale government, the diversity of local interests would make control by a single majority interest impossible.

Anti–Federalists accused the Federalists of an elitist plot to remove power from ordinary citizens and create a moneyed aristocracy, a claim echoed by some modern historians. But the Federalists firmly defined themselves as the saviors of the Revolution and republicanism. The 1780s had, they believed, shown that myriad weak, local governments were undermining the achievements of 1776. Believing that a people as well as their government required checks and balances, the Federalists defended a careful delegation of authority to the best-known and ablest men, who would in turn be checked by their balanced constitutional powers. Yet the Constitution imposed no property qualifications for officeholding, and it was in fact the anti–Federalists who sought to restrict offices to professing Christians. And of course, anti–Federalists were often highly supportive of local elites.

The Federalists, however, were never monolithic. The Constitution's compromise nature attracted a wide range of supporters, giving the Federalists their strength and adaptability. But parties to a compromise are likely to interpret it according to their own desires: different Federalists inevitably understood the new system differently. Indeed, they did differ on the nature and role of elites. Some believed merit would rise; others assumed the socially prominent should govern; Hamilton stressed the interrelation of government with moneyed interests; others, such as Madison, were more concerned with the broad voice of the people, refined but preserved through constitutional delegation. The ratification struggle subsumed such differences. In time they would re-emerge.

### FEDERALIST STRATEGIES FOR RATIFICATION

The Federalists enjoyed an initial wave of easy victories, with anti-Federalists stifled by the very localism, lesser education, and lack of broad connections that helped define them. Small states, mollified by equality in the Senate and eager to supplant the high-handed commercial policies of the large port states, rallied as Federalist strongholds. Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia (eager for federal aid in protecting its border), and Connecticut quickly and easily ratified. Later, Maryland and South Carolina would follow—though New Hampshire deadlocked, swayed by suspicion of the South and the fear of non-Christian officeholders, and Rhode Island refused even to call a convention.

Federalists realized the key battles would come in the large states. In Pennsylvania the Federalists, led by James Wilson, pushed ratification through before

the rural backcountry could mobilize. But ratification was increasingly faced with an articulate anti-Federalist opposition. The Federalist charge that the anti-Federalists lacked a positive agenda had some validity; the Constitution's foes knew what they opposed but were weak on specific alternatives—though most acknowledged the Articles were inadequate as they stood. But a key anti-Federalist objection to the Constitution, the absence of a bill of rights, resonated with many. Federalists denied the need, noting that the federal government would have only those powers specifically granted by the Constitution and warning that enumerating some rights could undermine others. But the issue persisted.

Rufus King and other Federalist leaders faced troubles in Massachusetts. Anti-Federalists had a clear majority, although their most experienced and articulate leaders were actually from coastal areas with Federalist majorities and thus were not elected to the ratifying convention. The anti-Federalists wanted the convention to ratify only on the condition that a bill of rights was added to the Constitution. Faced with defeat, the Federalists proposed that recommendatory rather than conditional amendments accompany ratification. The convention, they suggested, should ratify the Constitution and at the same time recommend amendments, on the understanding that the Federalists would then help to pass the amendments in the new Congress. Again, compromise succeeded in broadening Federalist support. John Hancock and Samuel Adams, influential local politicians who were uneasy about the Constitution, were reluctantly won over. Delegates from the coastal areas remained heavily Federalist, and the proposed amendments secured enough inland votes to narrowly win ratification.

Although the anti-Federalists, encouraged by their strength in the large states, were growing increasingly organized, this new Federalist strategy of recommendatory amendments began to undercut the opposition's main argument. In Virginia the heavily Federalist Tidewater region was faced with an overwhelmingly anti-Federalist majority in the rest of the state. Unlike in the North, where urban areas challenged the rural interior, here both sides were agrarian: in the virtual absence of cities, coastal planters with broad ties and interests faced inland farmers determined to preserve their independence. Madison skillfully led the Federalist minority in the state convention, urging recommendatory amendments and stressing the lack of concrete anti-Federalist proposals. Governor Edmund Randolph, who had refused to sign the Constitution in Philadel-

phia, wavered back to reluctant support. New Hampshire's second attempt at ratification had meanwhile succeeded: the nine states officially required to ratify the Constitution had adopted it. Federalists now warned that if Virginia rejected, the union itself might crumble. Enough inland votes were swayed to narrowly pass ratification.

Federalists were likewise a clear minority in New York, but again their opponents failed to offer clear alternatives. After Virginia ratified, Hamilton, backed by Madison, cautioned that the anti-Federalist plan to ratify on condition of future amendments might leave New York out of the union. Pragmatism, coupled with renewed Federalist assurances that a bill of rights would follow, again secured a slim majority for ratification.

### THE LAST FEDERALIST CHALLENGE

It was by no means obvious that eleven ratifications signaled the end of the Federalists' struggle. All along, anti-Federalists had energetically sought a second constitutional convention, a scheme Federalists feared would unleash chaos. Yet important New York Federalists, courting anti-Federalist votes, had dismayed their own allies by endorsing a second convention to consider amendments. Some feared even a limited convention might go dangerously far, undermining federal authority and throwing power back to the states. Now North Carolina, one of the final two holdouts, adopted a scheme once proposed by Thomas Jefferson (who had meanwhile been persuaded by recommendatory amendments to back the Constitution): after most states had ratified, the remainder should hold out until a bill of rights was added. North Carolina's Tidewater Federalists were heavily outnumbered. The anti-Federalists kept control, refused to ratify, and demanded a second convention.

The call for a new convention proved abortive, but Federalists knew the climate could yet change. Madison and others also feared anti-Federalist attempts to elect a Congress that would annihilate itself and the Constitution. Such ideas certainly existed, and failed less decisively than is sometimes imagined. In the new Senate, twenty-four Federalists were in undisputed control, but the anti-Federalist legislature of powerful Virginia sent two firmly anti-Federalist senators. In the House, fifty-one Federalists outnumbered fourteen anti-Federalists. But two of eight representatives from Massachusetts, three of five from South Carolina, three of ten from Virginia, two of eight from Pennsylvania, and two of six from New York were anti-Federalist, and close elections in

the latter two states—extremely close in New York—narrowly prevented anti-Federalist majorities. Even Federalist representatives did not forget the misgivings of their constituents. As the first federal congress divided into blocs for and against the Washington administration, anti-Federalists unanimously went anti-administration—but many Federalist representatives from antiratification districts also joined the anti-administration party.

With the anti-Federalists in retreat but by no means gone, the need to pass a bill of rights was urgent. Madison, elected to the House from Virginia, led the fight; he had come to see genuine advantages in properly framed amendments and also knew they were a political necessity to complete the Federalist victory. He and his supporters acknowledged that a bill of rights could enhance the Constitution's safeguards against governmental abuses without returning important federal powers to the states, but they also knew how many influential men had backed ratification on the understanding that such amendments would follow. Even after Congress had passed the amendments, Virginia's anti-Federalist senators continued to press for a second convention. Most had been willing to wait and see what the new Congress would do, and after the Bill of Rights was added most anti-Federalists were willing to work within the new system. But had Congress repudiated the promises made in so many key conventions, a reinvigorated anti-Federalist movement might conceivably have yet toppled the new Constitution, destroying everything the Federalists had worked to achieve.

As it was, North Carolina conceded in late 1789 (though two of the five representatives it now elected were anti-Federalists), and Rhode Island, threatened with secession by its own coastal merchants, narrowly ratified in 1790. But as the Federalist majority turned to the actual business of setting up the new government and instituting policy, the compromise coalition inevitably began to come apart. The mercantile, monetary elitism of Hamilton and his backers drove them apart from Madison and many others, with their greater emphasis on popular participation and their suspicion of control by a moneyed interest. There was no neat transformation of Federalists into the Federalist Party of the 1790s, or anti-Federalists into Democratic Republicans. The diverging Federalists contributed constituencies and leadership to both parties.

*See also* **Adams, John; Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of;**

Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Founding Fathers; Franklin, Benjamin; Government: Overview; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Popular Sovereignty; Presidency, The: George Washington; Shays's Rebellion; Washington, George.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard, ed. *The Debate on the Constitution: Federalist and Antifederalist Speeches, Articles, and Letters during the Struggle over Ratification.* 2 vols. New York: Library of America, 1993.

Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* Rev. ed. 4 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966.

Jensen, Merrill. *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789.* New York: Knopf, 1958; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Main, Jackson Turner. *Political Parties before the Constitution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973; New York: Norton, 1974.

Rakove, Jack N. *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution.* New York: Knopf, 1996.

Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

Veit, Helen E., Kenneth R. Bowling, and Charlene Bangs Bickford, eds. *Creating the Bill of Rights: The Documentary Record from the First Federal Congress.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

*Jeremy A. Stern*

**FICTION**   There is an ongoing debate in the field of literary history about when a distinctly American literature emerged. Some scholars argue that American authors did not gain a voice separate from their British forebears until well into the nineteenth century. According to these critics, the form and voice of literature published in the early American nation was not distinctive enough to merit consideration as "American." In some opinions, an added detriment to anything that might be considered American literature is that nothing produced had literary merit. Books were expensive to produce, and pirating of already produced English works was more profitable

for printers than producing new works of fiction by American authors. Only about ninety American works of fiction were printed between 1789 and 1820, and few of these made a profit. No American author was able to make a living from writing until the 1820s, although certainly Susanna Rowson (1762–1824) and Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810) tried.

Despite these facts, other scholars make the case for an American literature that emerged in the period of the ratification of the Constitution. These scholars believe that the early American novel, while it may not live up to some hard-to-define literary standards, was very American, reflecting the anxieties of nation building. The American Revolution (1775–1783) led to social, political, and cultural upheaval. Because of this, they argue, the genre of American literature was far from stable because it was reflective of an unstable society. While the form was British, the messages, scattered as they may have been, were American. These early novels grappled with the question of what it meant to be a citizen of the newly formed nation and whether or not independence was worth the disruptions that followed.

These experiments in an American fictional voice took place exclusively in the North. The American South did not engage in the creation of fiction. While southerners certainly helped to shape political discourse, novels and other fictional forms were produced by the pens of northerners. As white southerners tightened their defense of slavery after the American Revolution, they took a lesser part in the creation of an American national identity than the northerners who engaged in the questions of identity in both fiction and nonfiction. In addition, the contribution to American fiction was limited by race. For African Americans in all parts of the new Republic, racism and the concomitant poverty and lack of education of blacks kept them from writing. Although poetry of African American Phillis Wheatley (1753?–1784) was widely read, only four novels by African Americans were published before the Civil War, and none of these were published until the mid-nineteenth century.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA
While American writers did not break away from the literary forms of the British, there were several attempts to create a distinctly American literature. The Connecticut (or Hartford) Wits were among the first group of writers who consciously tried to do that. These men had been born in Connecticut and had attended Yale College. They believed that they could

create an American voice and advocate a political cause. The Wits were concerned about the emergence of democratic movements after the war. They wrote poems to honor stability and oppose Jeffersonian democracy. The Wits included John Trumbull (1750–1831), author of two popular satiric poems, *M'Fingal* (1776–1782) and *The Progress of Dulness* (1772–1773), and Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), the author of *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), an epic poem about the American Revolution. The Wits put themselves in opposition to Philip Freneau (1752–1832), known as the "poet of the American Revolution," who embraced Jeffersonian democracy. Despite his ideological differences with the Wits, Freneau also believed in the importance of developing an exclusively American idiom. Although these early writers largely failed in their attempts to break from British forms, their attempts to create something truly American are noteworthy.

One of the first authors to explicitly attempt to define American character was J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1735–1813). A French immigrant who was married to a woman from a Loyalist family, Crèvecoeur was unable to choose a side during the American Revolution. After spending time in a British army prison in New York and then sailing to London, Crèvecoeur published the fictional *Letters from an American Farmer* in 1782. Taking the persona of James, a farmer without extensive schooling, Crèvecoeur asked, "What, then, is the American, this new man?" He answered his question by arguing that the American was indeed new, a mixture of ethnicities and beliefs, rising from a melting pot of European cultures. Crèvecoeur celebrated the American character, one that he believed had left behind the prejudices of Europe and defined itself by hard work and perseverance. However, Crèvecoeur did not leave the picture entirely rosy, but wrote of frontier dwellers who were less advanced than their eastern counterparts and of brutality in the slave system of the American South.

While other authors did not address the question as directly as Crèvecoeur had, the process of definition and differentiation from Britain was apparent in many of the early works of fiction. Much as Crèvecoeur had sought to define the American man as different from the European man, other early American writers sought to justify American independence or define American character. Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791), one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was well-known for his political allegories, which helped make the case against Britain during the war. In his best-known piece, *The Pretty Story* (1774), the colonists appeared as a farmer's sons fighting against mismanagement of their family farm. These political allegories helped set the stage for later American fiction. Early American playwright Royall Tyler (1757–1826) also worked to distinguish Europe and America. In *The Contrast* (1787), the first comedy play to be professionally produced on the American stage, Tyler pitted the republican American against the refined European, with the American triumphing in the end.

### THE NEW NATION

The fiction of the early American nation reflected the rapid changes brought about by the Revolution and the nation making that followed. The first American novels were about seduction, telling the stories of young women who lost their virtue to conniving men. Novels centered on the seduction of young women highlighted the dangers and upheavals of the new nation. Focused on an English novel, *Clarissa* (1747–1748), and nervous about the changes in the nation he helped to create, John Adams famously compared democracy to Lovelace, the immoral character who leads to Clarissa's ruin. He argued that democracy would lead to the ruin and death of the new United States, much as Lovelace had ruined Clarissa. While Adams called on an English example written before the creation of the United States, male and female American authors in the early American nation deliberately toyed with these same concerns.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Charles Brockden Brown had begun to publish his Gothic novels in which nothing was settled and the world seemed a very chaotic place. These early novels, like the poems, allegories, plays, and other forms of fiction in early America, were British in form. Yet they all spoke to the question of political unsettledness and the questions raised by the Revolution. Who had power? Who could speak? Had the republican experiment succeeded or failed? Who was an American citizen and what characteristics was that citizen to embrace? All of the early American novels advanced a theory of education, a topic that was much in the political and social discourse. Novelists like Charles Brockden Brown believed that their novels did nothing less than engage in the ongoing cultural dialogue about politics and society.

Despite Brown's defense of the novel, the form had many critics. Politicians and ministers railed against novels. These critics believed, or said they believed, that novel reading would lead to the downfall of the Republic. Critics wrote about these fears in magazines and newspapers. In their prefaces or in-

troductions, novelists condemned the very form in which they engaged. Novels, in the opinion of the critics, took readers away from the serious matters of citizenship. Instead of reality, readers would be so tied up with fantasy they would be unable to function in the virtuous ways necessary for maintaining the Republic. After all, the United States was new and fragile. Psychologically, novel reading was dangerous for other reasons as well. In the growing field of medicine focused on mental illness, doctors believed that mental health was maintained by control. Men or women who spent too many hours immersed in the fantasy world of novels would more easily lose their control and would be ill-prepared to deal with disappointment or shock. Reading history or essays led to rationality; reading novels led to irrationality.

### WRITERS AND WORKS

It is generally agreed that the first American novel is *The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature Founded in Truth* (1789), by William Hill Brown (1765–1793). The main story in *The Power of Sympathy* is of a doomed, incestuous love. Embedded within the story of Harriot and Harrington, who discover too late that they are brother and sister, was the real-life eighteenth-century story of Fanny Apthorp and her brother-in-law, Perez Morton. Morton had seduced Apthorp, and she became pregnant. In August 1788, Apthorp committed suicide, unwilling to make public accusations against Morton. In his book, Brown thinly disguised Apthorp as Ophelia in a vignette that briefly distracts the reader from the main story line. With such tales, "founded in truth," Brown argued that his novel was a cautionary tale and therefore fit for reading, unlike other, frivolous works of fiction.

Other novels quickly followed *The Power of Sympathy*. The two best-selling novels in the early American nation were written by women. In *Charlotte Temple* (1791), by Susanna Rowson, young Charlotte is seduced by Montraville, carried from her native England to America, and then left to her ruin and death. The novel was so popular that it was surpassed in sales only after the mid-nineteenth century, by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Second only to *Charlotte Temple* was *The Coquette; or, The History of Eliza Wharton* (1797), by Hannah Webster Foster (1758–1840). In this story Eliza Wharton chooses the path of coquetry, eschewing the life of virtue she felt would confine her too much. The consequence is death and dishonor, but the novel raised interesting questions about the nature of female roles in the new nation.

Other important writers emerged at the end of the eighteenth century. Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816), a Scottish immigrant and a friend of Philip Freneau, published several dramas based on events in the Revolutionary War. His most important work was a novel, *Modern Chivalry*, published in four volumes during the years from 1792 to 1815. In the republic of *Modern Chivalry*, men without qualifications are elected to office by ill-informed voters. In the text Brackenridge praised democracy but also worried about it. In a work written over more than a decade, a reader can see some of Brackenridge's own shifting alliances.

The author who came closest to making a living as a writer in the period before 1820 was Charles Brockden Brown, although he was never able to fully support himself with his writing. With his Gothic novels, he emerged at the end of the eighteenth century as one of the most prolific writers of fiction. Brown's first novel, *Wieland* (1798), is a story of madness. In his madness, Theodore Wieland eventually kills all four of his children, tries to kill his wife, and eventually commits suicide. Brown, engaging in the larger discourse about nationhood, believed this novel would be useful to his readers, particularly with regard to thoughts about "the moral constitution of man." Without checks on liberty, anarchy would reign. He sent his novel to Vice President Thomas Jefferson, perhaps believing that he offered a solution to the problems of the new United States. Brown followed *Wieland* with *Ormond* (1799), *Edgar Huntly* (1799), and *Arthur Mervyn* (1799–1800).

While all of the published fiction in the early American nation was flawed, these works are reflective of a society born out of war, cut off from its colonial past, and experimenting with new forms of government. With this in mind, these publications can be seen as American publications. The writers adopted familiar forms and tropes but used these to comment on the new society, and in Charles Brockden Brown's case, to push for change. For the new Republic to function and perhaps thrive, these authors believed, citizens needed to be educated. Female and male authors argued that this was true of women as well as men. And novelists, even those who—like Brackenridge—supported increased democracy, worried about what would happen if democracy was taken too far.

The new United States was far from united. Crime rose in the cities and disorder seemed to reign everywhere people looked. A myth about the American Revolution has developed over the centuries to the point where people now believe almost everyone

supported the cause and the consequences. The fiction of the time gives a more accurate picture of the debates, the upheavals, the disagreements, and the fears. While flawed as literature, it is utterly reflective of a time and place otherwise largely lost.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Literature; Authorship; Poetry.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Davidson, Cathy N. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Stern, Julia A. *The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Tompkins, Jane P. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860.* New York, Oxford University Press, 1985.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

*Sarah Swedberg*

**FIREARMS (NONMILITARY)** Among the practices and prejudices English colonists carried with them to North America was the assumption that an armed population was normal and necessary. Few governments, then or since, have been prepared to trust the common people with weapons. Since "time out of mind," however, the English had preferred a citizen militia to a professional military force and depended on armed citizens to protect themselves and their neighbors by shouldering a host of local peacekeeping duties. Until the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, being armed had been more a duty than a right. But the English Bill of Rights of 1689, passed in the wake of that bloodless revolution, guaranteed Protestants, then some 90 percent of the population, what it described as their "true, ancient and indubitable rights," including the right to "have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law." The English prejudices that favored an armed citizenry translated easily to America, where the dangers of the wilderness made such community peacekeeping and self-reliance especially urgent.

## FIREARMS TECHNOLOGY

By 1754 the civilian use of firearms had been common in England for some three hundred years and in its American colonies from the outset. Over the centuries, technology had led to the replacement of cumbersome, heavy, and inaccurate military weapons by more reliable and smaller flintlock muskets and, in the eighteenth century, by the famous Brown Bess musket. Lighter fowling pieces and pistols were also available and popular for personal protection and hunting. By the mid-seventeenth century, well-to-do women had taken to carrying little "pocket pistols" that could fit in a purse. By the eighteenth century the handgun had also become the weapon of choice for duels and highway robbery.

## PEACEKEEPING AND HUNTING

The American colonists, faced with an often hostile native population and the usual array of crimes, immediately instituted the familiar means of keeping the peace. Every colony passed legislation to establish a militia and towns created systems in which householders took turns standing watch. All men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were liable for militia service, with some exceptions for clergy, religious objectors, and blacks. The dangers were so great that not only militia members but all householders were ordered to be armed. Many of these laws remained in place well into the eighteenth century. Connecticut's 1741 militia act, for example, ordered all citizens, both those listed in the militia and every other householder, to "always be provided with and have in continual readiness, a well-fixed firelock . . . or other good fire-arms . . . a good sword, or cutlass" and a specific amount of gunpowder. In 1770 Georgia felt it necessary, "for the better security of the inhabitants," to require every white male resident "to carry firearms to places of public worship." In many colonies those who could not afford a firearm were set to work to earn one.

Firearms were valued for hunting as well as protection. Game was plentiful in the New World and, in contrast to common European practice that strictly limited those who could hunt, colonists were enticed to American shores with the promise of the "liberty of fishing and fowling." American firearm needs differed from European needs, however, since hunting was less a sport than a key to survival in the wilderness and a reliable gun was critical for self-defense. For these purposes Americans wanted a rifle that was light, shot light bullets that needed only a modest amount of powder, was easy to load, and had a flat trajectory that would make it more accurate. By 1735 a rifle that met these specifications had

been developed in Pennsylvania, although for some reason it was generally known as the Kentucky rifle. It quickly became popular throughout the country and proved effective in bringing down the larger animals in the American forests. Firearms expert Robert Held claims that until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, "there were no guns anywhere in the world which could shoot so far, so accurately and so efficiently" as the Kentucky rifle. A better weapon was developed in Britain but neglected by the British War Office, and so the Kentucky rifle remained the most accurate, and actually the only, long-range shooter until about 1840.

Travelers to America were struck by how common guns were. Charles Augustus Murray, who toured America in 1834, noted that "nearly every man has a rifle, and spends part of his time in the chase," while Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited America in 1831, described a typical "peasant's cabin" in Kentucky or Tennessee as containing "a fairly clean bed, some chairs, a good gun."

### INDIANS AND BLACKS

Sensible restrictions were put in place on the use of firearms in crowded areas or with intention to terrify. But the emphasis of colonial and early national governments was on ensuring the populace was well armed, not on restricting individual stocks of weapons. For the security of white colonists, efforts were made to prevent Indians, and in some colonies black slaves, from acquiring firearms. Nevertheless, Indians managed to obtain firearms and quickly became excellent shots. Access of slaves and free blacks to guns varied. The New England colonies and New Jersey permitted blacks, both slave and free, to keep private firearms but usually excluded them from the militia. A Virginia statute of 1640, "Preventing Negroes from Bearing Arms," was one of the first acts to legally define slave status. Free blacks in Virginia and South Carolina were permitted to keep firearms, as could blacks, whether slave or free, living on the frontier. Georgia, however, insisted upon a license for even temporary use of a gun by a slave. In the eyes of the law, neither the Indian nor the slave was a citizen; therefore, neither was entitled to the rights of citizenship. During the 1820s and 1830s therefore, a wave of anti-black legislation throughout the country was able to curtail the ability of blacks to be armed.

In sum, Americans were expected to provide themselves with firearms for the protection of themselves and their colony. There is ample evidence that they did.

*See also* **Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Militias and Militia Service.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Botein, Stephen. *Early American Law and Society.* New York: Knopf, 1983.

Higginbotham, A. Leon. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Malcolm, Joyce Lee. *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo–American Right.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Shy, John W. *A People Numerous and Armed*: Reflections on the *Military Struggle for American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Thorpe, Francis N., ed. *The Federal and State Constitutions*, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies. 7 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909.

*Joyce Lee Malcolm*

**FIRES AND FIREFIGHTING**   Fire was a serious and ongoing problem in colonial America and the new nation, especially in towns and cities. In an era before zoning regulations, flammable materials were regularly stored near the open fires necessary for heating homes and cooking food. As cities increased in size and density in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, catastrophic conflagrations became common occurrences. A candle in a New Orleans building set off a fire that destroyed over eight hundred buildings in 1788; three years later a Philadelphia fire spread easily through the wooden buildings on Dock Street, while an 1820 fire in Savannah, Georgia, became a conflagration after setting off a cache of gunpowder stored in one building.

Colonial fire codes required homeowners to be in possession of two buckets and prepared to transport water in them to the scene of any nearby fire. By the mid-eighteenth century municipal governments were taking a more active role in controlling fires. New Amsterdam taxed the citizenry to pay for chimney inspectors starting in 1646. In 1718 Boston citizens organized the first American volunteer fire company, complete with a small hand-operated pump fire engine, and uniforms for its members. In 1736 Benjamin Franklin organized, publicized, and participated in a Philadelphia volunteer fire company, set-

ting a standard for the participation of civic leaders in volunteer firefighting followed by George Washington, Aaron Burr, and Thomas Jefferson, among others. Fire companies were patriotic hotbeds in the 1777s, as firemen in cities including New York, Boston, and Philadelphia transformed their shared obligation to the preservation of public safety and order into active and outspoken support for the Revolution.

By the early nineteenth century, every American city was protected by volunteer fire companies, organized around small hand-operated fire engines, under the loose control of a municipal overseeing organization. Rural areas were also served by volunteer fire companies. All firefighting in the new nation was conducted by volunteers: paid fire departments were instituted only in the middle of the nineteenth century. Baltimore, for example, had three volunteer fire companies in 1790, six in 1800, and seventeen by 1843, and close to eight hundred active members in the 1830s. Philadelphia had seventeen volunteer companies by 1790. Early fire companies were selective in their membership and combined social activities with firefighting, including visits to firemen in other cities. One of the most notable characteristics of volunteer fire companies in the early nineteenth century was the occupational heterogeneity of their membership. Clerks, skilled laborers, and merchants fought fires side by side. Fire companies also provided early social services, including some of the first public lending libraries. Firehouses contained rooms for public use, and as early as 1792 fire departments set up widow and orphan funds to support dependents of injured or killed firemen. Volunteer firemen were not paid salaries but were absolved from jury and militia duty, and received an important public tribute and prestige for their actions. This prestige motivated firefighters to become active and outspoken in the Revolution, and sustained them in their belief that their public service revealed their civic virtue.

*See also* **City Growth and Development.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carp, Benjamin L. "Fire of Liberty: Firefighters, Urban Voluntary Culture and the Revolutionary Movement." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (October 2001): 781–818.

Greenberg, Amy S. *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Hazen, Margaret Hindle, and Robert M. Hazen. *Keepers of the Flame: The Role of Fire in American Culture, 1775–1925.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.

*Amy S. Greenberg*

**FIRST LADIES**    The institution of the "first lady," meaning the role of the wife of the president of the United States, did not take its modern form in the era of the new American nation. However, some of the salient features that have historically surrounded presidential wives—popular interest, leadership of Washington society, and ambivalence about the status of these women—emerged in these years. In the case of Dolley Madison, the first celebrity assumed the position of wife of the president. Elizabeth Monroe and Louisa Adams did not, however, build on what Madison had done. The wife of the president in 1829 remained a potential source of political and cultural influence but had not yet emerged as a figure in her own right.

The first presidential spouse, Martha Washington, lived in New York and then in Philadelphia for the eight years of her husband's administrations. She conducted receptions for the president's guests each week on Friday evenings and otherwise was a practiced hostess on numerous social occasions. Martha Washington had some direct correspondence with the wives of diplomats and officials of foreign countries, most of which others drafted for her to send. Although she was a semipublic figure, she did little to satisfy any appetite of her fellow citizens to know about her or to have her reveal her private thoughts.

Abigail Adams is one of the most famous women in the nation's history, but the four years from 1797 to 1801 when her husband was president did not represent a high point in her life. She spent some time in Philadelphia in its last years as the capital, but she also returned to her Massachusetts home for extended periods. Abigail received numerous letters from office seekers and sought to publicize the president's achievements in the press. In 1800, as the Adams administration wound down, the family moved to Washington and took up residence in the still uncompleted presidential mansion. Her husband's defeat in the election of 1800 made her stay in the executive mansion a short one, but she has the honor of being the initial first lady to live there.

### DOLLEY MADISON

Thomas Jefferson was a widower when he became president in 1801, and for eight years the nation did not have a first lady in the usual sense. During the Jefferson presidency, however, an important woman stepped onto the national stage. Dolley Payne Todd Madison was the wife of James Madison, the secretary of state. She was thirty-three years old in 1801 and had been married to Madison for more

As far as formal entertaining was concerned, the Madisons held parties on a regular basis and sought to invite as wide a circle of guests from the Washington area as possible. The tradition of receptions that they established remained a distinctive feature of the presidency for one hundred and twenty years. These events enabled politicians and diplomats to meet on a neutral ground while allowing the president and his wife to create better relations with members of Congress. Some foreign diplomats chafed at the relatively simple style of these affairs, which lacked the rituals and formality of the European courts. Americans applauded Dolley Madison's ability to make all her guests feel at home. Under her direction, the practice of using the social aspects of the executive mansion for the political ends of the president began to emerge. The duties of her position were exacting and time-consuming, but she impressed the nation as the embodiment of what a president's wife should be.

The most famous moment of Dolley Madison's years as the first lady came during the summer of 1814. As the War of 1812 continued, British troops invaded and then moved toward Washington. As the military threat grew, Madison packed as much of the silver and as many of the other important possessions as she could and then dispatched the wagon to a nearby bank for protection. She also saw to it that the celebrated Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington was removed for safekeeping. Madison then left Washington while the British troops burned the mansion. In the wake of the British invasion, Dolley Madison played a large role in lobbying to retain the capital in Washington City. The presidential mansion was reconstructed during what remained of the Madison presidency and repainted white. James Monroe and his wife moved back into what was now the White House once the work was completed during 1817.

Dolley Madison's conduct during the war and her rescue of the Stuart painting became part of the personal legend that followed her until she died in 1849. She symbolized the era when the United States felt itself becoming a nation, and she embodied the distinctive republican style of the time. For the rest of the nineteenth century, she remained the most famous presidential wife.

### ELIZABETH MONROE AND LOUISA ADAMS

The two women who followed Dolley Madison did not even approach having her impact on the institution of the first lady. Elizabeth Monroe was a far more reserved and less outgoing person than her pre-



**Dolley Madison (1768–1849).** The wife of President James Madison, in an engraving (1804–1855) based on a painting by Gilbert Stuart. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

than six years. Jefferson did a minimum of entertaining on a large scale. As a result, the Madisons became surrogates for the president in a social sense. The couple lived two blocks from the White House. Dolley helped with official entertaining and became renowned for her skill as a hostess. In so doing, she helped to define a world of Washington society that lent a special style to the new American Republic. After Jefferson had served two terms as president, James Madison succeeded him in 1809. Now Dolley Madison had the task of putting her own stamp on the executive mansion.

Her work went forward in two areas. In the president's house itself, her husband gave Dolley Madison the authority to handle the task of decorating the new mansion. Working with Benjamin Latrobe, an architect for the government, she took the limited fund that Congress appropriated for that purpose and set to work. She emphasized the use of American-made furniture and avoided any taints of the aristocratic Federalist style that her husband's political party disliked. Madison succeeded in striking the right balance of simplicity and elegance that made the executive residence a testament to her good taste.

decessor. Her experience as the wife of an American diplomat in European courts led her to adopt protocols for entertaining and receiving guests that relied more on formality and etiquette than had been Dolley Madison's practice. Uncertain health also disposed Elizabeth Monroe to limit her commitment to entertaining. These changes in style at the White House led to several social battles among women in Washington, including a boycott by Mrs. Monroe's critics in 1819 and 1820. The resulting tensions spilled over into the masculine world of politics. Eventually, the president's wife prevailed; her policy of limiting the number of visitors that she needed to receive proved enduring for future first ladies. Her worsening health reduced her public appearances still further during her husband's second term. During her eight years in the White House, the position of the presidential wife lost some of the luster that Dolley Madison had imparted to it.

Louisa Catherine Adams continued the downward trend of participation in social affairs during her husband's single term in office from 1825 to 1829. Her marriage to John Quincy Adams had had its rocky moments before he won the disputed presidential contest of 1824. Nevertheless, she had used her political skills effectively in his efforts to become president during the election and in the proceedings of Congress that resolved the election. Once in the White House, Louisa Adams did not do much entertaining, nor did she reach out to political Washington. Instead, she went into a shell, regarding the executive mansion more as a prison than as a place to make a reputation as a hostess. Her husband was preoccupied with the cares of office and devoted little time to his wife. The two became more distant from each other as the Adams presidency unfolded. They spent some months apart when they took separate vacations in 1826. Poor health, perhaps arising from menopause, dominated her existence.

In 1827 a newspaper friendly to Andrew Jackson, whom John Quincy Adams had defeated in 1824, attacked Louisa for her English origins and made her a target for political invective. In response, she authored an anonymous essay countering her critics and outlining her own virtues. That was a departure for a presidential spouse. Louisa hoped that her husband would be reelected in 1828, but the tide of support for Jackson sent the couple into private life. The four years of Louisa Adams left little impact on the issue of what a president's wife should do and how she should behave.

## AFTER 1828

Over the next twelve years two widowers, Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, occupied the White House. In the 1840s, interest in presidential wives revived with the presidencies of William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, and James K. Polk. However, with the new, more democratic politics of the mid-nineteenth century, the power of presidential wives receded. The first ladies of the new American nation from Martha Washington to Louisa Adams displayed some of the future roles of the institution—hostess; decorator of the White House; and in the case of Dolley Madison, political celebrity. They form part of the tradition of presidential wives that now stretches into the twenty-first century. If their contributions to the evolution of the position were modest, they worked hard in pursuit of the success of their husbands' administrations. They were all interesting women who helped to develop popular fascination with the relation of the president and his family to the rest of their fellow citizens. In that respect, their influence and example continues down to the present time.

See also **Presidency, The.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Caroli, Betty. *First Ladies.* Expanded ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Fields, Joseph E., comp. *Worthy Partner: The Papers of Martha Washington.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1994.

Gould, Lewis L., ed. *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy.* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Mattern, David B., and Holly Shulman, eds. *The Selected Letters of Dolley Payne Madison.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2003.

National First Ladies' Library. Available at http://www.firstladies.org.

*Lewis L. Gould*

## FISHERIES AND THE FISHING INDUSTRY

The fishing industry was one of the more important components of the American economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, there was significant regional variation in the type and quantity of fish caught, the nature of the market for those fish, and the importance of the industry to the regional economy.
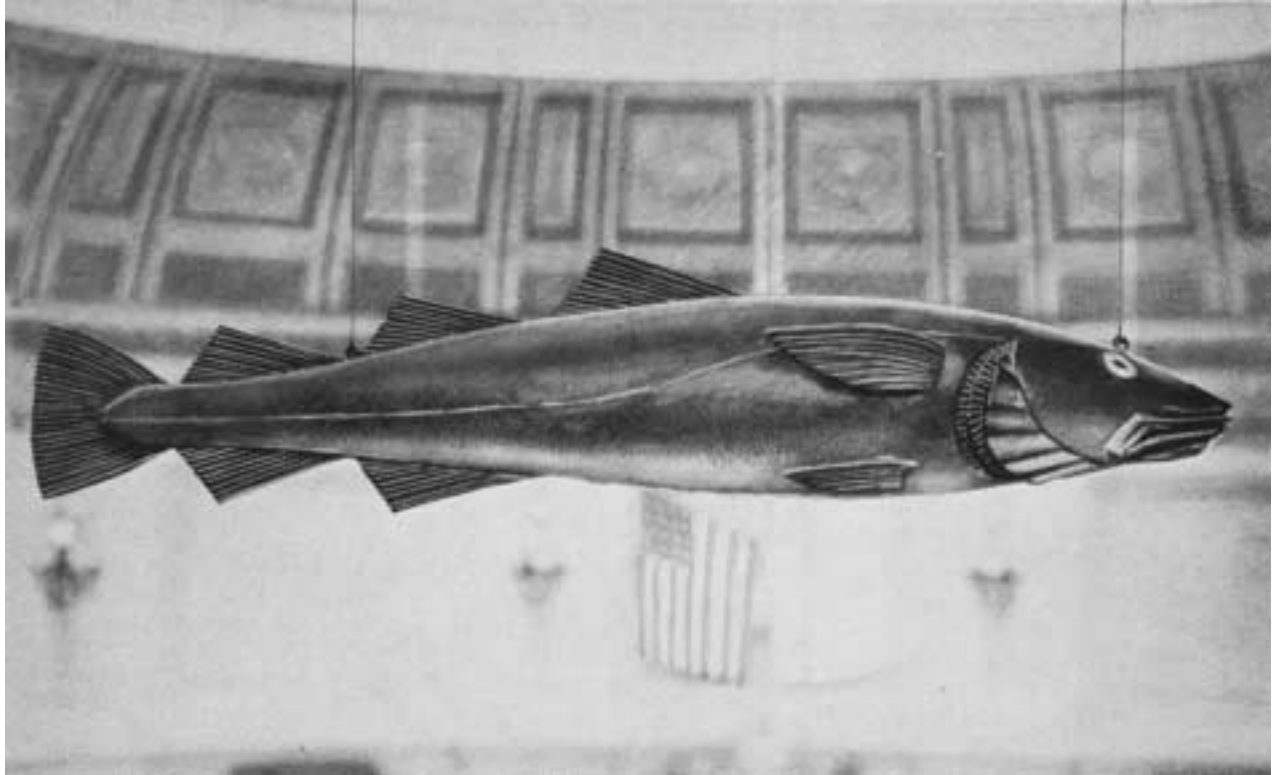
**The Sacred Cod.** The New England cod fishery was the largest and most important of the fisheries in what became the United States. The importance of the industry in Massachusetts is symbolized by the "Sacred Cod," a carving that hangs in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in Boston. Jonathan Rowe, a Boston merchant, gave the carving to the state in 1784. © LAKE COUNTY MUSEUM/CORBIS.

### NEW ENGLAND

The New England cod fishery was the first, the largest, and the economically most important of the fisheries in what became the United States. In the 1600s, fishing vessels from New England towns such as Gloucester and Marblehead joined ships from Portugal, Spain, France, and England in the cod-rich waters along the shores of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Labrador. In the first half of the eighteenth century, ships from France, Britain, and New England also began to fish for cod on the Grand Banks, a forty-thousand-square-mile portion of the North Atlantic off the southeastern coast of Newfoundland. The fish taken by these fishermen were salted, dried, and shipped across the Atlantic and to the Caribbean in quantities known as quintals—112 pounds of dried, salted cod. These quintals of cod formed one leg of the so-called Golden Triangle, in which fish from the northwestern Atlantic were sent to Europe, loads of slaves were transported from Africa to the Caribbean, and commodities such as sugar, molasses (a key ingredient in rum), and indigo were shipped from the Caribbean to New England and Canada. All the nations involved in the cod fisheries viewed them as not only a source of commerce, but also as "nurseries" for their navies, in which men would learn the craft of sailing. During wartime, harvests declined as men were taken from the fishing fleets to serve on men-of-war.

When the Treaty of Paris of 1763, which ended the Seven Years' War, severely restricted French access to the Canadian fisheries, the New England fishermen and the British resident and cross-Atlantic fishermen, or "bankers," became the primary competitors for the cod. For the next sixty years, the fishermen from New England struggled to maintain their rights to catch and export cod while Parliament sought to prevent them from doing so through parliamentary acts (the Restraining Act and Palliser's Act, both of 1775) and treaty stipulations. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 maintained the access of American fishermen to the Grand Banks and to portions of the shore fishery in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, while restricting their access to onshore areas on which to dry their catch. This resulted in shorter fishing trips, or "fares," as the New Englanders had to return home to preserve their fish for export. A British act of that same year prohibited the sale of American fish

in the British West Indies, which forced the New Englanders to turn to the French West Indies as the primary market for their fish.

The War of Independence devastated the American fishery, as annual exports declined by nearly 30 percent, a reduction from the prewar level of 350,000 quintals per annum to 250,650 per annum after the war. The postwar recovery was slow, and exports did not return to their prewar average until 1790. In an effort to stimulate the industry, Congress in 1792 instituted a bounty system under which shipowners and operators would receive a certain amount according to the tonnage of their vessel, so long as they were engaged in cod fishing for at least four months in a given year. This system was altered several times to increase the bounty and include pickled cod. In 1807 the bounties were repealed, and this—in concert with the War of 1812 (1812–1815)—again decimated the fishery. The 1816 export of 220,000 quintals was the lowest since before the Revolution. In 1813 the bounties were reestablished, pending the end of the war.

When the War of 1812 came to a close, the rights of Americans to the British North American fisheries were again in dispute. The New Englanders maintained that the rights guaranteed in the 1783 treaty remained in operation, while the British asserted that the recent hostilities had annulled those privileges. The question was not settled until the Convention of 1818, which allowed New Englanders to catch and preserve fish on the southern and western shores of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador. Elsewhere in British Canadian waters, American vessels could fish no closer than three marine miles from shore. Thereafter, the New Englanders' struggle for markets in which to sell their fish was part of a larger trade struggle with England in which each nation imposed tonnage and import duties and closed their ports to each other's ships.

### THE CHESAPEAKE

The earliest explorers and settlers of the Chesapeake Bay area discovered abundant and diverse marine resources. Herring, shad, alewives, mullet, sturgeon, and many other species filled the rivers, estuaries, and bays. However, in spite of the rich fish resources, the fishing industry was relatively slow to develop in these waters. This delay was caused mainly by a lack of salt with which to preserve the fish caught in this warm climate. Locally produced salt was inferior and superior salt from the Mediterranean was unavailable in adequate quantities because of a prohibition by Parliament (in the seventeenth-century Naviga-

tion Acts) against the importation of salt directly to the Chesapeake colonies. This lack of salt and the resulting danger of fish spoilage resulted in a fishing industry that was primarily local. What fish was exported went primarily to the West Indies, where—like merchants from New England—those from the Chesapeake picked up molasses, coffee, sugar, and oranges.

### THE GREAT LAKES

Commercial fishing in the Great Lakes developed somewhat later than in New England or the Chesapeake, due in large measure to the relative lateness of the region's settlement. Low population levels and lack of markets for fish impeded the industry's growth. It was not until the 1820s and 1830s that new markets opened up and the industry could expand.

Of the Great Lakes fisheries, the Atlantic salmon fishery of Lake Ontario was the first to be exploited commercially. By the 1790s, large numbers of these anadromous species (fish that grow to maturity in the lake's waters and swim upstream to reproduce) were being taken commercially in the Lake Ontario watershed. The fish's need to migrate to reproduce made them vulnerable to extensive harvesting as they made their annual spawning run upstream. Beginning in 1801, the New York legislature enacted a series of laws intended to extend some protection to the salmon, especially during the spawning season. By 1848 the state had enacted a total of twenty-four laws regulating salmon fishing in the state's waters.

The fishing industry on the other Great Lakes developed even later than that of Lake Ontario. In these waters, other species formed the base of the fishery: whitefish, sturgeon, lake trout, bass, pickerel, and herring, primary of these being the whitefish. Around 1812 these fish were being harvested commercially in the Saint Clair River and by 1815 in the Maumee River and Bay. In the early days of this commercial fishery, the catches were minuscule compared to those of New England's fishery. In 1817 approximately three thousand barrels of fish were taken from the lakes, only 2.7 percent of New England's prior year exports, which was a relatively small number for an industry still feeling the negative effects of the War of 1812.

By 1830, the Great Lakes fishery was about to experience its first period of substantial growth. The population around the lakes had grown, creating new markets close at hand, while the advent of lake steamers and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 created access to markets further afield.

*See also* **Treaty of Paris.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bogue, Margaret Beattie. *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783–1933.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.

Innis, Harold A. *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Report on the American Fisheries by the Secretary of State." In *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Vol. 19. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Lear, W. H. "History of Fisheries in the Northwest Atlantic: The 500-Year Perspective." *Journal of Northwest Atlantic Fishery Science* 23 (1998): 41–73.

Wharton, James. *The Bounty of the Chesapeake: Fishing in Colonial Virginia.* Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corp., 1957.

*Kevin L. Gooding*



**Early American Flags.** Top to bottom: the flag proposed in 1777; the flag approved in 1794; and the altered flag of 1818. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

**FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES**   As a product of the political struggle with Great Britain during the 1760s and 1770s, the American flag reflects in its design and concept the nation's revolutionary origins. Flags had long been familiar to the American colonists, especially those used to identify imperial powers such as England and France. New Englanders even crafted their own standard sometime in the late seventeenth century. The flag adopted the red cross of St. George from England's state banner and added a pine tree, which represented one of the region's most important natural resources. It was an important precedent. Not only did the New England flag illustrate the tendency of Americans to adapt traditional English designs for their standards, but it also supplied a potential model for later American flags.

Three popular designs emerged during the American Revolution to provide possible prototypes for a national flag. In 1775 and 1776, several Massachusetts privateers and Continental naval vessels flew modified pine tree flags that often substituted St. George's Cross with the words "An Appeal to Heaven." So-called Liberty Trees, usually American elms, were becoming popular symbols of the Revolution throughout the colonies, but this Pine Tree Flag was perhaps too narrowly identified with New England to serve as a national flag. Another common motif of Revolutionary flags was the timber rattlesnake, a creature indigenous to America. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) had printed a segmented snake representing the colonies to persuade Americans to "Join or Die" during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and while his efforts failed, they did establish the snake as a symbol of union in Americans' minds. The image was revived in the 1770s, appearing in newspapers as well as on numerous flags. The most enduring example is the Gadsden Flag featuring a coiled rattlesnake atop the ominous warning "Don't Tread on Me," a phrase that subsequently became embedded in the American lexicon. It was not unknown for the rattlesnake image to be superimposed upon either a Pine Tree Flag or a striped union flag, the third major design popularized by the Revolution.

The use of alternating red and white stripes, though later closely identified with the American flag, was in fact characteristic of some earlier English

banners. The pattern assumed new meaning in the context of the American Revolution, when Sons of Liberty in Boston and elsewhere employed it to suggest unity among the thirteen colonies. To express continued loyalty to the crown, however, the British Union Jack often appeared in an upper corner, creating what became known as the Continental Colors. It was this flag that flew over George Washington's camp during the siege of Boston in early 1776, and it was also the first "American" flag to be recognized by some of Britain's European rivals later that year. Yet the Continental Colors—whose stripes variously appeared as red, white, blue, and even green—had no official status as a national standard.

After declaring independence in July 1776, the Continental Congress set to work fashioning the symbols of a new American nation. Its first priority was an official seal that would identify the United States as a sovereign entity. Less attention seems to have been paid to the issue of a flag until the following summer, when Congress passed a resolution on 14 June 1777 stating, "That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." However, the function of the flag was as much utilitarian as it was nationalistic—to help distinguish Continental forces on land and, especially, at sea. The person generally credited with the design of the flag, which substituted a set of stars for the British Union Jack on the Continental Colors, is Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791), who served on the Continental Navy Board.

Standardization of the American flag was slow to develop. Not only did the use of rattlesnake designs and the Continental Colors continue for a time during the war, but also endless variations of the "stars and stripes" theme emerged on cloth and canvas in the following decades. The addition of new states in the 1790s touched off a debate in Congress about including them on the American flag. Although some argued that thirteen ought to be the permanent number of stars and stripes, federal legislation was passed in 1794 and in 1818 to allow for the alteration of the flag to include fifteen and then twenty stars respectively. The 1818 act also provided for the future addition of a single star for each state admitted to the Union, thus enabling the flag to keep up with the rapid growth of the nation.

*See also* **Music: Patriotic and Political; Patriotic Societies; "Star-Spangled Banner."**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Furlong, William Rea, and Byron McCandless. *So Proudly We Hail: The History of the United States Flag.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

*Jonathan M. Beagle*

**FLAGS** Nobody can be sure that Betsy Ross stitched the first version of the Stars and Stripes. She was accustomed to making flags, but her role regarding the initial U.S. flag was not proclaimed until 1870 and continues to be much debated. It is certain, however, that thirteen alternating white and red stripes below a blue rectangle set in the upper left-hand corner bespoke power in North America and the Malay Sea before either the United States or Malaysia was formed. Both have flags like that flown by the British East India Company's men-of-war well before the Continental Congress passed its resolution of 14 June 1777 "that the flag of the united states be 13 stripes alternate red and white, that the Union be 13 stars white in a blue field representing a new constellation." It is unclear whether they had Vermont in mind for the thirteenth state or Florida.

The first flag of the national army of the American Revolution was flown at the siege of Boston (1775–1776) but was replaced after it was mistaken for a flag of surrender. The second, bearing the impression of a serpent, had unpleasant implications for the biblically literal and was replaced in 1779. The green flag of John Houstoun McIntosh's East Florida Republic of 1811 was equally easy to misunderstand, for it depicted a bayonet-carrying Patriot wearing a tricolor hat with his pigtail flying behind his head. When the wind reversed, so did the pigtail, and the Patriot appeared to be retreating in haste.

Read from any direction, the Stars and Stripes meant Union and freedom as well. As such, it has been emulated by Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, Taiwan, Thailand, Burma, Tonga, Western Samoa, Liberia, Togo, Greece, and the Netherlands Antilles. Single-starred emblems, on the other hand, have fissiparous associations. The Lone Star Flag of Fulwar Skipwith's Republic of West Florida of 1810 flew for a month or two as a symbol of defiance of the federal government. It was resurrected by the secession convention of Mississippi on 9 January 1861 to became the Confederacy's famous Bonnie Blue flag. The very similar Lone Star Flag of the Texas Republic of 1836

**The Gadsden Flag.** The timber rattlesnake, a creature indigenous to America, was a common motif on Revolutionary flags. The best-known example is the Gadsden Flag, featuring a coiled rattlesnake atop the warning "Don't Tread on Me." Christopher Gadsden was a Revolutionary leader from South Carolina and a delegate to the Continental Congress. PICTURE HISTORY.

drew the United States into the Mexican War (1846–1848), which produced the deepest divisions since President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo (1807–1809) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815). Albert Gallatin, Revolutionary War soldier and secretary of the Treasury for Presidents Jefferson and James Madison, later referred to the U.S. banner raised over Chapultepec in the war with Mexico as "slavery's flag." That was Gallatin's way, less inflammatory than that of the flag burners of a later era, of joining future president Abraham Lincoln and former president John Quincy Adams in calling upon the conscience of their fellow countrymen. Gallatin, Lincoln, and Adams regarded the Mexican War as being directed by President James K. Polk for the purpose of expanding the cotton-growing empire of his fellow planters, and they disapproved. The national flag has, therefore, been at most times the rallying point it provided George Washington's army after 1779, but at other times a symbol of sharp divisions in the American community.

*See also* **Flag of the United States.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Arthur, Stanley Clisby. *The Story of the West Florida Rebellion.* St. Francisville, La.: St. Francisville Democrat, 1935.

Kennedy, Roger G. *Burr, Hamilton and Jefferson: A Study in Character.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

———. *Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

*Roger G. Kennedy*

**FLETCHER V. PECK**  Chief Justice John Marshall's 1810 decision in *Fletcher v. Peck* arose from the Yazoo Land Fraud, in which the Georgia legislature voted in 1795 to sell 35 million acres of land (in what is now Alabama and Mississippi) to four private companies. The Yazoo land, named after a major river running through it, was sold at bargain rates (less than two cents per acre). Many Georgia legislators had been bribed to offer such good terms: many of them received stock in one of the companies; others received cash payments.

U.S. Senator James Jackson of Georgia returned from the capital in Philadelphia to run for the state legislature and lead the fight against the Yazoo fraud. Angry Georgia voters turned the legislators who voted to sell the land out of office and the new legislature, at the instigation of Jackson, repealed the grant in 1796. In the interim, however, much of the land had been sold one or two times, and the new property owners—many of whom had paid as much as sixteen cents per acre—now claimed they were innocent victims of the Georgia legislature's repeal. But proponents of the repeal claimed that the subsequent purchasers had known about the circumstances of the fraud (the story was reported throughout the nation) and thus could not claim to be innocent purchasers.

The Yazoo fraud took on national dimensions when the purchasers asked Congress to compensate them from their losses. Federalists, who generally supported property rights more vigorously than Jeffersonian Republicans, opposed the repeal. Meanwhile, the four land companies that had purchased the land sought to challenge the repeal by concocting a lawsuit. John Peck, an investor in the New England Mississippi Company (one of the grantees in 1795), sold land to Robert Fletcher (another investor in the same company). In his lawsuit Fletcher presented

himself to the court as innocent of the wrongdoing and claimed that he was being deprived of his property rights. The repeal by the Georgia Legislature thus pitted subsequent purchasers against initial grantees.

Marshall's opinion invalidated Georgia's repeal, using two arguments: "Georgia was restrained, either by general principles . . . common to our free institutions" or by article I, section 10 (the Contracts Clause), of the U.S. Constitution (*Fletcher v. Peck*, 10 U.S. 87, 139 [1810]). The "general principles" included the idea that innocent subsequent purchasers should not be deprived of their property. As Marshall said, "He has paid his money for a title good at law, he is innocent, whatever may be the guilt of others, and equity will not subject him to the penalties attached to that guilt" (*Fletcher*, 10 U.S. at 133).

Marshall also broadly construed the Contracts Clause, which prohibits states from passing a "law impairing the obligation of contracts." The initial understanding of that clause appears to have been that states could not interfere with contracts among private parties; it seemed to have no bearing on contracts between the government and individuals. Thus when *Fletcher* proclaimed the power of federal courts to protect legislated contracts from interference, it marked an expansion of the Contracts Clause. In praise of the Contracts Clause, Marshall wrote, "The people of the United States, in adopting the instrument, have manifested a determination to shield themselves and their property from the effects of those sudden and strong passions to which men are exposed" (*Fletcher*, 10 U.S. at 138).

For Marshall and other Federalists, the Constitution was a support against the passions of legislatures. Subsequent cases, like *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) and *Ogden v. Saunders* (1827) applied the Contracts Clause to prohibit legislative interference in state charters and bankruptcy. The Contracts Clause thus became an important vehicle for judges (particularly those of the Federalist and later Whig Parties) to protect property rights.

*See also* **Land Policies; Land Speculation; Marshall, John; Property.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

*Fletcher v. Peck*, 10 U.S. (6 Cranch) 87 (1810).

Magrath, C. Peter. *Yazoo: Law and Politics in the New Republic, the Case of Fletcher v. Peck.* Providence: Brown University Press, 1966.

Siegel, Stephen. "Understanding the Nineteenth Century Contract Clause: The Role of the Property-Privilege Distinction and 'Taking' Clause Jurisprudence." *Southern California Law Review* 60 (1986): 1–108.

White, G. Edward. *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35.* New York: Macmillan, 1988.

*Alfred L. Brophy*

**FLOGGING**  Flogging, defined as punishment by whipping according to forms prescribed by law, was a common practice at the time of the founding of the United States. It was one of a number of corporal punishments, including branding, the pillory, and the stocks that were in general use at a time when prisons were employed more as a means to hold people already in the process of judgment than to punish or to rehabilitate and when many offenders were too poor to make fining them worthwhile. Flogging was also the most common method of punishing slaves, though no slave was entitled to the protections and limitations of the practice to the extent that these were prescribed in law for civilians.

With the creation of national armed forces during the Revolutionary and early republican eras—in the form of, first, the Continental Army, and subsequently the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy—flogging was the punishment of first resort to enforce subordination and the unquestioning obedience that were deemed essential for military operations. In drawing up articles of war in the Continental Congress in 1776, John Adams borrowed from the customs and practices of the British army and navy, though he also sought to prevent the excesses of the British codes, such as the naval ritual of flogging men round the fleet—a form of punishment administered to a man tied to a grate in a boat in which he received a dozen lashes alongside every vessel in the harbor—from entering into American law. Punishment for lesser offenses, such as drunkenness, were usually limited to a dozen lashes with a cat-o'-nine tails, to be ordered after only minimal or sometimes no judicial proceedings. More serious offenses, such as a first attempt to desert the service, could be punished with up to one hundred lashes after sentencing by a general court martial.

After the Revolution, flogging came under increasing criticism. In part, this was because it subjected the citizens of a new Republic that placed a high premium on the autonomy and dignity of the individual to a cruel form of punishment that was one of the defining characteristics of slavery. But it was also in part because of wider transatlantic changes, associated with the Enlightenment, in thinking about human nature and the causes of

crime and deviance. Philosophers, religious leaders, and administrators believed that offenders could be reformed through changes to their environment and by encouraging them to repent of their erring ways, provided they were not brutalized by degrading and disfiguring punishments. For rehabilitation to occur, a range of carceral institutions, including asylums, penetentiaries, orphanages, and workhouses were established to create the circumstances under which offenders could develop the character and self–discipline necessary to function as useful and virtuous citizens.

Consequently, from the 1780s to the Civil War the states of the Union, with the exception of South Carolina, restricted and ultimately abolished the practice of flogging offenders in public and replaced it with various forms of incarceration, accompanied by regular work regimes. This did not mean, however, that flogging actually ended as a means of either discipline or punishment. It merely moved indoors and out of public view as almost all carceral institutions in the early Republic continued to use whipping and other forms of corporal punishment to enforce discipline within the reforming institution itself. And in South Carolina, not only did the state not abandon corporal punishments in favor of the penitentiary, it also allowed masters to send offending slaves to the workhouse, where they could be flogged for the payment of a fee.

Flogging in the armed forces was only minimally and far more slowly affected by these changes. From time to time, Congress would revise the Articles of War, but flogging remained the first recourse for punishment, in the case of the navy up until 1850. In the army flogging was abolished on the eve of the War of 1812. The change was made not so much for humanitarian reasons as from a more pragmatic awareness that potential recruits under a voluntary system of miltary enlistment might be reluctant to leave their local militias, where flogging was not practiced, to subject themselves to harsher forms of discipline. This reform had only limited success, and after 1815, as the number of immigrants in the ranks increased along with the number of desertions, the army became convinced that only the restoration of flogging would improve discipline. Accordingly, in 1833 flogging for desertion was reintroduced and remained in force until the outbreak of the Civil War.

See also **Penitentiaries.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ayers, Edward. *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Glenn, Myra C. *Campaigns against Corporal Punishment: Prisoners, Sailors, Women, and Children in Antebellum America.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Hare, John S. "Military Punishments in the War of 1812." *American Military Institute Journal* 4 (1940): 225–239.

Hindus, Michael S. *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice, and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767–1878.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980.

Meranze, Michael. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996.

Valle, James E. *Rocks and Shoals: Order and Discipline in the Old Navy, 1800–1861.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1980.

*J. C. A. Stagg*

**FLORIDA**   Congress admitted Florida to the Union in 1845 as a slave state together with Iowa, a free territory, maintaining the balance between slave and free states. The United States acquired Florida in 1821 following Spain's concession, under the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), of its colonies East and West Florida in lieu of a five-million-dollar debt to American citizens. Spain had controlled Florida from the settlement of St. Augustine in 1565 until the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, when Britain took possession. The British occupation ended with the American Revolution and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which returned Florida to the Spanish. The War of 1812, the Florida campaigns of General Andrew Jackson, and the First Seminole War (1817–1818) convinced Spain that it could no longer protect its Florida possessions.

### WEST FLORIDA

The initial boundary of West Florida extended from the Apalachicola River in the east to the Mississippi River in the west, north approximately to present-day Vicksburg (Mississippi), and east to the Chattahoochee River. It included the cities of Mobile, Natchez, and, serving as its capital, Pensacola. Americans claimed that the territory above the northern border of present-day Florida at the thirty-first parallel belonged to the United States. Under the 1795 treaty negotiated by Thomas Pinckney, U.S. envoy to Spain, a militarily weak Spain ceded this territory, which included the lower parts of present-day Mississippi and Alabama, to the United States.

Spanish records indicate that the nonwhite population in 1795 was 8,390, among which were Spanish, English, French, and Americans. The colony recognized the Roman Catholic faith as the official religion, but perhaps 15 percent of the population was Protestant. The mainstays of the economy were timber, indigo, and tobacco, although competition from Mexico significantly reduced tobacco's economic potential. Probably the most lucrative endeavor was trading British-manufactured products with Indians in return for land.

Historians argue that the conflict in West Florida was an early expression of Manifest Destiny, the belief, which became widespread in the 1840s, that the United States was destined to expand across the continent. Spain maintained a generous land-grant policy that brought large numbers of Americans into the colony, mostly to the Baton Rouge area; eventually this policy led to Spain's loss of territory that came to be known as the Florida Parishes of Louisiana. In 1810 American insurgents captured Baton Rouge, declared it independent, and created the Republic of West Florida; under a flag bearing a single star, it became—before Texas—the first lone-star republic. At the insurgents' urging and despite Spanish opposition, the United States annexed the territory (now part of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi) along the Gulf Coast between the Mississippi and Perdido Rivers (the present-day western boundary of Florida) into the Territory of Orleans.

### EAST FLORIDA

East Florida included most of present-day Florida, with St. Augustine as its capital and only significant city. Following Spanish acquisition, the non–Indian population of East Florida dropped to below two thousand from a peak of approximately twelve thousand during British occupation. Yet with Minorcans, Greeks, Italians (all of whom the English had imported as laborers), British, Americans, Spanish, and Africans, the population remained diverse. A continually unstable economy revolved around timber, cattle, rice, and increasingly cotton. Seeking to end its financial dependence on Spain, East Florida instituted a liberal land-grant policy like that in West Florida, only to suffer similar consequences.

Encouraged by West Florida insurgents, self-professed East Florida patriots—Americans living in the colony and others who came down from Georgia—staged their own insurgency. They managed to seize Amelia Island, but when the United States declared war on Britain in 1812, it withdrew its support of the patriots. Seminoles, including many fugi-

tive slaves, then allied with the Spanish and helped defeat the patriots.

### INDIANS, BLACKS, AND CESSION

Americans found Florida Indians an especial irritant because among them lived so-called black Seminoles, fugitive slaves from the British colonies and later the southern U.S. states. Beginning in 1693 Spanish Florida offered freedom to runaway slaves from the British colonies who pledged their loyalty to Spain and converted to Catholicism. That policy continued into the second Spanish period over the protests of American slaveholders, eventually strengthening congressional support for the acquisition of the two Floridas.

The climax in the struggle over Florida came during and after the War of 1812. During the war Jackson conducted forays against the British (allies of Spain) in Florida, capturing fortifications in Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Marks. When British forces withdrew after the war, they left Seminoles and blacks with provisions at a fort on the Apalachicola River just south of the Georgia border. Jackson ordered the destruction of the so-called Negro Fort for security reasons. Its demolition was soon followed by the Seminole War and the Spanish cession of its Florida provinces.

### U.S. TERRITORY

The first territorial census in 1825, which is incomplete, counted less than 15,000 slave and free people living in Florida, almost all in the northern section and representing to a large degree the remnants, though culturally diverse, of the Spanish period. During the four decades following U.S. acquisition, Florida became increasingly Anglo and African as settlers and slaves, mainly from Georgia and South Carolina, flooded into the region. The census recorded 34,730 people living in Florida in 1830, 54,477 in 1840, 87,445 in 1850, and 140,424 in 1860. The slave population continually hovered around 40 percent, which in 1860 belonged to 5,152 slaveholders. Free blacks were legally prohibited from relocating to Florida, which kept their population below 1,000. Representing approximately one-half the total population and the majority of the slave population, middle Florida, between the Apalachicola and Suwanee Rivers, grew into the wealthiest and most politically powerful region.

The territorial capital was built in 1824 on the Indian fields of Tallahassee in middle Florida, which dominated Florida's agrarian economy. Although farmers grew rice, corn, and later sugarcane, the sta-

ples of a robust economy were cotton and timber. Middle Florida yeomen farmers (known as Crackers) and planters with their slaves produced 80 percent of the territory's cotton. By the 1850s, Florida's annual cotton crop represented the highest per-capita yield in the South with the highest dollar value. Timber—pine and oak—was extracted mainly from northeast Florida and shipped out of Jacksonville, the territory's largest city and busiest port. With more than twenty sawmills in operation along the St. Johns River in the 1850s, Jacksonville claimed to be the largest timber market in the South. Cattle raising by that time had emerged as a third major industry, with the export trade passing mainly through the port of Tampa.

## SEMINOLE WARS

An estimated five thousand Indians occupied the territory at the time of U.S. acquisition. By the middle of the eighteenth century, disease and warfare had wiped out the original native population. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, continuing conflicts between whites and Yamasee, Cherokee, and Creek peoples in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama forced a fresh influx of Indians into Florida, where the Spanish generally welcomed them as allies and trading partners. Beginning with the British, they became collectively known as Seminoles. In contrast to the expanding general population, wars with the United States would nearly eliminate their numbers.

White Americans generally regarded Indians as a threat to their safety and property. To that end, the First Seminole War followed after Secretary of War John C. Calhoun dispatched General Jackson to Florida to prevent Seminoles from conducting raids on homesteads in southern Georgia and providing sanctuary to runaway slaves. Lasting from 1835 to 1842, the Second Seminole War was the longest sustained conflict between the United States and a single Indian group. The war broke out after a treaty forced Indians out of middle Florida and other areas of white settlement and onto a reservation north of Tampa. Approximately three hundred Seminoles survived the war and evaded relocation to the Oklahoma territory, where nearly four thousand Seminoles had been sent. Minor conflicts continued between the remaining Seminoles and Florida whites, who demanded the Indians' execution or removal. War erupted again in 1855, lasting two years. About two hundred Seminoles escaped to the Everglades and the Big Cypress Swamp, where their descendants remain today.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians: Southeast; Jackson, Andrew; Louisiana Purchase; Seminole Wars; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gannon, Michael. *Florida: A Short History*, rev. ed. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Hoffman, Paul E. *Florida's Frontiers.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Tebeau, Charlton W. *A History of Florida.* Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1971.

*Jack E. Davis*

**FOLK ARTS**   An analytical category of cultural expression, "folk art" draws attention to traditional handiwork produced with aesthetic intent, typically crafted by and for ordinary people. Twentieth-century scholars began using the term to refer to a body of material produced outside of the worlds of academic art, and in the United States there has been a special interest in the relation of folk art as grassroots expression to the rise of distinctive American identities. Examination of folk art, found in great variety among the diverse communities in the new nation, expands the evidence of art in American everyday life and raises questions about the influence on cultural production of the country's broad social and physical landscape.

There are disputes among scholars about what should properly be included in the category of folk art for the purposes of cultural and historical analysis. Many collections emphasize painting and sculpture that appear to be naive, primitive, or plain by academic standards and that therefore are assumed to be crafted by ordinary citizens. There is a tendency to overstate the middle class as "common folk" and feature novel nationalistic expressions in such collections. Many of the images presented of common folk, for example, emphasize merchants and artisans who produced or consumed portraits and wares, sometimes in imitation of status symbols marking the elite who could commission professional artists. Scholars have noted that to establish a class identity that was merely derivative of European high style, but distinctive, merchants and artisans often underscored the home-grown source of their products

**Pennsylvania German Dower Chest (1799).** In Pennsylvania German communities it was common to give a wood dower chest, often painted with ethnic symbols, to newlyweds. © PETER HARHOLDT/CORBIS.

contributing to the rising national identity of "ordinary" Americans.

The use of "folk" as defined by folklorists, however, implies the significance of tradition in the transmission of skills and themes in diverse community contexts. The material included in folkloristic collections that is meant to illuminate continuities with native and Old World traditions typically comprises decorated craftwork such as ethnic-regional pottery, needlework, ironwork, basketry, calligraphy, and carving. Occupational traditions, especially in maritime trades along the expanse of America's abundant shores, with sailors producing decorated scrimshaw and shipcarvings flourished. Further inland, the growth of lumber and textile industries included cottage operations producing decorative coverlets and rugs using hand-made wooden looms, wheels, and winders. Artisanship in traditional arts was encour-

aged by the absence of a protective European guild system in the new nation and a mobile population rapidly establishing new communities with craft needs. In addition, a can-do, self-sufficient (some say democratizing) spirit of vernacular free expression, represented by guides such as Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732–1757), led Americans to believe that they could try their hand at various skills once reserved for elites.

The extent of connection to, and separation from, the Old World is not simply a matter of analyzing whether transplantation took root in the New World. Some distinctive conditions during the period of the emerging Republic affected the adaptation, hybridization, and emergence of many traditions on the American landscape. First was the presence of an indigenous population with skills and images that entered into the symbolic repertoire of many non-

The leopard with the harmless kid laid down
And not one savage beast was seen to frown

The wolf did with the lambkin dwell in peace
His grim carnivorous nature there did cease

The lion with the fatling on did move
A little child was leading them in love;

When the great PENN his famous treaty made
With indian chiefs beneath the Elm-tree's shade.

***The Peaceable Kingdom* (1826) by Edward Hicks.** Many folk renderings of William Penn's treaty with the Indians, including fireboards by Pennsylvania Quaker Edward Hicks, emphasize the mythological foundations of Penn's "holy experiment." © *PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.*

native artists. Second was the diversity of languages, religions, and backgrounds in the nation, particularly in places like Pennsylvania, where—according to the 1790 census—one-third of the population spoke German and lived in homogeneous farming communities. This diversity included the significant presence of enslaved Africans, particularly in the South, many of whom incorporated African aesthetics when forced to take up British American crafts. There is also substantial evidence for the persistence of Africanisms in, among other things, ironwork, grave decoration, and basketry that informed hybrid American forms. In Louisiana, creole foodways and arts emerged from the racial mixing of blacks and whites and the ethnic fusion of Spanish, African, and French traditions. Regional cultures of New England, the mid-Atlantic, and the South, with their distinctive ethnic and religious mixtures, became entrenched as a result of diffusion emanating from several prominent ports of entry on the eastern seaboard and the Gulf Coast. Communities within these regions, often isolated by physical or social boundaries, maintained folk art traditions that symbolized their difference. In the Adirondacks, the pack basket became one such marker; in the South Carolina Sea Islands, it was the sweetgrass basket; in central Pennsylvania, the ryestraw basket.

The wide availability of land and the movable nature of the frontier in America contributed to the perception that a rooted peasant class associated with the folk art of European villages did not exist in the United States. But the openness of America's borders, the need for labor, and the promise of religious and political tolerance provided opportunities for separatist communities (e.g., Amish, Shakers, Harmonists) that produced distinctive artistic expressions.

With settlement moving toward the varied interior, some highland communities in the Appalachians, Ozarks, and Adirondacks evolved in relative isolation and developed localized folk cultures. Some maritime locations, such as the Eastern Shore of Maryland and northern "Arcadian" Maine, were also comparatively isolated and thus preserved colonial era folk arts well into the industrial era. In not-so-isolated urban areas, folk arts also took hold, especially for immigrant and religious communities that provided for ritual needs with specialized artisans. In New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, Jewish calligraphers, stonecarvers, and metalsmiths produced ritual objects needed by the community.

Using folk art to construct a cultural history during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one finds evidence of several themes emerging as the colonies gave way to a new nation. They were cultural expressions of nationalism and regional identity; ethnic-religious distinctions and continuities; and occupational, class, and craft consciousness.

### NATIONALISM AND REGIONAL IDENTITY

As a revolutionary Republic, the United States needed icons that could be artistically expressed and ingrained in cultural traditions. In folk art, the construction of patriotic and heroic symbols for private domestic uses or public celebrations became an important aspect of nation building and regional identification. While eighteenth-century printmakers created a symbol of the thirteen colonies in the form of a fierce Amazonian Indian queen-huntress, colonists also fashioned a more Anglicized figure in the form of the more civilized, but nonetheless indigenous, Indian princess to pottery, trade signs, weather vanes, and statuary. The young, industrious maiden was usually adorned with a feathered headdress and skirt and thus represented a stylized image rather than an ethnographic portrayal of North American Indians. At the time of the protests against the Stamp Act of 1765, the figure became significant politically as the rebel daughter of the British "Britannia" and sometimes accompanied the Sons of Liberty on folk banners.

After the Revolution, the female symbol of America received a neoclassical makeover in folk expressions. She appeared as a Greek goddess in flowing robes, at least in part because of the linkage made between classical republics and the modern American nation. In folk art, the American classical icon may be accompanied by a flagpole, often with a tasseled liberty cap on top. In imitations of Edward Savage's popular engraving, *Liberty, in the Form of the Goddess of Youth; Giving Support to the Bald Eagle* (1796), her tender, youthful image—festooned with a flower garland—is feeding the aggressive eagle from a cup. While the name Liberty is frequently applied to this Greek revival image, she also goes by Columbia (after Christopher Columbus) and was a favorite design for post-Revolutionary ship figureheads, tobacco-store trade figures, and weather vanes. The eagle often appears alone in carvings, scissors cuttings, illuminated manuscripts, and coverlets of the period. Sometimes a shield with the colors of the new nation covers the bird's breast. In many renderings of Liberty, she is holding a cornucopia for the abundance of the new land or a torch for providing a light to the world, well before Fréderic-Auguste Bartholdi erected the Statue of Liberty, unveiled in 1886.

The liberty cap, often portrayed being hoisted on a pole, is especially prevalent in the period of the early Republic. A soft, conical hat, its symbolism of freedom and independence for Americans derives from the Roman custom of awarding it to freed slaves to wear on their shorn heads. In addition to being painted on banners and signboards as a patriotic symbol, carved and woven caps were paraded on top of poles in public processions and festivals during the early years of the nation. Among the most enthusiastic paraders were volunteer firefighters who showed their civic pride by fashioning elaborate hats, engine panels, and buckets with patriotic symbols for parades on Independence Day and other occasions.

The flag and its colors figured prominently in traditional forms marking the Americanness of their users. Among Pennsylvania Germans, for instance, patriotic eagles transformed ethnic crafts of *scherenschnitte*, or scissors cuttings, and *fraktur*, or illuminated manuscripts for baptism and weddings, into American forms. Painted furniture in "Dutchland," traditionally decorated with hearts, tulips, and rosettes, often had eagles and flags added to their design after the turn of the eighteenth century. Elsewhere, expressions of nationalism appeared to be especially evident in woven bed coverlets and table covers, hooked rugs, and quilts.

Although the United States did not claim a pantheon of gods comparable to European mythologies, the figure of George Washington arguably became mythologized as "father of his country" in folk art after his death in 1799. Schoolgirls stitched and painted memorial pictures in his memory, sign painters adopted his visage for trade shingles, and craftsmen forged weather vanes and carved cake boards and statuary with his likeness. Often shown with his horse, in uniform with period hat and

sword, Washington assumed a majestic pose and typically suggested a nation inspired to action.

Often less visible than the nationalistic symbols but nonetheless significant to the American heritage of simultaneous local-national loyalties, regional expressions also emerged as signs of American distinctiveness. Frequently, these expressions were in the form of landscapes recognized as "homeland." Perhaps prepared as an overmantel, fireboard, or wall mural, the landscapes tended to emphasize the prosperity of the settlement they depicted. Connecticut-born Winthrop Chandler (1747–1790), for instance, painted for his extended family members several overmantels featuring the shorescapes of booming New England. In the South, a number of anonymous paintings of plantations, probably commissioned by the plantation owners, show the extent of their holdings. In Pennsylvania, many folk renderings of William Penn's treaty with the Indians, including fireboards completed by Pennsylvania Quaker Edward Hicks (1780–1849), establish a mythological foundation for William Penn's Holy Experiment. Sometimes called "The Peaceable Kingdom" by the artist, the scene includes animals and cherubic figures looking at the scene of the treaty in the background. Hicks frequently surrounded the painting with text such as "The leopard with the harmless kid laid down, And not one savage beast was seen to frown, when the great PENN his famous treaty made, With Indian chiefs beneath the elm tree's shade."

### ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS DISTINCTIONS AND CONTINUITIES

The practice of folk art was a visible way of expressing, reinforcing, and sometimes reformulating the identities of new settlers in new settings. In South Carolina, where African Americans were forced to cultivate rice, they created coiled baskets for fanning rice similar to those made in West Africa for that purpose. Often outnumbering whites in rice-producing regions, Africans were able to maintain craft traditions. Commonly made with hard rush plants by men during the early years of slavery, coiled baskets forming designs unlike those of Anglo-American baskets were later made with soft, pliant sweetgrass and tied with palmetto strips as reminders of African heritage. If the use of Africanisms by slaves was discouraged outside the home by masters, inside the home women retained African aesthetics in the strip quilt. Although the techniques of quilting are associated with British American tradition, the strip quilt for which long, narrow bands of cloth are assembled into quilt-top patterns harks back to West African textile techniques. The tradition of the strip quilt persists as a distinctive African American form into the twenty-first century.

The German-speaking settlers who came in large numbers to Pennsylvania beginning in 1683 were hardly united, since they came from several source areas stretching from Holland down to Switzerland. But as they mixed together, a distinctive Pennsylvania German dialect and culture formed during the eighteenth century that stretched into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and western Maryland. The colorful designs of hearts, tulips, rosettes, and birds used on baptismal paper certificates, redware pottery, painted softwood furniture, fancy linens or "show towels," gravestones, and tinware stood in contrast with the subdued products of the politically dominant English Quakers. The Pennsylvania Germans resisted control of their German-speaking schools and institutions by English-speaking authorities, and were able to do so because of their entrenchment in often inaccessible valleys. As canals and roads reached into the Dutchlands, more traffic from Philadelphia westward brought more interchange with English-speaking citizens. Laws were passed to make the Germans conform to an English standard. In central Pennsylvania, many German schoolmasters and ministers ushered in a revival of traditional designs and skills in the early nineteenth century to proclaim Pennsylvania German ethnic identity within the new American nation. Gravestones were more highly elaborated than in earlier generations, before becoming less ethnically distinctive around the Civil War. Illuminated family registers, tracing generations in the American experience, announced the maintenance of an ethnic legacy within a growing nation-state.

While the Germans covered a large regional expanse in Pennsylvania and beyond, some groups formed small enclaves of believers who wanted to live separately from "the world" or to organize utopian experiments. William Penn's Holy Experiment of religious tolerance attracted many of these groups, including the Ephrata community, which created a renowned set of illuminated hymnbooks; Moravian villages known for their slip-decorated pottery; and Harmony, which produced illustrated plans of the built and natural environment. Outside of Pennsylvania, the most notable separatist community that spanned the Revolutionary and national periods was the Shakers, known formally as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. Persecuted in England, the Shakers formed seventeen communities in the United States between 1776 and 1810. But relations between the Shakers

and non-believers in America were often tense as they had been overseas, and arrests of its pacifist membership occurred during the Revolutionary War. They proclaimed their difference visually with inspirational drawings meant as "gifts of love" to one another. Among the designs were illustrated "rewards" shaped into hearts and fans; "sacred sheets" filled with motifs such as mystical circles, doves, angels, eyes, and hands; and colorful trees of life accompanied by commentaries about being led to the spirit world or messages from spirits often inspired by biblical passages.

### OCCUPATIONAL, CLASS, AND CRAFT CONSCIOUSNESS

The expansion of communities inland along a movable frontier and their separation from European markets created localized or regionalized markets within America for many traditional artisans. In addition, the availability of land, especially in newer, more remote settlements, fostered the taking up by farm families of a variety of crafts, including smithing, pottery, and basketry, that might have been done on a more specialized basis in a more feudal-like system. Especially notable on the American landscape was an abundance of wood, which often surprised Europeans, whose forests had been depleted. A number of American arts made use of this resource in the making of such things as cigar-store figures, signs for shops and inns, ship figureheads and sternboards, weather vanes, bird decoys, toys and gameboards, gates, butter molds, dough trays, and cake boards.

By the time of the Revolution, furniture making was one of America's leading trades, and many examples of decorated chests, benches, tables, beds, and chairs enlivened domestic environments. In Pennsylvania German communities, it was common to bestow a decorated dower chest and bride's box, frequently painted with ethnic symbols, to newlyweds. Elsewhere, storage boxes made of wood for candles, knives, trinkets, and spices were constructed in households. Among the decorated furniture that announced rising economic status was the tall clock. Sometimes reaching as high as ninety-five inches, fancy clockworks were typically made by a special artisan, while the impressive case was made by someone else. The tall clock usually contained decorations on both the case and dial and would usually be kept in a prominent place in the hallway near the house's entrance. Indeed, one of the architectural developments in the late eighteenth century that fostered domestic arts was the idea of a "front-stage" hallway furnished with—in addition to the clock—

decorative items such as framed mirrors, benches, wall hangings, and floor coverings meant to convey status before visitors were taken "back-stage."

The enlargement of the whaling trade in the early nineteenth century gave rise to a distinctive American sailor's art in scrimshaw, namely, engravings and carvings on whale's teeth and bones. Many of the scenes illustrate occupational pride in the experiences of the voyage or expressions of love for those left home. Home ports in New England as well as scenes of exotic locations and adventures are depicted, showing pride in American sailing expertise. Sailors also created implements out of whale ivory, including pie crimpers and dippers that often had carved animal figures for handles.

Although the period of the young Republic has often been romanticized as being a golden pre-industrial age when American folk art flowered, traditions continued to evolve and emerge even as industrialization and urbanization spread. While folk art is not restricted to one period, the symbols and forms of grassroots production that took shape during the early national period bring into relief the ways that people expressed their separateness and unity within a broad American landscape.

*See also* **African Survivals; Art and American Nationhood; Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities; Food; Furniture; Pennsylvania; Textiles Manufacturing.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bishop, Robert, and Jacqueline M. Atkins. *Folk Art in American Life.* New York: Viking Studio Books, 1995.

Christensen, Erwin O. *Early American Wood Carving.* Cleveland: World Publishing, 1952.

Fox, Sandi. *For Purpose and Pleasure: Quilting Together in Nineteenth-Century America.* Nashville, Tenn.: Rutledge Hill, 1995.

Harding, Deborah. *Stars and Stripes: Patriotic Motifs in American Folk Art.* New York: Rizzoli, 2002.

Lipman, Jean, and Alice Winchester. *The Flowering of American Folk Art*, *1776–1876.* New York: Viking, 1974.

Lipman, Jean, Elizabeth V. Warren, and Robert Bishop. *Young America: A Folk-Art History.* New York: Hudson Hills, 1986.

McManus, Michael. *A Treasury of American Scrimshaw: A Collection of the Useful and Decorative.* New York: Penguin Studio, 1997.

Quimby, Ian M. G., ed. *The Craftsman in Early America.* New York: Norton, 1984.

Sprigg, June. *Shaker Design.* New York: Norton, 1986.

Swank, Scott T. *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans.* New York: Norton, 1983.

Vlach, John Michael. *The Afro–American Tradition in Decorative Arts.* Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978. Reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.

_____. *Plain Painters: Making Sense of American Folk Art.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.

Weekley, Carolyn J. *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks.* Williamsburg, Va.: Abrams, 1999.

*Simon J. Bronner*

**FOOD**  The story of American food in the mid– to late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries involves changes in production, trade, cuisine, and consumption. During these years, American settlers witnessed not only the birth of a nation but also the emergence of a national economy based on the circulation of such foodstuffs as wheat, corn, livestock, and rice. Overall, the period was a time of increased prosperity for settlers able to take part in the most lucrative forms of agriculture and trade. This prosperity was reflected in the diet of the wealthy, who chose from an abundant and diverse selection of foodstuffs.

Growth throughout the original colonies and new territories was not uniform, however, and settlers did not profit equally from the changes. In particular, many Amerindians and African slaves, whose knowledge, labor, and land proved essential to the success of the new nation, were excluded from the benefits of economic progress. Poorer white Americans also did not necessarily see a significant change in their standard of living. Indeed, economies and ways of life, including culinary customs, varied widely by racial and socioeconomic status, as well as by region. White ethnic groups also practiced unique traditions that contributed to regional habits.

A few commonalities did exist among groups, however; for instance, corn (often called Indian corn or maize) and pork remained staples well into the nineteenth century for virtually all. Additionally, women largely were responsible for food preparation, and scholars at the turn of the twenty-first century are particularly interested in examining American-authored cookbooks, first published in the late eighteenth century and often written by women, for information about women's lives and beliefs. In spite of these similarities, regional variations in the ways people produced, obtained, prepared, and consumed food in the early years of the nation are significant enough to merit separate treatment here.

## THE NORTH

Much of the wealth in New England during the colonial era derived from the shipping trade, which carried goods to Britain, Continental Europe, and the Caribbean, a major market for American foodstuffs. In particular, New England settlers produced and sent large quantities of dried fish to southern Europe and the Caribbean, which also received livestock, salt beef and pork, butter, and cheese. Some cheese and foodstuffs went to the American South as well.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, New England farmers supplied the Caribbean and southern Europe with wheat, corn, and flour, too, but by the latter half of the century, Maryland, Virginia, and the middle colonies, which included New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, had surpassed New England in the production of breadstuffs. Indeed, New England settlers as a whole came to depend on the middle colonies and the South for their own wheat as well. Inhabitants of the middle colonies also produced salted beef and pork for the Caribbean and southern Europe, which in the late eighteenth century experienced unusually bad harvests that drove up the price and demand for American wheat.

New England dietary habits have been studied in more detail than those of other regions, and research suggests that the seasonal diet of the early colonial period had given way by the late eighteenth century to a more diversified fare throughout the year. In colonial times, settlers subsisted mainly on breads made with corn, which Amerindians taught them how to grow and cook, as well as other corn-based dishes, such as hasty pudding and other cornmeal mushes or porridges. Colonists also made breads from a corn and rye mix. By the early nineteenth century, however, wealthier inhabitants were using wheat grain and flour.

Salt pork and beef were the most popular meats in New England, and New England settlers in general adhered to the English dietary preference for meat by consuming it in increasing quantities. Early colonists depended on wild game, but later inhabitants used it only as a supplement. The consumption of butter and cheese also increased, and by the nineteenth century, families of moderate means could eat it year-round.

The production of garden vegetables, such as pumpkins, squashes, beans, and peas—many of which also had Amerindian origins—had increased by the nineteenth century, too, and could be eaten year-round by the more wealthy. Peas and beans often were boiled with salt pork to form a kind of

porridge or stew; baked beans also were a popular dish. These one-pot meals were mainstays for poorer families, who also consumed turnips and, by the late eighteenth century, potatoes. On the other hand, well-to-do residents could partake of such imported luxuries as oranges, limes, coffee, and chocolate.

Archaeological research into the trash sites of homes shows further disparity between the foods consumed by wealthy and poor families. Although chickens were prevalent in New England, they were eaten more frequently by the wealthy. The wealthy also seem to have eaten more expensive cuts of meat, while poorer families depended more on fish and shellfish, which, however, were consumed by all classes. Settlers also grew apples across New England and used them in pies and cider, which along with beer was a ubiquitous beverage.

Some New England settlers thus experienced a significant increase in their daily standards of consumption in the late eighteenth century. The middle colonies, endowed with richer soils, may have been the site of less noticeable changes. In large port cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, the wealthy continued to eat better foods. However, the French Revolution, which began in 1789, had a profound impact on upper-class cuisine, which incorporated the ragouts, soups, and ice cream introduced by exiled cooks. These cooks also founded the first restaurants, a French invention, up and down the eastern seaboard and in New Orleans.

Among farmers, a simple if ample diet still reigned. The Dutch in New York and the Germans in Pennsylvania were especially known for eating a wide variety of dairy products, fruits, and vegetables, including cottage cheese, coleslaw, and sauerkraut. Among German immigrants, pork was popular and was turned into sausages, filled pig's stomachs, and scrapple, a boiled pudding of pork and buckwheat.

Less fortunate than the white settlers were the region's Amerindian inhabitants, who were gradually forced west, especially after the Louisiana Purchase (1803), in which the United States bought the Louisiana Territory from France. Although many Amerindians by the mid- to late eighteenth century were raising livestock and crops for consumption and trade, the United States government preferred strategies of removal to those of assimilation. Amerindians also faced food shortages by the late eighteenth century because of the depletion of game and other forest resources. Some Amerindians experienced shortages because of their increased focus on producing goods for trade. Although much Ameri-

can culinary culture can trace its roots to Amerindian practice, Amerindians themselves were not incorporated wholeheartedly into the United States.

### THE SOUTH

Colonial-era planters depended on tobacco for their livelihood, but those in Maryland and Virginia increasingly began to grow corn, and more so wheat, by the late eighteenth century to supply the Caribbean and southern Europe, as well as New England. In the Carolinas, Georgia, and other parts of the South, rice became a major export crop during the eighteenth century and continued to be produced into the nineteenth. Some slaves, familiar with rice cultivation in Africa, contributed greatly to the rise of rice as a staple commodity by providing both technical knowledge and labor. Slaves also worked on sugar plantations established in the Lower Mississippi Valley during the late eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, other American markets were importing sugar from the lower Mississippi in significant quantities.

Slaves also transformed Southern cuisine by preparing most of the food on the plantations, as well as by using ingredients unfamiliar to white settlers. Barbecuing became a favorite method of food preparation adopted from Caribbean Indians by slaves. Okra, too, was a popular ingredient after arriving either directly from Africa or from Africa via the Caribbean. The wealthiest planters lived lavishly on elaborate breakfasts, dinners, and suppers of eggs, ham, fish, fowl, seafood, cheese, apples, cakes, pickles, marmalades, creams, sweetmeats, jellies, rum, and Madeira. The less moneyed planters may not have lived as luxuriously, but the wealthy did set a standard for lavish eating that others emulated.

Slaves and poorer whites lived on less exalted fare, depending on the staples of pork and corn. Corn was used to make breads, cakes, mush, hominy, and grits, all of which wealthier settlers ate, too. Sweet potatoes also occupied a paramount place in a less affluent diet, and for many, turkeys, rabbits, partridges, squirrels, opossums, and other wild animals provided an important supplement to pork. Some slaves were allowed to cultivate gardens, raise livestock, and hunt, but others did not receive adequate provisions or have the opportunity to produce their own food. Standard slave rations included corn and, in some areas, salted herring or, occasionally, meat. Those who had gardens produced cabbages, collard greens, turnips, and other vegetables. Some slaves also raised hogs and chickens, while others sold surplus goods to their masters and in markets.

Slaves around New Orleans, too, had opportunities to grow produce for the market, and Amerindians also grew and sold crops in what was perhaps the most cosmopolitan region of the time. There, French, Spanish, African, Amerindian, and, later, English influences mixed to produce a unique culture and cuisine that became known as Creole. Indeed, for most of the eighteenth century, European settlers in the area depended heavily on trade with Amerindians for basic foodstuffs, including cornmeal, bear oil, poultry, vegetables, fish, and game. Colonists also emulated Amerindians in using a mix of agriculture, hunting, gathering, fishing, livestock raising, and trading to supply their daily needs.

Lower Mississippi cookery had a similarly multiethnic provenance, and many settlers adopted Amerindian foods and methods of food preparation. *Sagamité*, or corn boiled in water with butter or bacon fat, was a popular dish among many settlers. African slaves also had an impact on the diet and incorporated rice into many of the region's dishes, including rice with red beans. Various types of fish and shellfish also formed the basis of bisques, gumbos, and jambalayas. The latter two dishes have names that could be of African, Choctaw, and French origin and represent the diversity that characterized the region overall.

### THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

The western territories, which included western Pennsylvania, western Maryland, the land around the Appalachians, and much of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, were for most of the eighteenth century and beyond largely isolated from major centers of commerce. Significant routes of trade had opened up, however, by the early nineteenth century, so that corn, flour, and salted pork from the Upper Mississippi Valley, for example, were being sent downriver to New Orleans and thence to the Caribbean. Settlers in the Ohio Valley, Kentucky, and Tennessee had also begun transporting cattle and hogs to the east by the late 1820s. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 facilitated the shipment of grain and other provisions out of the Ohio Valley and presaged the important role the region would assume later in the production of wheat.

Although those participating in these profitable trades enjoyed a high standard of living, less wealthy, Backcountry settlers maintained a more subsistence-oriented diet and depended heavily on game, including bear, venison, rabbit, squirrel, opossum, woodchuck, and turkey. Settlers also consumed nuts, wild fruits, and wild honey. Bear's grease comprised one of the principal flavorings and was often added to various dishes as shortening. Cornmeal made into bread or pone, mush, and porridge was a staple, as were pork and bacon. Whiskey, too, was a popular drink that allowed settlers to trade grain in portable form. A large number of Scots-Irish settlers populated the Backcountry as well and brought the use of potatoes with them. They also made a dish called clabber, which contained sour milk, curds, and whey, and partook of the basic fare that characterized much of the region as a whole.

Food in early America thus was a varied and complex affair. Although some feasted on elaborate preparations, many adhered to a simpler cuisine. A widespread plenty may have been emerging, but the terms also were set for distinctions in wealth and consumption that have continued into the twenty-first century.

*See also* **Agriculture: Overview; Domestic Life; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benes, Peter, ed. *Foodways in the Northeast*. Boston: Boston University, 1984.

Bidwell, Percy Wells, and John I. Falconer. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925.

Calloway, Colin G. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Gray, Lewis Cecil. *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933.

Hooker, Richard J. *Food and Drink in America: A History*. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1981.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *Indian Agriculture in America: Prehistory to the Present*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987.

Littlefield, Daniel C. *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.

McMahon, Sarah F. "A Comfortable Subsistence: The Changing Composition of Diet in Rural New England, 1620–1840." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 42 (1985): 26–65.

Theophano, Janet. *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Usner, Daniel H., Jr. *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

*Julie Chun Kim*

**FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND TRADE** The European settlement of British North America began as a series of business ventures. Though the Virginia and Plymouth joint-stock companies failed to reap large profits, they did provide the capital and organization through which permanent settlement began in the early seventeenth century. Even after these companies disappeared, the overseas trade they inaugurated grew in importance as British North America emerged as a primary supplier of raw materials and a major consumer of British finished goods. After independence, Britain remained a primary investor and partner in international trade, though the United States found new markets throughout Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

### LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

The economic effects and even the meaning of mercantilism remain contested, but if nothing else the system tied colonists commercially to English, Scottish, Irish, and British West Indian markets. Nor was that relationship necessarily disadvantageous, as Americans profited mightily from the Atlantic trade. Inadequate evidence prevents definitive conclusions, but work on the period from 1768 to 1772 provides a glimpse into the nature of trade at the end of the colonial period. As Table 1 demonstrates, the British Isles were the primary source of trade for the thirteen mainland colonies. As a result of mercantilist legislation like the Navigation Acts, manufactured and luxury goods from the British Isles composed an estimated 79 percent of colonial imports. In exchange, the colonists exported 58 percent of their commodities—most notably tobacco, flour, rice, fish, wheat, and naval stores—to Great Britain. French and British planters in the West Indies consumed 27 percent of the mainland's exports, exchanging sugar and molasses for foodstuffs and lumber. In the 1760s demand for food in the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean region broadened the market for American rice and wheat, making southern Europe a destination for 14 percent of total exports.

Statistical evidence regarding finance in early America, especially in the colonial period, remains scattered and imprecise. Nevertheless, economic historians have estimated that on the eve of the Revolution, Americans owed British investors around £2.9 million in commercial debt. In addition to this Mira Wilkins, in *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (1989), has estimated that there was an additional £1.1 million of long-term foreign investment in land, ironworks, and other ventures.

**TABLE 1**

| Estimated Average Amount of Annual Trade from Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1768–1772 (thousands of pounds sterling) | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Destination/Origin | Value of Exports | Value of Imports |
| Great Britain and Ireland | £1,615 | £3,082 |
| West Indies (British and Foreign Islands) | £759 | £770 |
| Southern Europe and Wine Islands | £426 | £68 |
| Other | £21 | N/A |
| Total | £2,800 | £3,920 |

**Source: McCusker and Menard, Table 4.1, pp. 812–812.**

At the end of the colonial period, Britain very much remained the center of American trade and finance.

### REVOLUTIONARY ERA, 1765–1789

Conditions of war notably altered and restricted trade while also raising the need for more foreign investment from new sources. The nonimportation agreements from late 1774 to April 1776 and Britain's wartime embargo curtailed foreign commerce considerably. The signing of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the French on 6 February 1778, and similar treaties with the Netherlands (8 October 1782) and Sweden (3 April 1783), did, however, facilitate the importation of goods from non-British nations. In addition, American privateering against British traders caused an estimated £18 million worth of damage and illegally brought confiscated goods into the United States.

The war shifted the sources of foreign trade somewhat. Though Britain reemerged in the early 1790s as the single most important trading partner of the nation (consuming 31 percent of American exports from 1790 to 1792), American merchants also dealt directly with northern European trading houses, especially in the Netherlands, Germany, and France, nations that consumed 14 percent of U.S. exports. (See Table 2.)

Generally speaking, the war and its immediate aftermath adversely affected exports more than imports, in part because of the need to purchase supplies for armies. To make up for the resulting trade deficit and to fund the war effort, Americans were forced to borrow large sums of money. In December 1776 the Continental Congress authorized the first of several loans from France, which by war's end totaled $4.4 million. Dutch and Spanish allies contributed additional sums of $1.8 million and $200,000, respectively. Overseas investment and finance

**TABLE 2**

**Destination of Average Annual Exports from the United States, 1790–1792**
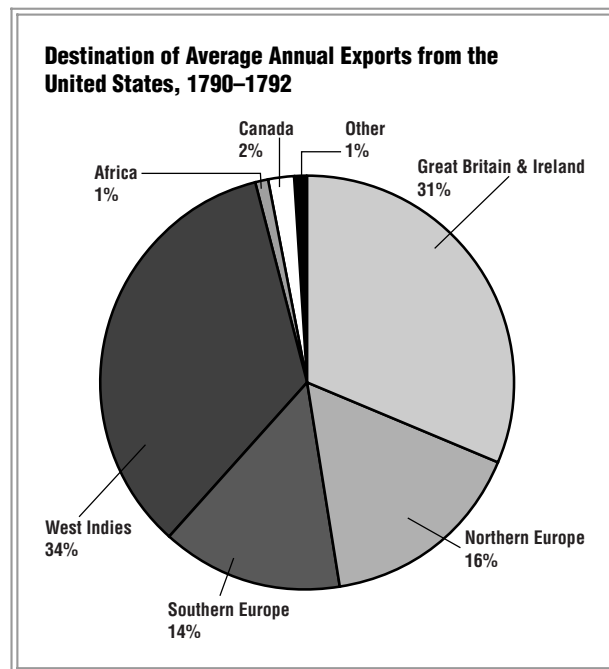


Source: Shephard and Walton, Table 3, p. 406.

**TABLE 3**

**Value of United States Exports and Imports, 1790–1830**

(millions of dollars)



Note: These statistics include gold and silver transfers and are taken from the *Historical Statistics of the United States, from Colonial Times to 1970*, U187–200, p. 886.

changed during the Revolutionary period as Britain's rivals became the chief lenders to the new nation. Particularly important were the Dutch, who in 1782 floated the United States additional loans of around $2 million. By the time Alexander Hamilton prepared his *Report on the Public Credit* (1790), the country's total federal debt at the end of 1789 had reached $54 million, of which 21.6 percent ($11.7 million) was held overseas. A portion of Virginia and South Carolina's state debts were also foreign-held, meaning that at least 29 percent of the public debt was held overseas, predominantly in the Netherlands and France.

### EARLY REPUBLIC, 1790–1830

The implementation of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's financial system helped to stabilize the nation's public credit and attract increased European (especially British) investment in the federal debt and the stocks of the First and Second National Banks. By 1803, about 62 percent (or $6.2 million) of the stocks in the First Bank of the United States were foreign-owned, including $4 million by British firms like the prestigious House of Baring. In that same year, largely as a result of the loans necessary to pay for the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the percent of foreign investment in the federal debt reached its all-time high of 56 percent.

Better credit along with international circumstances made the period from 1793 to 1806 a time of considerable growth in foreign commerce. Direct trade with Europe remained an important part of American overseas trade, especially after Jay's Treaty (1794) secured peaceful relations between the United States and Britain. But with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1793, America's position as a neutral nation allowed it to profit from the reexport trade. American merchants and shippers indirectly transported sugar, coffee, cocoa, and pepper from French and British West Indian colonies to Europe, a carrying trade that contributed considerable wealth to northeastern port cities. By 1805 the reexport carrying trade of foreign goods was valued at slightly over $53 million, while that of domestic products was only $42 million. This trade's profitability, however, further embroiled the United States in European conflicts, leading to commercial retaliation under the administrations of Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) and James Madison (1809–1817). (See Table 3.)

In December 1807 Congress passed, at Jefferson's request, a complete embargo or ban on American exports. Despite some smuggling, Jefferson's embargo and accompanying enforcement legislation dramatically reduced foreign trade. Total exports of U.S. merchandise dropped from an estimated $49

**TABLE 4**

**Destination of Average Annual Exports from the United States, 1821–1823**



- United Kingdom 36%
- France 12%
- Germany 4%
- Other Europe 14%
- Canada 3%
- Cuba 7%
- Brazil 2%
- Other America 20%
- Asia 3%
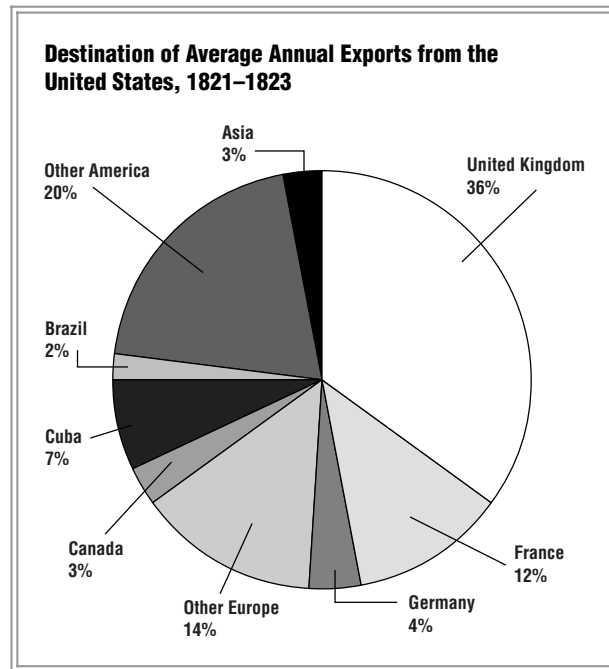
**Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*, U317–334, p. 904.**

million in 1807 to $9 million in 1808, while imports fell from record highs ($139 million) to decade lows ($57 million). The end of the embargo early in 1809 would briefly allow for a recovery of the export and to a lesser extent the import trade. However, the buildup to war against England in 1812 further restricted international commerce. The extended period of commercial and actual warfare from 1805 to 1815 would increase the nation's nascent manufacturing capabilities and provide some viable domestic sources for finished cloth and metal goods that previously had to be imported from Europe.

The return of peace in 1815 meant a decline in the significance of the reexport trade, but America's direct trade to Europe, and especially Britain, quickly rebounded. The industrial revolution in Britain and the emergence of cotton as a cash crop in the lower southern United States brought Anglo–American trade to new heights. By the 1820s cotton had risen to approximately one-third of total U.S. exports, most of which went to Britain and some of which was exchanged for finished cloth. Wheat and tobacco destined for Europe remained important segments of international trade. An important, if often neglected, part of American foreign commerce involved the growing trade within the Western Hemisphere, which included the sale of foodstuffs, naval stores,

and even some manufactured goods to the West Indian islands, Brazil, and Canada. (See Table 4.)

As the early national period progressed, foreign investment in the federal debt grew less significant, though British and Dutch interests would continue to invest in U.S. stocks, even after the War of 1812. In 1818, 26 percent of the $99 million federal debt was held overseas, with the British holding $12.6 and the Dutch $11.1 million. British investors would play an important role in funding the second national bank (1816). Andrew Jackson, in his 1832 veto message blocking renewal of the bank's charter, claimed that 30 percent of the bank's private shares were held abroad, principally in Britain. Foreign investment grew in the 1820s as individuals and states turned increasingly to Britain to fund banking and internal improvement projects. By the 1820s American states such as Pennsylvania, Virginia, Louisiana, and Ohio had followed the lead of New York, which in 1817 sold state bonds for canal projects in London securities markets. In addition, during the 1820s European and particularly British investors were increasing their investments in various facets of the cotton trade. These post-1815 investments were a prelude to the rapid expansion of foreign investment and speculation in U.S. markets in the mid–1830s, a development believed by many to have contributed to the Panic of 1837.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Embargo; Panic of 1819; Revolution: Finance; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community*, 1735–1785. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Jones, Alice Hanson. *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America*, 1607–1789. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Nettels, Curtis. *The Emergence of a National Economy*, 1775–1815. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1962.

North, Douglas. *The Economic Growth of the United States*, 1790–1860. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961.

Pitkin, Timothy. *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America.* 1835. Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1967.

Shephard, James, and Gary Walton. "Economic Change after the American Revolution: Pre- and Post-War Comparisons of Maritime Shipping and Trade." *Explorations in Economic History* 13 (1976): 397–422.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, from Colonial Times to 1970.* New York: Basic Books, 1976.

Wilkins, Mira. *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.

*Brian Schoen*

## FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS

**FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS**   In the 1770s, on the eve of the American War of Independence, the colonists already had an established "heritage of war." This heritage began in 1607 with the building of protective forts by the Jamestown settlers and continued in 1634 with the fortification of Boston by the Massachusetts Bay Company. The intervening skirmishes and campaigns aimed at maintaining European domination of its colonies around the world were part of the larger Euro-American heritage of war, which reached its conclusion in the War of 1812, the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

### THE COLONIAL AND PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Native Americans and seventeenth-century settlers and colonists frequently surrounded their villages with palisades or stockades, interchangeable terms for protective rows of felled trees dug vertically into the ground. Musketeers and bowmen shot from ports or loopholes in the stockade or, occasionally, from a blockhouse or a bastion located on one or more corners (salients) of the square or rectangular fort. Some blockhouses and bastions were two stories in height for greater visibility and firepower. Buildings for cooking, eating, and sanitation and for storage of weapons, munitions, and food, as well as barracks, were protected within the palisade when space permitted.

During the French and Indian War (1756–1763), the colonists' opposition was a Western European nation with the capability for cannon and artillery and two centuries of experience and knowledge in the military arts. Thus the colonists' level of military technology took a necessary leap. Colonial fortifications became more complex than the simple palisaded outpost, incorporating earthworks based on European military models. Fortifications, such as those at Fort Stanwix in New York colony, were frequently strengthened several times. Dirt was added, or "thrown up," behind the palisade or stockade, resulting in an earthen rampart that provided a heavier shield of protection against a besieging force. Colo-

nists employed a "balanced job" construction technique, with the thrown-up dirt forming a ditch (or fosse) encircling the entire palisade; occasionally this ditch was filled with water to form a moat. Palisades with loopholes for firing *en embrasure* (from openings in the parapet) or with castellated parapets for firing *en barbette* (from a protected platform) were sometimes dug into the top of the rampart, adding height and visibility to the fort's firepower. In these cases, a banquette (an elevated way along the inside of a parapet) or terreplein (a level space behind a parapet) was formed for placement of defenders and cannons at a raised level. In some cases the wooden palisade was laid back at an angle on the earthen rampart, forming a revetment on the front slope of the rampart and above the scarp of the ditch. When cannonballs exploded on timber revetments, secondary projectiles of large wooden splinters were sometimes launched at both the attackers and the defenders. Trees were felled and bushes were cleared from the slopes surrounding a fort to provide better visibility; the products of this clearing activity were used to build additional elements of defensive works, including fascines (bound bundles of sticks), *chandeliers* (pairs of x-shaped sawhorses connected by a bar that supported fascines), fraises (long, pointed stakes projecting from the rampart at an angle) and abatis (obstacles formed by felled trees with sharpened branches).

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD THROUGH 1794

The term "fort" had a broad meaning in the North American colonies. It referred to stockades, palisades, blockhouses, redoubts, *redans* (v-shaped projections from a fortified line), detached works, rifle and artillery batteries, flèches (detached v-shaped defensive works in an open field), garrisons, outposts or camps, and even castles and fortresses. A fortified place, whether a log cabin with loopholes for rifles or a huge stone castle with a hundred or more guns in casemates (protected enclosures), went by the name "fort."

Generally, American Revolutionary War forts were temporary, hasty, and pragmatic earthworks set up to respond to a perceived military threat. These early earthworks contrasted sharply with the planned and permanent castles, forts, and walled cities of Europe based on British and French siege craft theory. European fortified places were considered Enlightenment works of art, like landscaped gardens; they served as physical symbols of man's rationality and his dominance over natural forces. European manuals described the fort-building process in great

**Fort Edgecomb.** This centerpiece of this fort is an octagonal blockhouse that was built about 1809 to protect the town of Wiscasset, Maine, then an important shipping center.© LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

detail, relying on geometry to provide lines of fire along all angles of the fort's curtain walls so as to prevent an enemy from climbing and breaching the defensive works.

Depending on the topographic and strategic situations, forts could be triangular (*fleches*, outer works, and detached batteries), square, rectangular, pentagonal, hexagonal, or star-shaped. There were almost as many shapes as there were practicing military engineers and architects. But the French and the British schools clearly dominated the stately art of siege craft. The dominance of French terms in naming parts of forts (many English words derive from these imported French terms) reflects the importance of the French militarists, especially Sébastien de Vauban (1633–1707).

In the North American colonies and the early republic through the War of 1812, the star fort was preferred for political and military reasons. Because the French preferred the star and the revolutionaries were politically allied with France, it quickly became the American favorite. Strategically, the star allowed

360-degree visibility across the open glacis and beyond. Each projection of the star fort was called a salient, and the point where two salients joined, near the central body of the star, was called a re-entrant angle. The star shape enabled enfilading fire, meaning that both faces of each salient could be covered by cannons and muskets from the face of the adjacent salient. The star's salient had faces looking toward the enemy as did a bastion, but no inward-facing flanks, the absence of which meant one less surface to protect with enfilading fire. The traces of star forts were probably easier to mark on the ground during construction than other polygons that included bastions. The six-pointed "Washington Star" forts were symmetrical and stylistically compatible with Georgian and Enlightenment ideals of balance and symmetry. In addition, the American Revolutionary forces preferred to place their earthworks on hilltops, a topographic situation favoring the panoptic, 360-degree views afforded by the star. By contrast, the British preferred to locate their fortifications to enable the control of roads; thus British forts required views of only 90 degrees to either side. Given that

**Fort McHenry.** Built in the 1790s on the harbor in Baltimore, Maryland, Fort McHenry was attacked by British warships in September 1814. Francis Scott Key was inspired to write the "Star-Spangled Banner" after witnessing the American defense of the fort. © PAUL A. SOUDERS/CORBIS.

preference, the British had little use for the star form and little understanding of the American preference.

During the Revolution and later, Americans also commonly used linear, temporary, semitransportable breastwork constructions. These constructions, arranged linearly along a position, included gabions (baskets or cages filled with rocks used to build supports) and *chandeliers* that supported fascines. Such constructions snaked across the landscape at Valley Forge and Bunker Hill. They had right-angled projections, prototypical bastions, along their length, allowing the defenders enfilading fire along the face of the breastwork. These fieldworks derive historically from Vauban's system of parallels and approaches used by the besieging forces.

Just as the plan of a single fort was geometric, so was the arrangement of forts on the landscape. At Yorktown the British entrenchments consisted of two parallel arcs, with the first-built outer works set up to impede Allied forces (the combined American colonials and French) and the subsequently built inner works to protect the town itself. The outer works incorporated the naturally swampy ravines adjacent to the York River into the entrenchment plan as a means of further impeding the Allied investments. The arc of the outer work was also continued in the shallow waters of the York River when the British scuttled twenty-nine ships.

The inner, main works was planned to consist of eight redoubts interspersed by eight land batteries and four water batteries, with several picket *redans*, traverses, and a hornwork. These works, together with an earth-backed, stockaded line without a ditch, were arranged concentrically around Yorktown. The powder magazine at Redoubt No. 4 had a fascine-type floor and a roof covered with fascines, dirt, and rawhide that were typical of the period.

Southern coastal fortifications displayed some variability in construction materials. As a rare half-bastioned redoubt, Fort Dorchester in South Carolina was simpler to construct than full bastions but was weaker because of its fewer flanks; moreover, the faces of the half-bastions could only be protected by enfilading fire from one side. Among the earliest southern campaign fortifications (c. 1775), it had tabby ramparts walls that were an amazing thirty-four feet thick and only the customary seven to eight feet high. Tabby was a building material composed of ground oyster shells, lime, and sand mixed with salt water. Other revolutionary forts in the southeastern United States, such as Fort Frederica in coastal Georgia, were constructed of tabby.

Fort Moultrie, part of a complex defensive works that Americans collectively called Charleston, was instrumental in the early colonial victory, preceding the Declaration of Independence, of 28 June 1776. The fort's ramparts were revetted with soft palmetto log cribwork filled with artillery-absorbing sand. Enclosed bunkers located beneath the cannon on the rampart were used as magazines, officers' quarters, or a casemated lower tier of cannon. Later versions of these bomb proofs were complete with chimneys for ventilation. Fort Moultrie was an unusual Revolutionary citadel because it was the colonial counterpart of a European walled city, serving to surround a town and its civilian inhabitants.

In the southern backcountry, troubled relations between the Cherokees and Creeks, the colonial settlers, and the British resulted in the building of many fortifications between the 1750s and 1800. For example, Fort Ninety-Six was originally built by the British in 1759 as a stockade against the Cherokees,

whose resistance was broken in 1761. The British used sandbags to raise the parapets by three feet and to shape the musket loopholes in the palisade. To occupy a fortification was to be on the defensive and to engage in passive practices; the British defenders waited, played games, drilled, and maintained fortifications, provisions, and equipment.

At Fort Ninety-Six in June 1781, the colonials, commanded by Lt. Col. Thaddeus Kosciusko, a skilled military engineer, unsuccessfully besieged the improved, British-held star and circular redoubts. The colonials attacked with sandbags, hooks, and ladders through almost a half-mile of excavated, underground features such as systems of parallels, approaches, saps, and mines. Aboveground, gabions served to protect the besieging colonials. The act of besieging required invaders to dig parallels and approaches in the dirt and build fascines and gabions, dissipating the strength of their offensive. A colonial innovation, the thirty-foot-high Mahan Tower topped with parapets for attacking colonial musket fire, offered a panoptic elevation to the planar landscape. The tower was built of green logs so the British hot shot would not ignite it. The British abandoned their fortifications in July 1781 because of their poor, isolated backcountry position; the War of Independence began to focus on the coasts and river near Yorktown. The Americans occupied the fortifications and used them as backcountry defenses against the British-allied Creeks and Cherokees for the rest of the eighteenth century and through their removal in the 1830s.

In the western backcountry of Appalachia, the Great Lakes region, and beyond to the Mississippi River, the colonial campaigns of 1778 and 1779 sought to break the British-Indian alliances. A string of earthen outposts and wooden stockades were built along the Ohio River system to protect the waterways that brought supplies and militia to the far western theater of operations. Fort Duquesne (renamed Pitt when under English control) is the most famous of these riverine forts, which also included Forts MacIntosh, Fincastle (Henry), and Randolph. The colonial populace frequently fled to these forts for refuge from, and retaliation against, British-inspired Indian attacks. Between 1784 and 1790 Indians killed or captured some fifteen hundred settlers in Kentucky alone. Many forts were captured by the British-Indian alliance. These forts, according to the terms of the Jay Treaty of 1794, were to be evacuated by the British by 1796.

## THE FIRST SYSTEM, 1794–1801

After the Treaty of Paris ended the War of Independence in 1783, Americans were concerned that France and Britain would exploit the loyalty of Native American groups to block American westerly expansion. Also, the young American nation saw Britain's nautical mercantilism and France's Anglophobia as a threat to American rights of shipping and commerce on the high seas.

In response to these threats, the fledgling federal government instituted the First American System for the defense of its seacoast from British attack. As part of this system, in 1794 the government authorized $76,000 in federal funds for the construction of coastal fortifications designed to protect fourteen geographically isolated seaports along the Atlantic Ocean from Maine to Georgia. The original authorization included another $96,000 for armaments of the forts. The design of these defenses was not American but rather largely the product of French engineer-consultants. The small funding allocations of the First System generally allowed only for impermanent, earthen fortifications that could be easily thrown up without central planning. Some First System forts were revetted with stone.

Revolutionary battles frequently had two parallel command structures: a militarist held the overall command while an engineer was in charge of building the earthen defensive forts and excavating the offensive siege works (saps and mines, for example) for the attackers. An engineer, when present, or the military leaders commanded the sappers and miners. On 16 March 1802, Congress authorized the organization of an engineer corps, known as the Army Corps of Engineers, and the institution of a military academy at West Point, New York.

## THE SECOND SYSTEM, 1807–1814

A renewed need for seacoast protection against the French, British, and Native Americans resulted in the Second American System of fortification of the seacoast, one of the first projects undertaken by the Army Corps of Engineers. Most Second System seacoast forts were essentially completed by 1812. Multitiered architecture, with casemates at the levels of both the parade and the terreplein, first appeared in what Americans called the castles, such as Castle Clinton in New York City, of this Second American System. The Second System fortifications were generally intended to be masonry, although local exigencies and funding may have kept some of them as backcountry earthworks. The Second System was centralized and coordinated at the federal level, with

much less variability in form and method of construction than in the first. Local funding and volunteer assistance by state and other institutions, as at Dorchester Heights in South Boston, augmented the generous $3 million federal allocation. A total of thirty-one new or rebuilt forts were part of this Second System and included defenses on the Gulf of Mexico. The works of many First System forts were improved during the Second System. When the War of 1812 broke out, every town of any magnitude on the coast was protected by at least one battery. Built in 1814, Fort Gratiot, located on Lake Huron on the American-Canadian border, is an example of American palisaded earthworks that were commonly found throughout the backcountry of the western frontier.

### THE FLORIDA FRONTIER, 1817–1842

Diverse groups of Native Americans including Yamasees, Muscogulees, Seminoles, Cherokees, and Creeks settled in Florida throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The First Seminole War (1817–1818) involved raids, with the quasi approval of the president, by General Andrew Jackson's army against the forts and crops of Seminoles, "Seminole Negroes" (Africans enslaved by the Seminoles), and escaped slaves near and on the Florida panhandle. The U.S. government followed a civilization program in this period to contain the excessive land requirements of the Native mixed economies. Conflicts with white and Spanish settlers led to a reservation north of Tampa in inland areas established by the 1823 Treaty of Moultrie Creek (near St. Augustine) with the U.S. Government. Slave raiders attacked Creek and Seminole towns to recover escaped slaves and Seminole Negroes. Florida thus became caught up in the sectional contentions over slavery. Because of these land conflicts and slave raids, Americans felt that settlers needed protection; Cantonment Brooke (built in 1824 in modern Tampa) and Fort King (established in 1827 near Ocala) were established immediately after the treaty.

After the Native American groups learned of the new governmental policy of Indian removal of 1830, the Second Seminole War (1835–1842) erupted. Seminoles led by Osceola ambushed U.S. Army troops, led by General Wiley Thompson, outside the Fort King gate. Major Francis Dade's troops were attacked en route to Fort King from the U.S. Army headquarters at Cantonment Brooke. Fort King was a palisaded outpost with two full, square, two-story bastions on opposing corners. The palisade enclosed a magazine, a two-story blockhouse, and quarters for officers and enlisted men. Other settlers' buildings located close to the palisade enjoyed the protection that the fortified garrison afforded. Fort King was abandoned in 1843 after the Second Seminole War ended.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Removal; Charleston; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Frontier; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Military Technology; Revolution: Military History; Seminole Wars; War of 1812; Yorktown, Battle of.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grant, Bruce. *American Forts, Yesterday and Today.* New York: Dutton, 1965.

Greene, Jerome A. *The Allies at Yorktown: A Bicentennial History of the Siege of 1781, Colonial National Historical Park, Virginia.* Denver, Colo.: Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Division, National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1976.

———. *Ninety Six: A Historical Narrative.* Denver, Colo.: Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Division, National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1978.

Holschlag, Stephanie L., and Michael J. Rodeffer. *Ninety-Six: Siegeworks Opposite the Star Redoubt.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1976.

Lewis, Emanuel Raymond. *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States: An Introductory History.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1979 (1993 printing).

Lochée, Lewis. *Elements of Field Fortification.* London: T. Cadell, 1783.

Muller, John. *A Treatise Containing the Practical Part of Fortification*, 2nd ed. London: Printed for A. Millar, 1765.

Muller, John. *A Treatise Containing the Elementary Part of Fortification, Regular and Irregular.* 1746. Ottawa: Museum Restoration Service, 1968.

Robinson, William B. *American Forts: Architectural Form and Function.* Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Vauban, de, Sébastien LePrestre. *A Manual of Siegecraft and Fortification.* 1740. Translated by George A. Rothrock. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968.

*James W. Mueller*

**FOUNDING FATHERS** The term "founding fathers" denotes the politicians, soldiers, jurists, and legislators who held leadership positions during the era of the American Revolution, the Confederation period, and the early Republic. Sometimes the term covers only the delegates to the Second Continental Congress (more usually known as "signers"), who in

July 1776 in Philadelphia's State House (now known as Independence Hall) declared American independence and adopted Thomas Jefferson's amended Declaration of Independence. More often it means the delegates to the Federal Convention, who met in the same building from May through September of 1787 and framed the proposed Constitution of the United States (more usually known as "framers"), and those who supported or opposed the Constitution during the ratification controversy of 1787–1788. At a minimum, the roster would include the seven key founding fathers named by Richard B. Morris, the eminent historian of the Revolution, in 1973: Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), George Washington (1732–1799), John Adams (1735–1826), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), John Jay (1745–1829), James Madison (1751–1836), and Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804).

But "founding fathers" is a protean phrase whose meaning has varied depending on who has used it and when. Some have used it to identify not only the usual cadre of elite white males but also the middling and common sorts who served in the American Revolution, voted for or against the Constitution, and helped to bring the new government into existence. Some historians have used the phrase "revolutionary generation"—although, depending on whom one includes, the founding fathers spanned three or even four generations, from Benjamin Franklin to Albert Gallatin (1761–1849). Some political writers have sought to remind Americans of the role of women in the nation's history, applying the term "founding mothers" to such women as Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren, and Deborah Sampson. Significantly, however, with few exceptions the phrase has not included those who were not white, whether African American or Native American.

The core meaning of "founding fathers" remains constant, whatever the group's membership. It designates those who, by word or deed, helped to found the United States as a nation and a political experiment. Thus, the term includes those who sat in the Congress that declared American independence—even a delegate like John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who opposed independence and refused to sign the Declaration but fought for the American cause in the Revolutionary War. It also encompasses others who fought for the American side in the war, or played important roles, as framers or ratifiers or opponents or subsequent effectuators, in the origins of the Constitution of the United States and the system of government it outlines.

**ORIGINS OF THE TERM**

For a term so central to most Americans' understandings of their past, and so productive of legal, political, and historiographical controversy, "founding fathers" has a surprisingly short history—and an unexpected coiner. On 22 February 1918 Warren G. Harding, then a Republican senator from Ohio, was the featured speaker at the Washington's birthday commemoration hosted by the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Harding intoned, "It is good to meet and drink at the fountain of wisdom inherited from the founding fathers of the Republic." Pleased with how his words were received, Harding revived "founding fathers" in a speech accepting the 1920 Republican presidential nomination. Finally, on 4 March 1921, President Harding told the nation, in his Inaugural Address:

> Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the divine inspiration of the founding fathers. Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this new-world Republic.

Harding's coinage passed into general usage so swiftly and easily that its origins were soon forgotten. Not until the 1960s, when the speechwriter, journalist, and lexicographer William Safire posed the question to the Library of Congress's Congressional Research Service, was Harding identified as the inventor of "founding fathers." Given Harding's weak historical reputation, this two-word coinage may be his most enduring political and intellectual legacy.

**VENERATION OF THE FOUNDERS OVER TIME**

Even before there was such a term, Americans expressed their reverence for the heterogeneous group of signers, framers, politicians, generals, polemicists, and jurists now known as the founding fathers. The tendency to see the elite national politicians of the 1770s, 1780s, and 1790s as a distinct group worthy of veneration began in the early decades of the nineteenth century. As the leaders of the Revolution and the early Republic retired and began, one by one, to die, their passing sparked growing anxiety among later generations of citizens and politicians. Those who had created the nation's constitutional and political order no longer would be present to guide its development and improvement.

Few captured this unease better than Abraham Lincoln, who in January 1838 delivered his first major political address, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions," before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln spoke less than two

years after the death of the last surviving framer of the Constitution, James Madison, and less than six years after the death of the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, Maryland's Charles Carroll. In his lecture Lincoln challenged Americans to preserve the form of free government created by those whom he hailed as "a once hardy, brave, and patriotic, but now lamented and departed race of ancestors," whom he dubbed "our fathers."

Lincoln's concerns resonated in many ways for decades thereafter, the most critical having to do with the vexed question of how to interpret the Constitution of the United States. As the nation expanded westward, issues of federal constitutional power entwined with various other questions of public policy confronting the United States: governance of the western territories; designing "internal improvements" (such as roads, bridges, and canals) to knit the nation together as a single economic and political unit; and the place of slavery in American life. All these matters raised issues of constitutional power and constitutional limitations, and in turn those issues raised the question of how properly to interpret the Constitution.

### ORIGINAL INTENT

Increasingly, those embroiled in disputes over the scope and extent of powers conferred by the Constitution invoked the words and deeds of those who framed and adopted it as guideposts of authoritative constitutional interpretation. (Even while he was alive, the aged James Madison found his correspondence in the 1830s dominated by appeals for advice and guidance as to what he and his colleagues intended the Constitution to authorize or to prohibit.) Once all the "founders" were gone, polemicists and litigants on both sides of these contests ransacked newly published editions of the writings of such key figures as Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton; James Madison's *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* (sold by Madison's widow to the federal government following his death and the mandate of his will, and first published in 1840); and Jonathan Elliot's five-volume *Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Constitution* (originally published between 1827 and 1830, then revised and enlarged between 1836 and 1859). This hunt for authoritative guidance soon became known as the quest for the Constitution's "original intent" or "original meaning."

In 1857, when Chief Justice Roger B. Taney sought in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* to hand down an irrefutable, authoritative interpretation of the Consti-

tution on issues of slavery in the western territories, he cast his opinion as a carefully considered, neutral sifting of the intentions of those who created the nation and its constitutional system. And in 1860, when Abraham Lincoln challenged the position staked out by Taney in *Dred Scott*, he too undertook his own massive research project into the "original intentions" of "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live" and presented the results in a formidable speech delivered at New York's Cooper Union. The forensic duel between Taney and Lincoln fixed the quest for "original intent" at the core of all subsequent disputes about interpreting the Constitution.

### THE FOUNDERS IN HISTORICAL MEMORY

Another reason why Americans' veneration of the founding fathers intensified was the need to create a "usable past" (a phrase coined by the literary historian Van Wyck Brooks in his 1915 book *America's Coming of Age*) for a young nation. Commemorations of the nation's origins in the Revolutionary War, including such anniversaries as the Declaration of Independence and the anniversaries of the births or deaths of such figures as Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson, helped to fix these revered figures in the nation's historical memory. In particular, the deaths on 4 July 1826 of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson appeared to Americans as some sort of divine sign of favor on the American experiment. One of the most powerful reasons for the continuing influence of the founding fathers is that they take on roles in the nation's cultural life played by ancestors in such cultures as Confucian China or Republican or Imperial Rome. Unlike so many nations, whose origins are lost somewhere in the misty past, the United States began as a political entity in a specific time and place, as the handiwork of specific individuals. In other words, the United States is a nation because it chooses to be, and it confers on those who created the nation the cultural roles, functions, and reverence associated with biblical patriarchs or patron saints.

To be sure, within the group known as the founding fathers the historical reputations of individual figures rose and fell with the changing fortunes of American politics and the ideas and principles with which they were identified. Thus, for example, from his death in 1826 until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Thomas Jefferson continued to be as controversial as he had been in life. Some extolled his commitment to liberty, equality, and the rights of man, whereas others denounced him as the intellectual godfather of nullification, secession, and

disunion. From the end of the Civil War in 1865 until the era of the Great Depression (1929–1941), Jefferson fell to his lowest historical ebb, due in part to the conclusion of many historians and politicians that he bore a great measure of responsibility for the Civil War and in part to the discovery by biographers and historians of the many inconsistencies between his public and private writings, which some saw as amounting to dishonesty. From the 1930s through the late 1960s, by contrast, Jefferson achieved apotheosis as a symbol of human rights, religious freedom, separation of church and state, and democratic revolution. Beginning in the late 1960s, however, his historical stock started to fall again, with new historical and public attention to issues of race, slavery, and civil rights, and Jefferson's conflicted and sometimes appalling views on the nature of race in general and African Americans in particular.

As Jefferson rose, Alexander Hamilton fell, and as Jefferson fell, Hamilton rose, their reputations rising and falling as functions of partisan and sectional conflict. All but forgotten, save as the leading author of *The Federalist*, in the years preceding the Civil War, Hamilton rose spectacularly in the late nineteenth century, as many politicians and scholars hailed him as the father of modern industrial, urban America. Again, as Jefferson rebounded in the era of the New Deal, Hamilton fell, dismissed as an apologist for wealth, power, and privilege—despite the arguments of such polemicists as Herbert Croly in *The Promise of American Life* (1909) and such politicians as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt that the best goal of American public life was to use Hamiltonian means to achieve Jeffersonian ends. Yet again, as Jefferson fell in the 1990s, Hamilton rose anew, as historians and journalists rediscovered him as a consistent and coherent advocate of vigorous national constitutional power and a tough-minded realist at home and abroad.

At the same time, however, historians in the middle and late twentieth century began to reconsider the centrality of the group known as the founding fathers to the era in which they lived and worked. The rise of social history, with its attention to the social, economic, and private lives of ordinary men and women, helped to shunt aside the profession's former preoccupation with "great dead white men." So, too, the growing attention to the histories of Native American nations and peoples and the history of both free and enslaved African Americans raised key questions about the founding fathers' lives and achievements. Some historians have taken this matter to extremes, rejecting attempts to study the lives,

thoughts, and deeds of the founding fathers as reactionary. Other historians, while continuing to study such men as Adams, Jefferson, Washington, Hamilton, and Aaron Burr, have restored them to their historical and political contexts. Key political figures, these historians argue, did not act in splendid isolation, but rather within a shifting field of expectations by and reactions from the people. They operated in the political realm in large part by reference to what they hoped or feared popular reaction to their policies and conduct might be.

Meanwhile, controversies over the jurisprudence of "original intent" ebbed and flowed throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. At first, conservative jurists used original-intent arguments to block such measures as federal regulations of interstate commerce or a federal income tax. In response, such historians as J. Allen Smith and Charles A. Beard criticized the antidemocratic cast of thought of the framers of the Constitution, pointing out that they might have framed the document to enshrine their own economic interests rather than as a high-minded exercise in constitutional statesmanship. Later, from the 1940s through the 1970s, liberal jurists and scholars sought to ground arguments for strict separation of church and state in the intent of the framers. In the mid-1980s the pendulum swung back, as Attorney General Edwin Meese III called for a "jurisprudence of original intent" that would anchor freewheeling judges to the text of the Constitution interpreted solely in the light of its origins. In response, constitutional scholars and historians such as Martin S. Flaherty, Jack N. Rakove, and James H. Hutson argued that original-intent jurisprudence fails on two grounds. First, it does not take account of the inadequacies of the historical evidence of original intent. Second, it fails to consider the historical and intellectual contexts of the origins of the Constitution and the ways in which those contexts differ significantly, often radically, from those of the present. Nevertheless, Rakove has argued, the advice of those who framed the Constitution, argued over its adoption, and put it into effect is valuable to us for two reasons: First, the framers were "present at the creation," and their discussion therefore sheds light on the origins of the constitutional system. Second, the framers were among the most learned and profound political and constitutional thinkers that this nation has produced; thus, even if we reject the binding force of original-intent jurisprudence, their wisdom often has persuasive value.

## CONCLUSION

The founding fathers draw renewed attention not only from scholars but from Americans from all walks of life. Major constitutional crises, triggering acerbic dispute over whether and how "original intent" can resolve such crises, intersect with a sense of public uncertainty as to the lessons that the usable past ought to teach. In 1941, with the United States on the brink of entering World War II, the novelist and critic John Dos Passos observed in *The Ground We Stand On*: "In times of change and danger, when there is a quicksand of fear under men's reasoning, a sense of continuity with generations gone before can stretch like a lifeline across the scary present." Dos Passos's words apply equally as well to the state of mind of the American people in the wake of *Bush v. Gore* (2000) and the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., on 11 September 2001. In this era, many Americans questioned the constitutional system's ability to respond to grave national problems. Looking back into the nation's history, many Americans saw in John Adams a figure of reassuring toughness and in Alexander Hamilton a forthright, realistic champion of national interests in a hostile world. Despite sharp differences between scholarly and popular understandings of the era of the Revolution and the making of the Constitution, the appeal of a mythologized cadre of founding fathers became, once again, irresistible.

*See also* **Adams, John; American Character and Identity; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Continental Congresses; Declaration of Independence; Fame and Reputation; Federalist Papers; Franklin, Benjamin; Hamilton, Alexander; Historical Memory of the Revolution; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Presidency, The; Washington, George.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bernstein, Richard B. *Thomas Jefferson*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Commager, Henry Steele. *The Search for a Usable Past, and Other Essays in Historiography*. New York: Knopf, 1967.

Craven, Wesley Frank. *The Legend of the Founding Fathers*. New York: New York University Press, 1956; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Flaherty, Martin S. "History 'Lite' in Modern American Constitutionalism." *Columbia Law Review* 96 (1996): 523–590.

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

Huang, Nien-Sheng. *Benjamin Franklin in American Thought and Culture, 1790–1990*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994.

Kammen, Michael. *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination*. New York: Knopf, 1978; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988.

———. *A Machine that Would Go of Itself: The Constitution and American Culture*. New York: Knopf, 1986; New York: St. Martin's, 1994.

Knott, Stephen F. *Alexander Hamilton and the Persistence of Myth*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Miller, Charles A. *The Supreme Court and the Uses of History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969.

Morris, Richard B. *Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny: The Founding Fathers as Revolutionaries*. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Pasley, Jeffrey L., Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds. *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Peterson, Merrill D. *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960; new ed., Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Rakove, Jack N., ed. *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*. New York: Knopf, 1996; New York: Vintage, 1997.

———. *Interpreting the Constitution: The Debate over Original Intent*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990.

*R. B. Bernstein*

**FOURTH OF JULY**   The Fourth of July, the first American holiday, began as a way of celebrating Congress's vote for independence. The vote occurred on 2 July 1776, but the announcement of the action was spread on 4 July 1776. Americans mistakenly believed that the date on the newspapers and broadsides was the date of independence.

Fourth of July festivities followed an age-old pattern of celebratory rites. Since bells were rung and cannons fired to acknowledge a royal birth, the same signals were used to mark the nation's birthday at dawn. A military muster was often the first event of the day, providing much pomp and pageantry. The soldiers would then retire to drink and eat the traditional Fourth of July dishes of turtle soup and ice cream. Most Americans gathered late in the day, especially at night. Men and women attended plays, concerts, hot-air balloon demonstrations, horse

**Declaring Independence.** This illustration from *The New, Complete, and Authentic History of England* (London, c. 1783) by Edward Barnard depicts the manner in which the American colonists declared themselves independent of England: a man on horseback rides through town reading the Declaration of Independence to cheering crowds, while a notice reading "America Independent 1776" is posted on a wall. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

races, and fireworks exhibitions. Huge paintings depicted General George Washington and American military victories. Rowdies would occasionally set bonfires, but most activities were subdued. Rural areas did not participate.

The Fourth of July was not a benign celebration. During the Revolution, Independence Day observances inspired patriotic Americans to keep fighting and served to force out opponents of independence. British sympathizers were easily identified by their refusal to participate in toasts, parades, and other activities and were stigmatized as a result. Loyalists would typically keep their houses free of lights, and rock-throwing patriots often broke the darkened windows. In these years, when the war proceeded badly for the patriots, celebrations were muted or abandoned entirely, as was the case in 1780 and 1781.

When the Revolutionary War ended in 1783, the Fourth of July became a commemorative event. Communication and entertainment were viewed as more important than any practical result. Community after community made the day into an official holiday with barbeques, parades, and readings of the Declaration of Independence.

In the late 1780s control of Independence Day became hotly contested between political groups that attempted to direct the activities in a way which allowed them to promote their agendas. During the Adams presidency in the late 1790s, Republicans used the day to indicate their support for France and their distaste for the president. On festive occasions, American men in this era would commonly place a black rosette cockade in their hats. In response to Adams's unpopular French-aimed Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, Republicans along the Eastern seaboard replaced the American cockade with a blue one symbolic of France. A few Federalists then physically removed the blue cockades. In the 1790s the Fourth of July became notorious for riotous behavior, and many Americans dreaded the coming of the day.

By about 1814, the Fourth of July had become a generally accepted day off from work because of politics. Prior to this time, Americans had a relatively uninterrupted work schedule with only the Sunday Sabbath as a rest day. Deprived workers were eager for a day of celebration. With both Federalists and Republicans seeing political advantages in promoting a vacation, the day became a holiday.

After the War of 1812 it was a holiday only for whites, however. African Americans were pushed out of Fourth of July celebrations by a mixture of intimidation and physical violence. Slaves typically did not possess the right to congregate freely, to be unescorted at night, or to throw fireworks. Whites saw Independence Day as a holiday for Americans only and blacks did not qualify for citizenship.

During the War of 1812, Independence Day celebrations in southern cities served to boost enthusiasm for the war effort. In Boston, a city controlled by the Federalist opponents of the war, celebrations stopped. By halting the festivities, the Federalists hoped to awaken people to the dangers of losing to foreign invaders and to Republican mismanagement of the country. As the Federalist Party collapsed in the wake of the British defeat, partisanship in Fourth of July celebrations rapidly disappeared. Parades, speeches, and fireworks continued, but the focus was now entirely on nationalism.

The end of the war brought the end of celebrating Revolutionary goals. Images of prosperity replaced images of liberty. Lengthy orations focused on love of the land as well as America's beauty, abundance, and potential for material progress. In the 1820s women joined the festivities for the first time as active participants. Dressed in calico, they marched in front of flag-draped wagons filled with the goods of local merchants. The only discordant note came when female temperance advocates began staging Independence Day rallies against the heavy drinking that had become a part of the occasion in urban areas. By 1830, the Fourth of July had emerged as a nonpartisan national holiday to celebrate America.

*See also* **Flags; Music: Patriotic and Political; National Symbols; "Star-Spangled Banner."**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Davis, Susan G. *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Detweiler, Philip F. "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence: The First Fifty Years." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 19 (1962): 557–574.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

O'Leary, Cecilia Elizabeth. *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Pencak, William, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman, eds. *Riot and Revelry in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Travers, Len. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Caryn E. Neumann*

---

**FRANCE, WAR WITH**   *See* **Quasi-War with France.**

---

**FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN**   Benjamin Franklin is arguably the most beloved and the most disparaged of America's founding fathers. He is perhaps the least understood as well. A jack-of-all-trades and the master of many, he is a nearly impossible man to pigeonhole. He was a scientist and inventor, printer and publicist, brother and son, father and husband, diplomat and staunch—if somewhat belated—supporter of America's War for Independence. He was the most cosmopolitan founder, and yet people think of him as the most quintessentially American.

Franklin's career spanned nearly an entire century. Born in Boston on 17 January 1706 and dying in Philadelphia on 17 April 1790, Franklin never called one place home. He fled his native Boston when he was only seventeen. In Philadelphia, he suffered a series of failures. He tried unsuccessfully to begin his own printing business, relying on the false promises of Governor William Keith for capital that never materialized. He briefly worked as a clerk in a friend's general store, but returned to printing when his benefactor died. He even briefly considered becoming a swimming instructor. He seemed to flounder, drifting aimlessly from one project to another until he married Deborah Read in 1730. Soon thereafter he began his successful printing career, setting up a thriving shop on Market Street. He had three children. William, his illegitimate son, was born in 1731 to a woman whose identity remains unknown. He and Deborah had two children of their own. Francis Folger died of smallpox in 1736 at the age of four. Sarah, his only daughter, was born in 1743.

Franklin retired at the age of forty-two and entered the public arena with ill-disguised enthusiasm. With William, he conducted his famous kite experiment in 1752. His ability to prove that lightning was a form of electricity instantly garnered him international acclaim. He also embarked upon his political career, organizing Pennsylvania's militia during King George's War (1740–1748), winning a seat in



**Benjamin Franklin.** Franklin examines an electrical device in this eighteenth-century mezzotint by Edward Fisher after a painting Mason Chamberlin. A lightening bolt can be seen through the window at the right. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the colonial legislature in 1751, and presenting his Plan of Union to the Albany Conference in 1754. At the same time, he was a pivotal player in his colony's effort to become a royal colony.

Franklin's involvement in Pennsylvania's effort to escape proprietary rule led him to spend some of his most important years on the other side of the Atlantic. He sailed to England in 1757 and again in 1764, remaining in London until 1775. No radical, he spent the decade looking for an accommodation between England and America, only gradually and reluctantly coming to the conclusion that accommodation was impossible to achieve. Thus, at the age of seventy, at a time when he had much to lose and little to gain, this once-proud member of the British Empire returned to Philadelphia determined to represent Pennsylvania in the Second Continental Congress and to persuade his compatriots to sever their ties with England. Thereafter, he was unrelenting in his efforts to secure colonial independence. He was a member of the committee that drafted what became known as the Declaration of Independence. Although Thomas Jefferson was the scribe on that committee, Franklin used his skills as an editor to tweak—gently and diplomatically—the Virginian's prose. With in-

dependence declared, he was soon in Paris, working indefatigably—and successfully—to secure French military and financial aid for the American war effort. At war's end he played a major role in negotiating his country's peace treaty with England. With the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Franklin returned to Philadelphia. There, at the age of eighty-one, he was the oldest member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. While his substantive contributions to the body were few, he constantly drew the delegates' attention to the republican principles of 1776. Although his colleagues usually rejected his suggestions, few could simply ignore the words of a man who had helped launch America's existence as an independent nation.

### THE INDISPENSABLE MAN

The American story and Franklin's story seem to be one and the same. Beginning with his efforts to represent the colonies' interests during the Stamp Act crisis in 1765, Franklin was never far from the scene of action. His most important service to the new nation is the least celebrated. The stuff of diplomacy is not as dramatic or compelling a subject as the triumphs and sacrifices of soldiers on the field of battle. Yet America's military exploits, however valiant, would have been for naught had it not been for Franklin's endeavors. If it is true that America could not have defeated England without French military and financial aid, it is possible that such assistance would not have materialized without Franklin. He was not America's only representative in France. But no one else, not Silas Deane nor John Adams nor Arthur Lee, could do what Franklin did. Using his fame as the man who brought the lightning from the skies, taking advantage of the adulation in which the French intelligentsia already held him, he quickly became a court favorite. Judiciously balancing idealistic appeals with hard-headed arguments, cajoling, flattering, and even threatening, Franklin held his own and then some in a royal court riddled with international suspicion and intrigue. The French alliance he achieved made American independence possible, if not inevitable.

### AMERICAN ICON

Benjamin Franklin was never the representative American that both his admirers and detractors have made him out to be. He was more at home in England and Europe than any other American—including Thomas Jefferson. Throughout the prewar years, he was more comfortable with his identity as a British American than any Patriot—and probably most

Loyalists. And yet it is as a "representative American" that most people think of him. We know him best through his *Autobiography*, first published four years after his death, and the pithy aphorisms of *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732–1757). These two works—published, republished, analyzed, criticized, and admired—have made Franklin the creator not simply of a nation, but of a national identity. His life became synonymous with the "rags to riches" story that Americans like to claim as peculiarly their own. In part because of his humble origins, he is viewed as more democratic than any of the other founders, and thus as a man who would have been happy to tear down the class, racial, and gender barriers that Americans had erected in his own lifetime. Finally, Americans see him as the ultimate pragmatist, a man who eschewed ideological arguments that troubled fuzzy-headed intellectuals and instead practiced the art of the possible with grace and good humor.

Franklin used his own life as an object lesson, implying that his life was an especially American life, that his identity was America's identity, writ small. In his hands, that life and that identity were something of which all his countrymen could be proud. His experience proved, above all else, that America was the land of opportunity. He had entered the world as the son of a humble Boston candle maker and had ended it by dining with kings. Taking advantage of opportunities that existed for anyone with the intelligence and character to recognize them for what they were, he triumphed over adversity with seeming ease. Only in America, he implied, could such a success story be told.

In part because he was a "self-made man," a persona that is at the core of American mythology, he has also been designated as his century's spokesman for the egalitarian ideals upon which the new nation's independence was based. He seemed to revel in his ability to communicate with ordinary people and enjoyed even more the opportunity to cut an aristocratic pretender down to size. He valued life's simple pleasures and was even uncomfortable with the few luxuries—a china cup, a silver spoon—that his wife insisted upon purchasing for him. In his very old age, he became a champion of the nascent antislavery cause.

Franklin's admirers also see him as pragmatic and nonideological, willing to accept half a loaf as better than none, determined to achieve the possible rather than tilt at windmills. He was unfailingly optimistic, suffused by that "can-do" spirit which Americans like to claim as an intrinsic component of their character. He put his scientific bent to practical

ends, inventing a stove, a lightning rod, and bifocals, all designed to improve the everyday lives of ordinary men and women. Even at those rare moments when he failed to achieve his ends, he shrugged, made a joke—often at his own expense—and proclaimed that occasional "errata" were not such bad things. Errata could be corrected. People could learn from their mistakes.

### THE "SNUFF-COLORED MAN"

Ironically, the attributes that have turned Franklin into the beloved founder are the very qualities that invite the most disdain from some quarters. While his detractors agree with those who see Franklin as a representative American, they see little in that characterization to admire. Intellectuals, in particular, view Franklin as the very essence of bourgeois Babbitry. In the classic lines of D. H. Lawrence, this "middle-sized, sturdy, snuff-colored Doctor Franklin" was a "dry, moral, utilitarian little democrat." If he was the "first downright American," that was no compliment—either to him or to his country (*Studies in Classic American Literature*, p. 21).

Smug, materialistic, and hypocritical, Franklin was, say some critics, above all the progenitor of American capitalism. His sunny disposition, his eternal optimism simply proved that he did not have the capacity to sympathize with those who failed to rise to his own level. His own determination to climb the social ladder turned him into a money-grubbing parvenu whose eye was always on the bottom line. His famous plan for self-improvement was little more than a reflection of his ledger book mentality.

Franklin was, moreover, no democrat. His own career was built on the backs of others. He drove more than one Philadelphia printer out of business and delighted in doing so. He was disdainful of the "unworthy poor" who refused to work and did not take advantage of the opportunities that at least in America beckoned at every turn. His treatment of women, especially his wife and surviving daughter, was far from admirable. No charming rogue, he was an unreconstructed womanizer who used women for his own purposes and discarded them once those purposes had been served. Far from being the one founder who recognized the evils of slavery, he was, for most of his life, peculiarly untroubled by the institution of bondage. He owned, bought, and sold slaves. He came to the antislavery cause very late in his life, and only then did so when it was politically safe.

Moreover, say some naysayers, Franklin's much vaunted pragmatism is proof that he lacked depth.

He was multifaceted. He was a chameleon. He was an actor, a shape-shifter, and a confidence man. He was all things to all people, but ultimately he had no principles, no true essence. He was all means and no end. If historians have failed to penetrate his inner core, if they find him maddeningly elusive, perhaps there is a reason for their failures. This was a man who valued appearances above reality, who skimmed the surface of things, who was reluctant—perhaps unable—to plumb the depths.

Nor was this supposedly bright and practical man an especially astute politician. Even those historians who find much to admire in Franklin are puzzled by the many missteps he made throughout his long and varied career. His personal vendetta against the Pennsylvania proprietors made him blind to the dangers that his colony would have faced had it become a royal province. He was completely blindsided by the depth of the colonists' anger at the beginning of the Stamp Act Crisis in 1765. When he first heard about the Boston Tea Party of 1774, he suggested that Massachusetts should pay for the tea that some Patriots had so unceremoniously dumped into Boston Harbor. While Franklin always seemed to land on his feet in the end, he was not an invariably prescient observer of his times.

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MAN

The "real" Franklin is more complex and in some ways more admirable than the image he helped to create. He may have been the self-proclaimed exemplar of the rags to riches story, but he was not the avaricious materialist that modern observers would understand or recognize. He valued money as a means to an end, and he was bewildered by those who sought profit for its own sake. Like most Americans of his day, he craved the independence that money could bring rather than money itself. Without independence he could not serve his "public" effectively, nor could he enjoy the political career that became the central focus of his life after he retired.

Interestingly, Franklin's meteoric career did not even achieve its ultimate goal. A man of his times, he sought royal patronage with unabashed fervor and longed to be a part of the upper reaches of British society. He eventually acquired money and position, but he could never completely escape his humble past, even though he spent nearly a decade in London trying to do just that. He moved easily in aristocratic circles in France and England. He failed to understand the disgust with which John and Abigail Adams viewed the "decadent" aristocracy they encountered at the court of Louis XVI. But despite his efforts, he

never managed to secure the royal favor he craved and thought he deserved.

Most important, Franklin was by no means invariably pragmatic or optimistic. He did not always walk the middle line, avoiding rigid intellectual systems and the extremists who devised those systems. He did not shrink from disputation, and many times he failed to see compromise as a worthy goal or even an acceptable option. Franklin was a passionate man who knew how to hate as well as how to smile and laugh. Not everyone in his own day found him amusing or likeable. He acquired any number of personal and political enemies throughout his life. He was a man who cared, and cared deeply, about the empire and about America's role in that empire. When he finally came to the conclusion that the colonies would be better off if they escaped English rule, he was single-minded and unrelenting in his efforts to secure independence. He could carry a grudge as well as anyone and never forgave his personal or political enemies. Franklin never even forgave his own son for remaining loyal to the king.

Partly because he lived so long, partly because he kept so much of himself to himself, historians have failed, despite their many valiant attempts, to capture Franklin's "true" identity. In an odd way, he was a tabula rasa who left it to future generations of Americans to project themselves—their darkest fears and their most cherished hopes about themselves and their nation—onto Franklin's persona. In the end, the mythical Benjamin Franklin tells us more about ourselves than he does about this quintessential eighteenth-century man.

*See also* **Albany Plan of Union; American Philosophical Society; Inventors and Inventions; Printers; Revolution: Diplomacy.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Conner, Paul W. *Poor Richard's Politicks: Benjamin Franklin and His New American Order.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.* Edited by Leonard W. Labaree et al. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964.

Lawrence, D. H. *Studies in Classic American Literature.* New York: Viking Press, 1961.

Lopez, Claude-Anne, and Eugenia W. Herbert. *The Private Franklin: The Man and His Family.* New York: Norton, 1975.

Middlekauff, Robert. *Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Morgan, Edmund S. *Benjamin Franklin.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002.

Seavey, Ormond. *Becoming Benjamin Franklin: The Autobiography and the Life.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

Tise, Larry, E., ed. *Benjamin Franklin and Women.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Waldstreicher, David. *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin.* New York: Penguin Press, 2004.

*Sheila L. Skemp*

**FREEDOM OF THE PRESS**   By the late colonial period, the theory and practice of freedom of the press allowed for considerable political and moral debate. Laws against seditious libel (printed matter tending to threaten or undermine the authority of government) still existed, but the last trial for seditious libel, the case of John Peter Zenger, ended in acquittal in 1735. Some self-censorship, however, no doubt continued. Civil suits for private libel (publications defaming a private person or private characteristics) were not uncommon. Laws against blasphemy (words offending religious orthodoxy) were rarely enforced.

### BEFORE AND DURING THE REVOLUTION

The most common threat to freedom of the press was the ability of colonial legislatures to jail an offender for a breach of legislative privilege (words offending a sitting legislature). Many colonists held the notion common among critics of the government that the people's liberty is always under threat from royal or ministerial power. Accordingly, the popularly elected lower houses of the various colonial legislatures came to be seen as defenders of the people's liberty against the royal governor and his allies. Criticizing a state assembly might be seen as simply freedom of the press, the right of individuals to voice their sentiments. But it might also be seen as an abuse of that freedom. Any criticism that undermined the people's faith in the assembly could be regarded as abusing one safeguard of the people's liberty (a free press) to undermine another (the popular branch of the legislature). Following this latter perspective, legislatures throughout the colonies reprimanded, fined, and even occasionally imprisoned their critics, though this became less common as the 1750s and 1760s wore on and virtually disappeared after the Revolution.

The Stamp Act (1765) taxed paper goods of all sorts and amounted to a type of censorship aimed particularly at opposition newspapers, which were less able to pay since they were less likely to profit from government printing contracts. These and other new laws seemed to reveal an unfolding conspiracy by the British ministry and its Tory allies in the colonies to promote arbitrary power. The people, led by outraged editors, actively and successfully opposed the Stamp Act.

As the wider crisis deepened in the late 1760s and early 1770s, the press flooded the colonies with provocative newspaper articles and political pamphlets on both sides. Limits on the press were still debated, but neither the royalist Tories nor the opposition Patriots could gain enough power to control it. Tories insisted that they defended an individual's right to print his political views. Patriots insisted that freedom of the press was properly used to protect the people's liberty from an overreaching government, as it always had been. The truth will prevail, the Patriots conceded, but only if there is a fair fight. With Tories propagandizing their way to complete tyrannical power, all of the people's liberties—including freedom of the press—seemed endangered. Rather than risk this, Patriots took to intimidating and even terrorizing Tory printers and authors.

With the commencement of open hostilities at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, on 19 April 1775, the very real threat to the people's liberties from ministerial forces became unmistakable. Both sides took to allowing only their partisans to print on their side of the war front. But during the war, within a given side, press freedom largely existed. For example, Patriots threatened other Patriots who suggested, even sarcastically, the wisdom of surrender, yet they allowed a vigorous debate over independence.

### AFTER THE REVOLUTION

After the Revolution new, more radical leaders took power and the common people entered into public life as never before. The voters, who now usually included white men of all social ranks, expected to have a greater say in the government. The first press provisions in Revolutionary America illustrated this expectation. George Mason's Declaration of Rights for Virginia (1776) employed the traditional theory that a free press is meant as the protector of the people's liberty from tyrannical power: "The freedom of the Press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and can never by restrained but by despotick Governments." But the early constitutions also voiced the

long-standing view that freedom of the press was simply a basic individual right to print what one pleased. Pennsylvania's constitution (1776) declared that "the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing, and publishing their sentiments; therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained."

Having just started a war to rid themselves of what they took to be a tyrannical power, the former colonists were careful to emphasize that now the people, not a king or even the legislatures, were sovereign. Public officials were now "servants" and the people their "masters." These expansions of the theory of popular sovereignty occasioned new understandings of the role of the press and the nature of freedom of the press. Radical thought had long considered the press as a last resort should the more moderate safeguard provided by the representative legislature fail. With the advent of broad-based, annual elections for larger, more representative, and more powerful legislatures, the people's duty and the press's role increasingly centered on maintaining and shaping rather than simply defending the republics the former colonists had established.

As always, a crucial question was how far the press's liberty should go. The press clauses in the state constitutions did not specify any particular limit. The Massachusetts constitution (1780), for example, declared that "the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth." But town meetings debating the clause read it to provide complete impunity, even for private libel.

**First Amendment.** Originally, the federal Constitution (1787), like the earlier Articles of Confederation (1781), included no protection for freedom of the press. Anti-Federalists criticized this absence repeatedly in the ratification debates, but the Federalists insisted that such protection was not needed because the new national government would only have those powers expressly given to it. Press liberty was thus beyond federal authority. Many anti-Federalists maintained the traditional view that governmental power continuously and inexorably struggles to expand; without a clear declaration protecting press freedom, they argued, the national government would soon seek to limit freedom of the press. Such a limitation, they feared, would undermine the more engaged oversight of the government that they expected of republican citizens.

Critics of the Constitution were more likely than its supporters to stress the advantages of an active press. The anti-Federalists admitted that publications

might contain abusive language and false claims, but said the advantages to the people outweighed the disadvantages. Moreover, they argued, the disadvantages of an unbounded political press simply had to be borne, since they were interwoven with the advantages. Federalists were more likely than their critics to stress the disadvantages of an unrestricted political press, in particular an ill-informed but empowered citizenry.

Though he was the "father of the Constitution," James Madison came to see the importance of a bill of rights to protect basic liberties. After ratification, Madison proposed a number of amendments in Congress. He saw more clearly than anyone that while there still remained a threat that the government might tyrannize the people, the bigger threat was that a majority of the people would tyrannize over a minority of controversial printers and authors. Madison drafted, and the House of Representatives passed, two clauses protecting press liberty from the state and federal governments. The Senate, however, revised them into what became the First Amendment, which states in part: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

**Federalists versus Democratic Republicans.** Differences over the proper interpretation of the vaguely worded press clause became heated as competing parties emerged. The Federalist Party spent the 1790s debating policy and exchanging newspaper attacks with the emerging opposition party, the Democratic Republicans (led by Madison and Thomas Jefferson). Newspaper impartiality—never pure or perfect—became a victim of increasing partisanship, and editors began ridiculing, for the first time, the very idea of impartiality. In 1798 the Federalists used the pretext of the Quasi-War (1798–1800) with France to pass a number of draconian measures, including the Sedition Act, which was intended to silence Republican printers and other critics of government.

The Sedition Act criminalized "any false, scandalous and malicious . . . writings against the government of the United States . . . or Congress . . . or the President . . . , with intent to defame . . . or to bring them . . . into contempt or disrepute." The Federalists followed the standard established in the Zenger case (1735) by allowing evidence of the truth of the alleged libel to be presented and allowing the jury to issue a general verdict, not merely a "special verdict" on the fact of publication only.

Despite this break with the British common law tradition (in which truth was immaterial), the Sedition Act seemed tyrannical to many people. Federalist Party leaders did not see themselves as despotic or even partisan, but rather as loyal to the elected government. Still, the political nature of the sedition legislation was evident from both its expiration date and its execution. The law was to expire not at the end of the international crisis with France, but at the end of Federalist president John Adams's term on 3 March 1801. Moreover, only Republicans were indicted, and most of the major opposition papers and several minor ones were targeted before the election of 1800.

Republicans repeatedly insisted that the Sedition Act was unconstitutional. Federalists countered by claiming that the freedom of the press had historically allowed for laws against abuse of the press. Their theory of press liberty adapted traditional concerns about press abuse to their view of the new republican theory of government. To them, the Republican critics of government were not defending the people, but attacking them through their elected officials. Moreover, the Federalists maintained that America's republican form of government made regulating the press even more important than in any other form of government, since elective government ultimately rested on a truthfully informed electorate. The general public's limited information and education was good reason, Federalists maintained, to mandate constrained and decorous press discourse, lest the people be confused or deceived. For the Republicans, to the contrary, the people's limited information meant more wide-open political debate was needed. A republican form of government did not rely merely on elections every few years, they contended, but on continuing debate of public men and measures.

That debate, Federalists observed, had led to a world of deceptive half-truths and outright lies. The political discourse of the 1790s was among the most vitriolic and partisan of any era in America. Republicans—like the anti-Federalists before them—conceded that the truth did not always immediately prevail, but they maintained that opinion, not truth, was what was really at issue in political debates. Factual truths that could be proven in a court of law were rarely if ever central to a seditious libel case; therefore, interpretations of freedom of the press that included protections for provable truth—such as the Sedition Act—were really despotic limitations on press liberty. Moreover, Republicans insisted that the liberty of the press and its licentiousness—its use and abuse—were inseparable: one simply could not separate and punish what was false and abusive without undermining the necessary and salutary critiques of a spirited, democratic press.

Republicans like James Madison, then, were formulating and defending a broad notion of press liberty that allowed for civil suits for private defamation but dispensed with the notion of public libel. Only actual, overt acts of violence or rebellion would be punishable crimes. This theory, however, was developed by the opposition party at its most extreme and embattled. Once in power, President Jefferson pardoned the victims of the expired Sedition Act but soon also encouraged the use of state seditious libel laws against critics of his administration. In one of these cases, *People v. Croswell* (1804), the Federalist Alexander Hamilton defended Jefferson's critic by espousing principles that were actually more restrictive than those in the disputed Sedition Act (though they were less restrictive than those of the Jeffersonian prosecutor). Hamilton's theory of seditious libel gave the jury uncontestable authority to find a general verdict and made truth a justification only if published "with good motives and for justifiable ends." Hamilton lost the case, but this standard soon became law in New York and many other states. At the national level, *U.S. v. Hudson and Goodwin* (1812) rejected federal jurisdiction over the common law crime of seditious libel.

Struggles over the press continued. During the War of 1812, riots that centered on a Baltimore newspaper office left the office destroyed and many people dead. Yet, in the face of successful British attacks on American soil and arguably treasonous discussions of New England secession, the Madison administration made no attempt to enact federal restrictions on the press. Nevertheless, it was Hamilton's theory of freedom of the press, not Madison's, that was predominant and generally followed throughout the nineteenth century.

Reflecting on the late colonial and early National period, some scholars (e.g., Levy 1985) have placed all emphasis on official restrictions such as the Sedition Act. Others (e.g., Smith 1988) stress the opposition to seditious libel laws and the practical reality of an open and at times licentious political press. The American approach to press liberty during this period included both of these extremes and is perhaps best understood as an ambivalent tradition (Martin 2001).

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Bill of Rights; Constitution, Ratification of; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Madison, James; Newspapers; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Levy, Leonard W. *Emergence of a Free Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Martin, Robert W. T. *The Free and Open Press: The Founding of Democratic Press Liberty, 1640–1800.* New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Rosenberg, Norman L. *Protecting the Best Men: An Interpretive History of the Law of Libel.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764–1776.* New York: Knopf, 1958.

Smith, Culver H. *The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977.

Smith, James Morton. *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Smith, Jeffery A. *Printers and Press Freedom: The Ideology of Early American Journalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

*Robert W. T. Martin*

**FREE LIBRARY MOVEMENT** Although tax-supported free libraries first appeared in the United States in the 1840s, various other institutions existed during the colonial and early national periods that were often dubbed "public libraries," the term designating any book collection not owned by a private individual. Wealthy colonial patrons sometimes established libraries through donations. Thus, in 1638 John Harvard left four hundred volumes in his will to establish the library at the college that would soon bear his name, and in 1656 Robert Keayne left his books and a large sum of money to establish a town library for Boston.

In 1690s Reverend Thomas Bray proposed a library for every Anglican parish in the American colonies. His Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) helped establish more than thirty parish libraries, primarily in the southern colonies, ranging from as few as two to as many as eleven hundred volumes each. These "Bray Libraries," which focused upon theology but also included some history, science, and Latin classics, proved to be forerunners of the ubiquitous church libraries of the early Republic, when ministers or lay leaders often managed small collections of books that

could be borrowed by those who attended religious meetings. Similarly, nineteenth-century Sunday schools invariably included libraries of pious didactic reading material. The American Sunday School Union (1824) furnished books to thousands of auxiliary Sunday schools, mostly sets of short religious tracts but also such evangelical favorites as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) and Jonathan Edwards's *Life of Brainerd* (1749).

The social library, essentially a joint stock company, constituted the dominant form of library in America from the 1730s through the 1840s. Social libraries could be proprietary collections, established by learned societies or private associations for the use of members, or subscription libraries, which were available to anyone able to pay the modest required subscription fee. Commonplace in England in the 1720s, social libraries appeared in the American colonies in the 1730s. The most famous, although not the first, colonial subscription library was the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731. Between 1730 and 1780 New England alone boasted at least fifty-one social libraries. Other important collections included the Charleston Library Society (1748) and the New York Society Library (1754). Unlike parish libraries, social libraries offered a broad range of nonsectarian titles, reflecting the diverse personal tastes and needs of the subscribers. Collections typically emphasized history and biography; political commentaries; and literary works by Shakespeare, Defoe, and Pope, as well as eighteenth-century novels such as Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1760) and Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771).

During the early national era, social libraries proliferated at a phenomenal rate, reflecting the democratization of American society and the greater affordability of books. Between 1790 and 1815 New Englanders established over five hundred subscription libraries, with another five hundred appearing before 1850. Social libraries flourished in every region of the young Republic. Many communities had subscription libraries open to all interested residents. In addition, countless private organizations established libraries or reading rooms for members. There were mercantile libraries, lyceum libraries, factory libraries, mechanics' libraries, apprentices' libraries, libraries for young men or women, and libraries associated with reform organizations. As a result, the majority of Americans in the new nation had access to the resources of one or more social library.

Prior to 1850 only a handful of publicly funded and controlled libraries existed for free general use.

Most of these were originally subscription collections later acquired by town meetings. In 1827, for example, the social library of Castine, Maine (1801), gave its collection to the town, which thereafter operated it as a free public library. The first town known to establish a publicly funded library was Peterborough, New Hampshire, where in 1833 the town meeting voted to use a part of the state literary fund for the support of schools instead to purchase books for a free town library. Several other New England towns took similar action in the following decade, but the practice seems to have been confined to the Northeast.

The free public library movement really began in 1849, when the New Hampshire legislature authorized towns to levy taxes for the establishment and support of public libraries. Massachusetts enacted similar legislation in 1851, and Maine followed suit in 1854. These early state initiatives did not spread to the rest of the nation until after the Civil War, however, when public libraries would rapidly displace social libraries as the dominant institution for the dissemination of books in the United States.

*See also* **Book Trade; Religious Publishing.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, Donald G., Jr. "Bread upon the Waters: The Printed Word in Sunday Schools in 19th Century England and the United States." In *Reading for Moral Progress: 19th Century Institutions Promoting Social Change*, by Donald G. Davis Jr., David M. Hovde, and John Mark Tucker. Champaign: Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1997.

Johnson, Elmer D. *History of Libraries in the Western World.* 2nd ed. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1970.

Rohrer, James. "The Connecticut Missionary Society and Book Distribution in the Early Republic." *Libraries & Culture* 34 (1999): 17–26.

Shera, Jesse Hauk. *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629–1855.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

Stevens, Edward. "Relationships of Social Library Membership, Wealth, and Literary Culture in Early Ohio." *Journal of Library History* 16 (1981): 574–594.

Yeatman, Joseph L. "Literary Culture and the Role of Libraries in Democratic America: Baltimore, 1815–1840." *Journal of Library History* 20 (1985): 345–367.

*James R. Rohrer*

**FREEMASONS** Freemasonry, America's oldest and most important voluntary society, experienced

enormous change during the generation after the Revolution. The fraternity entered a period of unprecedented growth in prestige and popularity, but a powerful new movement opposing it in the 1820s led to a dramatic decline in membership.

### ORIGINS AND THE REVOLUTION

An international fraternity of men using secret rituals and meetings open only to members to promote morality, charity, and fellowship, the modern order of Free and Accepted Masons developed out of British craft organizations. Details of this transition remain obscure, but the years surrounding the 1717 formation of a grand lodge in London were crucial. By the end of the 1720s, Masonry had assumed much of its distinctive form: a series of local lodges supervised by grand lodges; a secret ritual system made up of three levels known as degrees, augmented by a less well-defined series of further, "higher," degrees; metaphorical use of building tools to represent moral truths; and an ideal of brotherhood encompassing men of differing political, religious, national, and ethnic affiliations. This new "speculative" Masonry (so-called to distinguish it from "operative" builders) spread rapidly to the European continent and America. Lodges met in Philadelphia by 1730 and Boston by 1733. But the colonial fraternity remained small. Before the 1760s, it included only a couple of dozen lodges in coastal cities, made up primarily of well-to-do elites seeking to assert status as enlightened gentlemen.

The Revolutionary years brought major challenges. The break with England, the source of Masonic legitimacy, forced a reorganization that placed final Masonic authority in the hands of state grand lodges rather than in Britain or the national grand lodge some brothers favored. Issues of loyalty also caused problems. Barred by rule from discussing politics and religion, the fraternity took no official stand on the conflict itself, but individual brothers had to make choices. Many remained loyal to the king. Many others, however, became leaders in the Revolutionary cause, including Masonic officers Benjamin Franklin, Paul Revere, and George Washington. The proportion of Masons at the Continental Congress that approved the Declaration of Independence and at the Constitutional Convention was far higher than their proportion in the general public. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration, nine (perhaps twelve) were Masons (at least 16.1 percent); twelve (perhaps fifteen) of the fifty-five members of the Constitutional Convention were Freemasons (at least 21.8 percent). The fraternity proved even more popular in the Continental Army. Ten military lodges, generally limited to officers, met in its camps. About 42 percent of the army's generals were or later became Masons.

### POST-REVOLUTIONARY MASONRY

These connections with the Revolution helped spur a generation of Masonic expansion. By 1806 New York alone had more than a hundred lodges; twenty years later, it had five times that many. A Masonic meeting in 1822 estimated national membership (conservatively) at eighty thousand. By then, lodges met in nearly every village, town, and city in the country. Post–Revolutionary brothers celebrated this growth as evidence of the fraternity's identification with the ideals of the Revolution and the new nation. Like the Republic, they proclaimed, the fraternity supported learning, education, morality, and nonsectarian Christianity. Its rituals and fraternal oversight provided a particularly effective means of teaching these values. As a Massachusetts minister, Preserved Smith, argued in 1798, Masonry was "the great instrument of civilization."

Such bold claims partly responded to anxieties about the problem of preserving the Republic. But they also spoke to continuing criticism of the fraternity, questions that focused primarily on Masonic secrecy and religious diversity (the exclusion of women also was a common issue). These doubts, however, remained secondary except in a few rural areas and some conservative religious groups. Even the attacks on the Illuminati first raised by the clergyman Jedidiah Morse and others in 1798, claiming that this subversive order had caused the French Revolution partly through infiltration of continental Masonic lodges, generally explicitly exempted the American fraternity. Ministers and church members often joined and led lodges. Churches even called on the fraternity to dedicate their buildings. Such cornerstone-laying ceremonies became popular for all sorts of public structures, including the United States Capitol (1793), the University of Virginia (1817), and the Bunker Hill Monument (1825).

More than public ideals made Masonry attractive. Membership also conferred private advantages. Lodges and grand lodges provided substantial charitable aid to needy brothers and their families. More important, Masonic affiliation also helped build contacts that could prove extremely valuable in business and politics. Members typically joined the fraternity in their twenties as they were moving into manhood, a pattern followed by such prominent leaders as New York governor DeWitt Clinton, Kentucky senator and U.S. secretary of state Henry Clay, and President

Andrew Jackson. Fraternal membership helped establish an honorable reputation and develop relationships with local and national leaders. According to the idea of "preference" that became widespread in these years, Masons were obligated to help and support brothers over similarly qualified non-Masons.

As Masonry grew both in size and significance, the fraternity itself changed as well. What had been a series of scattered lodges now became a well-organized institution with complex rules and organizations. Reform-minded brothers carefully revised rituals to make them more powerful and more uniform—and pressed for exact memorization of these new ceremonies. Higher degrees also became popular. Established in organizations outside the lodge, these new ceremonies included what would later become the Scottish Rite (founded in 1802, but relatively small until the twentieth century) as well as the York Rite (a system that included the degrees of the Royal Arch and the Knights Templar).

### THE RISE OF ANTI-MASONRY

Success, however, also brought problems. Expansion sharpened tensions inherent in Masonry itself, between public and private goals, between inclusiveness and exclusivity, between adherence to religious ideals and acceptance of diversity. These fault lines were exposed when, in September 1826, a number of Masons, acting unofficially, kidnapped and possibly murdered William Morgan, a Freemason who had announced plans to publish a volume containing the rituals of both the original three degrees and some higher degrees. Morgan's disappearance, and an attempted cover-up by the fraternity, sparked a huge reaction. The anti-Masonic movement that emerged from this anger attacked the fraternity as a threat to both Christianity and republicanism. American Masonry was weakened in the South and nearly destroyed in the North. Membership began to revive only after 1840 with the weakening of anti-Masonic anger. This revival marked the start of another, even more substantial expansion lasting into the middle of the twentieth century.

*See also* **Anti-Masons; Continental Congresses; Franklin, Benjamin.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bullock, Steven C. *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Goodman, Paul. *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England, 1826–1836.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Lipson, Dorothy Ann. *Freemasonry in Federalist Connecticut.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.

*Steven C. Bullock*

**FRENCH**   The establishment of the first permanent English settlement in North America at Jamestown in 1607 was immediately followed by the planting of the first permanent French colony in North America at Quebec in 1608. As colonists from both nations arrived in the New World, they brought with them the rivalries of the old, where their respective mother countries were emerging great powers in Europe whose interests more often collided with one another than coincided. Beginning with the War of the League of Augsburg (King William's War) from 1689 to 1697 and continuing through the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) from 1756 to 1763, a series of massive conflicts between France and Britain raged, dominating the affairs of Europe. They also directly impacted the lives of their colonists in North America, who found themselves swept up into these wars. The Spanish were a major factor in North America as well, but their power declined steadily throughout this period and, after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) placed a Bourbon prince on the Spanish throne, the French and Spanish were allied in their conflicts against Britain, with the French serving as the dominant player in the coalition.

### AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF FRANCE

In this Age of Reason, religious differences were becoming less of a factor in European politics, yet religion still exercised a heavy influence in defining cultural and political identity. Nowhere was this more true than in the North American colonies. The rivalry between Catholic and Protestant remained alive and well in North America, and much of the anti-French rhetoric that came from the British colonies was laced with anti-Catholicism. The colonists tended to equate Catholicism with despotism and viewed the French, with their powerful monarchical system of rule, as the very epitome of autocracy and the complete antithesis of the British with regard to individual rights and liberty and parliamentary government.

The feelings of animosity of most British colonists toward the French during this long period of warfare went far beyond traditional patriotism or religious belief, but rather were born from the

***Allegory of France Liberating America.*** In addition to geopolitical and nationalistic reasons for supporting the United States, many French saw in the infant Republic the first real attempt to place the ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau into practice. This painting (c. 1784) by Jean Suau expresses this ideal symbolically as France takes the hand of liberty and presents him to the Americans. RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, NY.

unique situation and circumstances confronting the colonists in the New World. The French were the commercial rivals of the British colonists in the booming economic trade of the North American continent, and in particular in the lucrative fur trade over which the French exercised a powerful hold. French explorers were among the first to penetrate into the interior of North America, and while their settlements were small and scattered, they nevertheless established a claim to the land west of the Alleghenies, which effectively hemmed the British colonists into the Eastern seaboard and prevented their westward expansion. In the agrarian economy of the frontier, land represented money, power, and status to the colonists, and the French hold on the continent's vast interior was deeply resented.

Another major factor in colonial animosity toward France was the close relationship that the French established with Native Americans. Indeed, of all the European powers to establish colonies in the Americas, none was more able to win the affection and loyalty of the indigenous peoples as the French was. The French worked to introduce Catholicism to the Indians, but their priests did so through peaceful persuasion rather than with the sword, in contrast to their Spanish coreligionists. Unlike their British rivals, the French were respectful of native culture, treated the tribes as sovereign nations, and established meaningful alliances with them. Frenchmen routinely married Indian women at a time when the Church of England heavily frowned upon interracial marriage. Whereas British colonists generally practiced a policy of exclusion toward the Indians, the French established ethnically diverse settlements in the midst of the various tribes they called their friends, and virtually every French town in North America included a sizable population of Native Americans living peaceably in and around the area.

**Benjamin Franklin at the French Court in Versailles.** Benjamin Franklin, shown here in a 1784 engraving by Daniel Berger after the German artist Daniel Chodowiecki, became an instant celebrity after his arrival in France, where he traveled to solicit French support for the American cause. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The British colonists viewed such behavior as not only morally abhorrent but threatening. Besides France, the great enemy the colonists faced in North America was the Indians, and throughout the long struggle for possession of North America, most of the major Indian tribes were allied with France. Indian war parties—armed, organized, and sometimes led by the French—terrorized the frontier during the colonial wars.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the final Anglo-French colonial war in North America, resulted in the eviction of France from the continent and a sudden removal of the French as a menace to the American colonists. Ironically, the British government quickly replaced the French as a target of American ire, as it was now Parliament that restricted the colonists' westward expansion and even courted favor with the Indian tribes, who were still viewed with hostility and suspicion by Americans on the frontier. As relations between Britain and its American colonies deteriorated sharply during the

decade from 1765 to 1775, the image of France as an enemy sharply receded in the minds of many colonists, who now viewed the enemy as residing in London rather than Paris.

## A FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

The outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775 found the Continental Congress facing a full-scale war against Great Britain but lacking the most basic essentials for waging such a conflict. The Americans had no means of producing cannon or gunpowder and only a limited ability to manufacture small arms. The colonial militias had relied upon the mother country for these necessities, and with that source gone, a new means of procuring the implements of war had to be found quickly. In addition, the Continental Congress faced a chronic shortage of funds with which to procure weapons, uniforms, shoes, food, and other essential supplies for George Washington's Continental Army. Thus, the Americans were forced to look overseas for military and economic support from Britain's European enemies and France, with its vast treasury and massive armaments industry, was the natural choice. In 1776 the Continental Congress dispatched a diplomatic mission to Paris headed by Silas Deane (later to be joined by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams) to solicit French support for the American cause.

The French viewed the outbreak of the American Revolution with a certain pleasure as they saw the mastery of North America by their archenemy, Britain, threatened by its very own subjects. The news of American victories at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, as well as the heavy casualties suffered by the British at Bunker (Breed's) Hill in June 1775 had been greeted with wild jubilation in the streets of Paris. Thus, Deane was warmly received the following year at the court of the young King Louis XVI, and in particular by the king's influential foreign minister Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes. The cunningly ambitious Vergennes believed that the American Revolution offered France many possibilities to avenge its humiliating defeat in the Seven Years' War, acquire valuable colonies in the West Indies and severely harm the power and prestige of its main rival, Britain.

In short order, Vergennes and Deane concluded an agreement by which the United States could purchase arms and munitions from France; in addition, Vergennes threw open French ports to American privateers. The materiel thus acquired from the French in 1776 and 1777 was indispensable to the American war effort and enabled the Continental Army to con-

tinue to remain an active force despite the best efforts of the British to destroy it. Even more importantly, the French government granted the Americans the diplomatic status of a belligerent nation, as opposed to viewing them as British rebels, which was an important first step toward establishing a formal relationship and, eventually, a military alliance between the two nations.

France initially avoided a direct confrontation with Great Britain while taking all steps short of war to provide aid to the Americans. The actions of the French government won wide approval throughout the kingdom, receiving the support of the nobility as well as the common people. The reasons for such widespread French backing for the American cause were deeply rooted in traditional Anglo-French hostility. While few believed in the opening stages of the conflict that the United States could actually win, many French hoped that a long and debilitating war would significantly weaken Britain, regardless of its final outcome. In addition to geopolitical and nationalistic reasons for supporting the United States, many French saw in the infant Republic the first real attempt to place the ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau into actual practice and thus believed for ideological reasons that the Americans should be supported in their rebellion.

French army officers were soon clamoring to serve in the American cause, an action encouraged by Vergennes to provide the Continental Army with badly needed professional officers as well as to increase French influence and control over the American war effort. Among the numerous French officers seeking a commission in the Continental Army was an idealistically romantic nineteen-year-old nobleman, the Marquis de Lafayette. Though he spoke little English and had virtually no military experience, the young man was politically well-connected at the court of Louis XVI, and the American representatives in Paris were impressed by this as well as his idealism and zeal for the American cause.

Lafayette arrived in America in June 1777 and soon attached himself to the staff of General George Washington. The dour and irascible Washington was besieged by foreign officers of all stripes seeking commands in his army, and consequently he was initially dismissive of the young marquis. But Lafayette's boyish enthusiasm for the cause and eagerness for battle against the British impressed Washington, and soon a close bond developed between the two men. Indeed, as time went by, Lafayette became like a son to Washington, and the former eagerly returned this paternal affection with a deep devotion

and fierce loyalty to the American leader. Lafayette served with distinction at the Battles of Brandywine (11 September 1777) and Germantown (4 October 1777) and endured the privations of Valley Forge in the winter of 1777–1778. His services were rewarded with command of a division, making him one of the principal field commanders of the Continental Army and one of the very few foreign officers with whom Washington entrusted American troops.

Shortly after his arrival in America, Lafayette had begun to bombard the French government with letters praising the Americans and their cause and appealing for King Louis XVI to enter the war at their side. Lafayette's reports added traction to the American diplomatic mission in Paris, which was now headed by the charismatic Benjamin Franklin. Already famous in France for his scientific discoveries and writings, Franklin had become an instant celebrity after his arrival at the French court, and his dalliances with the ladies of Paris soon became legendary. Yet he was also a forceful speaker and relentless diplomat who sought to turn French covert assistance for the American cause into an actual military alliance between the two nations.

Vergennes was eager for Franklin's proposals, but King Louis XVI still waited for some tangible sign that the American cause was worth supporting. That sign came in the autumn of 1777, when word arrived in Paris that the British army under General John Burgoyne had been defeated and forced to surrender in the field at Saratoga, New York, on 17 October 1777. The American victory sent shock waves throughout Europe. It was the worst defeat suffered by the British army in decades, and it had come at the hands of the "backward" and "ill-trained" Americans. King Louis XVI reasoned that if the Americans could pull off such a feat on their own, they could do far more with a real ally in the field alongside of them. With visions of restoring the lost prestige of France and wreaking a terrible vengeance on France's ancient enemy, Louis XVI informed Franklin that the French government would enter into a formal economic, political, and military alliance with the United States with the express aim of securing American independence from Great Britain. These agreements being signed, on 17 June 1778 France formally went to war against Britain and entered the American Revolution as a full ally of the infant United States.

**French military support.** The French immediately extended badly needed financial and military aid to their embattled ally and also dispatched an expeditionary force and powerful naval squadron under the command of Admiral Jean Baptiste d'Estaing to

North America. The French entry into the conflict forced Britain to reconsider its grand strategy, withdraw its forces from Philadelphia and other exposed outposts, and essentially go on the defensive for the rest of the war—except in the southern colonies, which they still believed could be retained under British rule.

Joint military operations between the Continental Army and French expeditionary forces were at first problematic. A Franco-American attack on Newport, Rhode Island, in August 1778 was initially successful but ultimately failed due to bad weather and poor cooperation between the Americans and French. In September 1779 d'Estaing's forces linked up with American troops under General Benjamin Lincoln for a joint attack on Savannah, Georgia. After a month-long siege failed to bring about results, d'Estaing ordered a full-scale assault; it was bloodily repulsed, with the French and Americans compelled to withdraw in defeat. Although the formal military forces sent by France failed to achieve initial successes, other French were proving their worth to the American cause. In 1779 Colonel George Rogers Clark began a desperate campaign to win control of the future Northwest Territory. Clark was ably assisted in this endeavor by the support of the French population of the region. The French were by far the most numerous nonnative population in the area, and their support for Clark and the American cause proved vital to the eventual American victory in this critical theater of the war.

By 1781 the French expeditionary forces in America had been reinforced and reorganized. A French army numbering approximately seventy-five-hundred men was under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau, while a powerful fleet under the Comte de Grasse, including twenty-eight ships of the line, was deployed to the West Indies. In the summer and autumn of 1781 Washington, Rochambeau, and de Grasse masterfully coordinated their allied forces in a campaign designed to isolate and destroy the British forces under Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. Admiral de Grasse defeated the British at the Battle of the Virginia Capes in September. Then Washington, with ninety-five-hundred Americans, and Rochambeau (who had placed himself under Washington's orders), with seventy-eight-hundred elite French troops, rapidly marched south from New York, trapping Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, Virginia. After a brief siege, Cornwallis surrendered his entire force on 19 October 1781. The British cause in America had been dealt a death blow. Negotiations began shortly afterward, and the Treaty of Paris was ratified by Congress in 1783, bringing peace and independence to the United States.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Just six years after the conclusion of the American Revolution, the French Revolution erupted with the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789. Initial American reactions to the Revolution were almost universally positive, with many Americans embracing it as a natural outgrowth of their own revolt. Lafayette became a significant leader in the new French government and sent his mentor, President Washington, the key to the Bastille as a symbol of unity between the two revolutions. That unity was severely challenged, however, when the French Revolution entered upon a more radical phase under the leadership of the Girondins, replaced in June 1793 by the still more radical Jacobins. Attacks upon the nobility and clergy increased dramatically, and King Louis XVI was tried for treason and executed in January 1793. This action set off a wave of imprisonments and executions by the new French republic during the time known as the Terror, which would last into 1794. Lafayette himself, who was a member of the nobility, was accused by the Jacobin rulers of France of being an enemy of the republic and was forced to flee for his life.

As France became convulsed by internal turmoil, it was also invaded by the other great powers of Europe, who were intent on destroying the revolution in its cradle while simultaneously taking advantage of perceived French weakness to seize territory and enhance their own power and position. Faced with war against virtually all of Europe, the French republic invoked the terms of the Franco-American alliance and called upon the United States to wage war at its side as a sister republic. While no one in France believed the infinitesimal American military could wage war in Europe, it was hoped that the Americans could attack British and Spanish possessions in North America and thus pin down and distract the military forces of those nations. While substantial numbers of Americans, including Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, favored supporting France in its war on ideological grounds, cooler heads prevailed. President Washington refused to honor the alliance, claiming that it was no longer valid as it had been concluded with the government of King Louis XVI, not the French republic. Washington's decision was certainly in the best interest of the United States, which had little to gain and much to lose by launching into a major war so soon after independence, but the failure of the United States to honor the alliance

was seen by the French as a betrayal of their friendship.

**Deteriorating relations.** In an effort to secure American cooperation, the French Girondin government in 1793 dispatched a diplomatic mission headed by Edmond Genet to press Washington into some form of support for France in its hour of need, but Washington remained intransigent on the matter. Sensing quite correctly that, in spite of Washington's avowed policy, large numbers of Americans supported France, Genet took his cause directly to the American people. He helped stir up pro-French feelings as Democratic Republican clubs throughout the United States held demonstrations supporting and celebrating the triumphs of the French Revolution. Genet also issued letters of marque to American privateers, urging them to attack British merchant shipping while simultaneously attempting to organize a mercenary army of Americans to attack Spanish Louisiana, an idea that originated with American Revolutionary War hero George Rogers Clark. Genet's activities brought a formal protest from Washington and a demand that the French government recall him immediately. Before this could happen, however, the Jacobins overthrew the Girondins. Fearing for his life, Genet sought political asylum in the United States, which Washington granted.

Support for or opposition to the French Revolution increasingly became a major issue in the emerging rival political ideologies of the early Republic. Democratic Republicans favored the French while the Federalists were adamantly anti-French and desirous of better relations with Great Britain. Jay's Treaty of 1794 brought about a rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain, and this was followed by the ascension of the staunchly anti-French John Adams to the American presidency in 1797. The Directory, which had come to power in France during 1795, viewed the warming relations between its erstwhile ally America and its current enemy Britain with deep hostility and suspicion, and French privateers were given license to attack American ships. President Adams sent a delegation to negotiate an end to these attacks and a formal renunciation of the Franco-American alliance. The American diplomats were treated disrespectfully by the French foreign minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, who demanded a personal bribe under the table and a large loan for the French government before he would even begin negotiations. These demands were presented to the Americans by a group of agents known as X, Y, and Z. The American mission refused to pay the bribes and returned home without an agreement,

as American newspapers roared with indignation over the XYZ Affair and Franco-American relations reached their nadir.

Unable to reach a diplomatic agreement, President Adams authorized the U.S. Navy to protect American shipping from French depredations, and so the Quasi-War with France commenced in 1798. The conflict resulted in a few dramatic victories for the infant American navy and the seizure of a number of French merchant vessels, but French privateers continued to prey on American shipping and relations between the two republics remained hostile. A full-scale war, however, never broke out.

### NAPOLEON AND AMERICA

In November 1799 General Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in France, proclaiming himself first consul, supreme head of the republic. Unlike the government he toppled, Napoleon had warm feelings for the United States and believed the Americans were a natural ally against his enemy, Great Britain. He was also an ardent admirer of George Washington, keeping a bust of the American general in his office and presiding over a special memorial service when he received news of Washington's death in 1799. Napoleon was also an ardent expansionist, and among his dreams for empire was the notion of resurrecting a French presence in North America which, after a halt in hostilities with Britain in 1801, seemed a real possibility. Toward this end he bullied his new ally, Spain, into ceding the Louisiana Territory to him in 1800. Spain acquiesced to Napoleon's demand, but only on the condition that he never allow the territory to fall into the hands of the United States. Napoleon's ardor for a new French empire in North America quickly cooled in the wake of a failed campaign by French troops to control the island of Hispaniola and the threat of a new war with Britain. With Britain's mastery of the seas, it would be impossible to maintain control of any overseas possessions, and Britain would be able to swoop down from Canada and grab the Louisiana Territory with ease.

**Louisiana Purchase.** As Napoleon contemplated these issues in 1803 a delegation arrived from the United States seeking to purchase the port of New Orleans and West Florida for $10 million. He offered instead to sell the entire Louisiana Territory for $15 million, a deal eagerly accepted by the Jefferson administration and formally concluded on 30 April 1803. The Louisiana Purchase was a mutually beneficial bargain, for not only did it almost double the size of the United States and open up the Mississippi River to American commerce, but it also prevented the terri-

tory from falling into the hands of the British who, like the Spanish, sought to prevent America's westward expansion. Napoleon received badly needed funds for his wars of conquest from the sale of territory he would have probably lost anyway, while simultaneously enhancing the power and prestige of the nation that he believed would frustrate Britain's colonial ambitions more than any other in the Western Hemisphere. In later years Napoleon would take great pride in the part he played in the growth of the United States.

*See also* **European Influences: The French Revolution; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Fur and Pelt Trade; Louisiana Purchase; Quasi-War with France; Revolution: Diplomacy; Revolution: European Participation; XYZ Affair.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Alsop, Susan Mary. *Yankees at the Court: The First Americans in Paris.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982.

Ammon, Harry. *The Genet Mission.* New York: Norton, 1973.

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

DeConde, Alexander. *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797–1801.* New York: Scribners, 1966.

Dull, Jonathan R. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.

Englund, Steven. *Napoleon: A Political Life.* New York: Scribners, 2004.

Harrison, Lowell H. *George Rogers Clark and the War in the West.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Isaacson, Walter. *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003.

Kramer, Lloyd. *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolutions.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Kukla, Jon. *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America.* New York: Knopf, 2003.

Lefebvre, Georges. *Napoleon, from 18 Brumaire to Tilsit, 1799–1807.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Morris, Richard B. *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence.* New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Rice, Howard C., and Ann S. K. Brown, eds. and trans. *American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army: The Journals of Clermont-Crevecoeur, Verger, and Berthier.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Scott, Samuel F. *From Yorktown to Valmy: The Transformation of the French Army in an Age of Revolution.* Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998.

Stinchcombe, William C. *The American Revolution and the French Alliance.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969.

Unger, Harlow Giles. *Lafayette.* Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2002.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*Robert B. Bruce*

## FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, BATTLES AND DIPLOMACY

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) climaxed the 150-year Anglo-French contest for dominance of North America in trade, culture, and religion. The war was also part of two other persisting contests: the seven-century-old Anglo-French dynastic rivalry that had become global and the two centuries of American Indian resistance to European invasion.

### ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT

The improbable flashpoint for this war was the Upper Ohio valley, an underpopulated borderland between Iroquois and Algonquian peoples that had been resettled from the 1720s onward by Shawnee, Delaware, and Iroquois hunter-farmers who traded furs and deerskins with both French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Pennsylvanians. Although the main Canadian trade routes to Illinois country and to Louisiana passed north and west of this region, Canadians feared disruption and had evidence of Indian defection to the Pennsylvanians, who were expanding trade with the French-allied Hurons and Miamis in the 1740s. The Canadians responded with an armed diplomatic tour in 1749 that threatened English traders and planted plaques proclaiming French sovereignty. Canadians then began imprisoning what they regarded as illegal Pennsylvania traders and supported the Ottawa-Ojibwa destruction of the westernmost English trading base at Pickawillany in 1752. The following year the French governor of Canada sent an army of fifteen hundred to build and man forts between Lake Erie and the Allegheny River, forts that asserted French occupation, channeled trade, and effectively excluded their English rivals.

Initial resistance to this French escalation was lame. Three protests by Mingo chief Tanaghrisson, the Iroquoian "Half King" in the region, were dismissed by the Canadian commanders; most Indians of the region cautiously waited to see whether increased competition between the European rivals
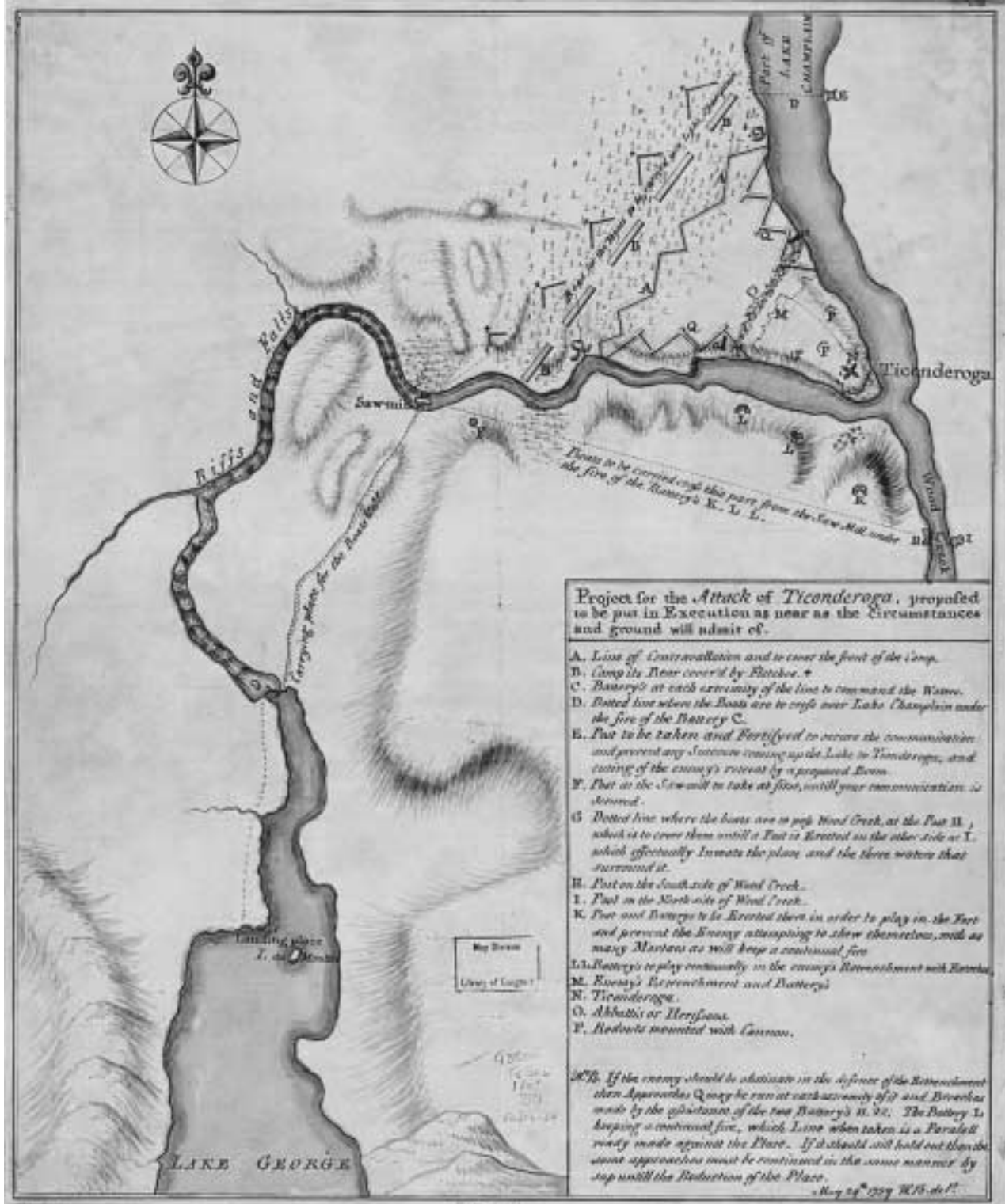
**Project for the Attack of Ticonderoga.** This 1759 map, drawn by William Brasier, shows a British battle plan for the attack on the French near Fort Ticonderoga in New York. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

**French and Indian War**

Québec
1690, 1759

Montréal
1760

Ft. Louisbourg
1758

Ft. Beauséjour
1755

Halifax

Ft. Frontenac
1758

Crown Point
1759

Annapolis
Royal

Ft. Oswego
1756

Ft. Ticonderoga, 1758, 1759

Lake George, 1755

Ft. Edward

Ft. Niagara
1759

Albany

Presque Isle

Ft. William
Henry
1757

Boston

Ft. Le Boeuf

Ft. Venango

Ft. Duquesne
1755, 1758

Monongahela, 1755

New York

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Ft. Necessity, 1754

Ft. Cumberland

N

0    100    200 mi.
0   100  200 km

**French and
Indian War**
British possession, 1754
French possession, 1754
British victory
French victory
British fort
French fort

might provide trade and diplomatic advantages. The Pennsylvania government increased gifts to its new Ohio Indian allies and urged unity among them, but the pacifist Quakers who dominated that colony's assembly had no intention of sending armed support. Like the French government, the British authorities were neither ready nor anxious for war but responded to Iroquois alarm by sanctioning a British intercolonial conference that finally met in Albany, New York, in June and July 1754. The Albany Conference placated the Iroquois with gifts and pioneered famous discussions about colonial unity, but it failed to achieve the intended diplomatic or military cooperation between colonies.

The Virginia elite, whose desire for western lands had been incorporated in the Ohio Company of Virginia (chartered in 1749), was willing to fight, but soon discovered its limitations. Virginia's initial protest, conveyed by a young Virginia militia officer and Ohio Company stockholder named George Washington, was dismissed by the Canadian commander of the new Fort Le Boeuf just as firmly, if more politely, as Tanaghrisson had been. The Ohio Company hurriedly built, and attempted to fortify, a storehouse at the forks of the Ohio River. In April 1754 more than five hundred Canadians, equipped with cannon, needed to fire not a single shot to prompt the surren-

der of forty-one Virginia workmen and soldiers. The victors promptly built Fort Duquesne on the site. Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, having secured British permission to use force against the Canadians, raised a motley 159-man Virginia regiment led by Washington. Guided by a dozen of Tanaghrisson's comrades, they ambushed a Canadian reconnaissance party, capturing twenty-one and killing ten, including ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville. This peacetime assassination of Jumonville, as it was called by the French, eventually became a diplomatic weapon of France in Europe; more immediately, it prompted retaliation by some seven hundred French, Canadians, and Indians led by Jumonville's brother. Reinforced to number four hundred, Washington's force attempted to defend another hastily fortified Virginian storehouse, aptly named Fort Necessity, but Washington surrendered on 3 July 1754. This formal surrender, complete with hostages given to ensure adherence to the terms, escalated tensions but did not necessarily mean war between Britain and France.

**BRITISH DEFEATS**

The British government responded in 1755 with its own show of force to remove what it considered to be French encroachment on British-claimed frontiers. General Edward Braddock led two undermanned regiments of British regulars to Virginia, where they recruited colonials and attempted to accomplish part of an elaborate strategy in which four nearly simultaneous British and colonial expeditions were to capture French forts Duquesne, Niagara, St. Frédéric, and Beauséjour. Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne initially progressed well, building a road and hauling cannon through mountainous terrain, but the campaign ended disastrously just nine miles from its destination. On 9 July Braddock's advance column of 1,450 was halted by more than half as many Indians and Canadians. Under cover of the surrounding woods, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Wyandot, and Potawatomi warriors flanked the redcoats and fired on the exposed and confused column for more than three hours. Fully two-thirds of the English were killed or wounded in this humiliating defeat, a higher casualty rate than suffered by the defeated side in any major European battle of the era.

The other three English armies fared somewhat better, though only one of them accomplished its objective. Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts led an English army that stalled 150 miles from its target, Fort Niagara, and instead merely strengthened dilapidated Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario. Colo-

nel William Johnson led the third English army's fifteen hundred colonials and three hundred Iroquois, who failed to reach Fort St. Frédéric on Lake Champlain but won a hard-fought, defensive Battle of Lake George in August 1755. As this army cut a sixteen-mile woodland road and hauled siege guns north from Fort Edward, it was challenged by a fast-moving vanguard of 700 Indians, 600 Canadians, and 220 French grenadiers led by the newly arrived Major General Jean-Armand, baron de Dieskau, who had led irregular troops in Europe. Dieskau intended to cut Johnson's line of supply by capturing Fort Edward, only to find his Indians would not attack that fort. Dieskau then trapped part of Johnson's army, sent back to support Fort Edward, in a major ambush known as the Bloody Morning Scout, on 8 September 1755. Chasing the survivors back into Johnson's camp at Lake George, Dieskau was again stalled by Indian reluctance to face cannons, even though these were still being set up behind overturned boats and wagons. This artillery, ably managed by Captain William Eyre of the British army, was unsuccessfully attacked by Dieskau's grenadiers, although their discipline unto death so unnerved their opponents that they did not counterattack. Although Dieskau had displayed tactical brilliance and adaptability, he was defeated by differences between guerrilla war in Europe and in America. Wounded in the day's final battle, he became Johnson's prisoner-guest. Johnson became a baronet and a hero in a year when the English had few of them. His force had not reached its objective; it had built a road that exposed northern New York and was content to build a substantial fort to defend it, Fort William Henry.

The only English army to reach its objective in 1755 was a force of 2,000 New Englanders and 250 British regulars commanded by British colonel Robert Monckton. He quickly secured the surrender of Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau on the Acadian isthmus; then his army was used to expel some six thousand Acadian neutrals who had been less-than-enthusiastic British subjects for more than forty years. New Englanders confiscated Acadia's farmlands and coal mines as well as consolidating what was already part of their trading empire. The British declared war on France the following year and, ignoring obvious lessons from 1755, sent nearly five thousand additional regulars to America, commanded by the able but impolitic John Campbell, earl of Loudoun, who could gain neither adequate colonial cooperation nor the military initiative.

Although outnumbered in population by twenty to one, Canada under native-born governor Pierre-François de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, was able to take the military offensive between 1755 and 1757. Braddock's defeat had reinforced a widespread Indian preference for Canadian traders over American frontier farmers, and even the strong Iroquois hostility to the French abated after losses in the Bloody Morning Scout caused the Iroquois League to reassert its formal neutrality in the Anglo-French war. The war afforded the Indian allies of New France opportunities to avenge innumerable injustices and to roll back white encroachment by as much as two hundred miles in borderlands from Maine to the Carolinas. In independent raids, and in those where they were accompanied by Canadians, the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo Indians conducted a parallel war in which they captured nearly two thousand whites who were adopted to strengthen Indian communities, to blunt retaliation, or to be redeemed profitably. However, these raiders also killed at least twice as many as they captured and drove refugees from a swath of destroyed farms. British colonial militias, regiments, and governments became wholly preoccupied with the unsuccessful defense of vast woodland frontiers against surprise attack.

New France, as Canada was called by the French, gained more from its Indian allies than the distraction of its colonial enemies. Indians integrated well into Canadian offensive operations of 1756 and 1757. Fort Oswego had been a thriving English trading post on the southern shores of Lake Ontario, with vulnerable supply lines that reached 150 miles to Albany. Throughout the winter of 1755–1756, Indian and Canadian scouting parties took prisoners and burned boats, effectively isolating Oswego. In March 1756, Indians from mission settlements in Canada joined Canadian and French regulars in a surprise attack on a major supply depot at Fort Bull, New York, where they destroyed gunpowder, ammunition, and provisions intended for Fort Oswego, as well as burning wagons, boats, and Fort Bull itself. Dieskau's replacement as commander of the French regulars in Canada was a more conventional, maneuver-conscious General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm. He was apprehensive about Vaudreuil's planned siege of Fort Oswego, a diversion that left the Lake Champlain–Richelieu River corridor poorly protected in the summer of 1756, when British regulars were massing at Albany for a predictable push north. In August the siege of Fort Oswego was over as soon as Montcalm's first battery chanced to kill the garrison commander. The siege was so short that it failed to draw any British reinforcements from Albany, leading Montcalm to apologize to the French court

for a victory that had violated prevailing military conventions. Montcalm was clearly unwise in taking the captured garrison of 1,640 soldiers back to Canada, where another crop failure made it almost impossible to feed civilians, soldiers, and prisoners of war and also made it difficult to gather supplies for the next campaign.

The centerpiece of the Canadian offensive of 1757 was the siege of Fort William Henry at the south end of Lake George. A garrison commanded by the fort's architect, Major Eyre, had successfully withstood an attack in March, though boats and outbuildings were destroyed. Some eighteen hundred Indians from as far away as Acadia and the Mississippi valley were recruited to join more than six thousand Canadian and French regulars in Montcalm's second annual summer siege. Hundreds of Indian scouts led preliminary raids; cut the fort's communications; and killed, captured, or forced back all English scouting parties seeking information on French strength or movements. Even an English reconnaissance down Lake George by 350 men in a fleet of twenty-two whaleboats was trapped and destroyed by an armada of Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Menominee canoemen who killed or captured 250. Indians and Canadians again formed the French army's van, isolating the fort and the adjoining entrenched camp and sustaining a small-arms battle while the first battery of French cannon was being prepared. The attackers had brought four mortars and thirty-six cannon, and siege preparations were shortened by ferrying each of these guns the length of Lake George on two lashed-together bateaux. The log-faced and sand-filled walls of the fort were as much as thirty feet thick, but the sleep-deprived defenders ran out of ammunition and usable cannon. Without reinforcement from Fort Edward, Lieutenant Colonel George Monro was compelled to surrender on 9 August.

### THE TIDE TURNS

The capture of Fort William Henry marked the apex of Canadian fortunes in the war. Immediately afterward, however, there was evidence of a turning tide. To honor the bravery of his opponents and to avoid further aggravation of Canadian food shortages, Montcalm granted the defeated a military parole, the freedom to return to nearby Fort Edward in exchange for a promise not to fight in the subsequent eighteen months. Montcalm's Indian allies, who had joined the expedition on promises of scalps, prisoners, and captured goods, disrupted the retreat of the defeated; but of the 2,308 parolees, all but 308 were saved by the French and Canadians. Their success in protecting or recovering so many of the parolees infuriated the victorious Indians. For this reason, and because they had carried a deadly smallpox epidemic back to their communities, these allies would not return in their previous numbers to support Canada again.

French strategy was shifting because of the French government's enthusiasm for Montcalm's successes, which increased his influence and led to the choice of conventional defensive preferences in place of Vaudreuil's more aggressive and more irregular strategy. This change may well have been inevitable, as British military efforts and fortunes improved. Loudoun's failed attempt in 1757 to besiege Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, had used much of the increased manpower Britain had sent to America. France, however, could not match these troop commitments because of the emergence of a major land war in Europe and the increasingly effective British naval blockade of French ports.

The British opened the 1758 campaign with a new government leader, the eloquent and efficient William Pitt, who was committed to providing more troops, more money, and new military commanders for the North American theater of war. In a strategy roughly parallel to the failed operations of 1755, though now focused on the conquest of Canada, the British again attacked four targets simultaneously: Louisbourg, Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), Fort Frontenac, and Fort Duquesne. In July some thirteen thousand British regulars under Major General Jeffrey Amherst, supported by a fleet of thirty-nine ships and fourteen thousand sailors successfully besieged Louisbourg. Meanwhile, Major General James Abercromby hurriedly ordered a conventional frontal assault on Fort Carillon, located on Lake Champlain, in July; fifteen thousand attackers were unable to overcome a massive *abattis* of freshly cut trees with sharpened branches, ably reinforced by thirty-five hundred defenders under Montcalm. In the wake of this failure, Abercromby approved a successful surprise attack in August on Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, by a force of three thousand colonial volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet. Farther west that summer, seven thousand men under Brigadier General John Forbes built a fortified road, similar to those created in subduing Scotland a decade earlier, through Pennsylvania to Fort Duquesne. Indian allies from various tribes joined the Canadians repeatedly in challenging the road builders, but local Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos eventually abandoned their French allies in the face of Forbes's army, and the French evacuated and demolished Fort Du-

**Fort William Henry.** Built during the mid-1750s at the south end of Lake George in New York, Fort William Henry became the focus of the Canadian offensive of 1757. Now a museum, the fort is shown here with modern flags in a photograph taken after 1970. © ROMAN SOUMAR/CORBIS.

quesne before the end of November. More than fifty-two thousand men had succeeded in three of four British offensives in 1758, whereas fewer than ten thousand had been defeated in three of four major engagements in 1755.

The British invasion of Canada in 1759 was cautious and methodical. Nearly one thousand Iroquois, lured from their uneasy neutrality, joined the British army that successfully besieged Fort Niagara in July 1759. During the same month, the French evacuated Forts Carillon and St. Frédéric ahead of British invaders, drawing their forces together for a final defense of Canada. While increasing numbers of Indians abandoned the French on sensing British victory, former Cherokee allies of the English were provoked into war with South Carolina in 1759. The Cherokees raided borderland settlements, harassed invading armies, and successfully besieged remote Fort Loudoun in August 1760. It would take three summers of punitive expeditions, which systematically burned evacuated Cherokee towns and vital crops, to provoke a negotiated peace.

## QUEBEC AND MONTREAL

The celebrated British conquest of Quebec, the capital of New France, in 1759 was a fortunate conclusion to a three-month siege that was failing. Montcalm had refused to be drawn out of the town's natural and man-made defenses, and Brigadier General James Wolfe had been unable to deploy his larger amphibious forces successfully. A well-executed final gamble brought four thousand British troops up a steep, narrow passage to the Plains of Abraham early on the morning of 13 September, challenging the town's weaker landward defenses and cutting communication with Trois-Rivières and Montreal. Like Abercromby at Fort Carillon the previous year, Montcalm moved too hastily against an enemy he thought was not yet effectively deployed. The British won the brief but deadly battle that would kill both commanders and gained control of the city four days later. Control of New France's capital was not decisive; British defenders lost a remarkably similar second battle for the town the following April and were besieged within the town when a British fleet arrived to reverse fortunes in mid-May. That same navy had

sufficiently crippled its French counterpart the previous November, across the Atlantic at Quiberon Bay in Brittany, to ensure that a British rather than a French flag was flying from the first ships up the St. Lawrence River in the spring of 1760.

The British campaign of 1760 was a carefully planned accomplishment of the obvious. Early in September three British armies, totaling seventeen thousand men, approached Montreal from three directions, arriving within two days of each other. Governor Vaudreuil sensibly surrendered New France on 8 September, and that news was conveyed to the western trading posts without prompting any immediate resistance. The French and Indian War was over. At expense so great as to bring severe fiscal and political problems, British regulars had learned to fight in North America and Europeans had imposed enough of their martial culture so that the war ended in formal siege and surrender. The veteran British regulars were redeployed against the French and Spanish in the West Indies, taking Guadeloupe in 1759 and Martinique and Havana in 1762, all of which would be returned in the peace. Young George III had succeeded his grandfather as king of England in 1760 and strongly urged peace. In the Treaty of Paris, signed 10 February 1763, the diplomatically adept French court recovered the economic core of their Atlantic empire: sugar plantations, slaving stations, and access to the Newfoundland fishery. To regain these assets, the French accepted the British conquest of New France and ceded to the British all French rights to lands east of the Mississippi.

*See also* **Acadians; American Indians: Old Northwest; Canada; Diplomatic and Military Relations, American Indian; Forts and Fortifications; Washington, George.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America*, 1754–1766. New York: Knopf, 2000.

Gipson, Lawrence H. *The British Empire before the American Revolution.* 15 vols. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1936–1970.

Jennings, Francis. *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years' War in America.* New York: Norton, 1988.

Middleton, Richard. *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt–Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War*, 1757–1762. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Steele, Ian K. *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre."* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Ward, Matthew C. *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania*, 1754–1765. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003.

*Ian K. Steele*

**FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, CONSEQUENCES OF** The capitulation of Montreal to British troops in September 1760 ended the French and Indian War in North America but ushered in a host of new problems for the British Empire. Previously, when European powers ended wars they exchanged conquered colonial possessions with an eye to keeping a balance of power between their American empires. This war, however, was different. It had begun in North America in an Anglo–French dispute over control of the Ohio Valley. British colonists, who had expended far more blood and treasure in this war than any prior one, were anxious for Britain to seize control of French Canada so that they might expand westward without threat of foreign reprisals. In Britain some policymakers argued for restoring Canada to the French but keeping the Caribbean sugar colony Guadeloupe, which British forces had also taken during the war. Others argued that Canada was far more valuable than a sugar colony because of its fur trade and the access it would provide to the continent's interior.

When the Peace of Paris was finally signed in 1763, the advocates for the retention of Canada won out. By the terms of the treaty, Britain acquired all of France's North American possessions east of the Mississippi River. In addition, Britain acquired Florida from Spain. The balance of power in North America had shifted decisively in Britain's favor, but so too had the costs of governing and defending imperial possessions there. Before the French and Indian War, British policymakers had looked upon the North American colonies chiefly as self–sustaining commercial enterprises, to be governed as cheaply as possible through the regulation of their trade. After the Treaty of Paris, British North America became a vast imperial dominion containing British subjects, conquered foreigners, and Native Americans all in need of government and protection from each other and external enemies.

The chief consequence of the French and Indian War, therefore, was a reorientation in Britain's perception and administration of its American colonies. This reorientation unfolded over the next dozen years, as British policymakers grappled with the expanded responsibilities and costs of their American

empire. Their efforts fell into three broad categories shaped by the Peace of Paris: the maintenance of a North American army, the management of Indian affairs, and the government of new territories and peoples.

The acquisition of Canada and Florida made the maintenance of British troops in North America after the war a fait accompli. Colonial militias and provincial troops had proven themselves notoriously unreliable in garrison duty during the war, so British regulars were needed to police newly conquered subjects and to staff forts and posts abandoned by the French and Spanish. The British ministry planned to maintain about 7,500 British troops in North America, at an estimated annual cost of £350,000. This policy would add a substantial burden to a royal treasury already heavily indebted by the war effort. In 1764 Prime Minister George Grenville introduced the Sugar Act to Parliament, the first of a series of taxation measures pursued by the British ministry over the following decade designed to shift a portion of this financial burden onto the shoulders of the colonists, who, according to Grenville and his successors, could well afford to pay for it. The colonists, of course, saw it another way, and launched a series of protests, beginning with the Stamp Act riots in 1765, that condemned such measures as "taxation without representation."

Quartering of troops was another issue that arose out of the decision to maintain regular troops in America after the war. When the effort to raise tax revenues in America stalled, Parliament passed Quartering Acts in 1765, 1766, and 1774 that required the American colonists to provide barracks and supplies for the troops. Quartering had arisen as a point of contention during the French and Indian War in Massachusetts and New York, but local compromises and generous subsidies from the government ministry of William Pitt had helped paper over these differences. With the passage of the Quartering Act of 1765, the issue arose again, this time in the context of parliamentary efforts to tax the colonists without their consent. The colonial opposition to quartering intensified in 1768, when the ministry, in an attempt to cut expenses, ordered troops to vacate most western posts and relocate in eastern cities.

The administration of the army in North America after the French and Indian War was intertwined with British efforts to place Indian affairs under the centralized management of imperial officials. The French had maintained an extensive network of commercial and military alliances with Indian nations in the Great Lakes, Ohio, and Mississippi regions, play-

ing the role of a diplomatic "father" who supplied his "children" with presents of trade goods and helped mediate their relations with traders, missionaries, and other Indians. The British inherited this role but played it very poorly. General Jeffrey Amherst, commander in chief of the British forces in North America, regarded the Indians as conquered peoples rather than allies and ordered that the flow of diplomatic presents to them be stopped. In May 1763 Anglo-Indian tensions created by Amherst's high-handedness erupted into a widespread and devastating frontier war known, after the American Ottawa chief, as Pontiac's War.

The violence and cost of this war spurred the British Board of Trade to expand the powers and responsibilities of the two superintendents for Indian affairs the crown had appointed during the French and Indian War. According to a plan formulated in 1764, the Indian superintendents—William Johnson in the northern colonies and John Stuart in the southern colonies—would oversee all Indian land purchases, regulate the fur trade, and negotiate a boundary line between Indian and colonial territory. The implementation of this new policy was stymied by the colonists' reluctance to follow the dictates of the crown's Indian superintendents. In 1768 the ministry restored management of the fur trade to the individual colonial governments, which lowered the crown's expenses but also increased the exploitation and abuses that fueled Indian discontent along the frontier in the years preceding the American Revolution.

The British ministry's efforts to fund the army and pacify Indians in North America were directly related to the third major focus of policymaking initiated by the French and Indian War. The territorial acquisitions of the war opened a vast new frontier to American land speculators and squatters anxious to exploit territory west of the Appalachian Mountains. Even before the ink was dry on the Peace of Paris, settlers were pushing into the Ohio Country, over the objections of Indians who claimed that region as their own. In the Proclamation of 1763, the British ministry tried to stem this tide by temporarily prohibiting settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains. Over time, this injunction became more permanent as the Indian superintendents negotiated treaties to create a fixed boundary line between colonial and Indian populations. Squatters ignored such restrictions, and well-connected land speculators lobbied the crown for land grants to establish new colonies in the continent's interior.

The British effort to impose control over its new western territories in North America came to a head in 1774 with Parliament's passage of the Quebec Act. While the chief purpose of this legislation was to establish a plan of civil government in Canada, it extended the authority of the new Quebec government over the western territories ceded by the French in 1763. Various provisions in the Quebec Act curtailed liberties Anglo–American colonists considered their birthright, including trial by jury and local government by elected assemblies. Anglo–Americans interpreted these measures as an effort to impose French-style despotism over any new colonies established west of the Appalachians.

Historians have long argued over the significance of these policies in the coming of the American Revolution. Some assert that the origins of the American Revolution lay in the western policy pursued by the British ministry after 1760, because this policy generated the need for the taxes that proved so obnoxious to the colonists. Others discount the impact of such measures as the Proclamation of 1763 and Quebec Act, especially when compared to the widespread protests ignited by the Stamp Act, Townshend Duties, and Tea Act. Regardless, the French and Indian War fundamentally changed Britain's approach to governing its North American colonies. The efforts to maintain a North American army, centralize Indian affairs, and manage a vast and unruly frontier no doubt contributed to the souring of Anglo–American relations after 1763 and helped define the issues upon which the empire split apart in 1776.

See also **British Army in North America; British Empire and the Atlantic World; Canada; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congresses; Sugar Act; Tea Act; Townshend Act.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Gipson, Lawrence Henry. "The American Revolution as an Aftermath of the Great War for the Empire, 1754–1765." In *The American Revolution: Two Centuries of Interpretation.* Edited by Edmund S. Morgan. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Murrin, John M. "The French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the Counterfactual Hypothesis: Reflec-

tions on Lawrence Henry Gipson and John Shy." *Reviews in American History* 1 (1973): 307–317.

*Timothy J. Shannon*

**FRENCH REVOLUTION** *See* **European Influences: The French Revolution.**

**FRIES'S REBELLION** Following Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787) and the Whiskey Rebellion (1794), Fries's Rebellion was the last in a trilogy of popular uprisings against taxing authorities after the American Revolution. The federal government had imposed its first Direct Tax in 1798 to fund a military program for defense against France during the Quasi-War. The French launched naval attacks upon America's Atlantic shipping after the United States in 1794 negotiated Jay's Treaty with Britain, with whom France was at war. The Direct Tax was a levy on lands, dwelling houses, and slaves, and the Federalist Adams administration appointed placemen to take the rates.

In eastern Pennsylvania, Federalist patronage fell to Quakers and Moravians, local minorities who had abstained from participation in the Revolution while their more numerous German Lutheran and Reformed neighbors had supported the Patriot cause. With the tax, the local ethno-religious political battle assumed national significance as resisters connected it with what they believed was a broader, Federalist Party assault upon the people's liberty that included the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) and the creation of a peacetime standing army. John Fries and his neighbors believed they had learned valuable lessons from the mistakes of the Shays and Whiskey rebels. Fries and other leaders had marched westward under George Washington and Alexander Hamilton to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794. In 1798 they aimed to prevent what they perceived to be an unconstitutional tax through a combination of traditional and constitutional means. They drew upon the rituals of crowd action—affirmed during the imperial crisis and the Revolution—and nonviolently stopped the assessments while pleading with their representatives and petitioning Congress to repeal the tax law as well as the Alien and Sedition Acts. During the earliest days of the Republic, while James Madison and Thomas Jefferson were testing the the-

ory of state nullification, the Fries rebels were asserting that the people themselves retained that right.

The rebellion occurred when some resisters liberated their neighbors from a federal marshal in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on 7 March 1799. The Adams administration quickly quashed the revolt with military force, but the story did not end there. Federalist mishandling of the affair accentuated existing intraparty divisions. While Adams had advocated the use of militia, the commanding general of the professional Provisional Army, Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of War James McHenry had employed regular forces instead. When Adams pardoned John Fries just hours before his scheduled execution in May 1800, he alienated himself from most of his cabinet during a tight reelection campaign. The resisters went on to capture control of local government, help the Democratic Republicans win Pennsylvania, and throw the Keystone State to Jefferson in the Revolution of 1800.

*See also* **Shays's Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bouton, Terry. "A Road Closed: Rural Insurgency in Post-Independence Pennsylvania." *Journal of American History* 87 (December 2000): 855–887.

Newman, Paul Douglas. *Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

*Paul Douglas Newman*

**FRONTIER**  "Frontier," one of many English words that took on new meanings in North America, has assumed as well a role in explaining the continent's history during the past five hundred years. In time the word has acquired other connotations, both positive and negative, and with that a power to kindle high emotions about the course and consequences of North American history.

In England and Europe, "frontier" has meant a border or boundary, usually between nations, and thus by nature is static. Across the Atlantic it became dynamic, referring to the outer edge of European settlement and influence intruding into the continent.

Among historians, the term "frontier" is most closely associated with Frederick Jackson Turner, whose essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" profoundly influenced American historiography for forty years after its publication in 1893. Here and in subsequent essays Turner drew heavily for inspiration and examples from the early years of the American Republic and the frontier's advance from the Appalachian Mountains to just beyond the Mississippi River.

Reacting against historians such as his mentor, Herbert Baxter Adams, who considered American history essentially an outgrowth of British and European institutions, Turner argued that Old World customs and attitudes broke down and reformed in America's radically different physical and social environment. The prime site of that transformation was along the cutting edge of advancing settlement, "the line between civilization and savagery." First in England's Atlantic colonies and later in the United States, the opportunity of "free land" drew pioneers westward into settings that required them to modify or scrap entirely many of the institutions and values of their previous lives. The result was a "composite nationality," a distinctive culture and people. The frontier, as both a process and a condition, thus "explain[s] American development," Turner wrote.

The "frontier thesis" remained hugely influential until the 1930s. It jibed with several intellectual trends, including the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer and, by stressing how a people's material foundations shaped their values, the ideas of Karl Marx. Turner also reflected his generation's conflicted feelings about its nation. On the one hand his descriptions of evolving frontier societies after the Revolution thrummed with highly positive traits he considered essentially American—among others, a democratic individualism, inventiveness, toleration, and a restless striving. Thus in Turner's day the early Republic's frontier spoke both to a desire for unity, as the United States grew beyond the Civil War and its contentious aftermath, and to a growing pride as it emerged as a leading world power.

Turner also noted, however, that the frontier was coming to a close. As defined in the federal census, the frontier was a north-and-south line separating an area with two or more persons per square mile from one with fewer than two. The census of 1890 showed for the first time no unbroken frontier line across the nation. As the frontier came to an end, the process that had produced the American character presumably would no longer do its work. By implication the nation would enter a new era, perhaps one of decline. Turner's thesis expressed a nation's anxiety about its future as well as a pride in its past.
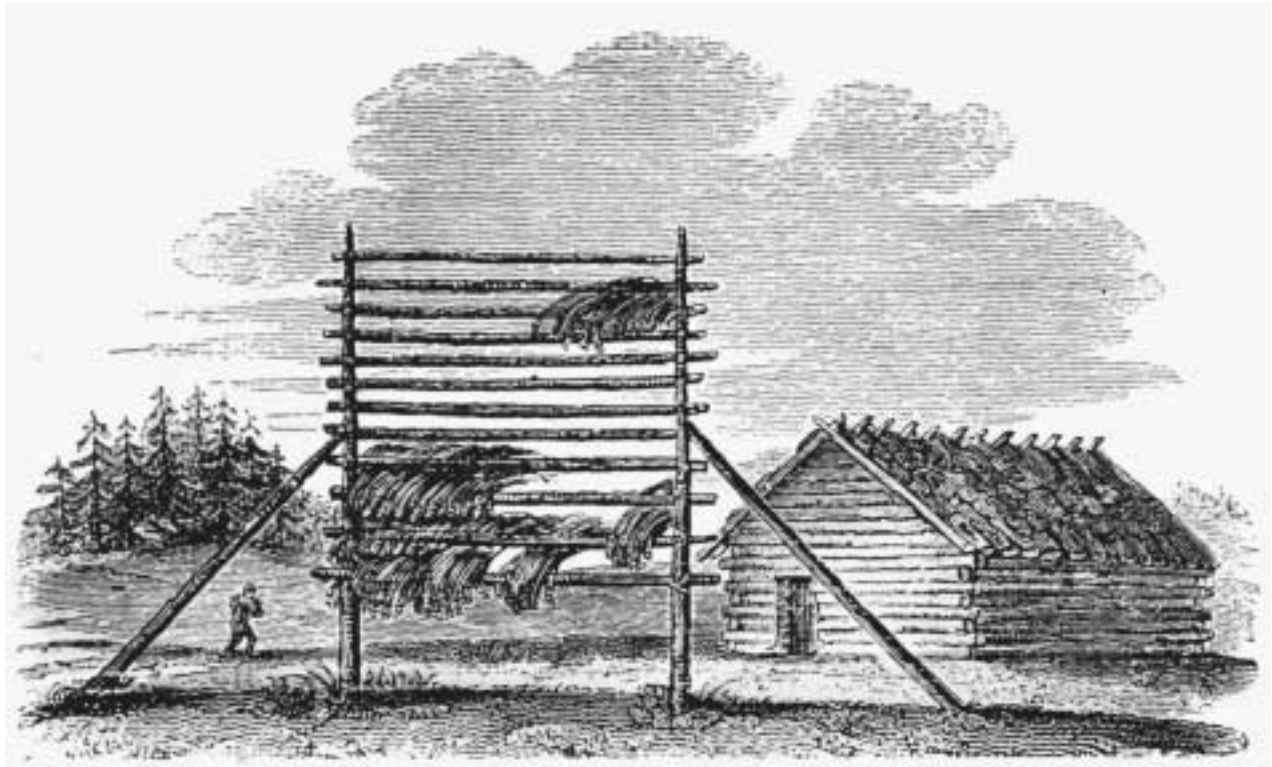
**Swedish Log Cabin.** The first American log cabins were modeled after the simple log homes of Scandinavian peasants. This engraving from 1824 shows a cabin built by Swedish immigrants to the New World. The wooden rack in the foreground was used to dry corn. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

### THE PROGRESS OF THE MOVING FRONTIER

As Turner conceived and described it—a westward advance of settlement—the frontier began on the Atlantic coast with the first English settlements of the seventeenth century. By the time of the Revolution and the birth of the Republic it had moved across the Appalachians into Kentucky, Tennessee, and western Pennsylvania. By the 1820s it had rolled through the Ohio Valley and Gulf coastal region and across the Mississippi River into Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and his own native Wisconsin. There it paused before jumping to the Pacific coast in the 1840s, then advancing from both east and west into the interior of the American West after the Civil War.

The frontier of the early Republic was predominantly agrarian. Most who moved west were families establishing small farms, although cotton plantations and slavery were a large part of the advance through the Gulf Coast region. By 1829 the quest for farmland had driven the frontier as well into eastern Texas and the first tier of states beyond the Mississippi River. Over the next two generations the same hunger would draw frontier farmers to western Oregon and central California, to Mormon settlements near Utah's Great Salt Lake, and finally to the Great Plains.

In the earliest stage of frontier farming, settlers hacked out a clearing, built a rude dwelling, planted corn around tree stumps, and began the long process of clearing enough land for a working farm. They were subsistence farmers, producing only for themselves and neighbors. They borrowed heavily from Indian peoples, from clothing to such techniques as girdling to kill trees before felling them. In fact, early white frontier families lived as much by a hunting-gathering economy as did their Indian neighbors. As settlement thickened, more land was cleared and farms improved; settlers gradually turned to crops meant for distant markets. An exception to this pattern was on the Gulf Coastal frontier, a region beautifully suited for growing short-staple cotton to meet the voracious demand in English textile mills. Planters consequently established cotton plantations almost from the start as the southern frontier was opened to settlement after 1815.

Popular images of solitary frontiersmen to the contrary, the family was ubiquitous. Success, even survival, depended on all its members contributing

**Frontier Trading Posts**

- ○ French trading post (1604–1760)
- ◐ Hudson's Bay Company (1670–1869)
- ● Montreal-based fur trade (1763–1784)
- □ North West Company (1784–1821)
- ▬ Modern boundary
- ▣ Spain and New Mexico (1598–1821)
- ■ Russian trading post (1811–1840)
- ▲ Thirteen British colonies and United States (1686–1834)
- ● Urban Center, 1820
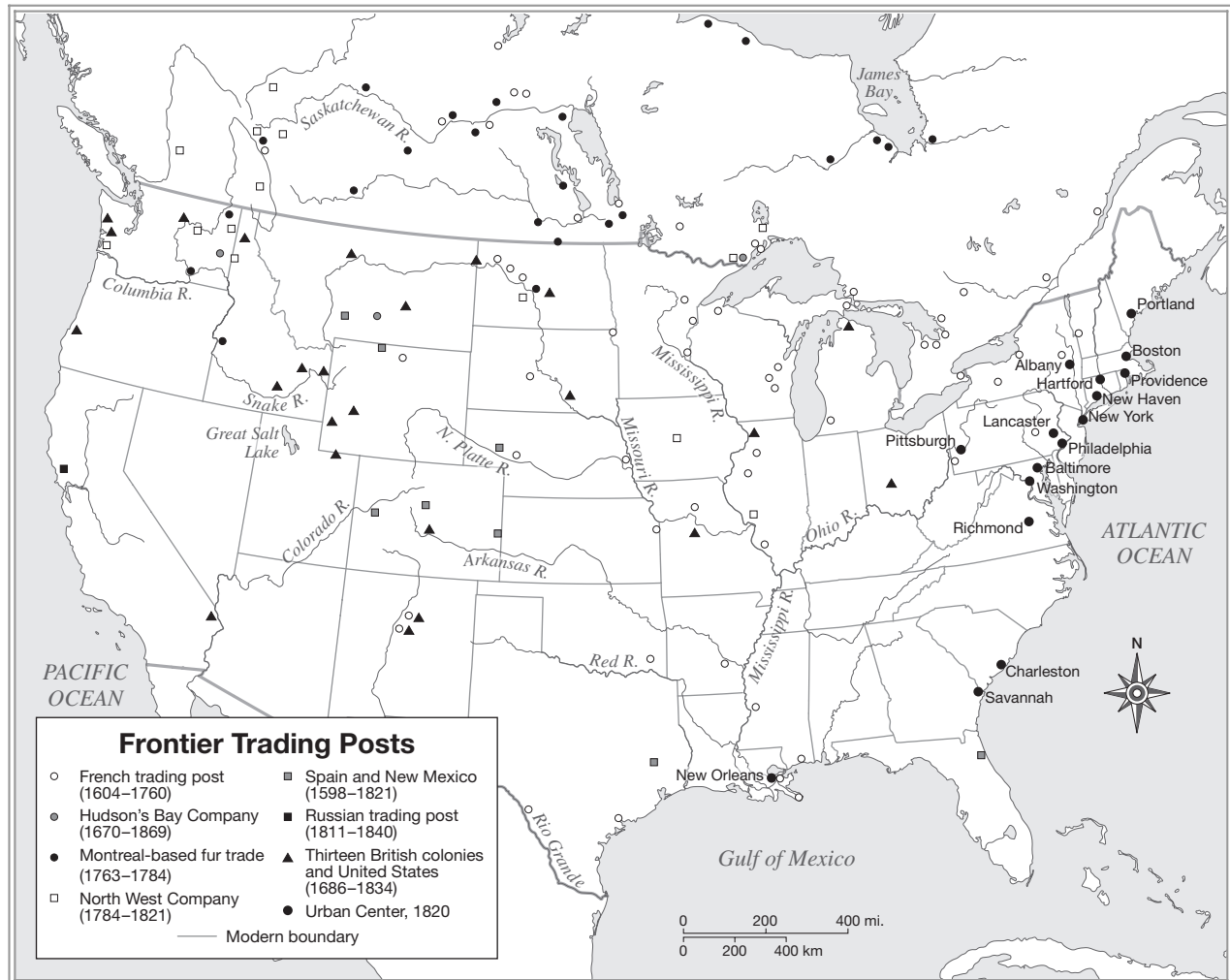
and cooperating. Wives performed not only household and nursing duties but also heavier labor, and children of both sexes worked at all but the most physically taxing tasks. As a result widows and widowers rarely remained single for long, and the birth rate was by most calculations far higher than in more settled parts of the nation.

Frontier farming should not be defined too narrowly. Cattle raising, linked in the popular imagination mostly with later frontiers in the far West, was crucial to the eastern agricultural frontiers before 1830, for instance. The term "cowboy" appeared first in the Carolinas, already with a tone of wild independence. Scots-Irish settlers of the Gulf Coastal frontier were especially accomplished at herding cattle; on plantations in many parts of the southern frontier, including the rich farming region of the Mississippi delta, slaves sometimes spent as much time tending cattle as cultivating cotton. Many of the techniques of cattle raising applied later on far-

western ranches evolved first on the southeastern frontier. Other animals were raised to be sold and slaughtered. Pigs, which prospered in the woodlands with little supervision, were especially popular. There are even accounts from the southern frontier of turkey drives, with hundreds of the large fowls herded to market.

The need for markets made towns and urban centers also a vital part of the moving frontier. Coming to life as trading and transportation centers, they further facilitated the westward flow of people and goods, supported farms and other settlements nearby and provided the ground where political, educational, religious, and cultural institutions could take root and grow. In these frontier towns appeared a region's earliest light industry, not only slaughterhouses—Cincinnati earned the nickname "Porkopolis" for all the swine processed there—but the manufacture of goods impractical to

import, such as glassware, barrels, rope, and flat-boats.

Towns most often sprang up along trade routes, and on frontiers of the early Republic that usually meant rivers. Pittsburgh first drew settlers because of the protection of Fort Pitt, then for its prime location at the headwaters of the Ohio River. Farther downstream Cincinnati and Louisville served as collecting and distribution points for trade north and south of the river. Several important urban centers were founded along water routes by England's imperial rivals, in particular France, which established St. Louis, Detroit, Natchez, New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, and many somewhat lesser towns to service its far-flung fur trading empire. In 1763 these passed to Spain and England, and by the 1820s all had been pulled within the expanding United States. Overland trade routes, typically following trails taken by Native American traders and warriors, produced some towns. The Wilderness Road connected the first frontier towns in the Kentucky interior to North Carolina. The Natchez Trace ran from Natchez, Mississippi, to Nashville, Tennessee, which in turn was connected by trails to the Ohio River at Maysville and via Zane's Trace across Ohio to Wheeling, West Virginia.

The importance of these arteries to commerce and life is a key to understanding the frontier's role in early American diplomacy. Concerns about interference with settlers' use of the Mississippi led to confrontations with Spain in 1795 and with France in 1803. The young Republic turned these crises to its advantage, particularly the conflict with France, which resulted in doubling the nation's size and propelling the frontier toward the Pacific.

### RESHAPING SOCIETY

Without question frontier conditions did reshape society. People of many ethnicities and from a variety of places were tossed together. At first, institutions imported from mother cultures were poorly rooted or wholly absent. The tentative nature of settlements combined with a high rate of mobility to make for a social fluidity and a fuzziness of hierarchical order. With the notable exception of areas where the plantation system appeared early, there was considerable economic leveling. Turner argued that these and other conditions produced the admirable traits he cited as essentially American. The need to cope with unfamiliar challenges, plus a relative lack of tradition, bred an inventiveness and pragmatism. Greater individualism was a natural outgrowth of strangers thrown together, measuring one another by person-al capacity rather than lineage or social position. With fewer economic and social distinctions, politics tended to be more democratic and innovative.

Although he emphasized the positive, Turner observed that the same conditions had less desirable effects. An unsettled society short on institutional controls promoted violence as well as individualism and democracy. The pressing demand to meet immediate physical needs brought a cultural atrophy and anti-intellectualism. Some critics stressed a theme that ran against Turner's argument—a strong conservative impulse on the frontier. Settlers often felt a powerful urge, even an obsession, to transplant what they considered cultural essentials. Because they had to create political forms almost on the fly, early governments were less likely to innovate than to copy what they knew from the past. In particular, constitutional forms often mimicked those of the East. The tension between change and tradition was played out in gender relations. Frontier conditions often required women to take on roles usually reserved for men, but the crushing load of work and the need for children made women's lives difficult and dangerous and left little room for individual fulfillment outside their labors.

### DEBATING THE ROLE OF THE FRONTIER

By Turner's death in 1932, more fundamental critiques of his ideas were being heard. Some stressed that many other factors—among them patterns of immigration, American society's middle-class nature, and the ferment of ideas in eastern cities—influenced the national character at least as much as the frontier. Others argued that class divisions and social and economic hierarchies have been much more a part of American life than implied in the celebration of frontier-inspired egalitarianism. Still others found Turner unclear on the mechanisms of the frontier's influence and specifically questioned how an area by definition thinly populated could transform an entire society. In the 1980s and 1990s practitioners of the "new" Western history argued that, as the frontier's influence had been described thus far, it presented a doubly deficient narrative. It downplayed or ignored the terrible costs of expansion—dispossession and cultural destruction of native peoples, environmental calamity, dashed hopes, and an obsessive acquisitiveness. And as a story dominated by Anglo-Saxon males, it neglected the vital parts played by women and the many ethnic groups active in westward expansion.

The effect of these various critiques has been paradoxical. No longer considered the primary forma-

tive force on continental history, and thus narrower in influence, the frontier has been more broadly defined and its explanatory power has grown. An especially revealing line of research has explored the interactions among Europeans, Euro-Americans, and Indian peoples. Along the various frontiers there developed what the historian Richard White has called a "middle ground," syncretic cultures of overlapping customs and mutual borrowing in which all sides created new terms of understanding and exchange and new means of accommodation. One native response to frontiers was ethnogenesis—the creation of new collective identities. Many tribes assumed to have existed on the frontiers at the time of European contact, such as the Catawbas of the Carolinas, were in fact smaller related groups that merged and consolidated to meet the threats and opportunities posed by the newcomers.

A frontier in this sense was not a line dividing one condition from another, and certainly not a division between "civilization and savagery," but rather a place where peoples, ideas, cultures, and institutions came together and interacted on many levels, sometimes mixing and sometimes conflicting but always in mutual influence. The interaction included the environment. Clearing the land and introducing domestic animals and new farming methods, settlers set loose chains of environmental changes and undermined native economies. Drawn to opportunities of trade, Indians depleted populations of deer, beavers, and other animals. Perhaps the most profound environmental interaction came with the introduction of Old World pathogens and waves of epidemics that devastated native populations.

The frontier has proved most persistent as a term in popular culture summoning up images of opportunity, adventure, challenge, courage, danger, and innovation. The first such images emerged from the early Republic. By 1829 Daniel Boone stood as the nation's first paragon of frontier virtues. James Fenimore Cooper had created a wildly popular frontier character in his Leatherstocking tales. Upon his election to the presidency, Andrew Jackson's unprecedented political appeal was inextricably tangled with his image as backwoods hero. The frontier's mythic power has continued in forms as varied as Western novels and films, subgenres of science fiction, political rhetoric and slogans, and advertising, where its references are used to sell everything from computers and toothpaste to automobiles and tattooing. This allure is a reminder of the frontier's enduring hold on the imagination among scholars and the public at large.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Americanization; Environment, Environmental History, and Nature; Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Foreign Investment and Trade; Frontier Religion; Frontiersmen; Fur and Pelt Trade; Individualism; Livestock Production; Louisiana Purchase; Migration and Population Movement; Nature, Attitudes Toward; Town Plans and Promotion; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Barnhart, John D. *Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley*, 1775–1818. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953.

Grossman, James R., ed. *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library*, August 26, 1994–January 7, 1995. Chicago: Newberry Library; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West.* New York: Norton, 1987.

Noble, David W. *Historians against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing since 1830.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965.

Nobles, Gregory H. *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1997.

Taylor, George Rogers, ed. *The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History.* 3rd ed. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1971.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Dover, 1996.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, 1650–1815. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Wrobel, David M. *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993.

*Elliott West*

**FRONTIER RELIGION**   The frontier of the new nation—extending from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River—was a region of intense religious activity by both Euro-Americans and Native Americans. Among Euro-American settlers of the region, the most important aspect of religious activity was the democratization of religion. Among Native Americans, on the other hand, it was resistance to Christianity and to its associated cultural elements.

The democratization of American religion had begun during the first Great Awakening (c. 1740–1760) and the American Revolution (1775–1783), but it accelerated dramatically during the Second Great Awakening (c. 1790–1830). The process was marked by the absence of established churches, an emphasis on the vernacular in the forms and language of worship, and a refusal to see clergy as a divinely ordained class apart from the laity.

The first Great Awakening had seen established churches from New England to the Carolinas lose much of their authority. Congregational and Anglican churches were divested of much of their power to coerce attendance or financial support, and many dissenting Protestants gained at least de facto toleration. The Revolution continued this trend, especially in Anglican colonies, where the Church of England was associated with discredited royal officials and where independence brought rising demands for its disestablishment. After the Revolution, the Northwest Ordinance (or Land Ordinance of 1787) set the tone for frontier religion. First among the "unalterable" characteristics that it mandated for the region was that no peaceable person ever be molested on account of religion, and none of the new territories and states that emerged west of the original thirteen ever had established faiths.

Frontier religion also perpetuated the first Great Awakening's emphasis on "heart" religion. The Awakened had to feel God in their hearts, and the characteristic form of worship on the early national frontier was the revival, or camp meeting. The meeting held at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801 was the most celebrated example of this phenomenon. Thousands of men, women, and children spent a week at Cane Ridge, and during that time many demonstrated profound physical manifestations of their religious enthusiasm, such as jerking, dancing, barking, and falling down. Cane Ridge was unusual only in its size, though. Throughout the early national period, the two largest denominations on the trans-Appalachian frontier—Baptists and Methodists—held thousands of smaller such events. Baptist services, which had long been known for their enthusiasm, tended to be in established churches; Methodists, on the other hand, employed a cadre of itinerant ministers—circuit riders—to spread the word to any who would hear it.

Finally, frontier religion shattered the notion of the clergy as a separate, elite class. Baptists had always opposed any sort of church hierarchy, and their ministers were known more for the enthusiasm of their preaching than for their education or their ability to split theological hairs. Methodists of the era were somewhat less democratic in that they had a church hierarchy, symbolized on the frontier by Bishop Francis Asbury (1745–1816), although they also relied on a host of lay preachers to serve the faithful. The most democratic of all may have been the Disciples of Christ, or the Christians. The Christian movement emerged in the late eighteenth century, when adherents of several faiths began to emphasize the ability of every man or woman to effect his or her own salvation through reading the New Testament. On the frontier, the most prominent leaders of the movement were Barton Stone (1772–1844) and Alexander Campbell (1788–1866), but neither claimed any special religious status. To the followers of Stone and Campbell, anyone who read the Bible had an equal claim to understanding the will of God.

While Euro-Americans on the frontier developed a more democratic version of Christianity in the region, Native Americans often resisted Christianity with increasing determination. Even those tribes that began to adopt the agricultural capitalism of white Americans often declined to adopt their religion. The Cherokee, for example, were perfectly willing to permit Moravian missionaries to establish schools and provide practical training but showed little interest in their faith. Indeed, by 1830 fewer than 10 percent of the Cherokee people had converted to Christianity, despite years of activity among them by Moravians, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. In other tribes, most notably the Shawnee and Muskogee (Creek), resistance to Christianity was even stronger. The cultural and demographic devastation that followed European expansion led Tenskwatawa (1775–1836), a Shawnee, to advocate a return to traditional ways in order to appease the Great Spirit and bring an end to white incursions. His message not only contributed to Tecumseh's war against the United States (1811–1813), but also inspired traditionalists among the Muskogees, known as the Red Sticks, to attack as well (1813–1814). Both wars ended in defeat, but Native Americans continued their effort to preserve traditional beliefs in the face of Christianity.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Religions; Baptists; Methodists; Revivals and Revivalism.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

LeBeau, Bryan F. *Religion in America to 1865.* New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Wigger, John H. *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

*Daniel Thorp*

**FRONTIERSMEN** Adventurous. Rugged. Individualistic. Free of the oppression of institutions and the restraints of civil society. Living on the edge of danger, unsure of whether or not the day would be their last. These are all classic characteristics of the American frontiersman of western lore.

To be sure, men like Daniel Boone possessed a fanciful, adventurous side. Born in a log cabin in Pennsylvania, Boone spent much of his life on the western frontier of America, taking part in military campaigns, acting as a backwoods guide, embarking on extended hunting expeditions, fighting Indians, and establishing settlements deeper into the American interior. Yet men like Boone also exhibited a more "civilized" side. Both Boone and his frontier counterpart Davy Crockett served their fellow frontier settlers as state legislators, Boone in the Virginia Assembly and Crockett in Tennessee. Intermingling politics with business, Boone spent a good part of his time engaged in activities not characteristically associated with frontiersmen, such as contracting with the assembly to provide supplies to western militias, dabbling in business as the operator of a general store, speculating in land, and petitioning the Federal Land Commission and Congress to secure land grants in the West. Crockett found his way into national affairs as well, serving three terms in Congress as a U.S. representative.

Just as frontiersmen like Boone and Crockett were not quite as rugged as they were often portrayed, individualism did not characterize all of the activities taking place on America's western frontiers. Even the famed frontier historian Fredrick Jackson Turner, noted for his interpretation of the frontier as a definitive factor in the development of the American character, had to acknowledge that the transplanting of whole communities by opportunity-seeking easterners meant that many Americans living on the frontier skipped the primitive frontier phase of settlement almost entirely. Some enterprising businessmen even offered up for sale ready-made homesteads, cleared of timber, fenced in, and ready for seed, therefore eliminating much of the back-

breaking work and uncertainty often associated with frontier life.

Those living in the West built on a long tradition of communal activity and support, and the very nature of the frontier and the dangers present on it necessitated such cooperative behavior. The practice of traveling in wagon trains across the Great Plains, for example, grew in part out of the need to provide protection against hostile Indians, which these larger groups afforded, and which the mythical, Indian-fighting frontiersmen of lore would not have required.

Thus it was the rare individual who fit the frontier mold, and perhaps this rarity helped stimulate the attraction on the part of many Americans to the fiction of the rugged, individualistic frontier lifestyle. But if the life of the frontiersman in Boone's Kentucky and Crockett's Tennessee was not wholly the life of adventure and complete abandon, then when and where did this myth originate?

Many credit Daniel Boone's contemporary and fellow land speculator, John Filson, for introducing Americans to the archetypal "frontiersman" personified by Boone himself. In part attempting to attract interest in the west of the early Republic so as to bolster the value of his own Kentucky landholdings, Filson published *The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon* in 1784 to much acclaim. In the book Filson presented Boone in an Enlightenment-inspired image, that of a "natural man," born of a simpler time and free of the apparent constraints and restrictions of civilized society.

Perhaps it is no coincidence that the myth of the American frontiersman, first invoked shortly after the ratification of the Constitution and the birth of the new American nation, accelerated during the first half of the nineteenth century. James Fenimore Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales" (beginning with *The Pioneers* in 1823), Davy Crockett's autobiographical work, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee* (1834), and Timothy Flint's *The First White Man of the West, or the Life and Exploits of Col. Dan'l. Boone, The First Settler of Kentucky* (1854), expanded on the concept of the American frontiersman as a unique element of the unexplored American West. This booming interest in the American frontiersman coincided almost seamlessly with the growing American belief in "Manifest Destiny," the idea that Americans were fated to spread their civilization across the entire North American continent. In this sense then, the myth of the American frontiersman was one of empire and civilization as much as a symbol of its rejection, and would remain so

throughout the twentieth century as Americans set their sights across the Pacific and toward Asia.

Born of speculation and profit and nurtured by the quest for a landed empire, the American frontiersman personified, and continues to personify, the American belief in the individualism of the American people and the exceptionalism of the American experience. Although perhaps more myth than reality, the memory of the American frontiersman remains a powerful force in the shaping of American identity.

See also **American Character and Identity; Expansion; Frontier; Individualism; Land Policies.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Faragher, John Mack. *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer.* New York: Holt, 1992.

Hine, Robert V., and John Mack Faragher. *The American West: A New Interpretive History.* New Haven: Yale, 2000.

*Hugh Randall*

**FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1793**   By the time of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, a division between slave and free states had begun to emerge. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont (which would become the fourteenth state) had abolished slavery, while Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were in the process of doing so. Southerners at the convention feared that in the new nation, their slaves would escape to these free states and be forever lost. Thus, late in the convention, Pierce Butler of South Carolina proposed that the fugitives from justice clause, designed to facilitate the return of accused criminals, also provide for the return of fugitive slaves. The convention rejected this idea but a few days later adopted, without debate or vote, a separate provision for the return of fugitive slaves. The clause provided that "No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due."

**FUGITIVE SLAVE CLAUSE**

During the ratification debates, southern supporters of the Constitution used the clause to bolster their support for the document. At the South Carolina ratifying convention, for example, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who had been a delegate at the Philadelphia convention, declared, "We have obtained a right to recover our slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge, which is a right we had not before." Similarly, in Virginia, Governor Edmund Randolph and James Madison, who had also been delegates in Philadelphia, used the fugitive slave clause to show that the Constitution protected slavery.

The fugitive slave clause was placed in Article IV of the Constitution, immediately after the clause providing for the return of fugitives from justice. But the two clauses, although juxtaposed, differed significantly. The fugitives from justice clause was predicated on legal due process. It provided for the return of a fugitive who was "charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime." The term "charged" implied some sort of legal proceeding—such as a grand jury indictment—that established prima facie guilt. The fugitives from justice clause also provided a mechanism for returning alleged criminals. The clause said that "on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled," the fugitive from justice was to be "delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime." In other words, after an indictment the governor of the state would contact the authorities where the fugitive was hiding and request that the fugitive be arrested. The governor would then send someone to receive the prisoner and bring him back for trial.

The fugitive slave clause, on the other hand, provided no clear mechanism for the return of a fugitive slave. The clause declared the fugitive would be returned "on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due." Such language implied that the fugitive slave would normally be in the custody of someone, or even be working for someone as a slave. The fugitive was to be "delivered up on Claim" of the owner. But the clause did not indicate how that delivery was to take place, who was to pay for it, or what would be needed to prove that the "Claim" was legitimate.

Perhaps the most significant difference between the two clauses was their lack of symmetry. Each state had two strong interests in cooperating in the seizure and arrest of fugitives from justice. No state would want a criminal hiding within its boundaries. That alone was incentive enough to help return fugitives. In addition, however, all states would eventually seek the return of a fugitive from justice, and thus there was a strong incentive for mutual cooperation. This did not exist with fugitive slaves. The northern states had no strong need to prevent blacks

from escaping into their jurisdiction. Indeed, such fugitive slaves were likely to be highly motivated people who were determined to be successful in a free society. Nor could the free states expect any symmetry in this process. They would never seek to recover fugitive slaves because they did not have slavery.

### FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

In 1791 Pennsylvania sought the return from Virginia of three fugitives from justice who were accused of kidnapping a free black named John Davis and taking him to Virginia, where he was enslaved. The governor of Virginia refused to cooperate in the extradition of the three men, arguing that in fact Davis was a fugitive slave from Virginia, and that even if he was not, kidnapping a free black was not considered a felony in Virginia. The governor of Pennsylvania went directly to President George Washington for help. Congress responded in 1793 with a law that regulated both the extradition of criminals and fugitive slaves.

Although it covered both issues, the act was known as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The law required that persons seeking runaway slaves obtain a certificate of removal from any federal judge or any state judge, magistrate, justice of the peace, or other judicial official. In order to receive the certificate, the claimant had to provide an affidavit, sworn before a judge in his home state, describing the alleged slave. The law provided a five-hundred-dollar penalty for anyone interfering with the return of a fugitive slave and also allowed a master to sue anyone who successfully helped his slave escape for the value of that slave. The law did not provide a criminal penalty for helping a slave escape. While many northerners did help fugitive slaves, before 1830 there were no known suits against them.

This procedure created a great danger for the growing free black population of the North. Because of abolition in upper New England and private manumission and gradual emancipation statutes in the rest of the North, by 1790, 40 percent of the blacks in the region were free. By 1800, 56 percent were free, rising to 83 percent by 1820. In 1830 there were over 125,000 free blacks in the Northeast but fewer than 3,000 slaves. Throughout the North, blacks and whites alike worried that southerners might fraudulently claim free blacks as their fugitive slaves, or that they might simply try to kidnap free blacks and take them to the South, where they could be sold. By 1829 a number of northern states, including New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, had passed personal liberty laws, which supplemented

the 1793 law by demanding greater proof before a black could be removed from a state as a fugitive slave. These laws typically required that claimants bring an alleged fugitive slave before a state magistrate or judge, who could consider the evidence before allowing a person to be removed as a slave. No known cases under the 1793 law reached the federal courts before 1830. There are few reported cases in which courts in the free states supported the claims of masters seeking to recapture their runaways, but by and large before 1830 the act of 1793 produced few cases and did little to help slave owners recover their runaway slaves. However, in the period from 1793 to 1829 there were scattered instances of free blacks, especially children, being kidnapped and taken south. While few in numbers, these kidnappings worried northern blacks, especially those who lived along the Ohio River, in port cities like New York and Philadelphia, or in southern Pennsylvania. Kidnappings were illegal and were not sanctioned by the Fugitive Slave Law, but free blacks saw little difference between the agent of the master armed with a certificate of removal and the kidnapper. Both intended to reduce African Americans to bondage.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Law: Slavery Law; Slavery: Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.

Morris, Thomas D. *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780–1861.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

*Paul Finkelman*

**FUGITIVE SLAVES** *See* **Slavery: Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities.**

**FUR AND PELT TRADE**    The fur trade—the very phrase continues to conjure up the drama of the frontier, and for good reason. The pursuit of furs—referred to by some as "soft gold"—had an enormous impact on the exploration and colonization of North America. Reenactors dress up as *voyageurs* (the teamsters of the trade) and follow the paths of the fur trade in canoes along rivers and lakes, rediscovering

old portages (the carrying places in between water highways). Others dress up in buckskin outfits like the mountain men who trapped beaver in the central Rockies and gathered at a summer rendezvous to trade for supplies and goods. The image of the self-reliant, wilderness-savvy individual may appeal to some in the urbanized world of modern America, but the heyday of the mountain man lasted for only fifteen years, from 1825 to 1840. This particular strategy for gathering furs never seriously challenged the dominant mode of the trade, which revolved around trading posts, Euro-American merchants, and Native American producers and consumers.

### SIGNIFICANCE AND PRACTICES

The real significance of the fur trade lay in the fact that, in contrast to the creation of small farms and cash crop plantations, it was an economic activity that required some measure of cooperation between indigenous peoples and Europeans. The real drama of this activity lay not in the tedium of paddling thousands of miles, but in the integration of North American products and economies with global markets, requiring merchants to keep track of currencies and goods from a bewildering diversity of places. A successful fur trader had to maintain a careful and continuous correspondence with wintering partners in Indian country and agents in Europe to calculate the prices of supplies and current values and demand for various furs. In truth, the "fur trade" is a convenient shorthand for a complex business that constituted a major economic force from the beginning of European involvement in North America, through the colonial period, and into the middle of the nineteenth century.

The fur trade began in the early sixteenth century as an adjunct to the cod fishing and whaling voyages off the coasts of Newfoundland and New England. A series of events occurred later in the century that cut off supplies of pelts from Siberia and stimulated the demand for North American furs. At the same time, Parisian hatters reintroduced beaver felt hats, which were superior to wool-felt hats and fetched a much higher price. (The European beaver stocks had become exhausted in the fifteenth century.) The short barbed undercoat of the beaver was perfect for the felting process. Ironically, beaver robes that had been worn by Native Americans for a year (greasy beaver, or *castor gras*, as opposed to *castor sec*, or dry beaver) were more valuable than fresh pelts. Since the long, outer guard hairs had worn off, the used robes required less processing by European hatters. The beaver remained the most im-

portant object of the trade until the 1830s, but other animals were sought after as well. Peltries (*pelleterie*), skins worn as furs or used for linings, constituted a smaller percentage of the trade. Marten, raccoon, and otter skins were preferred. Moose hides were used for leather, as were deerskins—the staple of the trade in the Southeast. Buffalo robes replaced beaver pelts as the most valuable component of the American fur trade in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Indian men obtained the majority of furs through various hunting practices. Native women processed the furs—scraping, stretching, rubbing, curing, and sewing the products of the hunt. They also provided food for all involved in the trade and manufactured snowshoes, canoes, and various articles of clothing worn by both Indians and Europeans. Native people were equally important as consumers, since merchants often obtained more profits as importers, outfitters, and retailers of European goods than they did through the sales of furs in Europe, which were often handled by agents and companies located there. Finished fabrics were the principal category of imports, and the most important of these were duffels and strouds—woolen blankets that were as warm as furs but had the advantages of being lighter and of drying faster. Reds and blues were the preferred colors.

Other items of clothing exchanged included calico and linen shirts, leggings, and sleeves (*manches sauvages*). (Native consumers did not desire fitted clothes—especially breeches—which hampered their movements.) Metal tools were an equally important category of goods, though they constituted a much smaller percentage of imports. These labor-saving objects included copper kettles, axes, chisels, knives, fishhooks, and guns. The demand for such hard goods tended to be inelastic, as native communities often had limited carrying capacity. Brandy and rum made up a relatively small percentage of imports for the trade and were rarely a source of much profit; yet alcohol, then as now, facilitated commerce. Other imports included fashionable items such as tin rings, silver earrings, and gorgets manufactured in Germany specifically for the Indian trade, glass beads produced in Murano (a suburb of Venice), Chinese vermilion sold in small paper packets, Brazilian tobacco, mirrors or "looking-glasses," and even spectacles. In short, the fur trade was a global business, and historian James Axtell has suggested that the remarkable increase in native disposable income and consumption stimulated European production and might be described as the "first consumer revolution."

Other scholars have insisted that Indian societies had fixed needs and a nonmaterial conception of wealth that emphasized public redistribution of goods and an ethic of sharing. Economic activities, in short, were not viewed as separate from social activities and obligations. Exchange was conceived as mutual gift giving and used to reaffirm social ties, kinship (real and metaphorical), and political and military alliances. (Such practices and notions were not uncommon in Europe, of course, and economic activities continue to be shaped and conditioned by extra-economic factors.) Still, historians agree that Indian groups did act as intermediaries and were often shrewd bargainers, insisting on "good measure" in their transactions and aware of the impact of competition on exchange rates. We may fairly say that through the fur trade, preexisting Indian patterns of village-to-village exchange were linked to a more extensive Atlantic economy and developing capitalist world system.

The fur trade also changed over time. One rather consistent element of change was game depletion. This caused a search for new supplies and, at times, suppliers. Another factor that determined change was the tension between competition and monopoly. Because the trade involved a limited resource and required credit transactions due to the long delay between ordering goods and receiving payment in furs, there was a predictable tendency for merchants to try to limit their risk. This was done in various ways: buying out the competition; partnerships; restricting supplies; and being the first "in the field" to receive the products of the hunt. When profit margins increased through monopolistic practices, the temptation for independent traders to enter the field increased and the cycle began anew. A third factor that affected the trade was political rivalry. Access to hunting grounds often caused conflict between competing native groups. Trade alliances between Europeans and Indians often led to competing claims of sovereignty between empires or jurisdiction between colonies within the same empire. The interaction of these factors—ecological, economic, and political—helped to shape the course of fur trade history.

### THE COLONIAL TRADE

When Samuel Champlain established a post at Quebec in 1608, he gave permanence to the French enterprise in North America and with it, a trading network centered on the St. Lawrence River and the waterways that connected it to the rich fur-producing areas of the Great Lakes. Over the next decade, the Hurons emerged as important intermediaries in the trade. They would gather as many as thirty thousand beaver pelts in peak years.

Serious competition for the French emerged shortly thereafter along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, where the Dutch established Fort Orange (Albany) in 1614 and acquired aggressive trading partners in the Mohawks and the rest of the Iroquois Confederacy. This trading network also had access to wampum-producing native communities living along the coasts of Long Island, and wampum was used to obtain furs from inland tribes. When they faced a shortage of fur-bearing animals in their own hunting grounds, the Iroquois began a series of attacks on northern and western tribes to expand their territory and acquire new sources of furs. These Beaver Wars began in 1647 and resulted in the decline and dispersal of the Hurons and their allies, the Eries, Neutrals, and Petuns. Refugees migrated to the Ohio country and Great Lakes area (the *pays d'en haut*). With the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664, the French-Iroquois rivalry took on a new imperial dimension.

Although Canada seemed more than once to be poised on the brink of extinction, the French Crown assumed control of the colony in 1663 and sent an entire regiment to bolster its military strength. New native groups from the Great Lakes area joined the French side, and several of those, especially the Ottawas and the Ojibwas (Anishnaabe) replaced the Hurons as intermediaries in the trade. Montreal (1642), located at the junction of the two critical water routes (the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario and the Ottawa River to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron) became the site of annual trading fairs.

A decade of calm between 1667 and 1677 allowed hundreds of unemployed French soldiers and veteran fur trade employees (*engagés*) to venture west. By 1680, encouraged by a new policy of guaranteed prices for beaver, over eight hundred illegal *coureurs de bois* (woodsmen) were operating in the *pays d'en haut* (upper country). A new phase in the fur trade had begun, with Europeans transporting goods to and from Indian country itself rather than relying on natives to make the trip to fixed posts in the East. Living in or near Indian villages, many French traders cemented their ties to their customers by marrying native women. By the end of the century, a growing Métis (children of mixed ancestry) population, constituting a distinctive fur trade society, had emerged. The fur trade had always encouraged an exchange of information between natives and Europeans. In addition to having a familiarity with each other's languages and customs, the French

and Indian inhabitants of this growing "middle ground" now added a network of personal relations that would provide some balance to British military and economic strength during the various imperial wars of the late colonial period. New fur trade centers—Michilimackinac and Detroit—also emerged in the western country, and the French opened a new trading zone in the Illinois country in the first two decades of the eighteenth century.

The English also developed several new fur-trading regions in this period. In 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was granted a royal charter by King Charles II. Operating from fixed posts on Hudson Bay and James Bay, the company had access to a region rich in furs, and the Cree and Assiniboine people played a critical role as suppliers. The company faced little competition until French traders began moving into their territory from the Great Lakes in the 1740s. The company evolved away from the French pattern of geographical expansion and competition, opting instead for a tightly controlled structure run by salaried managers. The company also lowered risks by employing futures contracts with suppliers and a fixed unit of exchange (the Made Beaver) that standardized all transactions—though items had a range of markups—and simplified bookkeeping. The company's isolated position made it vulnerable to French attacks until the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) confirmed British possession of the bay.

In the Southeast, traders from Virginia pioneered the commerce in deerskins in the 1640s. Carolina-based traders later bypassed their colonial neighbors and became embroiled in several wars with coastal Indian communities. The Carolinians formed alliances with the Creeks, Catawbas, and Cherokees that produced an extensive commerce in both deerskins and Indian slaves. At the end of the century the French established their own deerskin trade network further west, centered around the Choctaws and several smaller tribes. By the 1750s, New Orleans (1718) and Charleston (1670) were exporting more than 100,000 pounds of skins annually.

The expansion of these various trading networks led to a series of confrontations during the eighteenth century in the Southeast and along the border between Canada and New York. The competition between French and British traders in the Ohio country led directly to the first battles of what would become the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

## THE AMERICAN TRADE

The fur trade after the Seven Years' War was shaped by local, national, and international events. With the disintegration of French hegemony in 1763, the old Montreal–St. Lawrence trading system was increasingly dominated by a new group of traders (referred to by the HBC contemptuously as "pedlars"). Many were from Scotland—among them the McGills and the McTavish and McGillivray families. Various competing partnerships merged in 1784 to form the North West Company. By the end of the century, this combination of field partners and wholesale merchants had pushed westward to the Canadian Rockies, established itself in the Athabasca region, and even reached the Mackenzie River headwaters.

At the same time, the North West Company and other Montreal partnerships continued to operate in the Great Lakes region, south of the international border established by the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and finally made effective in 1796 following Jay's Treaty of 1794. The United States, in an attempt to redirect the flow of American furs into Canada, set up government factories to conduct trade, starting in 1796. These government operations had limited success, hampered by restrictions that disallowed credit, liquor, and imported goods. Sensing an opportunity, a German immigrant, John Jacob Astor, began purchasing furs in his home base of New York City and in Montreal. When the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) disrupted traditional fur markets, Astor took advantage of American neutrality and shipped his stock directly to France and Germany. In 1808 he received a corporate charter for his new American Fur Company from New York State. After forming a brief combination with merchants from Montreal, Astor used the conditions created by the War of 1812 to drive out his competitors. British–Indian relations had turned sour, and Astor lobbied Congress to pass an act in 1816 that excluded British citizens from trading in American territory. Astor was less successful in the Pacific Northwest. After setting up a post, Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River that he hoped would anchor a tripartite trade between that region, China, and the East Coast, he was forced to abandon his plans, and the post was sold to the North West Company. Nevertheless, Astor and his son William created a powerful organization built on controlling the supply of furs in Indian country from their western headquarters in Michilimackinac and on careful anticipation of world markets from their offices in New York and Europe.

In Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company had responded to the incursions of the North West Compa-

ny by establishing new inland posts. Several periods of intense and even bloody competition, spurred by game depletion, finally resulted in a merger of the two companies in 1821, and goods and furs gathered in the north flowed only through the bay. Montreal's long-standing connection to the trade was now lost.

Ironically, even as Scottish "pedlars" had taken over the top levels of the business from the French in the Montreal fur trade network after the Seven Years' War, a new group of French fur traders had emerged in what would become American territory after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. St. Louis, founded in the winter of 1763–1764, stood on the international border between Spanish Missouri (Upper Louisiana) and the British-held Illinois country. Traders there shipped furs through both New Orleans and Montreal until the War of 1812 forced them to consider New York as an increasingly attractive alternative. The founding family of the city, the Chouteaus, monopolized the lucrative trade with the Osages, and a family partnership signed a marketing agreement with Astor in 1827. The Chouteaus and Astor had cooperated earlier in a lobbying effort that persuaded Congress to abandon the government factory system in 1822. Astor retired from the business in 1834 to devote his energies to managing his real estate interests. He sold his Western Department to the Chouteau family firm. By 1842, Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company had become the American Fur Company, establishing its own marketing office in New York but maintaining its principal headquarters in St. Louis.

The Chouteau company, taking a clue from Astor, built a fur-trading empire on a grand scale. It built or acquired trading posts throughout the area drained by the Missouri River system, some of the most famous being Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, Fort Clark in Mandan country, Fort Pierre in the heart of Dakota territory, and Fort Laramie on the northern fork of the Platte River. Company steamboats reached Fort Union in 1832, and thereafter the company controlled the flow of information and goods in the American West. Through their affiliation with Bent, St. Vrain and Company, which dominated the southwestern trade from its post, Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River in Colorado, the Chouteaus also gathered a share of the trade in New Mexico and the southern Rockies.

By the late 1830s, raccoon pelts and buffalo robes had replaced the beaver as the dominant furs in the American trade. And the fur trade had truly become a corporate enterprise dominated by several large firms in the United States and Canada. Of more significance, in its final phase, the classic fur trade became more of an "Indian business." The Chouteau company and smaller firms profited from the federal government's desire to obtain Indian lands and remove tribal communities after 1830. Traders often enjoyed a position of political and economic influence within Indian communities and were more than willing to exploit that influence during the treaty-making process. Profits accrued to fur traders primarily by providing "annuity goods" promised by the government to various tribes in treaties and land cessions and by receiving money directly from the government in payment of Indian debts. In 1842 alone, traders' claims amounted to over $2 million. Fur companies reinvested their profits, diversifying into areas such as land speculation, mining, and railroads. What had begun as a colonial enterprise that required cooperation between natives and Europeans and provided a conduit for material and cultural exchange became, in the end, a tool for dispossession. The fur trade had other dire consequences, providing a pathway into Indian villages for deadly diseases and alcohol and a commercial incentive for the decimation of fur-bearing animals across the continent.

*See also* **American Indians; Canada; French; St. Louis.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Axtell, James. *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Foley, William E., and C. David Rice. *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

Gilman, Carolyn, et al. *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982.

Lavender, David. *The Fist in the Wilderness.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964.

Phillips, Paul C., with J. W. Smurr. *The Fur Trade.* 2 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

Ray, Arthur J., and Donald B. Freeman. *"Give Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

Usner, Daniel H., Jr. *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Wishart, David J. *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840: A Geographical Synthesis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

*Jay Gitlin*

**FURNITURE** Furniture made in the American colonies in the two decades prior to the American Revolution (1775–1783) was modeled after the prevailing style of furniture in Europe, namely the French or English rococo. The importation of European furniture and the immigration of European-trained craftsmen fostered the spread of this style to the colonies. Pattern books also had a profound influence on American furniture, particularly on the costliest furniture commissions in major urban centers. Among the pattern books available in the colonies were Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentleman's and Cabinetmaker's Director* (1754), William Ince and John Mayhew's *The Universal System of Household Furniture* (1762), and Robert Manwaring's *The Cabinet and Chair-Maker's Real Friend and Companion* (1765), all published in London. Although only a few surviving examples of American furniture are known to have been copied directly from engraved plates in these pattern books, much American furniture owes a debt to the stylistic features depicted in them, such as curvaceous forms, ornate foliate carving, and exotic motifs, which are hallmarks of the rococo style in furniture. Furniture made for average consumers also bears similar stylistic origins, although it typically appeared slightly later and generally used less costly materials than the most expensive furniture made in the colonies. Certain forms, such as Windsor chairs, were popular among all levels of consumers throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The major colonial population centers—Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Charleston—developed distinctive regional furniture styles. Furniture makers in Philadelphia, the largest city in the American colonies in the second half of the eighteenth century, produced some of the most elaborately carved furniture in colonial America. One well-known set of examples is a matching suite of mahogany furniture made around 1770 for the Philadelphia townhouse of John Cadwalader, who later served as a general of the Continental Army, and his wife Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader, a wealthy Maryland heiress. Made under the direction of the Scottish-born cabinetmaker Thomas Affleck, who con-

tracted London-trained carvers James Reynolds, Nicholas Bernard, and Martin Jugiez, all recently immigrated to Philadelphia, the suite included among other forms sofas, card tables, chairs, and fire screens in the high-style London taste. Some of the wealthiest American colonists had the means to acquire fine furniture and other luxury goods directly from the merchant houses of Europe; however, most patronized local craftsmen for at least some of their furniture. The nonimportation movement prior to the Revolution encouraged colonists to support local craftsmen.

Not all furniture made in North America adhered to the cultural norms of the dominant Anglo society. Significant pockets of settlement by the Germans in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the French in Canada and Louisiana, the Dutch in New York and New Jersey, and the Spanish in Florida and far to the west in New Spain contributed to the diversity of furniture-making traditions in North America.

Following the Revolution, the economic disruption caused by the war soon gave way to increased prosperity as populations in cities grew and settlement into the hinterlands of North America created new customers for furniture. The lifting of the colonial-era trade restrictions imposed by the British allowed American craftsmen to seek international markets for their products. Woodworking craftsmen used valuable raw materials, including native woods such as maple, walnut, cherry, and pine, as well as fine imported mahogany and rosewood from the Caribbean, to produce marketable finished products for both local consumption and export. Some of the most successful American furniture makers became merchants or retailers of furniture.

In general, furniture made in America beginning in the last decade of the eighteenth century reproduced the new international style of neoclassicism in architecture and interior furnishings that was already popular in Europe. In furniture, this "antique" or "classical" style found expression in a wide variety of classically inspired forms and ornamentation. Derived in part from examples of classical architecture and decorative arts uncovered during recent archaeological excavations in Italy and Greece, the details of this style of furniture were thought to be more correct than earlier Renaissance interpretations of classical designs. This style of furniture often employed gilded and painted surfaces and inlays of wood and metal, which required specialized skills. The English-trained architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe designed a painted, Grecian-style klismos chair with incurvate

**Queen Anne Side Chairs.** Furniture made in the colonies in the decades prior to the American Revolution was modeled after the prevailing styles of furniture in Europe. These American Queen Anne style chairs, with their characteristic cabriole legs, were produced around the 1760s and would have been popular with wealthy Americans. © PETER HARHOLDT/CORBIS.

front and rear legs in 1809 for Dolley Madison to be used in the oval drawing room of the President's House. English pattern books continued to influence American craftsmen even after the Revolution. *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (1788), by George Hepplewhite, and *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing-Book* (1792), by Thomas Sheraton, promoted designs of classically inspired furniture. So did Thomas Hope in his book *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807), which introduced a mix of Roman and Egyptian motifs, and Thomas King in *Modern Style of Cabinetwork Exemplified* (1829). Despite international political tensions and a thriving market for locally produced furniture,

Americans continued to turn to European sources for this style of furniture, which was popular well into the 1830s.

*See also* **Work: Artisan and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cooper, Wendy A. *Classical Taste in America, 1800–1840.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1993.

Green, Jeffrey P. *American Furniture of the 18th Century.* Newtown, Conn.: Taunton, 1996.

Heckscher, Morrison H., and Leslie Greene Bowman. *American Rococo, 1750–1775: Elegance in Ornament.* New York: Abrams, 1992.

*Dennis A. Carr*

*G*

**GABRIEL'S REBELLION**  The slave known only as Gabriel was born in 1776 near Richmond, Virginia, at Brookfield, the Henrico County plantation of Thomas Prosser. By Virginia standards, Brookfield was a large plantation, with a population of approximately fifty laborers. The identity of Gabriel's parents is lost to history, but he had two older brothers, Martin and Solomon. Most likely, Gabriel's father was a blacksmith, the occupation chosen for Gabriel and Solomon. Status as a craft artisan provided the young blacksmith with considerable standing in the slave community, as did his ability to read and write. By the mid-1790s, as he approached the age of twenty, Gabriel stood "six feet two or three inches high." A long and "bony face, well made," was marred by the loss of two front teeth and by "two or three scars on his head." In later years, a legend arose which held that Gabriel wore his hair long in naive imitation of Samson, in hopes that his locks would give him extraordinary strength. Contemporary descriptions say only that his hair was cut short and was as dark as his complexion. According to the journalist James T. Callender, blacks and whites alike regarded him as "a fellow of courage and intellect above his rank in life."

In the fall of 1798 Gabriel's old master died, and ownership of Brookfield passed to twenty-two-year-old Thomas Henry Prosser, who maximized his profits by hiring out his surplus slaves. Despite all of the work to be done at Brookfield, Gabriel spent a considerable part of each month smithing in Richmond for white artisans. Although still a slave under Virginia law, Gabriel enjoyed a rough form of freedom. Indeed, his ties to the plantation became so tenuous that several historians have identified him as a free man.

Emboldened by this quasi-liberty, in September 1799 Gabriel moved toward overt rebellion. Caught stealing a pig by a white neighbor, Gabriel wrestled him down to the ground and bit off the better "part of his left Ear." Under Virginia law, slaves were not tried as whites. They were prosecuted by special tribunals composed of five justices of the peace. Gabriel was formally charged with attacking a white man, a capital crime. Although found guilty, Gabriel escaped the gallows by pleading "benefit of clergy," which allowed him to avoid hanging in exchange for being branded on the thumb with a small cross, as he was able to recite a verse from the Bible.

Gabriel's branding and incarceration served as a brutal reminder that despite his literacy and privileged status, he remained a slave. By the early spring of 1800, his fury began to turn into a carefully considered plan to bring about his freedom, as well as the end of slavery in Virginia. Slaves and free blacks

from Henrico County would gather at Brookfield on the evening of 30 August to march on Richmond. If Governor James Monroe and the town leaders agreed to Gabriel's demands for black liberty and an equitable distribution of the property, the slave general intended to "hoist a white flag" and drink a toast "with the merchants of the city."

The conspiracy matured in the context of developments in the Caribbean and political affairs of the late 1790s. Since 1793, large number of refugees from the slave rebellion in French Saint Domingue had arrived in Virginia, many of them bringing their bondservants with them. Monroe worried, as he later expressed it in a letter to Brigadier General Mathews, that the "scenes which are acted in Saint Doming[ue], must produce an effect on all the people of colour" in the Chesapeake. But if the uprising in the Caribbean helped to inspire mainland rebels, it was the divisive election of 1800 that provided Gabriel with his opportunity. Rumors circulating around Richmond held that if Jefferson was victorious, the Federalists would not relinquish power, and one Federalist newspaper predicted an "ultimate appeal to arms by the two great parties." Most likely, Gabriel hoped not only to exploit this split among white elites, but also to throw his lot in with the side that would do the slaves the most favor in the coming civil conflict.

The planned uprising collapsed just before sunset on the appointed day when a severe thunderstorm hit the Richmond area. The chaos of the storm convinced two Henrico slaves that the revolt could not succeed. They informed their owner of the conspiracy, and he hurried word to Monroe. After hiding along the James River for nearly two weeks, Gabriel risked boarding the schooner *Mary*. Captain Richardson Taylor, a recent convert to Methodism, spirited Gabriel downriver to Norfolk. There, Gabriel was betrayed by an enslaved crewman, who had heard of Monroe's three-hundred-dollar reward for Gabriel's capture. Returned to Richmond under heavy guard, Gabriel was quickly tried and found guilty of "conspiracy and insurrection." On 10 October 1800, the young revolutionary died on the town gallows near Fifteenth and Broad Streets. He was twenty-four. In all, twenty-six slaves, including Gabriel and his two brothers, were hanged for their part in the conspiracy. Eight more rebels were transported to Spanish New Orleans; at least thirty-two others were found not guilty. Reliable sources placed the number of slaves who knew of the plot to be between five and six hundred.

In the aftermath, as was the case in the wake of most slave conspiracies, white authorities, as one newspaper put it, moved to "re-enact all those rigorous laws" that had been allowed to lapse after the Revolution. In late 1802, Monroe established the Public Guard of Richmond, a nighttime police force designed to protect the public buildings and militia arsenals. The state assembly passed a law ending the right of masters to hire out their surplus slaves, and in 1806 the legislature amended the state's Manumission Act of 1782 by requiring liberated bondspeople to leave Virginia or face reenslavement.

*See also* **Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Schwarz, Philip J. *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705–1865.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Sidbury, James. *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730–1810.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

*Douglas R. Egerton*

**GAMBLING**   The early settlers of colonial America undoubtedly viewed their decision to migrate from Europe to be a major gamble. Crossing the Atlantic in a small sailing ship and establishing a foothold in the wilderness was fraught with danger. A strong adventurous spirit was required to tackle this first of many American frontiers, and so a willingness to take a chance, to risk everything, naturally emerged as a prominent American trait. By the mid-eighteenth century, a willingness to take risks in business and trade had became a defining American characteristic. It was only natural that gambling of many types would become an integral part of the American lifestyle, just as it had been in England. However, as gambling developed in the colonies it exhibited traits that deviated from the mother country, reflecting the open, democratic, aggressively capitalistic, equalitarian values of colonial life.

### VIRGINIA

Gambling came to the colonies with the first settlers at Jamestown—a motley collection of misfits to be certain—who came unprepared for the hazards they faced and were disinclined to undertake the arduous

labor necessary to build shelters and grow food. One inspector from London in 1609 identified "idleness and other vices," specifically rampant gambling, as a major problem. Consequently, the expectations of investors in the Virginia Company were not met, and in near desperation they turned in 1612 to gambling as a means of saving the enterprise. They decided to raise much-needed capital by holding a lottery—a relatively novel idea at the time—and over the next decade several lotteries were conducted by the Virginia Company. These unique fund-raisers enabled the colony at Jamestown to survive, but ironically, at the same time that this form of gambling sustained the lifeline of supplies across the Atlantic, the officers clamped down on the Jamestown residents with strict prohibitions on gambling within the Jamestown settlement in an effort to get them to take their labors seriously.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Tidewater region of Virginia had become transformed by tobacco—an unexpected but welcomed revenue producer—and the importation of slaves to do the arduous work that its cultivation required. The slave-owning planters dominated Virginia's economy and its political and social life. High-stakes gambling with the money earned from the labor of their slaves became an integral part of their lives. Men of substance found gambling an apt metaphor for their own lives as planters, where high economic risk was a constant. Their fortunes, however, were often established on fragile margins and were always in play, subject to the vagaries of weather, fluctuating commodity markets, work slowdowns by slaves, and violent weather at sea that could sink a year's money crop. One planter wrote a friend in England whose son was contemplating taking up the life of a Virginia tobacco grower with the warning that "even if the best husbandry and the greatest forecast and skill were used, yet ill luck at sea, a fall of a Market, or twenty other accidents may ruin and overthrow the best industry." In this turbulent economic environment, it was not unusual for a planter to wager an entire year's crop on a turn of the cards, a toss of the dice. A visiting Frenchman observed early in the eighteenth century that many members of the House of Burgesses began to gamble at cards immediately after dinner. One of the gamblers told him that he might wish to retire, "for it is quite possible that we will be here all night." Indeed, the next morning he arose to find the game still in session.

Virginia's slave-owning elite gambled heavily, risking large sums upon quarter horse races, cockfights, dog fights, and table games. The historian Elliott J. Gorn summarizes the gambling mania of the southern slave-owning gentry as a product of a "fiercely competitive style of living," wherein

> individual status was never permanently fixed, [where] men frantically sought to assert their prowess—by grand boasts over tavern gaming tables laden with money, by whipping and tripping each other's horses in violent quarter races, by wagering one-half year's earnings on the flash of a fighting cock's gaff. Great planters and small shared an ethos that extolled courage bordering on foolhardiness and cherished magnificent, if irrational, displays of largess. (pp. 21-22)

Gambling was also a popular pastime of those southerners who did not own slaves. At the many small taverns that stood along the main traveled dirt roads, male members of the lesser classes convened regularly to drink, socialize, argue, and gamble. One frustrated Anglican clergyman complained in 1751 that the taverns had become a place of "rendezvous of the very dregs of the people. . . . Where not only time and money are vainly and unprofitably squandered away, but (as is yet worse) where prohibited and unlawful games, sports, and pastime are used . . . namely cards, dice, horse-racing, and cockfighting, together with vices and enormities of every other kind."

### THE NORTH

Such behavior would have produced severe retribution in New England. Unlike the southerners who sought to emulate the landed aristocracy of rural England, along the North Atlantic the dominant religious and social force was the new wave of Puritanism that had surfaced in urban England. To strict Calvinists, gambling served to undercut the established order, diminishing the work ethic by providing successful gamblers with monetary rewards that did not result from honest effort, stripping losers of their hard-earned income, and generally creating a social atmosphere not conducive to the earnest pursuit of an honest wage. Further, gambling tended to encourage other social misbehavior—excessive drinking and profaning the Sabbath among them. As the preeminent scholar of the Puritan ideology, Perry Miller, has explained, gambling tended to encourage idleness, but it also brought into play divine providence on trivial matters, because the toss of the dice or the turn of a card invited God to become involved in matters of little significance. Any game of chance "prostituted divine providence to unworthy ends." A leading Puritan theologian, Increase Mather (1639–1723), once commented, "God determines the cast of the dice or the shuffle of the cards, and we are not to

implicate His providence in frivolity." The all-powerful Puritan God, it was clear to Mather, had more important things to occupy his time.

Nonetheless, as the decades rolled by, gambling increased in New England as the forces of "declension" undercut authoritarian theocratic rule. At times gambling even constituted a positive social and religious force, as many a Puritan schoolhouse, public building, and church was paid for by seemingly omnipresent lotteries. Well into the nineteenth century, lotteries were a popular method of raising funds for public works and worthy projects; in the 1740s, for example, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) organized a lottery to raise monies for military defense of the city of Philadelphia, and the Continental Congress launched a national lottery in 1777 as a means of financing the War for Independence. Those who purchased tickets were told that they could take patriotic pride in having "contributed . . . to the great and glorious American cause."

Lotteries naturally invited corruption by their organizers, however, and a series of sensational revelations led legislatures to abolish them in every state between 1820 and 1850. (They would inevitably make a comeback, however, beginning in 1963 when the New Hampshire legislature created a lottery as a means of raising revenue without raising taxes, and by 1990 thirty-six other states had followed suit.)

By the eve of the American Revolution, New England and the middle colonies tolerated gambling because it did not constitute a serious social problem. The relatively low number of laws and decrees regarding gambling and its influences in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for example, indicates that gambling was neither widespread nor widely popular in the region. Nonetheless, Puritan leaders kept a close eye on the practice because it could lead to unnecessary idleness and the profaning of God and the Sabbath. The Quakers in Pennsylvania held a similar view of gambling because it produced no social good and contributed to unsavory behavior. Nonetheless, card playing grew steadily throughout the middle and northern colonies as the decades passed. In Massachusetts, card games became a constant form of recreation, with games being played both in taverns and private residences. The historian Foster Rhea Dulles reports in *A History of Recreation* (1965) that during the years preceding the American Revolution, the popular card game of whist became a social passion for New Englanders of all classes. He reports that customhouse records revealed large quantities of cards being imported and that the game was often mentioned in diaries and correspondence. In New England, gambling at cards was widespread, but stakes were usually modest—one convenient way to keep score, in fact—and because this recreation was conducted in moderation, it was not considered a threat to society. The region's increasingly lenient leaders even permitted occasional organized horse racing because the crowds were well behaved, the wagering modest, and threats to the social order nonexistent.

The ambivalence of the Puritans is instructive. Although gambling posed a potential threat to their theocratic instincts, it also seemed to be a natural human endeavor given the dangers and risks that existed in colonial America—from the vagaries of unpredictable weather and disastrous epidemics to even an occasional marauding Indian tribe. Consequently, throughout the colonial period, and in fact extending to the twenty-first century, gambling in America has always been enshrouded in what the historian Ann Fabian, in *Card Sharks and Bucket Shops* (1999), calls "moral confusion." While investors speculated on wild land schemes, dubious issues of stocks and bonds, agricultural commodity futures, untested new business ventures, and other risky get-rich schemes, they were merely responding to the temptations of high returns in the liberated capitalist society that America had become by the time of the Andrew Jackson's presidency. But when individuals pursued these same risk-taking instincts at the gaming tables or while watching a cockfight, a bare-knuckled prizefight, or a quarter horse race, they were skating on thin moral ice. Thus, while the spirit of unfettered American capitalism emphasized serious risk taking and speculation, and those who practiced them successfully were rewarded with high social status and public admiration, many moralists were quick to condemn successful gamblers as slick shysters because they made a mockery of the traditional Calvinist virtues of thrift, the work ethic, and prudence.

### THE WEST

The opening of the trans-Appalachian West in the 1790s introduced a new era in American gambling, especially in the southern slave states. No one American better exemplified this spirit than Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, who owned a stable of race horses and bet heavily (as much as $6,500) on the outcome of a single race. He was also an avid card player. As a young man in his native North Carolina, he was known as "the most roaring, rollicking, game-cocking, horse-racing, card-playing, mischievous fellow that ever lived." In 1806 he killed young attorney Charles Dickinson and almost died himself from

wounds inflicted in a duel that stemmed from a disagreement over the settlement of a wager on a race involving Jackson's prize horse, Truxton. Jackson would become the first president known for his propensity for high-stakes gambling.

Of major importance in the evolution of gambling in America was the emergence of organized casino-style gambling in the Lower Mississippi Valley between 1800 and 1830. Men who became known as riverboat gamblers had often honed their skills as con men operating flim-flam land promotions. This wide-open frontier area was rampant with a myriad of suspicious investment schemes, and gambling naturally flourished in the fluid frontier social order. Gambling mimicked the staunch frenetic speculative economic climate of the era, as it did the frenzied entrepreneurial outlook of those who migrated into the area in hopes of making a fast fortune. By the time Jackson entered the White House in 1829, a commercialized gambling culture had become firmly entrenched along the Mississippi Valley from St. Louis to New Orleans. Professional gamblers adapted card and table games from Europe, modifying them to be attractive to their American clientele. The games of French origin were especially popular: faro, roulette, three-card monte, and *vingt-et-un* (twenty-one). Professional gamblers preferred them because of the decided odds favoring the house and because they could easily be manipulated by myriad forms of cheating; this was especially true of the scam of three-card monte.

However, by the early 1830s there had emerged the especially popular card game that best exemplified the raucous entrepreneurial atmosphere of the frontier: poker. Although its origins are murky, the wildly popular American card game of poker most likely evolved from the eighteenth-century French game of *poque* and entered the United States at the time of the French occupation of New Orleans. Others claim it is of Germanic origin. Whatever the case, its incremental betting system, the art of bluffing, and the optimism that it takes to attempt to fill an inside straight were apt reflections of the economic climate of the times. The game also afforded con men and cheats ample opportunities to ply their trade. Usually operating in pairs, professional gamblers were adept at skinning their victims with a wide range of scams. In fact, Jonathan H. Green, a one-time successful professional riverboat gambler who reformed in 1842 and launched an national antigambling lecture crusade, routinely referred to poker as "the cheating game."

As gambling grew in popularity in the early nineteenth century, philanthropic reformers sought to have the practice banned on the grounds that it undermined the economic order, that professional gamblers were nothing more than thieves and crooks, and that gambling threatened society by holding out false hopes and robbing naive individuals of their hard-earned wages. By 1830 many states, both North and South, had passed legislation making it illegal to gamble in public; these laws were designed in part as an attempt to control the lives of the working-class poor and to protect innocent travelers from professional cheats. At no time did any state attempt to ban private gambling. The laws seemed aimed not so much at gambling per se, but at the attendant vice, drinking, and public disorder. Never widely enforced, these laws might have revealed a moral intent but had little impact, unlike the actions of a group of "respectable" Vicksburg citizens in 1835 who, angered by the nefarious cheating of five itinerant professional gamblers, took the law into their own hands and lynched the gamblers.

The historian John Findlay has identified four centuries of Americans as a "people of chance" in a 1986 volume of that title. In writing about the period from 1750 to 1830, he concludes, "The culture of gambling . . . thrived in the relative fluid society on the frontier, amid footloose and acquisitive men. . . ." That forty-eight of fifty states in the year 2004 were home to many forms of legalized, and often state government–operated, gambling is no accident. Games of chance have been an integral part of the American heritage ever since Jamestown, and in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries they gained wide and popular acceptance, despite opposition from outnumbered and outflanked moral reformers.

*See also* **Recreation, Sports, and Games; Taverns.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Davies, Richard O., and Richard G. Abram. *Betting the Line: Sports Wagering in American Life.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play.* 2nd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Fabian, Ann. *Card Sharps and Bucket Shops: Gambling in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Routledge, 1999.

Findlay, John M. *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Gorn, Elliot J. "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Back Country." *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 18–43.

Gorn, Elliot J., and Warren Goldstein. *A Brief History of American Sports.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

James, Marquis. *The Life of Andrew Jackson.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1938.

Sasuly, Richard. *Bookies and Bettors: Two Hundred Years of Gambling.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982.

*Richard O. Davies*

# GAMES AND TOYS, CHILDREN'S

Play as a positive good was a novel idea in the early Republic. In the late-eighteenth-century era of revolution, childhood was redefined as a natural state, and the child became a symbol of freedom for Americans wishing to cast off the patriarchal power of monarchy. After the Revolution, for example, boys, particularly in New England, would instantiate the political principles of that event by seizing control of a schoolhouse and "barring out" the schoolmaster until he acquiesced to their demands for more rights and freedoms in the forms of less homework, more recess, and a withholding of the switch. Generally speaking, though, toys, the artifacts of play, and games, the activities that were bound by rules and limited by time and space, reflected cultural, if gendered, emphases on virtue, skill, work, and luck.

## CHILDREN'S PLAYTHINGS

The same philosophers who influenced Anglo-Americans' Revolutionary political thought also underwrote Americans' shifting definition of childhood as a distinct life stage throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) influenced Americans' concepts of childhood and child rearing, as did Jean-Jacques Rousseau's popular novel *Émile or, On Education* (1762). Although the two philosophers differed on several principles, both agreed, as did their followers and imitators in North America, that the child was malleable. Education and "playing as learning" were thus keys to creating responsible and compassionate adults in a republic; toys and games were lessons in this (extra) curriculum.

Perhaps all children everywhere throughout history consider all of the world's things as toys, all social interactions as games, without consideration of gender, race, and class. Parents, on the other hand, adapt social prescriptions of gender and class in their child-rearing habits. Portraits, as social conventions, provide abundant evidence of this thinking and reflect well the prescriptions of advice writers for child rearing. Before 1750, the rare portrait of a child or children even more rarely showed playthings, evidence of the assumption that the life stage now termed "childhood" was neither distinct from nor defined against adulthood. Increasingly after 1750, and especially after 1770, children were portrayed with toys. Girls with parents of means held adult female fashion dolls made of wax or carved of wood. Girls dressed dolls, fussed over miniature furniture and tea sets, and even furnished dollhouses, all efforts to achieve the skills of womanhood. In 1759 and 1760 George Washington ordered from the London toy maker Unwin and Wigglesworth dolls and doll furniture for his stepdaughter, Patsy Custis. Girls with parents of lesser means enjoyed dolls made of rags or corn husks. In *Children in the House* (1992), the historian Karin Calvert notes that even "girls' imaginary games centered on imitating the activities of adult women" and included imitative spinning and knitting yarn and the other chores of keeping house.

Portraits depict boys with balls and whips, rolling hoops, miniature wagons and sleds, toy horses, and tin soldiers. Boys sledded and steered and rode in wheelbarrows, collected and shot taw (clay marbles), spun wooden tops, and fashioned bows and arrows. They perched and skedaddled on stilts, elevating themselves as they balanced and disciplined their bodies. Mastery over the elements was evinced by successful kite flying. Other toys that tested and improved skills included whirligigs and bilbo-catchers (cups and balls attached by a string), hobbyhorses, and toy drums. Boys' skills were also tested against luck in several games of chance, including chuck-farthing (penny pitching) and taw (marbles), which were means of socializing boys for their adult roles in the marketplace.

Slave children, particularly in the South, experienced many more limits to their play. Like their white counterparts, slave boys hunted, fished, swam, climbed trees, and shot marbles and played ball, while slave girls played with rag dolls and imitated domestic chores. Although several historians have pointed to such games as hide the switch and rap jacked—in which players are beaten—as indicative of slavery's brutality, the historians Lawrence W. Levine and Bernard Mergen point out that these games have earlier English origins. What seems clear, however, is that white children did not play these games.

## CHILDREN'S GAMES

Boys more than girls played games of physical exertion, though some games engaged both sexes. Ball games seem to have been, through much of the era, the province of boys; stool-ball, cricket, fives (hand-ball), and several early forms of what would become the national pastime were played. Public forms of team play such as bowling and field hockey also were played. Other games, such as battledore and shuttle-cock (badminton), thread the needle, tag, leapfrog, and hopscotch could be, and often were, played with members of both sexes. Given that the median age of the Revolutionary generation was sixteen, games provided a means through which sexual mores could be tested and learned. Charades, hide-and-seek, and blindman's bluff were popular heterosocial activities, but they were given moral intent by popular advice writers. John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book: Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly*, first published in London in 1744, explained thirty-two games. Newbery appended a moral lesson to each game, and the book was reprinted numerous times through the rest of the century. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, physical activity for girls was condoned, and activities traditionally accorded to boys, such as jumping rope, became girls' fun.

## FAMILY GAMES

Board games were enjoyed by child and adult, male and female alike. Chess, draughts (checkers), and pachisi (later Parcheesi) were centuries old when North America was being settled. Other board games, such as the English game Goose, were found in Virginia taverns. Dated to 1597, Goose featured a board painted with a circular track of sixty-three numbered small circles. Within the circles were pictures of a boat, tavern, church, maze, skeleton, horse, and chair. Geese were featured in every ninth circle. A similar game was created in France and appeared in English in 1790. Called The New Game of Human Life, it made its way into American family homes. The game offered a pathway through the seven periods of life. Players "traveled" the path in the hope of reaching a safe and happy old age, negotiating along the way penalties and rewards. (This board game anticipated the 1843 game, The Mansion of Happiness, and the 1860 game, The Checkered Game of Life, by Milton Bradley.)

The increasing popularity of children's cabinets of curiosities in the early decades of the nineteenth century spoke to a fascination with natural history. Yet this trend also pointed to American parents' reactions to increasing industrialization, a process that would, after 1830—and with an increased emphasis on Christmas—bring into American middle-class homes a seemingly endless variety of manufactured toys and games. New England, that erstwhile bastion of Puritanism, would prove to be the center of toy making in the United States.

*See also* **Childhood and Adolescence; Children's Literature; Education.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calvert, Karin. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Earle, Alice Morse. *Child Life in Colonial Days.* New York: Macmillan, 1899.

Hewitt, Karen, and Louise Roomet. *Educational Toys in America: 1800 to the Present.* Burlington: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont, 1979.

Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Thought from Slavery to Freedom.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

McClintock, Inez, and Marshall McClintock. *Toys in America.* Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961.

Mergen, Bernard. *Play and Playthings: A Reference Guide.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1982.

O'Brien, Richard. *The Story of American Toys: From the Puritans to the Present.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1990.

Reinier, Jacqueline S. *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775–1850.* New York: Twayne, 1996.

Wajda, Shirley Teresa. "'And a Little Child Shall Lead Them': American Children's Cabinets of Curiosities." In *Acts of Possession: Essays on Collecting in America.* Edited by Leah Dilworth. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003.

*Shirley Teresa Wajda*

# GENDER

This entry consists of two separate articles: *Overview* and *Ideas of Womanhood*.

## *Overview*

Historians use the concept of gender to analyze the socially constructed systems that order human experience based on perceived sexual difference. Gender structures relationships of power, not only between men and women, but also across other social divides. Scholarship on gender during the early Republic has long emphasized changing ideas about women. It now seeks a more complex understanding of the re-

lationships between masculinity and femininity and also between prescribed gender ideals and actual patterns of behavior. Gender norms help to define and demarcate other aspects of identity and social order, especially along the lines of race and class. Many gender norms remained consistent during the colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary eras, whereas others changed as Americans adapted the intellectual currents of the late eighteenth-century Atlantic world to the needs of the new nation.

### CONTINUITY: HOUSEHOLDS AND MASCULINE AUTHORITY

In the early Republic the household was the basic social, economic, and political unit. Society celebrated masculine and feminine traits that fostered and reproduced well-ordered households. The paradigmatic American household during this period was that of the independent yeoman farmer, an ideal derived from England. Revolutionary literature—particularly the writings of John Dickinson, Thomas Jefferson, and J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur—helped transform this English ideal into an American icon. The changes in this ideal between 1750 to 1830 illustrate the subtle shifts in dominant gender norms during this period.

For eighteenth-century households, independence was obtained through interdependence. The prototypical yeoman was a benevolent patriarch, whose status and power derived from his ability to govern his dependent wife, children, and perhaps also servants and slaves. His feminine counterpart was the "good wife," who contributed to household prosperity through production, reproductive labor, and rational consumption, and who also modeled deference and submission for other dependents. The collective aim of a yeoman household was a comfortable "competence," meaning enough wealth—and especially enough land—to keep the immediate family employed at home. Prosperity enabled a yeoman to become a patron to his poorer neighbors, giving them work and sustenance they could not provide for themselves; in return, he earned respect, rank, and authority in his community.

In its broad outlines, this pattern of patronage-based social hierarchy also applied to artisans and gentlemen. (In America even those who aspired to gentility usually had to acknowledge that their wealth and leisure had originated in the labor and values of ancestors of the middle sort.) Even the wealthiest independent households were not self-sufficient. Rather, they occupied a position of strength within the interdependent hierarchies and patronage networks that made up the colonial social fabric. In all instances, the vaunted independence of the household head was predicated on the dependence of many others.

Contrary to the ideal of yeoman independence, in reality the majority of families were not fully self-supporting. Most white households found it necessary to send family members out into the service of others. Native Americans and African Americans faced formal legal barriers to their attempts to marry and form independent households, even when they were technically free. The denial of legal protection to the marriages and family ties of slaves rendered slaves permanent dependents in the households of others. White Americans seized on differing gender and kinship conventions—and invented differences when necessary—to justify their exploitation of people of color. African American men, they argued, were physically strong but morally weak, subject to childish passions that made them unfit for independence. Native American men might be valiant warriors, but they were too lazy to make good household governors. Moreover, the labor they expected of their women indicated their savagery. Women of color could perform physical labor that would exhaust European women, but they supposedly lacked the natural modesty and piety that made the latter virtuous wives and mothers.

### CHANGING IDEAS OF GENDER

Basic assumptions about organization of household government, and its foundational place in the polity, did not change with the American Revolution. However, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did see subtle shifts in beliefs about the appropriate way to exercise masculine authority, in the meaning of masculine independence, and social tolerance for individual ambition.

Male household heads retained formidable legal powers over their dependents well into the nineteenth century, but during the era of the American Revolution they began to express reservations about how this authority should be used. Historians argue that a gentler, paternalistic ethos called into question the authoritarian prerogatives of household patriarchy. The sources of this shift included the Scottish Enlightenment's celebration of "men of feeling," political disavowal of monarchical despotism, and—perhaps—self-consciousness inspired by Americans' own critique of "savagery" in the households of subject people of color. Most significantly, the 1780s saw an explosion in popular literature that idealized marriages based on affection and shared "sensibili-

ty." Sentimental writers turned the loving submission of a wife to the gentle guidance of her chosen husband into a metaphor for the virtuous citizen's consent to just government. Conversely, this literature condemned "rakes" and the "coquettes" as masculine and feminine manifestations of the arbitrary passions that fostered tyranny in households and in society at large. The impact of paternalistic rhetoric is difficult to measure concretely, but over time it opened new opportunities for social dependents to question masculine power.

The Revolutionary era also saw a reformulation of the concept of independence. It became a natural characteristic of individual white men, rather than a status attained through control of property. The masculine right to control dependent wives and children—not the economic resources needed to maintain that control—became a marker of sufficient independence for political privilege. In 1785, for example, an advocate of universal white male suffrage argued that "every man . . . has what is supposed by the constitution to be property: his life, personal liberty, perhaps wife and children, in whom they have a right, the earnings of his own or their industry." By emphasizing the enduring authority of male household heads, the writer recast poor white men as independent property holders and defended their claim to the vote. Such reasoning enlarged the electorate, but it also cemented women's political exclusion. New Jersey's 1808 revision of its voting requirements illustrates this point: the state reduced the property qualification for suffrage and at the same time denied propertied women and free blacks voting rights they had exercised since the Revolution.

The final noteworthy shift was in attitudes toward individual ambition. The patriarchal yeoman household was supposed to be self-replicating, with children following in the footsteps of, and adhering to the gendered ideals of, their fathers and mothers. Economic circumstance made this ideal unattainable for most families. In the early Republic, children could seek alternative means of support by pursuing education in newly available schools and academies, by moving to growing cities and towns, and by relocating to lands opening in the West. In particular, new educational opportunities for boys and girls encouraged them to aspire to wealth and gentility rather than mere competency, and to question the values of their parents. Loss of control over children ultimately led to a rebellion against the male's traditional authority in household government during the Civil War era.

*See also* **Domestic Life; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Home; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Revolution: Social History; Sentimentalism; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Slavery: Slave Life; Women: Rights; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dorsey, Bruce. *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Opal, J. M. "Exciting Emulation: Academies and the Transformation of the Rural North, 1780s–1820s." *Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (2004): 445–470.

Scott, Joan Wallach. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." In *Gender and the Politics of History.* Rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Shammas, Carole. *A History of Household Government in America.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Dis-Covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786–1789." *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 841–873.

Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County Massachusetts, 1630–1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

*Kirsten D. Sword*

## Ideas of Womanhood

The early Republic gave rise to a feminine ideal that transformed women's duties in the home into the wellspring of public virtue. This new concept of womanhood changed the colonial ideal of the "good wife" in ways that at first seemed subtle, but which ultimately reshaped women's relationship to the state. The new feminine ideal also helped the white middle class define citizenship according to its own image and interests. Women of color were some of the first to challenge the notion of virtuous republican womanhood as a source of social inequality.

### WOMEN IN COLONIAL AMERICA

In early modern England and in colonial America, "good wife" described the female counterpart to the yeoman farmer. The term was also a polite form of address for a mature woman of middling status, regardless of whether or not she was married. A woman called Goodwife Smith might be the wife of John Smith, Yeoman, or she might be his unmarried sister. These usages indicate the strength of the expectation that women would become wives, and the degree to which gender norms were built around household roles.

## "A FRIEND TO THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEN AND WOMEN"

*As I am a real friend to the fair sex, as well as to good, strong, energetic family government, it has given me some concern to see the papers so generally silent about the* RIGHTS OF WOMEN. *Permit me, Mr. Printer, through the Museum, to state some few of the many essential* rights *and* duties *which belong to Women.*

1. Women by entering upon the marriage state, renounce some of their natural rights, (as men do, when they enter into the civil society) to secure the remainder. In the one instance, men obey the laws of their own making, so should women, cheerfully submit to the government of their own chusing.

2. While women are under the care of their parents it is their duty, and so should it be their wishes, to shew all filial respect to them—a desire for dress should not exceed their share of that income of the family which can be spared from the necessary domestic wants.

3. When a woman arrives to an age suitable to make a choice of a companion for life, she has an undoubted right to choose a husband: But this election should be cautiously made, and not without consulting those under whose care she may be at the time.

4. A single woman, who is the entire mistress of her own time, has a right of acquiring and possessing property—she also has an unquestionable right to invest the fruits of her earnings in gauzes, flounces, ribbons, and other baubles; But she would do wise to lay up savings, that she may exercise the right of bestowing them towards family support, when she alters her condition.

5. A married woman has a right, in common with her husband, to instruct her children in piety religion and morality, and to instill in them the duties they owe to society, as well as what is due to the parent.

6. As it is a right, so it is a duty of every woman to be neat and decent in her person and family.

7. She has a right to promote frugality, industry and economy; but there is nothing in matrimonial contract to warrant her in the waste of time and property.

8. In family broils, the wife has a right to expostulate with temper: But when entreaty is unavailing, it is her duty to submit to the controul of that government which she has voluntarily chosen.

9. The wife has a right to manage the female department of the family, as long as her prudence and good sense are adequate to the task; and when her talents are superior (*which is frequently the case*) to those of the husband, she has a right to make use of female persuasion to engross the sole government of the home department into her hands.

10. As the men, living under a free constitution of their own framing, are entitled to the protection of the laws—so likewise has a woman a right to be protected by the man of her own choice.

11. If rebellion, insurrection, or any other opposition to a just, mild, and free political government is odious, it is not less so to oppose good family administration.

12. Good government in families creates domestic happiness, and tends to promote the prosperity of the state.

*(From The Weekly Museum [New York], 16 March 1793.)*

As a cultural icon, the good wife encompassed contradictory ideas. She exemplified female industriousness and ability, while at the same time she dutifully submitted to masculine authority and acknowledged female inferiority. The ideal good wife was, above all, assiduously engaged in her household's effort to remain competent. She actively managed her domestic affairs and engaged with her community of neighbors. She participated in the production and exchange of household goods and labor, and she monitored the behavior—especially the moral and sexual behavior—of people in her circle. She was the pious backbone of her local church, using faith as the basis for her good works and for her "humble and modest" character. Her piety affirmed her spiritual equality with men, yet prescriptive literature also stressed that faith should make her "submissive from Choice, and obedient by Inclination."

Under ordinary circumstances, her activities followed a division of labor in which women's work was centered within the household. She produced food and goods for home use and local exchange. The

ability to work primarily in the service of her own household, rather than for others, was a sign of privilege and prosperity. At least in theory, the good wife left the public world of trade, travel, law, and politics to her household head. In that public realm, her identity was legally subsumed by that of her husband. She did not have the right to make independent contracts, to own property, or to serve in government.

Under extraordinary circumstances, however, many of these constraints might not apply. Colonial ideals emphasized role-specific duties rather than (supposedly) essential natural differences between women and men. This ideology not only acknowledged women's ability to perform masculine duties when the situation required, it made doing so the responsibility of a good wife. In the absence of masculine authority—through distance or death—it fell to women to act as "deputy husbands," carrying out duties a more rigid gender system would deem them incapable of performing. In this regard, colonial ideas of womanhood were more flexible than the reality of most women's lives.

### WOMEN IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

During the American Revolution, Americans came to reject the power of monarchs in the government of nations, but they remained reluctant to do away with the analogous powers of fathers in the government of households. The Revolution did not substantially change the economic and legal structures that shaped most women's lives. It did, however, generate new ways of explaining women's relationship to the state and of justifying their subordinate political and social status.

In 1976, historian Linda Kerber coined the term "republican motherhood" to describe the feminine ideal that emerged in the early Republic. Her discussion of the topic has been extremely influential, although scholars now dispute the accuracy and usefulness of her key term. The new ideal elevated traditionally feminine duties into a form of public service, while at the same time providing a rationale for women's continued political exclusion. Popular periodical literature depicted women, in their role as nurturing mothers and chaste and loving wives, as the guardians of civic virtue. By promoting morals and manners in the private, domestic sphere, women curbed the corrupting influences that the public realms of government and business had on male citizens, protecting the integrity of the nation.

Many historians have come to see "republican motherhood" as an imprecise description of this ideology. They note that women's civic importance was grounded in their loving influence on their husbands as well as on the young; motherhood was not the most significant element of the new rhetoric. And although scholars agree that this new attitude toward women's roles served political ends in the new Republic, they now emphasize that it was neither primarily republican nor even American in its origin. Rather, this new idea of womanhood was a transatlantic offshoot of the moral philosophy and political economy of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The dominant feminine ideal that emerged in the new American nation served conservative ends in the short term, but it also marked the beginning of several profound, long-term changes in American (and arguably international) concepts of womanhood. The celebration of feminine domestic virtue in the early Republic reordered older conceptions of the spheres of human action, shrinking the "private" into a narrowly defined domestic world. It also inverted classical understandings of the locus of virtue, which had seen household interests (and women in particular) as the primary source of vice in public life. The new feminine ideal emphasized claims about essential, natural female difference; this change eroded the more flexible ideology in which women could assume men's roles, enabling some colonial good wives to exert public power. At the same time, the revised idea of womanhood provided a potent new argument in favor of female education, for mothers could not inculcate civic virtue in their children if they themselves did not understand it. Finally, by recasting traditional female duties in the language of rights, it opened the door for later, more direct claims to the expansion of women's political and economic rights. The new Republic simultaneously created a rigidly defined, separate female sphere and provided new grounds on which women could mount challenges to the limits of that sphere.

### WOMEN OF COLOR

For poor women and women of color, the dominant ideas about virtuous femininity were double-edged. The colonial good wife and early Republic's concept of feminine virtue were ideals shaped by and for the middle ranks of society, but which claimed universal applicability. The middle class offered these ideals as prescriptions for those of the lower sort who sought to better themselves. Yet they also served as a powerful justification for subordination based on class and race.

The logic here was circular (and not unique to this time and place). Poor women could be criticized for failing to be appropriately feminine, implying

that the shortcoming was something they could remedy. Simultaneously, their supposed lack of feminine propriety could be used to justify exploiting them for labor and for sex, thereby rendering it impossible for them to conform to the dominant ideals.

This tautology took on an added racial dimension in America. The creation of an ideal for white women that posited their natural virtue and modesty was accompanied by rhetoric about women of color that proclaimed their natural propensity for sexual vice. What in the early modern era had been seen as a universal characteristic of female weakness and inferiority became a specific racial trait. This can be sharply illustrated by the changing usage of the words "wench" and "nasty wench." Originally these terms could designate any woman of low status, especially if she was sexually promiscuous. By the late eighteenth century, however, they were used almost exclusively in reference to black women.

In daily life, Native American women often found themselves in the same exploitative bind that was the lot of African American women. The frequent Revolutionary-era use of the image of the Indian woman as an icon for the American nation is particularly ironic. As a woman and a member of a supposedly disappearing people, her image was deliberately not representative of any faction with a chance at political power. As white Americans confronted strong Indian resistance to their efforts at national expansion, they came to prefer the symbolism of Columbia, a white woman of perfect virtue.

Women of color argued and took action against the injustices and inconsistencies inherent in the early Republic's conceptions of women. Native American basket makers, for example, confounded their New England neighbors by conforming to Anglo-American ideas about respectable femininity for part of each year, only to take up the dress and habits of their forebears every autumn. As these women traveled about the countryside marketing their wares, they defied not only the women's roles assigned to them, but also the very notion of the vanishing Indian. Black women founded the nation's first female benevolent societies in the 1790s, using religious arguments to support a public female presence that was a force for virtue rather than vice. A new era in American gender ideology began with the arguments of a black woman, the antislavery activist Maria Stewart, who by 1831 clearly saw that racial and gender hierarchies reinforced each other and subverted America's professed allegiance to liberty and equality.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indians as Symbols/Icons; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Home; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Revolution: Social History; Sexual Morality; Sexuality; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Rights; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bloch, Ruth H. *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650–1800.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Brown, Kathleen M. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Kerber, Linda K. *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750.* New York: Vintage, 1991.

———. *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth.* New York: Knopf, 2001.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (1998): 203–230.

*Kirsten D. Sword*

**GEOGRAPHY** The United States in 1829 was a little more than seventeen hundred miles long from north to south and about the same distance (counting the Louisiana Purchase) from east to west. Beginning with Cape Cod and widening farther south was the Atlantic Coastal Plain, a low to gently undulating surface that, at the time, offered easy penetration of the interior. From Cape Cod north and immediately to the interior of the coastal plain farther south was the Appalachian System. The line of contact between the coastal plain and the Appalachian System is termed the Fall Line. It is here, at the head of deep water navigation, where many cities developed. On the other hand, New England's rocky coast was very irregular and encouraged the development of many ports. Two general regional terms used from Maryland south were Tidewater, for the easily penetrated coastal plain, and Piedmont, for the gently rolling approach to the mountainous Appalachians west of

**The British Colonies in North America.** An engraving, dated 1777, by the English cartographer William Faden. SNARK/ART RESOURCE, NY.

the Fall Line. West of the easily penetrated Appalachians lay a great Central Lowland, drained by the navigable Mississippi River system.

Western Europeans, in encountering the new environment, found many parallels with what they had known at home. Much of the animal life was similar. For what was not similar they adopted Native American names (raccoon, opossum, for example). The same followed for vegetation. Other than for Native American clearance, forest prevailed, until the grasslands of the Central Lowland were penetrated. In general the climate was more humid than in Europe, with many large rivers providing abundant waterpower sites, especially in New England. Atlantic America had a continental, rather than a maritime, climate, meaning that there were greater temperature differences between winter and summer than in Western Europe. Winters were more severe in New England and the northern interior and summers longer and much hotter in the South than was the case in Western Europe.

Soil fertility varied greatly. Much of the coastal plain and New England had relatively poor soils. There were, of course, exceptions. For example, the Black Belt of Alabama had fertile soils, as did river bottomlands in Mississippi and Louisiana. Large areas of excellent soils could be found in the Piedmont and Central Lowland, notably in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa.

**PEOPLE: 1754**

By 1754 people of African and European origin occupied a broad area in eastern North America. In the area controlled by the British in what would later become the United States, continuous coastal settlement could be found from present-day Maine through North Carolina. A short gap intervened between coastal North Carolina and South Carolina and Georgia. Navigable rivers, such as the Hudson in the North and Savannah in the South, had encouraged settlement toward the interior, and movement down the great interior valley of the Shenandoah was just beginning. Outliers of settlement to the interior included, in the North, French settlement at Detroit and, in the Illinois Country, along the upper Mississippi in the vicinity of St. Louis. In the Southeast, Spain had settled Saint Augustine and in the Florida panhandle. Spanish and French settlers also occupied a coastal strip around Mobile Bay in what later became Alabama. French and some Spanish settlement could be found at and near New Orleans on the lower Mississippi. To the interior were located various Native American tribal entities, among the most notable being the League of the Iroquois centered on New York's Mohawk Valley and the Creek Confederacy of the Southeast. There were considerable cultural differences between the European and African settled areas. Many of these continued well beyond 1829. New Englanders came disproportionately from the area of East Anglia in Great Britain, north and east of London. Congregationalism was the major religious following. Few held slaves. In New York and New Jersey people who were either Dutch in ethnicity or who had become Dutch in culture comprised an important segment of the population. Many held slaves, and the Dutch Reformed Church was regionally important. In southeastern Pennsylvania and nearby areas, English Quakers were dominant. Slavery was rare. Germans of various Protestant faiths had also settled in Pennsylvania as well as people from the north of Ireland, who generally arrived as Presbyterians but often, in the move to the frontier, became Baptists or Methodists. African slaves could be found in the Tidewater, in many cases making up more than half the population. Slave owners were from many parts of Great Britain and northern Ireland and often were communicants of the Anglican Church. French and Spanish settlement favored Roman Catholicism and, in the South, slavery.

New England was the most heavily populated region, with about 400,000 people, overwhelmingly white. Virginia and the Tidewater country through North Carolina had almost as many people, but here initially culturally diverse Africans from several areas in West Africa often dominated in numbers. The Hudson Valley and areas adjacent had about 100,000 people, southeastern Pennsylvania had about 230,000, and coastal South Carolina and Georgia had about 90,000, again with Africans in many places often outnumbering the whites. In addition to the contrasts in numbers and religion and ethnicity were differences in age and sex ratios. The frontier tended to have more white males than white females, whereas longer-settled areas tended to have the sexes in equal proportions or be slightly dominated by females because of the outmigration of some males to the frontiers. Where slavery dominated there were often severe differences in sex ratios as the focus of owners early on was for (preferably male) field laborers.

To the interior, the Native American population was also quite varied culturally, in language, subsistence, forms of dwellings, and many other things. Although there is no real agreement on their numbers, there is no question that by 1754 many had died of introduced European and African diseases. In the North, smaller villages prevailed, whereas in the Southeast some settlements reached several thousand inhabitants. In subsistence Native Americans varied from the largely hunting and gathering of northern New England, fishing along the coast of southern New England and Long Island and southern Florida and the Gulf Coast, to farming in much of the interior where a long growing season allowed cultivation of corn, beans, and squash. Dwellings were regionally quite varied, with examples such as the Quonset longhouse of the North, the domal wigwam of the mid-Atlantic and the hipped-roof, rectangular wattle-and-daub house of the Southeast.

**PEOPLE: 1829**

Decennial national censuses beginning in 1790 give a much better picture of population trends, at least in numbers. By the census of 1830, for example, the population had grown to almost 13 million. Over 18 percent of this population was African American, over 86 percent of whom were slaves. By 1830 natural increase had evened the ratio between the sexes among African Americans to about 102 males per 100 females. In newly settled slave states, the ratios of African Americans to whites was greatly different. In Mississippi, for example, almost half the population was African American, and of this half over 90 percent were slaves. Using New Jersey as an example, in 1830 only a little more than 6 percent of the population was African American, and of these only a little over 10 percent were slaves.

**North America.** A map of the North American continent, published in 1829 by D. F. Robinson and Company of Connecticut.
© BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Nationally, among whites, the gender ratio was about 104 males to 100 females. These ratios among whites varied greatly with the length of settlement. In New Jersey, for example, an older seaboard state, there were 103 white males to 100 white females. In Michigan Territory, a newly developing area, the ratio was 138 to 100.

The growth in numbers by 1830 had come about largely by natural increase. Exceptions to this included the continuous flow, before the Revolution, of Scots-Irish from northern Ireland, through the port of Philadelphia, westward into Pennsylvania, and then southward to the interior. The other major exception was the displacement of thousands of French settlers after the Seven Years' War from Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia). Many of these people found their way to southwestern Louisiana and became the ancestors of the present Cajun population.

By 1829 Europeans and Africans settled portions of the United States had expanded into what are now the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, most of Ohio, Missouri, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas. Several events had allowed this to occur. The French threat had been removed by their defeat in the Seven Years' War. Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon in 1803 opened the vast interior to American settlement. There had also been several Indian wars. For example, the League of the Iroquois had sided with England during the American Revolution and had been defeated by the Americans. They were no longer a barrier, allowing New Englanders in particular to pour westward through New York's Mohawk Valley. A little later this was the route of the Erie Canal, begun in 1817 and completed in 1825, adding to the flow of settlement west and of produce east.

Possession of Florida began with accessing a portion of the present state of Louisiana (the Florida parishes) in 1819. This was completed in 1822. Further, Native Americans displaced westward, and improvements in transportation (for example, the National Road, the Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap, and the great expansion of steam navigation in the 1820s) made westward migration much easier.

### AGRICULTURE

In an economic sense, whether in 1754 or in 1829, agriculture, with several regional variations, ruled. New Englanders had originally come seeking religious freedom and planned agricultural villages like those in their homeland. Much of New England, however, proved to be hostile to agricultural endeavors, and many people increasingly turned to produc-

ing naval stores (turpentine, pitch, and resin) and timber for shipbuilding and to fishing the rich coastal waters for cod, which was salted and sent in large measure to the Caribbean and Mediterranean. The middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were known as the bread colonies, famed for production of wheat, which was milled into flour and exported in barrels to Europe and the Caribbean. Some areas had regional specialties. Southwestern New Jersey, for example, specialized in growing corn to feed hogs, the source of the hams that were exported through Philadelphia. Also in New Jersey were the small farms established by New Englanders that specialized in apples, which were transformed into the area's famed apple brandy.

The Tidewater country of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina early turned to cultivating tobacco with the use of slave labor. North Carolina was especially known for producing naval stores. Indigo, which produces a blue dye, was grown on the coastal plain in North Carolina, especially in South Carolina, Georgia, Spanish Florida, and French Louisiana. Long-staple cotton was produced on the Sea Islands off the Georgia coast. Corn was raised everywhere. Cattle and swine were ubiquitous, roaming free.

Sheep characterized New England more than any other area. By the 1820s the agricultural regions had changed greatly. Farms were being abandoned in New England. Many farmers had left for the West (western New York to Michigan) or to sites where waterpower could be harnessed for manufacturing. The midwestern Corn Belt was in formation, with rapidly growing Cincinnati termed "Porkopolis."

In the middle states, farming remained viable, although there was a shift to livestock to provide protein for the growing cities. Indeed many farmers in this region as well left for the West. In the plantation South, with the introduction of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, upland, short-staple cotton became a major crop in the Piedmont. Cotton production had also moved to central Tennessee, the so-called Black Belt of Alabama, and the bottomlands along the Mississippi in Louisiana and Mississippi. Land worn out by tobacco farming had been abandoned, but wide areas in Virginia's Piedmont were still devoted to producing the crop. Tobacco was now also to be found in the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. Rice replaced indigo in coastal South Carolina and Georgia. In southern Louisiana's Red River and Mississippi bottomlands, sugar had become king.

## INDUSTRY AND MINING

Overall, when compared to agriculture, industry was a very minor activity in 1754. Industry was mainly to be found from Maryland north and consisted of grist and saw milling, ironworks, shipbuilding, and distilling. Ironworks were especially to be found in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and the milling of grain especially in the middle colonies. Even by 1820 the use of waterpower for manufacturing outnumbered the use of steam engines by a factor of at least one hundred to one. Factory jobs were to be found in few locations, mainly southeastern Pennsylvania, coastal Connecticut, and eastern Massachusetts. The first major planned manufacturing center, based on textiles, was Paterson, New Jersey, planned in 1791, utilizing the waterpower of the Great Falls of the Passaic River. But it was places in New England, especially in Massachusetts (Lowell being the most commonly cited example), that were able to capitalize on the combination of humid climate, relatively great fall in water from place to place, people abandoning farms and moving to town, interested investors, ease of transport, and availability of cotton from the expanding plantations of the South.

In 1754 mining was quite limited, with iron ore being the major material sought. By 1829 iron mining and production were quite widespread and especially followed in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Shaft mining for copper began at North Arlington, New Jersey, in about 1712, interrupted by the Revolution, then continued well into the nineteenth century. The mining of glass sands began in southern New Jersey in 1739, and production there was still under way in 1829. Gold was found as early as 1799 in North Carolina, and mining activity was ongoing there and in Georgia in the 1820s. More important economically was the production of salt in the vicinity of Syracuse, New York. Clay was widely mined for pottery and bricks.

## TRANSPORTATION

In both 1754 and 1829, the key to settlement and productivity, whether agricultural or industrial, was transportation. The seaboard settlements obviously had an early advantage, with immediate access to marine navigation. In 1754 Philadelphia was the major port, with, from north to south, Boston, Newport, New York, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans being of importance. By 1829 New York had eclipsed Philadelphia to become the leading port, partially owing to the opening of the Erie Canal.

New Orleans had become much more important owing to the settlement of the trans-Appalachian West and the development of steam navigation on the Mississippi. In 1754 overland transportation, initially along paths opened by Native Americans, was very poorly developed. Even in 1800, for example, overland travel from New York to Illinois took approximately six weeks. The Capital Turnpike, completed in 1795 between Philadelphia (which was then the capital) and Lancaster, set the stage for private investment in toll roads. Largely because of this, by 1828 the trip from New York to Illinois had shrunk to about three weeks. Where they existed, canals both speeded travel and made the movement of cargoes less expensive. Before the opening of the full length of the Erie Canal, for example, a wagon load took twenty days to reach Buffalo from Albany at a cost of a hundred dollars. After the canal opened, in 1825, the time was reduced to eight days and the cost to twenty dollars. After 1829, of course, the rapid expansion of canals, steam navigation, and the coming of the railroad further revolutionized transportation.

*See also* **Acadians; Agriculture: Overview; American Indians: American Indian Ethnography; Appalachia; Cartography; Environment, Environmental History, and Nature; Erie Canal; Exploration and Explorers; Frontier; Immigration and Immigrants: Overview; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Iron Mining and Metallurgy; Mid-Atlantic States; Mississippi River; New England; Northwest; People of America; Plantation, The; Railroads; Shipbuilding Industry; South; Steam Power; Trails to the West; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; Waterpower.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, Ralph H. *Mirror for Americans: Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard, 1810.* New York: American Geographical Society, 1943; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.

———. *Historical Geography of the United States.* General editor, J. Russell Whitaker. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948.

Ehrenberg, Ralph, ed. *Pattern and Process: Research in Historical Geography.* Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on the National Archives and Research in Historical Geography. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1975.

Glassie, Henry H. *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Jordan-Bychkov, Terry G., and Matti E. Kaups. *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History.* Vol. 1: *Atlantic America, 1492–1800.* Vol. 2: *Continental America, 1800–1867.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986, 1993.

National Geographic Society (U.S.). *Historical Atlas of the United States.* Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1993.

Paullin, Charles O. *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.* Washington, D.C., New York: Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society, 1932; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *The Cultural Geography of the United States.* Rev. ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992.

*Peter O. Wacker*

**GEORGIA** Initially settled in 1733, for its first twenty years Georgia was a frontier colony. By 1760 the population was six thousand whites and thirty-six hundred blacks, outnumbered by neighboring Creek Indians with a population of thirteen thousand. With only two major towns, Savannah and Augusta, Georgia consisted of little more than a strip of land along the coast between the Altamaha and Savannah Rivers and some additional land inland along the southern bank of the Savannah. By the 1760s Georgia's economy, population, and territory had all begun to grow rapidly. Slavery was legalized in 1750, leading to the expansion of rice-growing coastal slave plantations. White immigrants were drawn by the promise of land. By 1775 the population had mushroomed to eighteen thousand whites and fifteen thousand blacks, but growth of this magnitude could only be maintained with cessions of land from the neighboring Creeks and Cherokees. Indian resistance to land cessions was overcome by misrepresentation, fraud, and the Indians' increasing dependence on trade. Between 1763 and 1773, six official conferences were held with the Creeks alone, five of which led to land cessions that quintupled the area of Georgia.

Initial responses to unpopular British imperial policies of the 1760s were muted. Active support for rebellion developed only after fighting broke out in Massachusetts in April 1775. In January 1776, the Council of Public Safety arrested royal governor James Wright, and in May 1776 the new state of Georgia sent a delegation to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia with instructions to support indepen-

dence. Aside from three unsuccessful invasions of British East Florida beginning in 1776, large-scale military operations in Georgia began with the surprise British capture of Savannah in December 1778. The war would drag on thereafter, with neither side able to win a decisive victory. The continuing warfare divided a countryside deeply between Loyalists and Patriots, the British withdrawing from Savannah only in July 1782.

With the end of the war, Georgia continued to seek additional Indian lands, and in 1785 and 1786 large cessions were obtained from the Creeks with fraudulent treaties. Fighting erupted as settlers flooding into the contested lands were met by Creek soldiers, but neither Georgia nor the Creeks proved strong enough to win uncontested control. The situation helped convince many Georgians of the need for a stronger central government, and delegates from Georgia played an active role in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. Georgia quickly ratified the new constitution by unanimous vote on 31 December 1787. Land hunger was the thread binding together Georgia's participation in the War of 1812 (1812–1815) as well. Georgians were behind an attempted invasion of Spanish Florida in 1812, and the state benefited from the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) that Andrew Jackson imposed on both Creek allies and enemies. The treaty forced the Creeks to part with over twenty million acres in Alabama and southern Georgia.

Georgia's population and economy continued to expand rapidly into the nineteenth century. The non-white population in particular grew in an economy increasingly based on large slave plantations growing cotton. According to the federal decennial census, there were 82,548 Georgians in 1790, and this number doubled by 1800 to 162,686. In 1810 it reached 251,407; by 1820 it was 340,989, and it reached 516,823 in 1830. In 1790, 36 percent of the population was black; in 1800 it was 37 percent, and from 1810 onward it remained at or slightly above 43 percent of the total population. Blacks were overwhelmingly slaves, as the free black population was always much less than 1 percent of the total state population and during this era around 1 percent of the black population (except for 1800 and 1810, when it approached 2 percent).

Concerns over territorial expansion also dominated Georgia politics. James Jackson established one of the most enduring political alliances of the era based on the popularity he gained by opposing Governor George Mathews during the Yazoo land fraud crisis of 1794–1795. The Yazoo crisis was sparked by

the taint of bribery and corruption that surrounded the government authorization of the sale of around thirty-five million acres of western lands for $500,000, which was signed by Governor Mathews. Although the sale was overturned by Jackson's supporters, it remained a potent political issue in Georgia for decades to come.

Indian removal was the central theme of Governor Michael Troup's successful campaign to win the first popular election for governor in 1825. He influenced the fraudulent Treaty of Indian Springs of 1825, which extinguished the Creeks' title to all of their remaining lands. Creek resistance led President John Quincy Adams to an unprecedented step, the tearing up of a ratified treaty. Renegotiation resulted in the Treaty of Washington (1826), accepted by a people that recognized it had little choice. By 1827 the Creeks had been forced to cede their remaining land in Georgia, leaving only the Cherokees with sizable territory within Georgia's boundaries. The election of President Andrew Jackson in 1828 and the passage of his Indian Removal Act in the spring of 1830 signaled to Georgians that they would not have to wait long, and in 1838 the last of the Cherokees were rounded up by the army and sent west on their infamous Trail of Tears.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: Southeast; Cotton; Land Speculation.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Coleman, Kenneth. *American Revolution in Georgia, 1763–1789.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958.

———. *A History of Georgia.* 2nd ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991.

Gallay, Alan. *The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Hall, Leslie. *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Reidy, Joseph P. *From Slavery to Agrarian Capitalism in the Cotton Plantation South: Central Georgia, 1800–1880.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Smith, Julia Floyd. *Slavery and Rice Culture in Low Country Georgia, 1750–1860.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

*David A. Sicko*

**GERMAN-LANGUAGE PUBLISHING** By the 1730s, the American colonies were home to a rising population of German speakers, with nearly 20,000 in Pennsylvania, a number that would increase to one-third of the population of 125,000 by 1776. These readers generated a high demand for newspapers, almanacs, and Bibles printed in their native tongue. The first newspaper in America printed in German was the *Philadelphische Zeitung*, started in 1732 by Benjamin Franklin. Unfortunately, Franklin, who was known for his anti-German political remarks, chose material for the paper carelessly; in addition, it was badly translated. As a result, the paper generated few subscribers and collapsed in 1733. More responsive presses directed by Christopher Sauer, located at the Cloister of Ephrata, the seat of communitarian religious leader Conrad Beisel, printed Bibles, a newspaper, and religious tracts for a German audience beginning in 1739. Sauer's press had the advantage, in 1744, of adding its own paper mill to supply printing material. The Sauer press expanded further in 1770, adding the first German type foundry in the colonies to its enterprise. Before this, type in German Gothic lettering had to be imported from Europe, adding cost and inconvenience to the printing process.

Meanwhile, enterprising German emigrants started newspapers in Philadelphia, like *Der Hoch-Deutsche pennsylvanische* in 1745, closely followed by the *Pennsylvanische Berichte germantauner Zeitung* in 1746. Editors with connections in the German states often received news unavailable elsewhere and printed it first in German for their readers, including updates on the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and religious disputes. By 1751, five German-language Pennsylvania papers had circulations of nearly four thousand subscribers each, charging an average of three shillings a year and using both the mails and store sales for circulation. For new emigrants, these papers contained crucial information on land acquisition, sending money back to the German states, and avoiding local scams and pitfalls. After 1750, most papers included woodcut illustrations and substantial advertising sections. The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1701) even started a newspaper to Anglicize Germans but found little response.

The American Revolution split the German population, a political trend reflected in the German-language press. The Sauer family, whose politics were pro-proprietor, pacifist, and anti-Revolutionary, published the *Pennsylvanische staats-*

*Courier* during the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777–1778. The family was, however, bankrupted by the British evacuation and, because of the enormous hostility it faced, had to relocate after the Revolution to German neighborhoods of Baltimore. There, Samuel Sauer resurfaced in 1791 as the editor of *Der neue hoch deutsche americanische Calendar.* At the other end of the political spectrum, Heinrich Miller, a Moravian from Waldeck, set up a print shop in Philadelphia in 1762, where he published *Der wöchentliche pennsylvanische Staatsbote.* A pro-colonial paper, on 5 July 1776 it was the first to publish notice of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Ironically, in 1768 the papers of both Miller and the Sauer family had printed German translations of John Dickinson's *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*, a protest against British taxation of the colonies.

In the generation after the American Revolution, German presses began to decline because there were no large waves of German-speaking immigrants. German was gradually replaced by English as a working language in German-dominated areas, and many second-generation German Americans were deeply self-conscious about the slangy language of the existing German newspapers, which they considered ignorant and derisive. The pacifist tradition informed *Der Friedensbote* (1812), a German newspaper in Allentown, Pennsylvania, edited by Joseph Ehrenfried and Heinrich Ebner, that opposed the War of 1812. Partisan political campaigning in the early Republic kept alive some other German papers through high-priced advertising aimed at German-speaking voters. German Americans generally voted against Federalists and nativists, as reflected in *Der Wahre amerikaner* (1804) of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, which was a pro-Jefferson campaign organ. In later campaigns, Democratic candidates such as Andrew Jackson appealed to German American voters, especially on anti-Masonic issues, through specially founded papers, including the Reading, Pennsylvania, *Readinger demokrat und anti-freimaurer Herold* (1826). These papers, however, were only successful when they were written in proper High German, employed German correspondents, and avoided exposing readers to ridicule through vulgar advertising or provincial content.

The religious and political turmoil of the 1830s in Europe spurred intellectual refugees to seek safety and careers in America, and they often gravitated toward existing German publishing. Johan Georg Wesselhöft of Frankfurt emigrated to Philadelphia, founding the high-toned *Alte und neue Welt* in 1834.

Frequently quoting Goethe and Hegel, the paper championed German-speaking small shopkeepers and skilled craftsmen while offering a taste of European cultural material. As Germans migrated westward, German papers followed them, appearing in Cincinnati in 1826, Louisville in 1841, and eventually in Galveston, New Orleans, Indiana and Wisconsin by the 1840s. When the Revolution of 1848 was suppressed in Europe, a new wave of German-speaking emigrants came to the United States, many finding work at German-language papers and carrying over their liberal political traditions into their editorial policies. In Wisconsin, for example, the German press fought a fierce battle against residency restrictions on voting and attacked the Whig Party for its anti-German slurs. Buoyed by new readers, these papers survived into the 1880s, especially in German-dominated regions of Pennsylvania and the Midwest.

*See also* **Immigration and Immigrants: Germans; Newspapers; Pennsylvania; Printers; Religious Publishing.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, Willi Paul. "German Translations of the Declaration of Independence." *Journal of American History*. 85 (1999): 1325–1349.

Arndt, Karl J. R., and May Olson. *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955.* New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.

Wittke, Carl. *The German Language Press in America.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.

*Margaret Sankey*

**GHENT, TREATY OF** Signed on 24 December 1814 and also known as the Peace of Christmas Eve, the Treaty of Ghent brought the War of 1812 to an end. This war was a by-product of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815). The United States had declared war on 18 June 1812 to force the British to give up certain maritime practices that grew out of the European war, particularly restrictions on American trade with the Continent, imposed by Orders-in-Council, and impressment, which was the forcible removal of seamen from American merchant ships. Although the British suspended the Orders-in-Council on 23 June 1812, they refused to give up impressment, and American attempts to force them to do so by conquering Canada failed. Hence, on 8 Au-

gust 1814 representatives of the two powers met in Ghent, in modern-day Belgium, to discuss terms for peace.

The American delegation, which was headed by John Quincy Adams and included Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin, was exceptionally strong, while the British relied on men of more modest accomplishments, most notably Henry Goulburn, an undersecretary in the colonial office. On more than one occasion, the American envoys outmaneuvered their British counterparts.

By the time the negotiations got under way, the United States had dropped its demand for an end to impressment, but the war in Europe now appeared to be over, which enabled the British to concentrate on the American war and thus put them in the driver's seat at Ghent. As a price for peace, the British insisted on significant American concessions: the creation of an Indian barrier state in the Old Northwest; the surrender of territory in northern Maine and Minnesota; the American demilitarization of the Great Lakes; and an end to American fishing privileges in Canadian waters.

Stunned by the scope of these demands, the American delegation refused to make any concessions and contemplated departing for home. The British, however, retreated to a proposal for making peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, which meant that each side would keep any conquered territory. If this proposal were acceded to, each power would retain several forts on the other side of the frontier and the British would acquire eastern Maine. When the American envoys rejected this proposal, the British reluctantly agreed to return all conquered territory and establish peace on the basis of the status quo ante bellum (the state that existed before the war).

The treaty did not actually end hostilities. Fearing that the United States might demand changes before approving the agreement, the British insisted that the fighting should end only after both nations had ratified it. The crown ratified almost immediately, on 27 December 1814, but it took six weeks for the treaty to reach the United States. In the meantime, Britain suffered a major defeat—the worst of the war—at the Battle of New Orleans. It was not until 16 February 1815 that President James Madison, with the unanimous consent of the Senate, ratified it on behalf of the United States. Both sides immediately ordered an end to hostilities, although fighting continued for several months in remote parts of North America and in distant seas.

*See also* **New Orleans, Battle of; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Engelman, Fred L. *The Peace of Christmas Eve.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962.

Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Perkins, Bradford. *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812–1823.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.

*Donald R. Hickey*

**GIBBONS V. OGDEN**  More than three decades after the ratification of the Constitution, *Gibbons v. Ogden* (22 U.S. 1 [1824]) raised, for the first time, questions concerning the nature and scope of congressional authority in regulating interstate commerce. Chief Justice John Marshall, writing for a unanimous Supreme Court, held that Congress's power to regulate commerce extended to every species of commercial trade, including navigation, between the United States and foreign nations and between the states.

In 1798 New York granted to Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton the exclusive right of navigating the state's waters with steamboats. Livingston and Fulton subsequently granted Aaron Ogden the exclusive right to operate a ferry between New York City and several ports in New Jersey. The holders of this monopoly so dominated and energetically enforced it that other states threatened to pass laws in retaliation that would refuse to let steam-powered vessels from New York into their waters.

Thomas Gibbons, who possessed a federal permit under the 1793 Coastal Licensing Act, began to operate a service carrying passengers between New York and New Jersey. Boats belonging to Gibbons and his partner, Cornelius Vanderbilt, entered New York waters, attempting to gain as much business as possible. Ogden was successful in convincing the New Jersey courts to deny Gibbons the right to enter New York waters. Gibbons retained William Wirt, the U.S. attorney general, and Daniel Webster, the lawyer and congressman, to represent his interests at the Supreme Court.

In arguments before the Court that lasted four and a half days, Ogden's attorney, Thomas J. Oakley, held that navigation was not commerce under the meaning of the Constitution; thus intrastate commerce was left to the states to regulate. Wirt put forth the argument that the federal license issued to Gibbons took precedence over a state-granted monopoly. Webster went further, arguing that the

commerce clause of the Constitution gave Congress sole power over commerce and that the state-granted monopoly was in conflict with this clause.

The Court ruled in favor of Gibbons but did not go as far as Webster would have liked. The ruling that Gibbons's federal license nullified the New York grant of monopoly had both immediate and long-term consequences. The opinion held that commerce involves more than the buying and selling of goods. The decision was popular because it broke up the monopoly, prevented further conflict between the states, and left the power to regulate intrastate commerce to the states; this last provision kept states' rights advocates happy. Furthermore, the public welcomed the ruling because, in stating that Congress had the power to regulate interstate commerce, the Court allowed for the nation's economy to operate under one set of laws. The decision was broad enough to apply to new technologies in transportation and communications and to support federal regulation over banking, industry, and labor throughout the nation.

*See also* **States' Rights; Steamboat; Supreme Court; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baxter, Maurice G. *The Steamboat Monopoly: Gibbons v. Ogden, 1824.* New York: Knopf, 1972.

*J. Mark Alcorn*

# GOVERNMENT

This entry consists of four separate articles: *Overview*, *Local*, *State*, and *Territories*.

## *Overview*

Government is a set of institutions with the legitimate right to use coercion within a given territory, and Americans understood the need for effective government from the beginning. Americans relied on government to keep the peace, defend the land, nurture prosperity, regulate the careless, and administer justice. The British Crown gave its American colonists considerable latitude to govern themselves. Colonial legislatures laid down a diverse mixture of taxes, imposed an assortment of rules on behavior, and defended their citizens against a wide array of foes. Massachusetts began to steer its economic de-

velopment in ways that mimicked mercantilism in Britain itself.

### REPUBLICANISM AND STATE GOVERNMENTS

When America's separatists totally dissolved their political connection with the British government in 1776, they were forced to remake their governments. Whig ideas dominated their political thought. Whigs in Britain and America believed that the British government had departed from its true principles and become dominated by a corrupt court in London. Americans based their Revolution on the principle of John Locke (1632–1704) that legitimate government results from a social contract among people seeking authoritative protection of the right to life and liberty. In the Declaration of Independence and elsewhere, rebel leaders listed the British government's violations of this principle to justify political independence. They set out to reconstitute their governments according to republican ideals. Republican principles stipulated, first, that public policymakers should be the agents of the people. Second, republicanism demanded the separation of government powers to prevent the possibility of a single leader, such as a king, making laws, enforcing them, interpreting them, and punishing those who disagreed.

Fueled by passionate republicanism and resentment against the crown, each colony reinvented itself as an independent, self-governing republic. Each of these self-proclaimed states drew on written charters for their authority. Most of them crafted new constitutions for the purpose. Each state assumed the power to legislate tariffs, currency systems, property regulations, and rules concerning debts. State governments took control of millions of acres of lands formerly in British hands. The new American states grew adept at taxation, the foundation power of European nation-states. While individual states found it challenging to exercise control over the territory they governed, and many had to deal with British invasion and occupation during the Revolution, each was steadily consolidating power in the 1780s.

Born of Revolutionary fervor and facing the practical necessity of establishing their legitimacy, these new governments enthusiastically implemented republican ideals. They extended the voting franchise so that from 60 to 70 percent of adult white males in the United States had the right to vote by 1790. The states placed the preponderance of power in the hands of the popularly elected legislators. Each of the new governments also leashed its legislators to the voters with short terms of office, often adding term limits. Pennsylvania's constitution of 1776 em-

bodied Revolutionary republicanism in its purest form, vesting "supreme legislative power" in a unicameral house of representatives whose members faced annual elections and a term limit of four years. The new state governments experimented with a variety of schemes to separate powers, particularly to limit executive power. Ten states created bicameral legislatures, where an upper chamber (typically called a "senate" or "council") exercised some degree of influence over legislation from the lower house. To shield the courts and the legislature from executive manipulation, the state constitutions limited the power of the state executive (termed either a "governor" or "president"). Only four states allowed the governor substantial power to appoint public officials, and only three provided for an executive veto.

### THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

By the mid-1780s, problems arising from state governance were building an increasingly broad constituency for fundamental reform of the national government. Without the unifying fact of British governance or the unifying spirit of Revolutionary idealism, the states' diverse cultures, religious traditions, political dynamics, and economic interests began to send them on conflicting paths of political development. The United States faced a dilemma of cooperation: the popularly elected state legislatures had strong incentives to resist imposing any sacrifice on their constituents, and each could gain more in the short term by acting independently than by cooperating to advance the long-term interests of the nation as a whole. Economic depression in the 1780s only intensified pressures on state legislatures to use their authority to protect the mass of their voting constituents, even at the expense of Americans elsewhere. Some state governments revived the paper money emissions used by their colonial predecessors, while others suspended debtors' payments. Massachusetts pursued a more conservative policy toward debts and money, but that course sparked the intense resentment that contributed to Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787). Meanwhile, states became bolder in using their power to slap fees on imports and exports from other countries or states. The thirteen states were pursuing different economic policies customized to their diverse economic and political interests, threatening economic elites and imperiling national commercial, currency, and other policies that some political elites desired.

**The Confederation government.** These circumstances prompted republican nationalists like James Madison to seek additional powers for the national government to make it more capable of pursuing the nation's interests. The Continental Congress assumed some of the key functions of national sovereignty in the 1770s, particularly overseeing the conduct of the Revolutionary War. This jerry-built national government, however, had no constitutional authority until the states completed ratification of written Articles of Confederation in 1781. The Articles provided little more than a whisper of sovereign power to the central government. In the Confederation Congress each state, whether large or small, cast a single vote. Congress could not exercise any exclusive power over the nation's interior, any state's economic assets, or any state commercial powers. Congress had no taxing powers, but instead depended on the states to contribute national revenues according to a schedule of requisitions; not surprisingly, the states balked at filling these requisitions, causing overwhelming fiscal problems for the Confederation government. Even when the cumbersome national policy process produced a decision, the Articles made the policy hard to implement because there existed few national administrators and no national judges. By 1786, growing anxiety had created an opportunity for pathbreaking government reform.

**Madison and national powers.** Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and other nationalists had tried but failed to increase specific national powers incrementally in the 1780s. In 1786 they seized on the climate of opinion to engineer, first, a commercial convention at Annapolis, Maryland, and in turn the Constitutional Convention in 1787 to deliberate reforms more comprehensively. Drawing on an extensive study of past and present governments, Madison proposed a national government with broad powers, including the authority to tax, to regulate both interstate and intrastate commerce, and to veto state laws at will. Madison thought that the national government should "have powers far beyond those exercised by the British Parliament when the States were part of the British Empire." This expanded national authority would be lodged in a bicameral legislature, with a lower house elected directly by the people, an upper chamber selected by the lower house, and seats in both chambers apportioned on the basis of population. The two legislative houses would select the executive and the courts. Madison believed this process of "successive filtrations" would ensure that a national government rooted in popular sovereignty also would have the capacity to govern in the nation's interests.

**Large versus small states.** Because broad republican principles did not specify precisely how powers

should be separated, checked, and balanced, the Constitutional Convention became a protracted battle between the smaller states' demands for rules protecting their advantages and the larger states' desire for a government effective enough to promote their interests. Madison's scheme, presented as the Virginia Plan at the start of the Convention, posed a serious threat to the interests of smaller states. Delegates from these states had supported a few specific additions to national power, such as the regulation of interstate commerce. But these delegates viewed the equality of state representation in the Continental Congress as a compensation for their economic disadvantages relative to better-endowed, more populous neighbors. Large states would gain power if legislative representation were apportioned by size of population. The small states' alternative plan, the New Jersey Plan, proposed a limited set of added national powers, vested authority in the existing Continental Congress (thus protecting their equal weight in policymaking), and added a national executive and judiciary.

The battles between these interests shaped the Convention's decisions from start to finish. A balance of power was struck between the House of Representatives, based on representation proportioned to population, and the Senate, based on equal state representation. The executive was chosen by an electoral college invented to separate presidential selection from Congress and to give the smaller states some additional weight in choosing the executive. Slavery complicated both debates. The southern states successfully demanded that their slaves be counted for both representation and the election of the president. Indeed, during one crucial debate James Madison argued that the real difference between the states was not their size, but between the states where slavery was the basis of the economy and those where it was not. Judges and administrators would be chosen by the president with the Senate's consent.

**Division of powers.** In defiance of the conventional wisdom among legal authorities such as Sir William Blackstone, sovereignty was divided and parceled out to both the national and state governments. The Constitution enumerated national powers, left substantial policy authority to the states, and placed the burden of proof on advocates of future extensions of national authority. The national government would exercise the powers of a sovereign nation, such as war, diplomacy, coinage, and regulation of international trade. The states would continue to do most of the governing of everyday life in America, such as the regulation of capital, land, and labor, including slave labor. The Constitution left ambiguous the boundaries between state and national power and between the powers of the national policymaking institutions.

### THE CONSTITUTION'S CONSEQUENCES

No other country had deliberately put its governmental contract in writing, and no other had sought to establish the legitimacy of its fundamental law through special, temporary ratifying conventions. Disarmingly styling themselves "Federalists," Madison, Hamilton and other proponents of the Constitution endeavored to persuade citizens that the proposed government was logical and coherent. "Anti-Federalist" opponents asked whether government in such a vast area as the United States could remain republican and also questioned the proposed powers of the national government, as well as specific institutional arrangements. Immediately after a sufficient number of states approved the plan in 1788, the unifying power of the Constitution and popular ratification became apparent. In spite of intense conflicts over its ratification, nearly all the Constitution's opponents quickly acquiesced when the new national government started up in the spring of 1789. The Constitution became the most fundamental source of public authority in the United States. It also structured the most important battlefields of American politics.

Much of the subsequent history of the government of the early American Republic involved struggles to bring the Constitution to life and to define its ambiguous boundaries. True to his word, Madison, as floor leader in the first House of Representatives, successfully led the fight for a set of constitutional amendments establishing a bill of rights. President George Washington's steady leadership and Treasury Secretary Hamilton's ambitions for an active national economic policy established the independent vigor of the executive branch. Hamilton's program, in turn, animated alliances of officeholders across the nation. One aligned with Hamilton and became the Federalist Party, and another, led by Madison and Thomas Jefferson in opposition to Hamilton, became the Democratic Republican Party. The peaceful transition of power to Jefferson after the bitter presidential election of 1800 proved the new government's durability.

From 1801 until Andrew Jackson's presidential inaugural in 1829, these Democratic Republicans dominated the development of American government. Rather than alter the Constitution fundamentally, political leaders experimented with institution-

al powers and boundaries. President Jefferson actively directed Congress, but it grew more independent under Presidents Madison, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams. Under the strong leadership of Speaker Henry Clay from 1811 to 1825, the House of Representatives developed twenty permanent committees and more actively investigated executive branch activities. Jefferson's electoral triumph in 1800 helped push the Federalist chief justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, to assert its power of judicial review, strengthening its ability to check and channel other parts of government. In this period, national expenditures grew, the national military was reorganized, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers became important in civil and military construction, and post offices grew exponentially. But presidents refused to commit the national government to a broad national program of internal improvements. This task, like most other tasks of internal governance, fell to state and local governments. Many of them extended suffrage. State and local taxation, regulation, and economic development continued to expand. State projects like New York's Erie Canal (1825) set the pace for the development of public infrastructure.

The American revolution in government set new precedents for the construction of governments and of politics. It established the model of a written constitution ratified indirectly by popular approval. As implemented, it established formally separated national powers, judicial review, and a form of federalism in which states and the national government shared sovereignty. It profoundly shaped American politics by creating new arenas for political combat and making the Constitution the foundation for legitimizing political positions. Its ambiguities displaced many substantive conflicts into battles over the definition of institutional powers. In the case of slavery, the struggle to resolve ambiguities about government put America on the path to civil war.

*See also* **Annapolis Convention; Anti-Federalists; Articles of Confederation; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Judicial Review; Madison, James; Shays's Rebellion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Finer, S. E. *The History of Government from the Earliest Times.* Volume 3: *Empires, Monarchies, and the Modern State.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

Kruman, Marc W. *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Novak, William J. *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Rakove, Jack N. *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution.* New York: Knopf, 1996.

Robertson, David Brian. *The Constitution and America's Destiny.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

White, Leonard D. *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History*, *1801–1829.* New York: Macmillan, 1951.

———. *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History.* New York: Macmillan, 1961.

Whittington, Keith E. *Constitutional Construction: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic*, *1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

*David Brian Robertson*

## *Local*

In a period of tumultuous political developments, the institutions of American local government exhibit surprising continuities across time: first, in the unit of jurisdiction (town or county) dominant in each state; second, in the nature of relations between local governments and the central government of their respective states; and third, in the ongoing role of English law. During the eighteenth century, as a result of the Great Awakening, the French and Indian War, and national independence, local government also experienced considerable change.

### TOWNS AND COUNTIES

In states that began existence as chartered corporations—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—the unit of jurisdiction was the town; in those that began as proprietary colonies—New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware—or were first organized as royal provinces—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Georgia—it was the county. New states followed a regional pattern: Vermont and Maine, the town; Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, the county; Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a township–county arrangement that divided offices and services. Likewise early cities: Boston's represen-

tation in the Massachusetts assembly, for instance, was based on its identity as a town, not on its being the county seat of Suffolk County. New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Charleston were counties and represented as such.

In many respects counties performed functions parallel to towns and were everywhere the location of state courts. Still, the distinction was significant. Towns usually chose their own administrative officers, whereas most county officers during this period were appointed by governors and, later, by state legislatures. The town meetings of New England were attended by free male inhabitants of legal age, charged with duties of establishing schools, levying taxes providing for ministers, allotting lands, laying out roads, legislating by-laws setting the height of fences and the price of beer, and electing or appointing an exhaustive list of local officers—selectmen, clerks, overseers, inspectors, keepers, and measurers of every description. Suffrage and officeholder requirements were generally lowest at the local level. In Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Indiana, counties of-

fered opportunities for participation and employment similar to those of towns.

Although counties, being larger, may have engendered a less parochial citizenry, they were on the whole the more problematic form. Because counties typically characterized less populous regions, county seats were often miles away from already isolated residents. Land policy in the Northwest and Southwest Territories strengthened this difference. In the Northwest, Congress set aside lots for schools that were attached to townships, and schools became a focal point of local public activity. In the Southwest, Congress allotted lands in large tracts, with adjacent counties sharing in them proportionally, with the consequences of slowing both civic and school growth. County lines, laid down centrally and in advance, were slow to keep pace with population, causing disproportionate representation in state legislatures. Indeed, reapportionment was a major issue of contention in all areas of frontier settlement, before and after independence. Without adequate representation, settlers were poorly situated to redress the

corruption that plagued the backcountry or to expand needed services.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN LOCAL AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS

In South Carolina, where homesteads were far apart, the connection between local government and the central government of the state barely existed. Most court proceedings took place in Charleston; local justices of the peace were appointed by the governor and enjoyed little authority; tax assessors and collectors were appointed by the assembly. As the need arose, the assembly would appoint temporary commissioners to perform local tasks. After independence, the city of Charleston elected officers to measure wood, monitor fuel sales, and inspect goods for export, but these answered to the assembly, which paid their salary. In North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, governors appointed county courts of justices of the peace, nominated by the assembly, who in turn appointed most other county officers. In Virginia the balance leaned in favor of local government: although appointed by the governor, local justices enjoyed broad discretion, and court days, with their slave markets and horse races, were a high point of commerce and sociability. In Vermont the storied autonomy of towns was strengthened by short terms for governor and assembly and, until 1808, by moving assembly meetings from town to town. In New York and Pennsylvania, state legislatures themselves mirrored local factions, with members drawn from rival oligarchies and machines. In Massachusetts relations between the towns, jealous of their independence, and central institutions located in Boston were continually strained.

Central authorities, first royal governors and later usually assemblies, appointed most judicial officers—justices of the peace, judges, sheriffs, coroners, constables, as well as heads of the militia and special commissions—sometimes from lists drawn up locally. Because justices of the peace and sheriffs were frequently assigned administrative duties like supervising elections and collecting taxes, central control was also exerted by that route. As the period progressed, election of judicial officers other than judges became more common: sheriffs, for example, were elected in Maryland and New Jersey following independence and in Alabama, Indiana, and Illinois from statehood. Judicial appointment was more significant than it is today. At a time of little bureaucracy, when common law regulated the use of fields, keeping of animals, working hours, fences, fire prevention, family relations, and poor relief, judges were the primary instrument of public administration as well as ordinary law enforcement. Judicial officers staffed special commissions, conducting inquiries and arriving at policy in the style of petition-and-answer familiar today mainly in litigation.

## THE ROLE OF ENGLISH LAW

The preeminent role of judicial officers invokes the third constant in local government during this period, which is the ongoing role of English law. The organization and responsibilities of towns and counties paralleled their English counterparts. The New England town meeting resembled the meeting of ratepayers in the English parish. The restrictions on sales and gifts of land, the registration of outsiders staying in colonial towns and their indemnification against damages, the regulation of lights-on and the night watch: all reproduced life in English localities. With minor adaptations, English laws or their redaction in colonial and state statutes governed the rights and duties of local officers. For instance, one can read court cases on the reimbursement of expenses to American sheriffs decided according to English precedents of a century earlier. Likewise, all local property transactions were scrutinized for their adherence to common law. The traditional regulations of English militia structured slave patrols in southern states. Another English import was holding more than one office at the same time; prompting charges of corruption, appointing officers often reserved coveted local positions for themselves.

Matters of religion constituted an important departure from English government. A primary reason for founding New England towns was the independent operation of individual churches within the framework of state establishment. In places where Anglicanism was established, county parishes governed by vestrymen and church wardens continued to perform many of the same secular functions as did English parishes, including caring for the sick and indigent, processioning land, and presenting moral offenders to court. The choosing of ministers and vestrymen, however, marked a major difference. In the absence of a North American bishop or other ecclesiastical authority, vestrymen elected by Anglican freeholders chose ministers in South Carolina, and vestrymen appointed by their own predecessors appointed ministers in Virginia. In Maryland, where the majority of offices were originally held by Calverts and other Catholics, vestrymen were chosen by all freeholders and confined to church functions. By 1820, all states but Massachusetts had disestablished churches, and counties took over parishes' public responsibilities—frequently to the detriment of schools, poor relief, and local finance.

**ERAS OF CHANGE**

A critical era of change for local government occurred midway through the eighteenth century, at the time of the Great Awakening, a series of religious revivals that spread through the colonies beginning in the 1730s, and the French and Indian War (1754–1763). These events exerted pressure on existing forms of government at all levels. The Great Awakening spawned religious factionalism wherever it took hold. The war increased insecurity as it heightened British anxieties about its cost. Together they spurred movements of resentment and revolt. Among the most sensational was the Paxton Boys' rebellion in Western Pennsylvania in 1763, starting with an attack on a nearby Indian encampment, proceeding to local resistance against colonial troops, and culminating in an armed march to Philadelphia to demand better representation of outlying settlements. Another was the Regulator movement in western North Carolina, where settlers, largely German Reformed and Presbyterian, organized against taxes and other predations administered by officeholders appointed from the eastern and Anglican parts of the colony. The Regulator movement continued in fits and starts until its defeat by an army of militiamen and the hanging of six of its leaders in 1771, but not before it had joined its grievances with those of other colonials seeking independence.

A second era of change was independence. As state after state wrote new constitutions replacing royal executive power with greatly weakened governors, the importance of localities increased alongside that of their representatives in the assembly. In Georgia, for example, in addition to naming most other state officers, including local sheriffs and constables, the assembly elected the governor. In Connecticut, the governor was given authority to appoint petty notaries and interim turnpike commissioners and little else. With even the upper house (Council) chosen by the assembly from a list of nominees drawn up by town meetings, a measure of central control was imposed by requiring that the meetings be conducted by justices of the peace or constables or persons designated by them. The new states of Ohio, Louisiana, Illinois, and Indiana all established weak governors. Only Mississippi deviated: its first constitution in 1817 limited assembly terms to one year and restricted local choice by requiring that members own three hundred acres of land or one thousand dollars in other real estate.

With independence, state governments were free to modify existing city charters and create new ones. States with counties as their basic political unit were more accommodating to the promotion of cities than were states with towns. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, and South Carolina had granted eleven new charters before New England granted any; of twenty-five charters granted by former colonies in the first dozen years after the Revolution, New England granted only six. Residents of towns, coming to decisions as a body, were well situated to defend the status quo. The Boston meeting defeated some five charter plans before the state constitution was amended to shift authority to the legislature. New York, a tightly regulated corporation since the seventeenth century, faced a different obstacle: a new constitution in 1777 provided a city council of popularly elected aldermen but left the appointment of thousands of city officers—including the mayor, who presided over the aldermen and the principal civil and criminal courts—to a Council of Appointment chosen by the assembly and controlled by the governor. Nevertheless, while Boston lagged, New York City saw a rapid loosening of old restrictions on commerce and other steps toward modernization.

*See also* **City Growth and Development; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Expansion; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Frontier; Law: State Law and Common Law; Revivals and Revivalism; Town Plans and Promotion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Beeman, Richard R. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Daniels, Bruce C., ed. *Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978.

Howard, George E. *An Introduction to the Local Constitutional History of the United States.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1889.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Purcell, Richard J. *Connecticut in Transition, 1775–1815.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1963.

*Karen Orren*

## State

The states of the United States of America are among the basic political units of the federal system as defined in the Constitution. They perform all of the domestic tasks usually assigned traditional nation-states in other parts of the world. Basic rights are given force of law in state constitutions and legislative form by state assemblies. State governments are

responsible for defining criminal and civil procedures for administering justice and settling disputes among citizens.

As the principal authority of a specific region, state governments fill a primary role in the provisioning and administering of internal improvements, such as roads, waterworks, and schools, either directly or indirectly (through counties and cities), as may be directed by the specific provisions of their respective constitutions. They may also grant articles of incorporation to both public and private enterprises. Their central role in local internal matters developed out of their existence as distinct political entities that predated the ratification of the Constitution in 1789. Their origins extend back to the colonial charters of the original thirteen colonies. Indeed, to properly understand the constitutional relationship of the states to the national government and the reasons for their dominance of local affairs, it is imperative to understand their earlier origins as colonies of the British Empire.

### COLONIAL ORIGINS OF THE STATES

Each colony of British North America had its own distinctive history and motive for settlement. In each case the king recognized a legal existence through the granting of special articles of incorporation to either a company of men or a single proprietor. These articles of incorporation were called charters.

The earliest American colonial projects developed for many reasons, but from the perspective of the crown they were principally of a business nature. Even the Massachusetts Bay Company was to develop land and seek out commercially viable products for trade, though the merchants who formed the company were seeking religious freedom for their Puritan coreligionists. The Virginia Company was entirely commercial, focusing on the prospects for gold and mercantile development. In both cases, what began as an essentially private concern was transformed by the mid-eighteenth century into a public, political entity whose primary purpose was to administer a specific territory. This was typically accomplished through a mixture of representative assemblies, a council of advisors, and a governor appointed either by a proprietor in whose name the colony operated, or directly by the king. In each case the crown retained control of the appointment of governors, requiring proprietors to submit their nominations for approval before commissioning. That said, the legislatures of all the colonies were well developed by the early 1700s and possessed the major portion of influence in local affairs, even setting the salaries of royal governors and magistrates. By 1750 friction between America and England would erupt along these very lines, setting royal governors against colonial assemblies.

### FROM COLONIES TO STATES

Until the end of the Seven Years' War (or what was called in America the French and Indian War [1756–1763]), the colonies had been left largely to themselves. It was in this period that the colonies developed the habit of self-government, conducting most matters of a domestic nature on the basis of their own taxing powers, their own rules of local representation, and their own systems of adjudication. With the defeat of the French in North America in 1760, however, England turned its attention to its American possessions and, needing resources to extend its imperial objectives, looked to the colonies for those resources.

Opposition to various British measures designed to tax Americans formed in each colony and eventually galvanized into a unified opposition, setting the stage for the formation of what became the United States of America. Americans based their opposition on a very particular understanding of their constitutional relationship to the English king and Parliament. Like England, each colony had its own distinct representative institutions. These assemblies, according to the American Whig understanding, were in the same relation to the king as was Parliament. Their governors were still appointed or approved by him, and there was precedent for the king making direct requests to colonial legislatures for funds. Thus Richard Bland, a prominent member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, pointed out that when Charles II had sought to establish a permanent revenue "for the support of the Government in Virginia, the King did not apply to the English Parliament, but to the General Assembly [of that colony]." From this perspective, the executive of the empire was responsible to each legislature within the imperial domain, but no particular legislature could legislate for the others. Indeed, if one were to try, Thomas Jefferson contended, the king would be obliged to use his veto to oppose such a measure: "Let no act be passed by any one legislature which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another."

According to Americans, the rights of Englishmen included the right to be represented in a legislature capable of representing their interests. For Englishmen, however, the king had to remain under the strict control of Parliament; by this time even the monarchy would not broach the idea of an indepen-

dent royal jurisdiction in the colonies. By 1774 the conflict with America had become violent, and by 1776, reconciliation was unworkable. Having been commissioned the previous month to prepare a statement declaring the reasons for independence, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was accepted with moderate revisions by Congress on 4 July 1776.

Prior to the congressional vote for independence, each state had issued its own formal instructions to delegates, which amounted to separate and distinct declarations of each colony. Congress's Declaration recognized something of the grievances of each and was thus a recognition of the united character of their opposition, but also the separate and distinct corporate existences of what were now explicitly called "states."

### FROM CONFEDERATION TO FEDERATION

In their opposition, the colonies put into practice the theory they had used to describe the constitution of the empire. Internal affairs were governed by each colony separately, but external defense was to be coordinated from the Confederation Congress in command of the Continental Army. The relationship was formalized in the Articles of Confederation ratified on 1 March 1781.

The Articles empowered Congress to deal with foreign nations, make war and peace, negotiate disputes arising among the states, maintain an army and a navy, and regulate post offices and mail delivery across the United States. These were not inconsiderable powers, but they were made difficult to implement properly because of Congress's inability to raise an independent source of revenue.

Just as the colonies had distrusted the distant authority of Parliament to raise taxes from them, so they remained leery of even Congress's authority to collect excises and tariffs. Consequently the Articles required the unanimous support of all the states to pass legislation for levying a tax, and this proved ultimately unworkable. It was also clear that something had to be done about the power of the states to impede trade across their borders.

In a few instances states were engaging in their own foreign relations, imposing tariffs on the productions of other states, and interfering with the powers that supposedly had been delegated to Congress. Issues of paper money finance were also a major concern. Each colony had issued its own currency that competed with the continental issues, and although these did fare better because of the states' taxing powers, it was clear that some states were less

responsible in the discharge of their debts than others. As paper money depreciated in value over the course of the Revolution, contracts of all sorts, public and private, were imperiled. To address these concerns, a special Constitutional Convention was called by certain congressional leaders to meet in Philadelphia to propose revisions of the Articles that would provide the national government with effective powers to enforce its constitutionally delegated powers. The convention was composed of representatives appointed by the states and began business in May 1787. It did not complete its task until September. The result was far more than a revision—it was in fact an entirely new government.

During the Constitutional Convention, issues of how the state governments would be represented in Congress quickly came to the fore of political debate. Two plans were presented: The Virginia Plan called for a more centralized power, with the ability to override state laws and a legislature based on proportional popular representation. The New Jersey Plan gave Congress certain powers of taxation, but representation was to be equal among the states. In the end a compromise was reached whereby the larger and smaller states agreed to equal representation in the upper house, or Senate, and popular proportional representation in the lower house, or House of Representatives.

Other provisions were passed to define the powers of the legislative branch (Senate and House), the executive branch (the presidency), and the judicial branch (the Supreme Court). The end result was a government of limited delegated authority, with powers assigned to the national government for matters of foreign relations and relations among the states, and other powers being retained by the states or the people of the states. Those powers were considerable.

### STATE POWERS RETAINED

**Religion.** Before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, in 1868, the First Amendment to the Constitution, only prohibited Congress from passing laws respecting the establishment of religious institutions and practices. Although most states recognized the freedom of worship and belief, many still retained some official relations with particular faiths. In Massachusetts, for example, the state imposed a tax on all residents for the support of the Congregational Church until 1811, unless one could show membership in some other incorporated religious body. New Hampshire would require public support of some religious institutions until after the Civil

War. Other states, such as Pennsylvania and Tennessee, required a belief in one God and a future state of rewards and punishments to qualify for office. Tennessee, and a few other states also prohibited members of the clergy from holding public office. Maryland pronounced atheists ineligible to serve on juries. Virginia, on the other hand, in a law written by Jefferson and guided through the legislature by Madison, secured a more thorough separation of church and state government through the passage of the Bill for Religious Freedom in 1786, well before the creation of the federal constitution. New York's first constitution created a complete separation of church and state, and full religious freedom for its citizens. However, the document also required that all aliens renounce allegiance to any foreign "potentates," a provision that seemed to discriminate against Catholics. There is no indication, however, that this provision was ever enforced.

**Suffrage and office holding.** States were also possessed of wide powers to regulate the right to vote and office holding. About half of the original states, as well as Vermont and Tennessee, allowed free blacks to vote on the same basis as whites. After 1800, however, no new state except Maine granted blacks suffrage until the Civil War era. After 1821 blacks in New York had to meet property requirement to vote that was no longer applied to whites. By 1830 blacks had completely lost the right to vote in New Jersey and Maryland. In the next decade, Jacksonian democracy would lead to black disfranchisement in Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and North Carolina. New Jersey allowed women to vote in its first constitution, but eliminated this right before 1812. Most of the states initially has some property requirements for voting, but by 1830 almost none did.

The states also had different requirements for office holding. Many of the states required officeholders to possess a set amount of property, and some, like New York, had a sliding scale, with members of lower house of the state legislature required to own less property than state senators or the governor. Eleven of the first thirteen states had some form of religious test for office holding. The New England states limited the privilege to Protestants, while the middle and southern states limited it to Christians. Delaware, in a unique provision, allowed only Trinitarians to hold public office. Most states abandoned these restrictions in the early part of the nineteenth century, although North Carolina and Maryland retained them into the 1820s.

The states experimented with different rules for office holding and different terms of office. Some preferred annual elections to the state legislature, while others had two year terms for the lower house and much longer terms for the state senates. Some governors had a veto power, others did not. While the founding generation tended to believe in rotation in office, most state constitutions did not have term limits.

**Education.** State governments also retained the power to legislate for the provision of basic public goods. Education was often assigned to localities—to cities and counties. A public school system was especially well developed in the New England states. New York City experienced considerable controversy during the 1840s over the integration of Catholic and Protestant students, and in 1842 the New York State Legislature took control away from the private Protestant Public Schools Society and established a Board of Education to govern the city's common schools.

**Internal improvements.** Roads and canals for the improvement of farming and commerce were a major focus of state governments. Although many were in fact built by private businesses, state funding was not uncommon; between 1817 and 1844 some four thousand miles of canals were constructed. Among the most notable was that undertaken by New York, the Erie Canal project under the direction of DeWitt Clinton in the 1820s.

**Direct taxation.** To go along with such internal projects, and for the funding of basic government expenditures, states possessed (and still retain) broad powers of direct taxation (e.g., property and income taxes). These could vary in form from state to state, but the chief tax was a property tax. Those who assessed the tax were appointed by local communities under general laws of the state.

**Incorporation.** Somewhat more controversial was the power to incorporate businesses. Articles of incorporation usually provided specific protection or limited liability to the owners of corporate shares in a particular enterprise. This was to encourage the development or performance of a specific area of business. Among the most controversial were banks. From 1791 to 1816 the total number of such institutions grew from 6 to 246. Each state regulated its banking system in its own way. Some prohibited branch banking, believing that capital should remain for local uses. Often banks were required to invest a certain portion in state or municipal bonds, and still others established various forms of insured deposits. By the 1840s a number of states had accepted the

idea of a "general law of incorporation," allowing fairly easy entry into the business of banking. Although the charge of wildcat banking was overblown, some institutions were run on very shaky foundations, especially in remote areas where branches were prohibited and banknotes were difficult to redeem.

## TENSIONS OF A PARTLY NATIONAL AND PARTLY FEDERAL SYSTEM

Such sizable powers were in fact merely a continuation of the basic idea that differing communities ought to be allowed to govern themselves according to their own lights. Representation of the people was a principle of the Revolution, but the people were not the same from state to state. Rather than surrendering all authority to a single unified government, Americans chose to retain the most immediate powers of private and public regulation closer to home.

So where was the balance of power between the states and the national government? Was the United States primarily of a national or a federal character?

A national government derives its powers directly from the sovereignty of the whole people. A federal government takes its authority from the corporate powers of the states. As Madison famously observed in essay number 39 of the *Federalist Papers*, a series published in New York collaboratively with John Jay and Alexander Hamilton between 1787 and 1788, the new government was "a composite of both." This ambiguity was partly intentional and partly not. To some degree the authors of the Constitution wanted the state governments and the national government to check each other to ensure that neither would overstep their "constitutional" bounds. What was perhaps unintentional was the ambiguity that would become apparent when trying to interpret the document. Was the Constitution a compact among the peoples of the states, or was it fundamentally based on the people as a whole? Could the states secede if they believed the compact had been violated, or would the supremacy clause of the Constitution uphold all federal laws in all circumstances? And who would decide such questions? The federal judiciary? Each separate branch of the federal government? The states themselves?

The issue of slavery was mostly left to the states in the early national period. Some states, including Massachusetts, Vermont, and Ohio, prohibited slavery in their first Constitutions. Other Northern states tried to balance claims of liberty against claims of property, by the adoption of gradual emancipation laws and by encouraging private manumission. By 1830 slavery had all but disappeared in the North, where fewer than 3,000 slaves, mostly in New Jersey, could be found. Southern states did not take any steps to end slavery in the revolutionary period, but most allowed private manumission in the years immediately following the War. Support for such laws waned after 1800 and by 1830 Southern states were far more concerned with suppressing slave rebellions and controlling their free black population, than with ending human bondage in their midst.

Slavery also raised political issues at the national level, which impacted on state governments. The Northwest Ordinance (1787) prohibited slavery in the territories north of the Ohio river, but implied slavery would be permitted south of the river. Congress under the new constitution subsequently allowed slavery in those territories and after the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, did nothing to discourage slavery in the West. As the morality of slavery came into question in the North, Southern leaders began to aggressively defend the institution. This came to a head in 1819 when Missouri sought to enter the Union as a slave state. Northerners had never opposed the admission of a slave state before, but Missouri was north of the Ohio River, and northerners argued it should be free under the Northwest Ordinance. Southerners insisted that the people of Missouri should decide the issue for themselves. Two years of stalemate finally led to the Missouri Compromise in 1820, which brought Missouri in as a slave state and broke Maine off from Massachusetts to create a new free state. Under the Compromise Congress banned slavery in the territories north and west of Missouri. This Compromise delayed a cataclysmic crisis over slavery in the territories, but did not solve the problem.

For states the Missouri debates raised the issue of whether Congress could set preconditions for admission to the Union and enforce those conditions after statehood. Some northerners had wanted Missouri to guarantee the rights of free blacks in the state or adopted a gradual emancipation program before entering the Union. Most political leaders agreed, however, that once a state entered the Union it could not be bound by any preconditions set by Congress. This issue emerged in Illinois between 1822 and 1823 when proslavery forces tried to amend the state constitution to allow slavery. The proposal for a state convention failed, and thus there was no opportunity to consider whether the Northwest Ordinance, or any other federal law for the governance of a territory could limit the actions of a state after it entered the Union. But, the issue remained hovering over the de-

bates over new states in the next three decades. The issues over slavery would eventually be resolved by the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), and the Thirteenth Amendment (1865).

The controversies over secession and slavery would compel yet another examination into the tremendous local powers of states to define the rights of citizens. How much difference could be tolerated between states on basic questions of right and wrong within the same federal union? By the time of the conclusion of the Civil War, it would become obvious to some national leaders that a further revision of what states could do with respect to the deprivation of civil rights was in order. It was that sentiment that formed the basis for the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

That said, the states continue as the primary corporate entity for the resolution of domestic matters in law, both civil and criminal. They are also the primary distributor of funds, whether raised within their own jurisdictions or from Congress, and are the primary arena in which individual rights to life, liberty, and property are given legal form. Each state, having its own written constitution of specified and separate powers, was thought to afford Americans a double security for the rule of law both nationally and domestically—both at the federal and state levels.

*See also* **Antislavery; Articles of Confederation; Banking System; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Currency and Coinage; Declaration of Independence; Education: Public Education; Erie Canal; Federalist Papers; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Internal Improvements; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Missouri Compromise; Slavery: Overview; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, Willi Paul Adams. *The First American Constitutions: Republican Ideology and the Making of State Constitutions in the Revolutionary Era.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Banning, Lance. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty*: *James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Border, Morton. *Jews, Turks, and Infidels.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Bryce, James. *The American Commonwealth.* Vol. 1: *The National Government; The State Governments.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1995.

Greene, Jack P. *Peripheries and Center*: *Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Greene, Jack P., ed. *Colonies to Nation, 1763–1789: A Documentary History of the American Revolution.* New York: Norton, 1975.

Klebaner, Benjamin J. *Commercial Banking in the United States: A History.* Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1974.

Kruman, Marc W. *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Lutz, Donald S., ed. *Colonial Origins of the American Constitution*: *A Documentary History.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1998.

Niven, John. *John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union: A Biography.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Onuf, Peter S. *The Origins of the Federal Republic: Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States, 1775–1787.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Schweikart, Larry. *The Entrepreneurial Adventure*: *A History of Business in the United States.* Fort Worth, Tex.: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000.

*Hans Eicholz*
*Paul Finkelman*

## Territories

Contention surrounding the ownership, organization, and administration of the territories west of the Appalachian Mountains plagued the United States from its very inception. Relying upon ill-defined colonial charters granting title to lands extending to the "western sea," many of the Atlantic seaboard states lay claim to vast tracts of western land; claims (many of which overlapped) that they sought to preserve in the nation's first instrument of government—the Articles of Confederation—drafted in 1777. A handful of eastern states, lacking western claims, argued that trans-Appalachian lands should be pooled into a national domain and placed under the direct control of the Congress. This disagreement, among others, delayed ratification of the Articles until 1781, at which time the states with western land claims, Virginia foremost among them, proposed to cede their claims to the Confederation Congress. The Treaty of Paris (1783), which brought the Revolutionary War to a close, firmly established the American claim to the western territory when Britain ceded all of the land between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, north from Spanish Florida and Louisiana to the Great Lakes.

In order to pave the way for the sale of the land and its distribution to Revolutionary War veterans, the United States entered into negotiations with the six Iroquois nations regarding their claims in the West. The resulting Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) surrendered lands in western Pennsylvania and Ohio. Similar negotiations with western tribes led to more cessions in the region through the Treaty of Fort McIntosh (1785). Many Ohio country tribes, however, rejected the treaties and resisted the tide of settlers that soon flooded the region. The military suppression of the northwestern tribes would drag on until the end of the War of 1812.

### NORTHWEST TERRITORY

In 1784 Virginia formally ceded its lands to the north and west of the Ohio River to the national government, retaining its claim to lands south of the river. The Confederation Congress quickly moved to bring order to the region, passing a series of ordinances in 1784, 1785, and 1787. The Ordinance of 1785 established an orderly and systematic pattern of land survey (based on rectilinear units) and sale that served as the foundation for American public land policy until the Homestead Act of 1862. Of equal consequence was the Ordinance of 1787, which created the nation's first organized territory, the Northwest Territory, encompassing more than 260,000 square miles of land west of Pennsylvania (which was given control over the headwaters of the Ohio River) and north and northwest of the Ohio River.

Among the ordinance's most important features were its guarantees of civil rights and basic freedoms for the region's settlers, its prohibition against slavery and involuntary servitude, and its encouragement of public education. The ordinance further provided that no fewer than three, or more than five, states would be carved out of the territory and that the states would be admitted "to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states." Additionally, it created a framework for territorial governance and outlined the necessary steps for statehood. In their initial stage, the territories were to be administered by a governor (assisted by a number of other officials) and judges (who concomitantly served as a legislative body) appointed by Congress. Once a population of five thousand inhabitants was reached, the settlers would elect a territorial legislature and be entitled to one nonvoting representative in Congress. After the population grew to sixty thousand inhabitants, the legislature was empowered to submit a constitution to Congress for its approval.

The Northwest Territory elected its first territorial legislature in 1798. Two years later, the territory was divided and the Indiana Territory was created, thereby shrinking the Northwest Territory to the present-day state of Ohio. In 1803 the territory ceased to exist when Ohio was admitted to the union. The remainder of the Old Northwest followed a similar path to statehood. Congress truncated the Indiana Territory in 1805, creating the Michigan Territory, which included the Lower Peninsula of Michigan and the eastern end of the Upper Peninsula. In 1809 the Indiana Territory was again divided and the Illinois Territory was created, encompassing present-day Illinois, Wisconsin, parts of Minnesota, and the western Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Indiana became a state in 1816 and Illinois in 1818. The remainder of the Illinois Territory then transferred to Michigan. Michigan would not achieve statehood until 1837, followed by Wisconsin in 1848 and Minnesota in 1858.

### THE OLD SOUTHWEST

This blueprint for territorial organization and governance also served, with some notable modifications—most notably, the absence of a ban on slavery—as the basis for administering and admitting new states in the Old Southwest. In 1790 Congress, operating under the new federal Constitution, created the Territory South of the River Ohio (the Southwest Territory) out of lands ceded by North Carolina. The territory encompassed what became the state of Tennessee but did not include Kentucky, which remained a part of Virginia until 1792, when it entered the union as a state. Tennessee did not linger in the territorial stage for long, gaining statehood in 1796. Two years later, Congress established the Mississippi Territory out of lands previously claimed by South Carolina. The territory was expanded in 1804 to include lands surrendered by Georgia, and again in 1812, extending its boundaries from the Gulf of Mexico to Tennessee and from the western boundary of Georgia to the Mississippi River. In 1817, as the western portion of the territory prepared for statehood, the eastern section, only recently cleared of Indian title through the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814), was established as the Alabama Territory. As cotton planters flooded onto Alabama's fertile lands, the territory quickly met the requirements for statehood as it entered the Union in 1819.

The acquisition of additional lands by the United States (Louisiana in 1803 and Florida in 1821) added vast new regions to the national domain. Relying upon the precedent for territorial organization al-

ready in place, the federal government moved quickly to establish administrative control over its new possessions. Louisiana was organized into two territories, the Territory of Orleans south of the thirty-third parallel and the Territory of Louisiana to the north. When the southern portion achieved statehood in 1812, assuming the name Louisiana, the northern territory was renamed Missouri. In 1819, in anticipation of Missouri's entrance into the Union two years later, the territory was again divided and the Arkansas Territory established. Florida's territorial stage lasted from 1822 until 1845.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indians: American Indian Removal; Arkansas; Creek War; Illinois; Indiana; Louisiana; Michigan; Mississippi; Missouri; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Ohio; Wisconsin Territory.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest*, *1720–1830.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Onuf, Peter S. "Liberty, Development, and Union: Visions of the West in the 1780s." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 43 (1986): 179–213.

———. *Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People*, *Societies*, *and Institutions*, *1775–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

*Martin J. Hershock*

**GOVERNMENT AND THE ECONOMY**   During the early Republic, both the federal and state governments played a large role in structuring the American economy. Following independence, the United States struggled to replace the British mercantilist system of closed markets, bounties, and limited development with a framework that emphasized economic growth and yet insured stability as well. Paramount to this goal was a preservation of individual liberty and property. Policymakers in the early Republic thus struggled to devise government institutions that would allow entrepreneurial activity to flourish while insuring that republican virtue still held sway in the Republic.

The period from 1789 to 1815 saw the establishment of many permanent institutions that would continue to structure the nation's political and economic framework for most of the nineteenth century. There were two competing philosophies as to the proper role of government in economic growth. On the one hand, the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804), championed a strong central state and attempted to enact policies that would use the power of the federal government to encourage the development of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. An oppositional ideology, espoused by Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) and the Democratic Republicans, emphasized the role of government in the economy no less than the Federalists but stressed the participation of state, not federal, officials in growth. Republicans also tended to look westward into the interior of North America for the nation's future economic growth, whereas Federalists highlighted the commercial potential of the Atlantic world. Despite these contradictory tendencies, both parties influenced the shape and character of the federal government's role in the economy for years to come.

### CREATING A NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Federalist-Republican debates had their origins in the earliest years of the United States. One of the biggest drawbacks of the Articles of Confederation was its creation of a decentralized economy in the United States. From 1781 to 1789 states had the power to set duties against the imports of other states, coin their own currency, set their own bankruptcy laws, and levy taxes all by themselves. The Constitution of 1787 remedied this problem by shifting the authority to regulate interstate commerce, protect patents and copyrights, set tariff rates, establish bankruptcy policy, coin currency and set monetary policy, and establish postal services to the new federal Congress. The Constitution was intentionally vague on the issue of slavery, but a compromise struck during the Constitutional Convention insured that the flow of slaves from Africa and the West Indies would remain unimpeded until 1808. The first few sessions of Congress, therefore, established many of the hallmarks of American political economy, for better and for worse. The Tariff Act of 1789, for example, passed easily and immediately established federal duties on certain goods, which would serve as the main revenue-raising device for the federal government for much of the nineteenth century. An excise tax on whiskey, on the other hand, provoked farmers in western Pennsylvania to rebellion in 1794. Regardless of the reception, the Constitution put federal authorities in charge of the basic foundations of the

American economy and established the parameters of a national market.

As the first treasurer of the United States, Alexander Hamilton made a significant imprint upon the political economy of the early Republic, and particularly in establishing an activist role for the new federal government in promoting growth. In his *Report on the Public Credit* (1790), Hamilton recommended that the new government establish financial stability by assuming all of the outstanding national and state debts from the American Revolution. Rather than discount the value of bonds, paper money, and other government issues, Hamilton recommended that the federal government pay face value for the $80 million, in debt, which was about 40 percent of the nation's gross national product in 1790. Doing so, he argued, would legitimize the United States not only in the eyes of its internal creditors, but also in international markets. Hamilton and his Federalist followers believed in the power of a centralized federal state to encourage economic growth and promote international trade. The Federalists openly admired Great Britain's emergent industrial economy and hoped that the United States would one day develop a strong manufacturing sector of its own.

With this goal in mind, Secretary Hamilton recommended the creation of a national bank in order to establish a reliable national currency and to mobilize large amounts of capital for development loans. The bank would be chartered by Congress for a specified number of years; would collect, hold, and pay out government receipts; would hold the new federal bonds and oversee their payment; would be empowered by Congress to issue currency; and would be backed by the government bonds. The proponents of the Bank argued that it should be capitalized at $10 million and that one-fifth of the capital would be provided by the federal government, which would also appoint one-fifth of its directors. Notes of the Bank of the United States would be used for all debts to the United States. The idea was to have the Bank serve the capital needs of both the new federal government and private investors. When the bank opened up for business in July 1791, Americans subscribed about $8 million in the first hour, thus filling the private requirement. The following year, branches opened up in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston, and in 1805 there were branches in Norfolk, Washington, Savannah, and New Orleans. The first Bank of the United States thus became a centerpiece institution for the Federalist strategy of using the power of government to promote capital formation in the young nation.

The next phase of Hamilton's vision of American political economy was not, however, realized so successfully by the federal government. In December 1792 Hamilton released his *Report on Manufactures*, in which he advocated federal subsidies for manufactures wherever possible, directly through bounties and indirectly through taxes. Although the Federalists achieved many of their plans for a strong federal government, they were unable to involve it directly in the process of encouraging manufactures. Instead, states assumed the leadership role in encouraging growth in the manufacturing and transportation sectors, mainly through the creation of corporations.

### THE REPUBLICANS LOOK WEST

A change in federal economic policymaking came with the ascendance of the Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, to the presidency in 1801. Jefferson and his followers are often misrepresented as promoting a nation of farmers only, but their vision of America's future included a commercial and manufacturing community as well. In order to provide this threefold opportunity, especially as it related to land usage, Republicans favored westward expansion and the development of domestic industries rather than an emphasis upon the Atlantic trade. This vision led to the Louisiana Purchase (1803), in which the United States acquired about 800,000 square miles for $15 million—roughly 3.5¢ per acre—from France. Jeffersonians also liberalized the sale of federal lands, which had already been established on rather easy terms by the Land Act of 1796. In 1804 they reduced the minimum tract for purchase by individuals to 160 acres, kept the price at about two dollars an acre, and offered a discount for cash purchases.

The Republican tendency to focus on domestic production rather than international trade pushed the federal government into new avenues of economic promotion. For example, Albert Gallatin (1761–1849), Jefferson's secretary of the Treasury, recommended that the federal government oversee the improvement of rivers that would create an inland water navigation from Massachusetts to North Carolina, building roads to cross the Appalachian Mountains and constructing canals that would link the seaboard with inland cities such as Detroit, St. Louis, and New Orleans. He estimated that this network would cost approximately $16.6 million to build and recommended an additional $3.4 million for smaller local improvements across the United States. Gallatin's plan never came to fruition, and the federal gov-

ernment played a limited role in transportation policy. Nonetheless, the expansionist land policy continued as the federal government sent a host of surveyors to explore the western territories of the United States and continued to sell public lands on easy terms. In 1820 the minimum price fell to $1.25 an acre, and in 1832 the minimum tract size was sliced again to forty acres.

### A LIMITED FEDERAL ROLE

The political tussle between Federalists and Republicans came to a close in 1815, but not before their debate over the proper role of the government in the economy became well engrained within the nation's political culture. The federal government remained active in economic affairs, but its role was always controversial and contested. The financial difficulties during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), for instance, led Congress to charter the Second Bank of the United States in 1816. The Second Bank succeeded in stabilizing the nation's financial system, but long-standing reservations about the concentration of power and wealth resulted in Andrew Jackson's famous campaign to "slay" the "monster Bank" in the 1830s. When New York State officials opened the 250-mile-long Erie Canal in 1825, they demonstrated the important role of government involvement in transportation projects. But throughout the antebellum period it was state governments, not federal officials, who aggressively pursued these types of projects.

See also **Bank of the United States; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Internal Improvements; Land Policies; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ben-Atar, Doron S. *The Origins of Jeffersonian Commercial Policy and Diplomacy.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Larson, John Lauritz. *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Nelson, John R., Jr. *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Nettels, Curtis. *The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775–1815.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962.

*Sean Patrick Adams*

**GREAT AWAKENING**   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

**GUNPOWDER, MUNITIONS, AND WEAPONS (MILITARY)**   Firearms have played a significant role in America's history. The story of their evolution chronicles the development of industry and technology. Moreover, firearms were linked to early concepts of national defense. Hence, understanding the importance of firearms is critical to understanding America's civic and industrial beginnings.

### FIREARMS

Two categories of firearms existed: civilian and military. Civilians kept shotguns, rifles, and pistols at home for hunting, sport, and self-defense. Most of these firearms were made by and purchased from local gunsmiths. Military firearms for national or state defense included muskets, rifles, carbines, and pistols. Unlike privately owned guns, military firearms were often manufactured at government-owned arsenals. In times of demand, however, contracts were given to private businessmen as a way to augment the government's output.

Firearm technology remained the same throughout much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The standard ignition system was the flintlock. This mechanism, which was fitted to the side of the weapon, contained the hammer and steel (also called a frizzen). The hammer's jaws held a piece of flint; the steel was an L-shaped piece of metal that covered a depression called the pan. A small amount of gunpowder was placed in the pan and then covered by the steel, hinged to allow it to move back and forth. A pull of the trigger released the hammer, causing the flint to strike the upright arm of the steel and push it forward. The contact between the flint and steel produced a spark that ignited the powder in the now-exposed pan. Flame passed through a small hole in the gun's barrel, igniting the main charge that had been forced down the barrel by the ramrod. The system had drawbacks, as flintlock firearms were prone to misfire. In addition, wind, rain, and heavy dew often rendered flintlocks inoperable.

Firearms fell into two categories based on their design and use. Smoothbore weapons had a barrel that was smooth on the inside. These firearms, which were easy to load but lacked range, included muskets, shotguns, and most pistols. Rifles had spi-

the frontiersmen with their rifles were credited with winning the Battle of New Orleans, in reality the muskets and artillery in the hands of the army saved the day for Andrew Jackson.

**A national militia.** On 8 May 1792, the U.S. Congress created a national militia that mandated gun ownership. The law declared that "each and every freebodied white male citizens of the respective states, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen, and under the age of forty-five years, (except as hereinafter exempted) shall severally, and respectfully, be enrolled in the militia." The law required each member of the militia to arm himself with either "a good musket" or "a good rifle" with the appropriate accouterment and ammunition. The prevailing notion was that the citizens of the Republic should form the nation's true military force. Moreover, a national militia, regulated by the states, would serve as a counterweight to the professional corps, which Congress deliberately kept small for fear of a standing army.

**Firearms manufacture.** The militia law directly stimulated the development of the firearms industry in the early Republic. Congress decreed that within five years of its passage, all muskets should be uniform in design. In 1794 Congress passed an act to facilitate the mandated standardization by establishing government arsenals to manufacture and repair weapons. That year Springfield, Massachusetts, was selected as the site of the nation's first arsenal, primarily because the Connecticut River town was already the location of workshops that had provided weapons during the American Revolution. In 1796 a second arsenal was established at the confluence of two rivers, the Shenandoah and Potomac, at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (later West Virginia). Production was slow at first with only 245 muskets manufactured at Springfield in 1795, but that number steadily rose. By 1810, the arsenal at Harpers Ferry was producing ten thousand muskets a year.

One inventor significantly contributed to the higher arsenal output. Eli Whitney, who is most remembered for his cotton gin, introduced the concepts of interchangeable parts and division of labor into arms manufacturing. Whitney, who received a contract in 1798 to privately manufacture ten thousand muskets, revolutionized the industry by separating production into a series of steps that could be performed by semiskilled labor. The change sped production because workers operated water-powered machines that made identical copies of each part. Interchangeable parts did not need to be hand fitted, saving time as well as eliminating the need for skilled



**General Pickens's Sword.** This sword, presented to General Andrew Pickens, commander of the South Carolina militia during the American Revolution, carries the inscription ". . . to General Pickens, March 9th, 1781." © WILLIAM A. BAKE/CORBIS.

ral grooves (rifling) cut into the inside of their barrels, a feature that caused the bullet to spin as it left the barrel, imparting greater accuracy and range to the projectile. Although the military adopted a small number of rifled arms for use by soldiers, rifles were mainly used by civilians for hunting prior to 1850. The military preferred the higher rate of fire for the musket (three times a minute for a musket opposed to one time a minute for a rifle) and accepted the shorter range (one hundred yards for a musket opposed to three hundred yards for a rifle). Although

craftsmen. Although still in its primitive stage, Whitney's system used at his factory near New Haven, Connecticut, soon spread to other arsenals. Moreover, other industries adopted the system, further propelling the industrial revolution.

**Government procurement.** Although Congress created the national militia and decreed the appropriate type of weapons to be used, not until 1808 did it agree to supply states with those arms. Militiamen were expected to provide their own firearms, which Congress exempted from seizure for payment of debt. In the meantime, some states established their own arsenals or purchased firearms from contractors. Congress finally acted in the wake of the *Chesapeake-Leopard* naval encounter of 1807, when it appeared that the United States and Great Britain were headed toward war. The national government agreed to an annual allotment of $200,000 to purchase arms for the national militia. In reality, the procurement system failed to work as intended for two reasons: (1) the federal government initially lacked adequate resources to meet the need, and (2) individual states routinely failed to send in their annual militia returns indicating how many weapons were required. By 1861, however, hundred of thousands of weapons had been distributed to the states, unintentionally arming the South in its attempt to break up the Union.

## GUNPOWDER AND AMMUNITION

Firearms were of little use without gunpowder, ball, or shot. Civilians usually separated their bullets and gunpowder, keeping the projectiles in a leather pouch and the powder in a hollowed-out bull's horn or copper flask. Military ammunition, though, required the bullet and gunpowder to be rolled together in a paper wrapper, making it easier for the soldier to handle when loading. For years, hunters and soldiers had painstakingly poured molten lead into hand molds, plierlike devices that contained spherical cavities which formed the liquefied metal into bullets. New technology made hand casting obsolete when water-powered machines were developed that could press the soft metal into hundreds of balls at a time. By mid-century, one man operating a water-driven press could produce thirty thousand bullets in a ten-hour shift. It was also discovered that molten lead formed perfect spheres when poured from a height. Vertical shot towers soon became an efficient way to mass-produce bullets. The lead, which formed different size balls depending on the size of the droplet, landed on a cushion of sawdust. Once collected, the bullets passed through gauges that separated them by caliber. Arsenal workers rolled and packaged cartridges on an assembly line, meaning that soldiers no longer had to prepare their own ammunition in the field.

Gunpowder production benefited from advances in technology. The basic composition of gunpowder (seventy-five parts saltpeter, fifteen parts charcoal, ten parts sulfur) had not changed since its discovery, but industrialization allowed the propellant to be mass-produced. Production created several side industries: mining for guano (nitrogen-rich bat dung) and sulfur and charcoal manufacturing. Once the ingredients were combined, the mixture formed hard slabs. Broken into pieces by tumbling or rolling, the fragments were passed through screens and sorted by grain size suitable for cannon, musket, rifle, or pistol. Although the national government operated its own powder mills, private mills sprang up to provide for the needs of the nation, both military and civilian. DuPont, the most successful of these private firms, was started in 1802 by the French émigré E. I. du Pont on the Brandywine River at Wilmington, Delaware. Du Pont's success with gunpowder placed his company in position to become a leader in the chemical industry.

The arms industry would see even greater changes by the middle of the nineteenth century. The invention of percussion caps, small brass cups filled with an explosive compound, made the flintlock obsolete. Moreover, inventor Samuel Colt (1814–1862) developed revolving pistols and rifles that allowed the shooter to fire multiple times without reloading. By the 1850s, inventors had found a way to combine the primer, gunpowder, and bullet into a self-contained metal cartridge. Thus, a century that began with single-shot, muzzle-loading firearms saw the rise of repeating rifles and pistols that "won the West."

*See also* **Arsenals; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Forts and Fortifications.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Callan, John F. *The Military Laws of the United States.* 2nd ed. Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1863.

Russell, Carl P. *Guns on the Early Frontiers: A History of Firearms from Colonial Times through the Years of the Western Fur Trade.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.

Scott, Henry. *Military Dictionary.* New York: Van Nostrand, 1864.

U.S. War Department. *Ordnance Manual for the Use of Officers of the United States Army, 1841.* Washington, D.C.: J. and G. S. Gideon, 1841.

*Richard Bruce Winders*

**HAITIAN REVOLUTION**   Throughout the eighteenth century, the French island of Saint Domingue (the early name of Haiti) and the British North American colonies were tied together by trade. Although illegal until the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and limited to only a few ports after that, exchanges between North American merchants and the planters of the thriving French colony were constant and lucrative: the by-products of sugar, particularly molasses, were traded for provisions desperately needed in the colony. There were other connections as well. During the American Revolution, a unit of soldiers of African descent recruited in Saint Domingue participated in the French mission to assist the rebels at Savannah. The victory against Britain in North America inspired some planters in Saint Domingue who dreamed of increased autonomy and who used the political opening of the French Revolution to clamor for it.

Between 1789 and 1791, planters and free people of color seeking an end to racist legislation and access to political rights pushed for reform from Paris and increasingly battled one another in the colony. Then, in August of 1791 a massive slave insurrection began in the northern plain of the colony. It became the largest and most successful slave revolt in history, leading to the abolition of slavery in the colony in 1793, a decision ratified and extended to the entire French empire in 1794. The uprising sent waves of fear through the communities of slave owners of the United States, as well as inspiring some among the enslaved. North Americans could read regularly in newspapers of events in the Caribbean colony, and many came face to face with the impact of slave revolution as waves of refugees—the largest of them in late 1791 and in mid-1793—came into North American port towns such as Philadelphia and Charleston. Among these refugees were not only white planters and slaves but also free people of color. Many members of this latter group settled in Louisiana in the early nineteenth century, after being expelled from Cuba. They had a major impact on the demography and political culture of the region for generations.

Saint Domingue's slave revolution posed delicate problems for the leadership of the United States. After 1794 France pursued a policy of revolutionary emancipationism, using abolition as a weapon of war against the British, recruiting armies of former slaves, and encouraging uprisings in enemy colonies. France also outfitted and rewarded privateers in the Caribbean. Their crews were often populated with former slaves, and they regularly captured North American ships. French privateering led to a break in U.S.-French relations in the late 1790s. At the same time, however, the chaotic situation in the French

Caribbean provided an attractive opening for North American traders, who built on and expanded their long-standing links with the colony during the revolutionary years, profiting handsomely.

By the late 1790s Saint Domingue was under the control of General Toussaint-Louverture (c.1743–1803). Wary of the conservative direction of metropolitan French politics, which he rightly believed represented a threat to the policy of emancipation, Louverture adroitly cultivated alliances with both the British and North American governments. For the United States under the administration of John Adams, the link with Louverture represented an ongoing economic opportunity and a way to strike at the French. The consul Edward Stevens was sent to work with Louverture, and in 1799 the U.S. Navy supported him in his war against André Rigaud, who controlled the southern portion of the colony. Concerns about the possible "contagion" of the revolution in Saint Domingue to slaves in North America were superseded by the political and economic advantages of working with Louverture.

North American policies toward the revolution in Saint Domingue shifted dramatically with the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800. Although trading continued—the French blamed the United States for supplying Louverture with his guns and ammunition—there was growing hostility to the regime in Saint Domingue, and the easing of relations with the French reduced the political value of an alliance with Louverture's regime. Jefferson approved of the French attempt, in 1802, to wrest control of the colony from Louverture and his followers. He was right that the French mission would be to the advantage of the United States, though not for the reasons he expected. The decimation and ultimate defeat of the French mission at the hands of the former slave Jean-Jacques Dessalines in late 1802 and 1803 was the cause of Napoleon Bonaparte's decision to sell Louisiana to the United States. The reconstruction of Saint Domingue had been the centerpiece of Bonaparte's plans for the Americas, and once he lost the island colony, Louisiana became irrelevant to him.

Even as the purchase of Louisiana allowed for the expansion of slavery in the United States, the example of the Haitian Revolution resonated through the uprisings of Gabriel and, later, Denmark Vesey. But Haiti's independence, declared 1 January 1804, went unacknowledged by the United States until the intervention of Senator Charles Sumner in 1862.

*See also* **Gabriel's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Vesey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Egerton, Douglas. "The Empire of Liberty Reconsidered." In *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Edited by James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Geggus, David P., ed. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001.

*Laurent Dubois*

**HAMILTON, ALEXANDER** Alexander Hamilton (1755?/57?–1804) was born on the West Indian island of Nevis and moved to St. Croix with his mother and older brother, James, in 1765. Poverty-stricken and illegitimate, he was sent to North America for an education through charitable contributions from a small group of supporters. After hasty preparatory work at an academy, Hamilton enrolled at King's College (later Columbia University) in New York City and rapidly became involved in America's burgeoning war with Britain, first as a pamphleteer and then as captain of an artillery company.

Leaving college without a degree in 1776, he led his company into action in New York and New Jersey, coming to the attention of General George Washington, who appointed him an aide-de-camp in 1777. Although desperate to earn glory on the battlefield, he served most of the war by Washington's side, drafting letters, assisting in administrative duties, and acting as an emissary; his frustration with the powerlessness and inefficiency of the wartime Continental Congress spurred the centralizing focus of his later policies. Marrying Elizabeth Schuyler, the daughter of the wealthy New York landowner Philip Schuyler, in December 1780, he left Washington's service a few months later, the result of a spat born of Hamilton's impatience with his desk job and Washington's frayed nerves. Washington finally granted him a field command storming a redoubt at Yorktown in 1781. Retiring from active service after the British surrender, he dedicated himself to developing a law practice in New York City.

Throughout this time, Hamilton gave much thought to the failures and flaws of the Articles of Confederation, devising detailed plans for reforming American government and finance. He was soon at the forefront of efforts to revise the Articles, and his

ardent nationalism was a driving force behind the calling of the Federal Convention of 1787. Outvoted by the other two New York delegates to the Convention—both opposed to the emerging Constitution—Hamilton forged ahead afterward, investing his full energies in New York's ratification debates. As part of this effort, he planned a series of newspaper essays in defense of the proposed Constitution, inviting James Madison and John Jay to join him. The resulting *Federalist* essays appeared in various New York newspapers from October 1787 to August 1788. Hamilton authored approximately fifty-one of the eighty-five essays.

With the launching of the new government in 1789, President Washington invited Hamilton to be the nation's first secretary of the Treasury; he was confirmed in the position on 11 September 1789. Here, Hamilton's dedication to fostering an energetic national government came to fruition. Given the enormous task of bringing order to the nation's disordered finances, he forged a national financial infrastructure through a combination of administrative organization and bold policies. His three-pronged financial program proposed the national assumption of state war debts, the creation of a National Bank, and national support of manufacturing; he also encouraged close economic ties with British manufacturers and trade. Amidst a population fearful of slipping back into despotism, Hamilton's policies provoked enormous controversy, ultimately contributing to the rise of national political factions.

Hamilton resigned as secretary of the Treasury in 1795 and returned to his law practice, but he remained at the center of the Federalist cause for several years, privately advising members of President John Adams's cabinet; during the 1798 Quasi-War with France, he ardently advocated building America's armed forces in preparation for war. Adams's peace efforts with France enraged Hamilton for reasons of both policy and personality, driving him to write an injudicious pamphlet attacking Adams's Federalist candidacy for president in 1800 and promoting Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in his stead. By dividing the Federalists, the pamphlet helped to raise Hamilton's two foremost political enemies—Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr—to executive power and destroyed his political influence.

Hamilton's final years were melancholy. In 1801, shortly before the completion of Hamilton's Upper Manhattan country home, the Grange—the first house that he owned—his family life was ripped apart when the oldest of his eight children, nineteen-year-old Philip, was killed in a duel defending his fa-

ther's name. Three years later, Hamilton opposed Burr's candidacy for governor of New York; after fifteen years of political opposition, Burr responded by challenging Hamilton to a duel. The two men met on the heights of Weehawken, New Jersey, on the morning of 11 July 1804. Mortally wounded, Hamilton died the next day. The nation mourned the passing of an ever-controversial but essential political leader whose policies and vision shaped the character and future of the American nation.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Dueling; Election of 1800; Federalist Papers; Quasi-War with France.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

McDonald, Forrest. *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1979.

Stourzh, Gerald. *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970.

Syrett, Harold C. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton.* 27 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961–1987.

*Joanne B. Freeman*

**HAMILTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN**    In 1790 and 1791, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton presented four major reports that dealt with the financial, social, and constitutional future of the United States. Three were public documents, presented to Congress as proposals for policies that Congress might enact. One of the reports was private, written for President George Washington, who was in a quandary about whether to veto one of those proposals. Taken together, the reports sketched out a coherent vision for the new Republic. Hamilton saw them all as continuing the work of establishing a coherent national economy that had begun with the adoption of the Constitution.

**PAYING THE DEBT**

One of his proposals received unqualified assent. This was to pay off at full value the principal and interest of the enormous foreign debt that the United States had built up during its struggle for independence. Hamilton, Washington, the president's other advisers, Congress, and the interested public all understood that any other course would destroy America's financial credibility. His other proposals, however,

provoked great controversy, both at the level of public policy and at the level of what the Constitution permits the government to do. The result was to open a gap among the very men who were responsible for the Constitution, beginning with Hamilton and his former close ally, James Madison. The friendship of those two highly talented thinkers came to an end; Hamilton and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, never close, became bitter enemies, and political parties started to emerge.

Nobody doubted in 1790 that both the instruments of American finance and the structure of the American economy faced very severe problems. One aspect was the war debt. The old Confederation Congress had possessed absolutely no means to pay off what it owed, either abroad or at home. Federal taxing power under the new Constitution offered a means to solve that problem, but once the issue shifted from debts owed overseas to debts owed at home, grounds for dispute emerged. Some of the domestic debt was owed to the soldiers who had fought the War of Independence. Some was owed to farmers and artisans who had accepted paper in return for their wartime goods and services. Some of the debt was owed not by Congress but by the states. Virtually all of the debt was in the form of badly depreciated paper currency and certificates. Those certificates could be transferred, and many were in the hands of secondary purchasers, who had paid far less than face value to the original owners. Controversy centered on who should gain from the new government's apparent power to raise taxes and pay off what American institutions owed.

Hamilton's view was that the public debt could be a means for the new government to acquire the strength that he believed it should have. Overseas it would gain that strength by paying its debts off in full. Within the United States, he wanted the federal government to assume what remained of the wartime debts that the states had contracted. He wanted the domestic debt to be paid off as close to full value as possible, to whomever held the appropriate paper. Because of Confederation-era agreements about the level of interest, this would be at par rather than in full, so domestic creditors would receive less than their foreign counterparts. Nonetheless, the program of duties on imported goods and excise taxes on domestic products that Hamilton proposed would generate revenue that might well end up very far from the person who had suffered and sacrificed during the war. Hamilton dealt with foreign debt, domestic debt, and assumption of the state debts in his first *Report on Public Credit* of 9 January 1790.

## CREATING A NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM

Hamilton wanted more, having in mind an American future that would resemble the reality of Britain in his own time. He had been instrumental in establishing America's first two banks, in Philadelphia in 1782 and New York in 1784. Though he never visited England, he carefully studied its system of privately held banks under the direction of a private-public Bank of England and proposed that there be a national bank in the United States on the same model, to serve the same goals. He wanted central direction for the financial sector, and he believed that the federal government had the power under the "necessary and proper" clause of the Constitution to create an institution that would bring that direction about. This was the subject of his second *Report on Public Credit*, which actually pre-dated the first report by a month.

Hamilton believed that a system of interconnected banks was necessary. Others, including Madison and Jefferson, regarded the idea with horror, particularly should the federal government became involved. They saw a banking system as a harbinger of the very corruption they thought their America had escaped thanks to the Revolution. Madison led ineffectual opposition in Congress. Jefferson, asked by President Washington for his opinion on signing the bill, objected on constitutional grounds. To his mind, no such power for establishing a bank existed. Hamilton replied with the third of his reports, arguing the case that the "elastic clause" should be broadly rather than narrowly interpreted. He won the battle for Washington's mind. But the dispute over strict and loose construction of the Constitution that he and Jefferson began continues into the twenty-first century.

## PROMOTING MANUFACTURES

Hamilton's final proposal did not become law, but it too set the terms of a continuing debate. He wanted to set the United States on a course of industrial development emulating Britain's. He did not submit his *Report on Manufactures* until December 1791. Within it he proposed a comprehensive program of protective taxes, government bounties, and federal public works, all with a view to nourishing the sprouts of industrialism that he could see emerging among the primarily northeastern, commercial-minded, well-off Americans with whom he felt most comfortable. As a program, it looked forward to the state-sponsored attempts at economic development of many late-twentieth-century countries. Historian John Nelson has suggested that Hamilton's ultimate goal was a neocolonial economy, subordinate to

Britain, rather than independent development. However that may be, Congress rejected the report entirely. American industrial creativity and energy, however, were not to be denied. By 1860 the United States was second only to Britain among industrializing economies. But not until the administration of President Abraham Lincoln would the federal government begin to assume the active, fostering economic role that Hamilton proposed in 1791.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Presidency, The: George Washington; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hamilton, Alexander. *The Reports of Alexander Hamilton.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Nelson, John R. *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Wright, Robert E. *Hamilton Unbound: Finance and the Creation of the American Republic.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2002.

*Edward Countryman*

**HAPPINESS**   In the Declaration of Independence, published on 4 July 1776, Thomas Jefferson declared: "we hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He thereby designated happiness the quintessential American emotion. Yet what did it mean to insert a seemingly private feeling into a public document? What were the personal and political meanings of happiness in the years from 1754 to 1829?

Jefferson's invocation of happiness reflected ideas and traditions well established by 1776. The English had long believed that promoting general happiness, in the sense of material well-being and prosperity, was one of the key functions of government. Many colonial charters made mention of this concept, from the Virginia charter of 1611, which promised to "tender" the "good and happy Success" of the colony "in Regard of the General Weal of human Society," to the Massachusetts Bay charter of 1691, which declared an intention to "incorporate" the king's subjects in the way "thought most conduc[ive]" to their "Welfare and happy State." In seventeenth-century usage, public happiness and the common good were more or less synonymous. Far from being a matter of personal fulfillment, happiness most often referred to the communal prosperity of country or kingdom.

By the eighteenth century, moral philosophers of the Scottish common-sense school began to focus on the problem of how to assure maximum happiness for the most people. In *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, published in 1725, Francis Hutcheson proclaimed, "that Action is *best* which accomplishes the *greatest Happiness* for the *greatest Numbers.*" Following in Hutcheson's footsteps, philosophers like Adam Ferguson emphasized that happiness could have complementary private and public components. In *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), Ferguson explained, "if the public good be the principle object with individuals, it is likewise true that the happiness of individuals is the great end of civil society." By the time Jefferson wrote the Declaration, the idea that happiness involved individual satisfaction as well as common good had become entrenched in British America.

Practically speaking, the emerging eighteenth-century emphasis on happiness as an individual matter as well as a common concern meant that people began to focus as much on private sources of happiness as on public ones. Historians argue that the desire for happiness helped foster the eighteenth-century consumer revolution. In Britain only one-quarter of the population participated in this revolution, whereas in America as many as two-thirds of the people entered the market for such luxury staples as tea and sugar, as well as for fashionable items like tea sets, engraved prints, and fine imported fabrics. This process may have occurred more quickly in Virginia, where individualism sooner took hold, than in Massachusetts, where people clung longer to Puritan communalism. People in search of happiness also began to turn inward to family life as a source of personal satisfaction, focusing on nurturing deeper emotional ties with spouses and with smaller numbers of children.

By the early nineteenth century, the idea that happiness should relate to the common good had become almost entirely eclipsed by the quest for private gain. In one mark of the ever-increasing role of consumerism in the definition of happiness, Independence Hall, the statehouse in which Jefferson had first written the Declaration, found new use in the

1830s as a clothing store. To attract customers, the owner of the store published an advertisement announcing, "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal—that [here] they can obtain Clothing as rich, as cheap, and as durable as at any other establishment in the nation." Happiness, understood as a public concept in the seventeenth century, had been almost entirely privatized by the nineteenth.

When Jefferson promised people the right to the pursuit of happiness, he offered them no guarantee of social equality. But he did pledge them the opportunity to strive for a social condition that would bring them contentment. He tried, in other words, to balance the public and private meanings of happiness. In the years after the Declaration, the understanding of happiness was rapidly further reduced from its origins as a social ideal for the common weal to an individual search for material riches. In the process, the concept of happiness became impoverished to the point that in the early twenty-first century it seems surprising to include such an emotion in a political text.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; Consumerism and Consumption; Declaration of Independence; Emotional Life; Founding Fathers; Jefferson, Thomas; Market Revolution; Sentimentalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Greene, Jack P. *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Lewis, Jan. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Wills, Garry. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.

*Nicole Eustace*

**HARTFORD CONVENTION**  The Hartford Convention was a gathering of leading New England Federalists during the War of 1812 (1812–1815). Held between 15 December 1814 and 5 January 1815 in Hartford, Connecticut, it featured twenty-six attendees from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Its members included many of New England Federalism's leading lights.

## BACKGROUND AND MOTIVES

This assemblage was many years in the making. It went back to the election of 1800, which swept Federalists out of power and installed Thomas Jefferson, the chief of the rival Democratic Republican Party, as president. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Federalist strategists feared that this territory would add new states to the Democratic Republicans' power base in the South and West. Moreover, these states would enjoy added representation in the U.S. House of Representatives and, consequently, the electoral college, under the Constitution's clause counting three-fifths of the slave population. Despairing of ever regaining national power, leading Federalists adopted a sectionalist strategy, hoping to retain their strength in New England and make it the last bastion of Federalism. They appealed to a northern audience, seeking repeal of the three-fifths clause. Some talked of seceding from the Union to form a "Northern Confederacy." Yet in 1803 and 1804, only Connecticut and Massachusetts called for the abolition of slave representation, and the "Northern Confederacy" plot went nowhere.

Federalist popularity rose in 1808 after passage of Jefferson's embargo of trade with Britain, which proved devastating to the New England economy, but it was the War of 1812 that produced a formidable, organized opposition to the federal government in New England. For Yankee Federalists, the war was the latest and worst Republican measure meant to destroy their region's commerce and political power. They also believed that it was immoral, partly because the United States took the offensive by invading Canada. Furthermore, the British invaded New England early in 1814 and seemed poised to strike again even harder later in that year.

Faced with a defense crisis and burning with sectional and partisan antagonism, citizens organized town meetings throughout Massachusetts in 1814. These gatherings petitioned the state legislature to protect their towns in the federal government's place and to remedy the political ills that had produced the war in the first place. The petitioners called for an assembly of New England states to consider how to wrest the Constitution back from its usurpers, the slaveholders of the South and the upstarts of the

West. These remonstrances typified the charged atmosphere that produced the Hartford Convention.

Massachusetts state legislators heard this call. Acknowledging that they were responding to the town memorials, the lawmakers voted by large margins on 18 October 1814 to invite other states to a convention. Other state legislatures followed Massachusetts's lead, but they all appointed delegates who were calculated to cool the passions that produced the convention. The men they appointed were moderate Federalists unlikely to take rash measures despite the harsh rhetoric swirling around wartime New England.

### THE REPORT

The Hartford Convention's main product was a report encapsulating New England's grievances and calling for constitutional amendments to redress them. Its introduction dwelt at length on matters of defense and introduced the proposed amendments as meant "to strengthen, and if possible to perpetuate, the union of the states, by removing the grounds of exciting jealousies, and providing for a fair and equal representation, and a limitation of powers, which have been misused" (Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention*, p. 370). It rejected disunion, much to the dismay of some Federalist hotheads and the surprise of Democratic Republicans who had painted the secretive conference as traitorous.

The report proposed seven constitutional amendments. The first two sought to remove perceived structural supports for Republican power. The first abolished slave representation. This was in part a response to the Massachusetts towns, whose memorials consistently listed the abolition of the three-fifths clause first among their demands. The second required a two-thirds vote in Congress, rather than a simple majority, for the admission of new states. This proposal resonated with a long-standing Federalist complaint and was only aggravated by the admission of Louisiana as a state on the eve of the war.

The next few were aimed at specific Republican policies. The third and fourth limited embargoes to sixty days and required a two-thirds vote for their passage. The fifth made a two-thirds vote a condition for waging offensive war. The sixth barred those of foreign birth, even if naturalized, from holding any national office, including a seat in either chamber of Congress. This was a jab at the likes of foreign-born Albert Gallatin, longtime secretary of the Treasury under Republican presidents. The final amendment sought to prevent a repetition of the successive two-term presidencies of Virginians Jefferson and James Madison, limiting presidents to one term and declaring that no two presidents in a row could hail from the same state. The report was sent out to all states as a means of starting the amendment process.

### LEGACY

Both the end of the war and the stigma attached to the Hartford Convention weakened its political force. It adjourned just as word reached America of the Treaty of Ghent (December 1814), which ended hostilities. From beginning to end, the convention was so tied up with questions of defense and wartime grievances that word of peace halted its impetus. The legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts directed their states' congressional delegations to present the report to Congress. But they complied only perfunctorily, and Congress took no action.

Although the convention thus ended with a whimper, in the long term it became more like a hiss and a byword. Despite the relatively moderate nature of its report, the Hartford Convention became the symbol for sectionalism and disunionism. That disrepute sealed the national demise of the Federalist Party and lasted for decades. Well into the 1840s, northerners and southerners of all parties occasionally branded their antagonists with the Federalist label or compared their actions to that of the infamous Hartford Convention. The Hartford Convention, symbol and apex of New England Federalism, failed to enact any of its proposed amendments, at least until slavery was abolished and with it slave representation. But that hardly meant it had no impact, for Federalists and their convention stalked American politics long after their fall from the national stage.

*See also* **Embargo; Federalist Party; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Henry, ed. *Documents Relating to New-England Federalism, 1800–1815.* Boston, Little, Brown,1877. Reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969.

Adams, James Truslow. *New England in the Republic, 1776–1850.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1926.

Ames, Herman V. *The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of Its History.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897. Reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1970.

———, ed. *State Documents on Federal Relations: The States and the United States.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1906. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.

Banner, James M., Jr. *To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815.* New York: Knopf, 1970.

Dwight, Theodore. *History of the Hartford Convention, with a Review of the Policy of the United States Government Which Led to the War of 1812.* New York: White, 1833. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.

Fischer, David Hackett. *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Hickey, Donald R. "New England's Defense Problem and the Genesis of the Hartford Convention." *New England Quarterly* 50 (1977): 587–604.

———. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Mason, Matthew. "'Nothing Is Better Calculated to Excite Divisions': Federalist Agitation against Slave Representation during the War of 1812." *New England Quarterly* 75 (2002): 531–561.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, 1765–1848.* 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

*Matthew Mason*

**HEALTH AND DISEASE** Until the beginning of the twentieth century, infectious diseases were by far the most important causes of mortality; they took their greatest toll among infants and children. Indeed, if individuals managed to survive to the age of twenty, they could for the most part look forward to an additional forty years or more of life. High rates of infant and child mortality (as well as fertility) meant that the number of aged persons in the population would be correspondingly small. Hence, chronic and long-term diseases—many related to advancing age—were less important causes of mortality. To emphasize the significance of infectious diseases, however, is not to imply that their impact on populations was constant. Infectious diseases appeared and disappeared and were often dependent on the interaction of social, economic, behavioral, and environmental factors. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the history of health and disease in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century America.

### COLONIAL BACKGROUND
The first settlers who came to the North American continent in the seventeenth century faced a strange and unfamiliar environment. In the initial stages of settlement, there were extraordinarily high death rates from dysentery, typhoid fever, a variety of enteric diseases, and respiratory infections. Nutritional diseases, inadequate housing, contaminated water supplies, and deficient disposal of organic wastes further compounded health risks. New England and the mid-Atlantic or middle colonies adjusted to their new environment relatively quickly, and mortality rates declined rapidly. The rural character of these colonies also minimized the spread of epidemic and endemic infectious diseases. The environment of the Chesapeake and southern colonies, by contrast, was far more threatening to human life. In addition to gastrointestinal disorders, the presence of infected individuals and insect vectors made malaria one of the gravest health problems in these areas. High mortality rates made it difficult for the white population to sustain itself through natural growth. The overwhelming majority of individuals who lived through the vicissitudes of infancy and childhood and reached the age of twenty rarely survived to the age of fifty. Unlike their neighbors to the north, the residents of the Chesapeake and southern settlements continued to face an environment that posed severe health risks.

The native Indian population was hardest hit by the movement of Europeans to the Americas. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their numbers declined rapidly because of the impact of imported diseases. Having never been exposed to many of the diseases common in England and Europe, they constituted a highly vulnerable population. High mortality from infectious diseases (notably smallpox), periodic famines, and the social dislocations that accompanied these crises also reduced fertility to such low levels that population recovery became impossible. From a high of three thousand in the late seventeenth century, the Indian population on Nantucket had fallen to twenty by 1792. Much the same was true for many other East Coast tribes.

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HEALTH PATTERNS
After the dangers posed by a new environment were surmounted, population began to grow rapidly. Between 1700 and 1770 there was a ninefold increase from 250,000 to an estimated 2.15 million. Health indicators in the Northeast and middle colonies improved dramatically during these decades. Nevertheless, increasing population density, the expansion of internal and external trade and commerce, the development of new forms of agriculture, and the transformation of the landscape began to alter health patterns. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, there was an increase in mortality from a variety of infectious diseases, particularly among infants and

children and residents of larger towns and urban port areas. In the seventeenth century the rural character of colonial society inhibited the spread of infectious epidemic diseases that had such a dramatic impact on societies in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. In the eighteenth century, by contrast, colonial port communities began to experience the ravages of infectious epidemic diseases. Although small if not infinitesimal by modern standards, they contained larger numbers of people living in close quarters. The maritime character of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston—the most important colonial ports—brought their residents into contact with each other and, more important, with Europe, the Caribbean, and Africa. These ports were also the entry points for both sailors and immigrants. Such population movements became the means of transporting a variety of pathogens capable of causing epidemic outbreaks. Moreover, the physical environment of port villages—crowded living conditions, crude sewage disposal, and stagnant or contaminated water—facilitated periodic epidemics. Many residents were susceptible to the invading pathogens and hence lacked antibodies that prior exposure would have produced. The large number of susceptible individuals facilitated the rapid spread of infectious diseases.

During the eighteenth century periodic smallpox epidemics became common in New England and the middle colonies. Despite efforts at containment, it was difficult to prevent the spread of the disease. The movement of people in trade and commerce provided a convenient means of transporting the virus. The war with the French in the 1760s merely exacerbated the problem. In Philadelphia, smallpox was the single largest cause of mortality during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The disease was less significant in the Chesapeake and South because a more dispersed population and an agricultural economy inhibited the spread of the virus (which can only survive in human tissue). South Carolina was an exception, since Charleston was an important seaport and commercial center with links to the interior. It therefore served as a port of entry for infectious diseases. In 1760, 6,000 of 8,000 residents were infected with smallpox, and estimates of mortality ranged from a low of 730 to a high of 940.

Smallpox was by no means the only imported disease. Yellow fever (a viral disease) was another. Transmitted by an insect vector biting an infected individual, it flourished in moist tropical areas. During the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century, there were at least twenty-five outbreaks. The interrup-

tion of trade during the Revolutionary crisis caused the disease to disappear. But with the return of peace, yellow fever returned. In 1793 Philadelphia experienced an epidemic that threatened its very existence. A slave rebellion in French Saint Domingue (later Santo Domingo) brought two thousand refugees to the city, some of whom were infected. A hot and humid summer provided ideal conditions for the proliferation of the mosquito population. Perhaps half of the fifty-one thousand residents fled the city during the outbreak. Of those that remained, a large number became ill and between 9 and 12 percent perished. Nor was Philadelphia the only city to experience an epidemic. Between 1793 and 1822 yellow fever was also present in Baltimore, Boston, and New York. After the latter year it disappeared from New England and the mid-Atlantic states, where the climate was not conducive to the insect vector, while appearing periodically in the South, notably New Orleans, which had five epidemics between 1804 and 1819.

Spectacular periodic smallpox and yellow fever epidemics tended to overshadow other diseases that played a more important role in shaping population development. Indeed, the health advantages enjoyed by seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century settlements, once the period of adjustment passed, slowly began to diminish. In the eighteenth century infectious diseases traditionally associated with infancy and childhood became common. Many of these diseases were not indigenous to the Americas. When imported they affected the entire population, since adults as well as children were susceptible. Measles, for example, struck New England and the mid-Atlantic colonies; the Chesapeake and South were less affected. Mortality from measles was extraordinarily high, equaling modern death rates from cancer and cardiovascular diseases. Other infectious diseases, including diphtheria, scarlet fever, pertussis (whooping cough), and chickenpox, also resulted in high mortality.

Despite high mortality rates associated with periodic epidemics, certain endemic diseases—notably dysentery and malaria—took a far higher toll. In general, sporadic and spectacular outbreaks of epidemic diseases produced much greater fear than did endemic diseases that had a much greater demographic impact. Dysentery was undoubtedly the most significant disease in eighteenth-century America. Outbreaks were especially common in such towns as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. These ports were the entry points for ships bringing thousands of immigrants to the colo-

nies. Conditions aboard vessels were conducive to outbreaks of dysentery, and infected immigrants disseminated the causative pathogens upon their arrival. Infants and children were especially vulnerable, since there was no understanding that dehydration could lead to rapid death. Local data revealed that during an epidemic, perhaps half of a community's population would become infected and that one of every six or seven would perish.

Malaria had the same endemic characteristics as dysentery. Although important south of the Mason Dixon line, it had its greatest impact in South Carolina, where the cultivation of rice and indigo created ideal conditions for the breeding of the anopheles mosquito. The colony acquired a deserved reputation as a graveyard. High mortality among whites provided a rationale for the introduction and spread of slavery, since they believed that Africans were better equipped physiologically to labor in a sunny, hot, and humid climate.

Most eighteenth-century respiratory disorders were endemic and seasonal in character. But the growth of population and expansion of trade rendered the colonies somewhat more vulnerable to influenza pandemics and epidemics. By the time of the American Revolution, the newly independent colonies had become part of a larger disease pool. In 1781–1782 and 1788–1789, influenza appeared in pandemic form, affecting millions of people in both Europe and America. Nevertheless, case fatality rates remained low, although it did pose a mortal threat to elderly and chronically ill persons.

During these decades, tuberculosis and other pulmonary disorders also emerged as important causes of mortality. They were most prevalent in more densely populated areas, although rural areas were affected as well. The critical element was not total population, but household size. Many households contained from seven to ten inhabitants, thus permitting the dissemination of the tubercle bacillus and other pathogens. Moreover, relatively inefficient heating led inhabitants to seal windows and doors. Behavioral patterns thus facilitated the spread of the infection within households.

Nowhere was the complex relationship between pathogens, humans, and the environment better illustrated than during war. In the American Revolution a large number of recruits came from rural areas and had never been exposed to many common communicable diseases. Crowded camp quarters and contaminated water supplies from both human and animal wastes, inadequate diets, and the absence of personal hygiene provided ideal conditions for the spread of infectious diseases. Perhaps 200,000 served in the military (comprising the total of all American armed forces, including militia). About 7,100 were killed in military engagements, 10,000 died in camps, and 8,500 perished as prisoners of war. Deaths in camps and among prisoners resulted from a variety of diseases, notably dysentery and respiratory disorders. A similar situation prevailed during the War of 1812. About two and half times as many soldiers perished from disease or accident as were killed in battle.

## THE EARLY NATION

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, mortality from infectious diseases began to increase. In New England and the mid-Atlantic regions, this increase did not appreciably affect population growth. Mortality, however, was not equally distributed. After 1760 health indicators improved among the white middle and upper classes. Among the poor—both white and black—mortality rose. Philadelphia—a center of commerce and immigration—proved to be a dangerous place. Its mortality rates, particularly among recent immigrants, exceeded many European cities. Despite high fertility, Philadelphia's growth was made possible only because of migration from rural areas and immigration of younger people.

Mortality rates in the South remained excessive even by the standards of that age. South Carolina presented the greatest risks to life; the Chesapeake region and North Carolina followed. Without a constant supply of immigrants to replenish a population devastated by extraordinary mortality rates, these areas would not have developed economically and their very survival as societies would have become dubious. Neither wealth nor status conferred a distinct advantage insofar as survival was concerned. Mortality rates, admittedly unequally distributed, remained high among all groups, both white and black.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the health advantages that Americans had enjoyed after the initial period of adjustment had begun to diminish. Rapid population and economic growth created conditions conducive to the spread of infectious diseases. In succeeding decades, health indicators would begin to fall. Ironically, the increase in mortality and decline in life expectancy occurred at a time when the standard of living was rising.

Although the United States was still a predominantly rural nation, cities were growing in number, size, and importance. Their growth, together with the simultaneous acceleration in economic activity,

magnified the risks from infectious diseases. Municipal governments moved relatively slowly in protecting health. There was little provision for safe and accessible water supplies or removal of wastes. Because horses were used for transportation, streets were covered with manure. Housing standards were virtually unknown; there were no provisions for drainage or ventilation in most structures. The accumulation of organic wastes and rising odors caused inhabitants to keep their windows shut, thus preventing the circulation of fresh air and facilitating the dissemination of infectious organisms. The movement of large masses of immigrants and susceptible individuals from rural areas only served to magnify the impact of infectious diseases.

In these urban areas, tuberculosis and pulmonary diseases took a high toll. Nearly a quarter of all deaths in Boston between 1812 and 1821 were due to "consumption" (a generic category that included tuberculosis and other pulmonary diseases). Native-born whites had the lowest mortality rate, African Americans the highest, and foreign-born individuals fell between the two. The circumstances of urban life—crowding and the absence of facilities to bathe and wash clothes, among other things—led to the emergence of such infectious diseases as typhus, which at times could result in a mortality rate of 50 percent in adult populations. Other infections—diarrheal and respiratory diseases, diphtheria and croup, measles, whooping cough, and scarlet fever—added to the burden of disease. Mortality was largely a function of age: infants and children were at highest risk. In 1830, 1,974 deaths were recorded in Baltimore. Of these, 406 were under the age of 1 and 932 under 10. Suicide, homicide, accidents, and occupational diseases also contributed to total urban mortality. To emphasize that infectious diseases were the major element in urban morbidity and mortality patterns is not to suggest that such chronic and long-duration diseases as cancers, cardiovascular and renal diseases, and diseases of the central nervous system were absent. Their incidence and prevalence, however, were low, because high mortality rates among the young meant that the older cohort constituted a relatively small percentage of the total population.

Rural areas had lower mortality rates than their urban counterparts. For the nation as a whole in 1830, about 54 percent of those alive at age 5 survived to 60. In rural areas the figure was 57.5 percent, as compared with 43.6 in such small towns as Salem, Massachusetts, and New Haven, Connecticut, and 16.4 in the large cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Nevertheless, the increase in mortality that set in toward the end of the eighteenth century was not confined to cities; the same occurred in rural areas.

Aggregate data reveal the magnitude of the decline. In the period from 1800 to 1809, a white male and female age 20 could expect to live an additional 46.4 and 47.9 years, respectively; by 1850 to 1859 the comparable figures were 40.8 and 39.5. Declining life expectancy was also accompanied by a decline in height as well. By the American Revolution, Americans had achieved heights not fundamentally different from their twentieth-century successors; during and after the 1820s heights declined, reflecting a comparable decline in health. In these decades the standard of living rose, calling into question the familiar generalization that health indicators rise with increasing affluence.

What accounts for the declining health of Americans, a decline that lasted beyond the Civil War and was not reversed until the end of the nineteenth century? The answer to this question remains somewhat murky. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that economic development negatively affected health. The beginnings of a national transportation network increased both internal migration rates and interregional trade and thus contributed to the movement of pathogens from urban to rural and semirural regions where more susceptible populations resided. The movement across the Appalachian Mountains after the War of 1812 enhanced the significance of such debilitating and fatal diseases as malaria and various forms of dysentery, to say nothing about the health risks in a new and undeveloped environment. The rise of artisan workshops and factories concentrated employees in surroundings conducive to the spread of infectious diseases. The advent of large-scale migration of poor immigrants exacerbated the prevailing disease environment, particularly in urban areas. Fundamental changes would be required to alter an environment in which infectious diseases flourished.

*See also* **Epidemics; Malaria; Smallpox; Water Supply and Sewage.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caulfield, Ernest. "Some Common Diseases of Colonial Children." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 35 (1951): 15–24.

Coclanis, Peter A. *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670–1920.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Duffy, John. *Epidemics in Colonial America.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953.

———. "The Impact of Malaria on the South," pp. 29–54, in *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South.* Edited by Todd L. Savitt and James Harvey Young. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988.

Estes, J. Worth, and Billy G. Smith, eds. *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic.* Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications, 1997.

Fenn, Elizabeth A. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82.* New York: Hill & Wang, 2001.

Gillett, Mary C. *The Army Medical Department*, *1750–1818.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981.

Grob, Gerald N. *The Deadly Truth: A History of Disease in America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Meindl, Richard S., and Alan C. Swedlund. "Secular Trends in Mortality in the Connecticut Valley, 1700–1850." *Human Biology* 49 (1977): 389–414.

Sokoloff, Kenneth L., and George C. Villaflor. "The Early Achievement of Modern Stature in America." *Social Science History* 6 (1982): 453–481.

Steckel, Richard H. "Heights and Health in the United States, 1710–1950," pp. 153–170. In *Stature*, *Living Standards*, *and Economic Development: Essays in Anthropometric History.* Edited by John Komlos. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Vinovskis, Maris A. "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts before 1860." *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 184–213.

*Gerald N. Grob*

**HEATING AND LIGHTING** In early modern Anglo-American housing culture, people with the means to have ostensibly comfortable houses did not necessarily build them. When Governor William Bradford referred to the early houses of Plymouth Colony as "small cottages," he was employing a historical association of "cottage" with substandard housing. After all, these structures lacked foundations and had wooden chimneys, thatched roofs, earthen floors, unglazed or small-paned casement windows, and wattle-and-daub walls. In England inhabiting a cottage marked people as lacking sufficient landholdings to support a household, but in early America there were many more cottages than cottagers. Most American households held sufficient land to provide livelihoods for their members, so they were not cottagers in the sense of living in a dwelling owned by someone else. The term "cottage" nearly passed out of usage in colonial America, although most Americans lived in houses that looked like cottages. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries housing in America lacked the close architectural association with social standing that it had in Britain. Spending on fashionable architectural designs for heating, illumination, privacy, and hygiene—in other words, physical comfort—had a relatively low priority in colonial Anglo-America.

The analysis of physical comfort—self-conscious satisfaction with the relationship between one's body and its immediate physical environment—was an innovation of eighteenth-century Anglo-American culture. It indicated a disposition to criticize traditional material culture and to improve upon it. In the first chapter of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), the Scottish economist Adam Smith identified candles as one of the "necessaries" of life, by which he meant "not only those things which nature, but those things which the established rules of decency have rendered necessary to the lowest rank of people." Considering candles as a necessity was part of the Enlightenment's developing attention to physical comfort.

As the value of physical comfort became more explicit and desirable, the technology of its improvement gained intellectual prestige. Here Benjamin Franklin was the paragon among eighteenth-century *philosophes*, with his interest in the history, anthropology, and science of basic household comforts. He identified himself with members of a scientifically enlightened subculture who criticized the priority of fashion over comfort in the domestic environment. He promoted candles made of spermaceti (a waxy substance derived from sperm whale oil) for their steady, clean illumination; he suggested that people experiment with the ventilation of their sleeping quarters to improve their sleep; and his name became synonymous with smoke-free and draft-free heating. He appreciated that the obstacles to improving comfort were more cultural than technical, and to remove these obstacles he urged his readers to question expert authority on material culture and to transcend their adherence to the customs of their ethnic group regarding the domestic environment.

In Pennsylvania Franklin could consider a range of ethnic alternatives in domestic comfort. He was particularly attentive to the Dutch and German use of stoves that entirely enclosed the fire and used it only for heating purposes. Franklin contrasted the clean warmth of these stoves with that provided by the two fireplace types popular among English colonists: a large traditional fireplace in which people could sit warmly within the hearth space itself, and fashionable smaller fireplaces whose classicized designs were the focus of interior decoration. From

Franklin's perspective both of these chimney fireplaces required an invidious trade-off between comfortable heat and smoky discomfort: the more heat, the more smoke.

Rather than leave such technical problems aside once he had established a transatlantic scientific reputation, Franklin became the Enlightenment's authority on smoky chimneys. He drew on his scientific work in physics to dissociate the fire's elements of smoke, heat, and light. To reduce drafts, Franklin designed a stove that cut off the air for ventilation from that for combustion by piping the latter directly to the fireplace from outside the house. Because such stoves provided draft-free warmth throughout a room, members of a household would be freer to spend time together out of choice rather than from physical necessity for the fire's heat and light. At the same time they would be able to pursue their individual activities in a uniformly heated space. Or so he hoped. In fact, his original design was difficult to retrofit and too complicated to be frequently installed in new construction. What came to be known as the Franklin fireplace was basically a cast iron version of the genteel open fireplace, with its trade-off of smoke and heat.

Franklin was also attentive to the relationship, developing throughout the Anglo-American world, between genteel domestic culture and improved artificial illumination. People wanted more light. Interest in the improvement of domestic lighting was especially keen in America. Americans had a near monopoly on the new spermaceti industry, extracting from sperm whales an oil that flowed well in temperate climates and also provided a new candle material, spermaceti wax, which burned cleanly and gave a reliably bright light. Franklin promoted the spermaceti candle for these qualities, and experimented with multiple-wick oil lamps in order to determine the most efficient arrangement for a bright light.

Thomas Jefferson's design and furnishing of his home at Monticello epitomized the new attention to comfort, as he sought to improve the heating, ventilation, illumination, privacy, and hygiene of conventional architecture. For insulation the north-facing tea room had triple-glazed windows and double sliding glass doors, and he installed a Rumford stove for heating. Jefferson also promoted Aimé Argand's (1750–1803) design of an oil lamp whose cylindrical wick produced a bright light, and sent examples from France to James Madison and others. Jefferson never elaborated on what he meant by "the pursuit of happiness," but given his lifelong obsession with the improvement of convenience and comfort, it seems reasonable to infer that he believed their successful pursuit would result in happiness.

But the efforts of Franklin, Jefferson, and other *philosophes* to improve comfort had little effect on most Americans' priorities for their domestic environments. At any one time in the late eighteenth century, a large proportion of the American population (outside New England) still lived in houses of quickly worked local materials, usually logs. According to the 1798 Direct Tax Assessments, windows, and even more so windowpanes, were the chief architectural improvements, adding more value than material of construction, floor area, or number of stories. In the countryside, glazed windows were a luxury, but living in a house built of logs did not preclude such refinement, nor was sheer affordability the main constraint. The plans, amenities, and finish of the houses in which most Americans lived at the end of the eighteenth century—room-and-loft house plans, wood and clay chimneys, few and small windows, and construction from local raw materials—would still have earned them the derogatory designation "cottages" in England.

*See also* **Technology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Crowley, John E. *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Nylander, Jane C. *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1993.

Rybczynski, Witold. *Home: A Short History of an Idea.* New York: Viking, 1986.

*John E. Crowley*

**HESSIANS**    The Hessians were a group of German auxiliary soldiers hired by the British Crown in 1776 to assist them in putting down the American colonial rebellion. In all, approximately 30,000 "Hessians" would eventually serve in North America during the course of the American Revolution. Although the term "Hessian" was commonly used by contemporary Americans of the day and later historians, the title actually identifies only those from the German principalities of Hesse-Hanau and Hesse-Cassel. In fact, these soldiers were recruited from a wide variety

of locales across Germany during the course of the war. However, of the 30,000 troops sent, the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel provided well over half (18,970) of all German troops who would fight in the war. The next-highest contingent came from Brunswick (about 5,723), followed by Hesse-Hanau at 2,422, Hannover at 2,373, Anspach-Bayreuth at 2,353, and Waldeck at 1,225. Owing to its tiny home army, the smallest amount was provided by Anhalt-Zerbst at 1,152 (Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, pp. 53–54).

The first contingent of Hessians (about 8,000 officers and men) arrived off New York City in mid-August 1776. Crossing over to Long Island on 22 August 1776, the Hessians played an instrumental part in the rout of General George Washington's Continental Army during a series of engagements in and around New York City, White Plains, and Fort Washington, where they captured over 2,800 Continental soldiers.

Having driven Washington and his army across New Jersey in the late fall and early winter of 1776, a large Hessian contingent of about 1,000 men, located at Trenton, New Jersey, under the command of Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall, was subsequently attacked in a surprise Christmas Day raid by Washington, and the first large contingent of Hessians become prisoners of war.

During this time, Hessians assisted British troops in the bloodless capture of the city of Newport, Rhode Island, and later, in August 1778, helped repel an American attempt to retake the city by force. Accompanying William Howe to the Philadelphia area in the summer of 1777, Hessian forces participated in the British victories at Brandywine and Germantown only to become victims of a stinging defeat at the Battle of Red Bank, New Jersey. Another Hessian contingent, commanded by Major General Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel, formed part of the army led by General John Burgoyne that was defeated at Saratoga in October 1777. Another sizeable contingent of nearly 6,000 Hessians (mainly from the Brunswick and Hesse-Hanau regiments) were taken prisoner.

During the latter years of the war, Hessian soldiers formed part of the British force that seized the southern cities of Savannah and Charleston from the Americans and Pensacola from the Spanish. A large Hessian contingent was also captured along with the rest of Lord Cornwallis's British army at the decisive battle of Yorktown, Virginia, and became the third large Hessian force to have surrendered during the war. In all, it is estimated that nearly half of the total Hessian contingent did not return to their native Germany. Some became either American or Canadian citizens by discharge or desertion, and others were killed or died of disease during their long years of service during the Revolution.

*See also* **Saratoga, Battle of; Soldiers; Trenton, Battle of; Yorktown, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Atwood, Rodney. *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Dabney, William M. *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954.

Döhla, Johann Conrad. *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution.* Translated and edited by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

Ewald, Johann. *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal.* Translated and edited by Joseph P. Tustin. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Washington's Crossing.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Ketchum, Richard M. *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War.* New York: Henry Holt, 1997.

Lowell, Edward J. *The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War.* 1884. Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House, 1970.

Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army.* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

*Charles Patrick Neimeyer*

# HISTORICAL MEMORY OF THE REVOLUTION

Even before the American Revolution officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the battle over the memory and meaning of the Revolution had begun. Particularly in the early years of the Republic, every group attempted to establish its legitimacy and gain popular support by laying claim to the Revolution. Thus memories of it became hotly contested terrain and played a central role in shaping the political life of the nation. Virtually every important political battle in the early Republic was also a battle over the memory and the meaning of the American Revolution.

The complicated relationship of memory, myth, tradition, and history became even more tangled in this highly charged atmosphere. By 1811 John Adams, the first vice president and second president of the United States, was so disgusted by how political conflict had distorted the history of the Revolution that he begged a friend to write a treatise on "the

**Bunker Hill Monument.** The Battle of Bunker Hill is commemorated with a 221-foot granite obelisk that stands on Breed's Hill, the actual site of the battle. The obelisk was completed in 1842, replacing a smaller monument placed in 1794. © KEVIN FLEMING/CORBIS.

corruption of history," arguing that "both tradition and history are already corrupted in America as much as they ever were in the four or five first centuries of Christianity, and as much as they ever were in any age or country in the whole history of mankind."

### REMEMBERING THE DECLARATION

Perhaps nothing better illustrates both the centrality and the contentiousness of memories of the Revolution than the history of the Declaration of Independence. Today, the Declaration stands as one of the country's foundational documents, and no American would question its importance to the nation's political tradition. But it did not always have such a secure place in the hearts and minds of citizens. At first, the Declaration was almost entirely forgotten by Americans, and Jefferson's authorship was not common knowledge. Then, as Democratic Republi-

cans and Federalists waged an increasingly fierce political contest in the 1790s, the Republicans attempted to elevate the historical significance of the Declaration as a means of burnishing Jefferson's reputation and, consequently, bolstering the party's popularity. In the nineteenth century memories of the Declaration continued to prove changeable, as other Americans attempted to reshape the memory of the American Revolution. In the Gettysburg Address in 1863, President Abraham Lincoln did not mention the Constitution but chose to concentrate instead on the Declaration's promise of equality so as to change the meaning of the Civil War from a political struggle to a much more profound battle to create equality. Lincoln gave the document a fresh historical twist and, in the process, reshaped the memory and meaning of the Revolution once again. Of course, even though the founders had never imagined that the declaration's principles applied to anyone but white males, women and African Americans were quick to seize on its revolutionary implications for themselves almost from the moment it was first published.

### POLITICS AND MEMORY

The Declaration of Independence is only one example of the ongoing struggle among different groups over the memory of the Revolution. Every important debate in early American history was also a battle over the memory of the Revolution. For example, the intense fight over ratification of the Constitution pitted two opposite understandings of the Revolution against one another. Anti-Federalists and Federalists both used memories of the American Revolution to justify their arguments. The capaciousness of Revolutionary experience allowed the two sides nearly equal validity. Anti-Federalists recalled the origins of the Revolution as an assertion of local self-government over the imposition of imperial, centralized control and argued that the proposed Constitution would erase those hard-won freedoms. Federalists pointed to the increasing unity of the colonies, including greater centralized control, as essential not just to winning the war but to surviving as a nation and saw the Constitution as the only means of preserving the gains of the Revolution.

Ratification failed to end the contest. The debate grew even more ferocious as Federalists and Republicans opposed one another in the 1790s. Was Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton's financial scheme a brilliant rescuing of national finance or a usurpation of state power? Once again, disagreements about the memory of the Revolution were

**The Sesquicentennial International Exposition.** This poster by Dan Smith promoted an exposition held in 1926 in Philadelphia to mark the 150th anniversary of the signing of Declaration of Independence. © SWIM INK/CORBIS.

central to this debate. Other questions—whether the United States should lean toward England or France in foreign policy, how democratic politics should be—also revolved around memories of the Revolution.

## POPULAR MEMORIES OF THE REVOLUTION

The battle over how to remember the Revolution was not simply fought among elites—there was a popular front as well. A variety of quasi-political events, such as Fourth of July celebrations, served as arenas in which groups who were frequently excluded from political life, such as women and men with little property, could offer their own symbolic understanding of the Revolution and contest elitist conceptions of political life. The Revolution itself always remained open to reinterpretations that challenged the status quo. For example, even African Americans found resources within memories of the Revolution to challenge slavery, despite the founders' refusal to include them as part of a new political order ostensibly based on liberty and equality. At an event commemorating the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1852, the abolitionist Frederick Douglass recalled the American Revolution not to praise it but to challenge it, openly contesting the contented celebration of the Revolution by white citizens. "What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July?," he asked, reminding his audience that the truly revolutionary aspects of the war for independence remained unfulfilled for some. "This Fourth July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn," he said. In coming years Douglass's challenge would be taken up by others to expand the promises of the Revolution to groups never imagined by the founders. Even today, memories of the Revolution continue to prove elastic and capacious and are used by groups who want to expand the boundaries of American politics.

## THE REVOLUTION AS REMEMBERED BY TODAY'S SOCIETY

With the victory of the Republicans in 1800 and their increasing dominance of national politics during the subsequent years, the passionate debates about how to remember the Revolution began to cool, allowing the memory of the Revolution to serve as a force for national unity rather than division. Of course, politicians still recognized the importance of associating themselves with the Revolution. Thomas Jefferson referred to his election as the "revolution of 1800" so as to present himself as the embodiment of the "true" meaning of the American Revolution. Increasingly, however, Americans began to remember the Revolu-

tion as a source of national, rather than partisan, pride.

The best example of this transformation is George Washington, the preeminent man of the Revolution. As the first president of the United States, Washington had become a deeply politicized figure, serving as the Federalists' most important weapon and as the Republicans biggest obstacle. In the early 1800s, Mason Locke Weems wrote an astoundingly popular—and not altogether factual—biography of Washington that restored his national popularity by draining him of his political specificity and repositioning him as an American hero. It proved to be a winning formula; indeed the nation's current celebrations of the Revolution revolve largely around entertainment, not politics, which represents perhaps both a loss and a gain. The political apathy that afflicts a significant percentage of the electorate is nothing to celebrate, yet that apathy is a sign that the nation no longer has to fear dissolution.

Some contemporary commentators complain that today's Americans hardly bother to remember the Revolution at all, that the country suffers from a kind of collective historical amnesia. Even this problem can be traced to the Revolution. The break with Great Britain also promoted a break with tradition. As many writers at the time exhorted their fellow citizens to look to the future, rather than the past, the entire historical project of remembering the Revolution could seem suspect. There remains a powerful strand of American thought that continues to question the relevance of the past. Perhaps this explains why the country has frequently been slow to commemorate its own Revolutionary past. For example, the construction of the Washington monument was not begun until 1848 and not completed until 1885.

Memories of the Revolution remain at the center of American national identity, although not perhaps in the way that they once did. Today, most Americans have an uncritical and even worshipful attitude toward the founders. When towns and cities across the country hold their annual Fourth of July parades, it is difficult to remember that these memories once served to divide, rather than to unite, the nation.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; Anti-Federalists; Citizenship; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Fourth of July; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Holidays and Public**

**Washington as a Mason.** George Washington, depicted as a Mason in a lithograph printed in 1867, remained for many years the main American symbol of military and republican virtue. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Celebrations; Jefferson, Thomas; Washington, George.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1991; New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

———. *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

McDonald, Robert M. S. "Thomas Jefferson's Changing Reputation as Author of the Declaration of Independence: The First Fifty Years." *Journal of the Early Republic* 19, no. 2 (summer 1999): 169–195.

Peterson, Merrill D. *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1960; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Travers, Len. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Trees, Andrew S. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.

*Andrew S. Trees*

**HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY**   Over the period 1750 to 1830, the writing of history in America emerged as a discipline intended to illustrate truths about human behavior and the natural world that would enable people to comprehend the present. Although historians and biographers scrupulously pursued an ideal of objectivity, their accounts of the past possessed an unmistakably didactic quality. Historians sought to persuade readers to embrace certain behaviors and ways of living; they also hoped to persuade government leaders to adopt specific policies. Histories written in this period, consequently, illustrate both the evolving practice of a scholarly discipline and the larger political, cultural, and social disputes of the era.

As a result of the growing influence of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on exploring causation through documentation and observation, American historians began to investigate primary sources (such as governmental records, court cases, and individual recollections) to provide readers with an accurate account of the past. Such accounts, they believed, would reveal the larger principles that governed human behavior, for both better or worse. Following independence, these efforts culminated in the establishment of libraries and historical societies to preserve the raw material on which contemporary and future authors could draw to write regional and national histories. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York were the first states to establish such societies in the 1780s and 1790s, and by 1830 they could be found in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan.

## COLONIAL HISTORIES

As the colonies grew both in material prosperity and intellectual sophistication, colonial authors sought to validate their cultural, social, and political institutions to interested, and often skeptical, European observers. At the same time, their own anxiety about the viability of colonial communities prompted them to instruct their fellow Americans in manners and sensibilities. Thus history writing and biography joined rational observation and objective analysis with a political and cultural agenda.

Several colonial authors used the official records of their colonies to illustrate the failings of imperial policies and chart various paths for reform. These include William Smith, Jr., *History of the Province of New York* (1757); Samuel Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova Caeseria, or New Jersey* (1765); and William Stith, *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (1747). Robert Beverley, in *History and Present State of Virginia* (1705), combined his less thoroughly researched but equally passionate criticisms of imperial policy with an ethnographic discussion of Native American culture intended to refute charges that societies degenerated in North America. In *Chronological History of New England* (1736), Thomas Prince used the diaries and recollections of the founders of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies to remind readers, and particularly the royal governor, of the debt the present generation continued to owe to the ideals of these first Puritan settlers. Thomas Hutchinson, in *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay* (1764, 1767), used official records and the recollections of a wide array of observers of Massachusetts Bay Colony to persuade his readers that its development into a cosmopolitan community was an improvement over its Puritan origins.

## POST-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORIES

The same didactic and partisan tone reappeared after the American Revolution. Concerned over the fragility of republics in general and eager to answer European skepticism about the effects of the New World

on human development, historians began a concerted effort to mold the character of their fellow citizens. In every region of the new nation, histories appeared that presented the development of particular states or the experiences of the nation as a whole—particularly during the American Revolution—and prescribed republican values. The exclusive purpose of biographies of the era was to provide young Americans with models of republican virtue to emulate.

Despite the historians' universal ambition to present accurate accounts of the past free of party politics, few histories lived up to that ideal. The Federalist sympathies of David Ramsay, in *History of the American Revolution* (1787), and Jeremy Belknap, in *History of New Hampshire* (1785–1791), were thinly veiled, as were the Democratic Republican sentiments of James Sullivan, in *History of the District of Maine* (1794), and Samuel Williams, in *Natural and Civil History of Vermont* (1794). The most partisan accounts, reflecting the time in which they were written, were Mercy Otis Warren's *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805) and John Marshall's *Life of George Washington* (1804–1808). Warren freely criticized what she saw as the corruption of the body politic through the spread of commercial interests at the expense of patriotic sentiment. She also warned of the monarchical aspirations of several leading figures in the Washington and Adams administrations. Marshall wrote from the opposite perspective. He used his life of Washington to illustrate the naivete of those who feared a strong central government and vigorous commercial economy. His account of the political turmoil of the 1790s offered tempered but unmistakable criticism of the Democratic Republican opposition and praise for the individuals in the Washington and Adams administrations, as well as the policies they pursued.

Some authors tried to avoid the political controversies of the age. The most famous and successful in this regard was Mason Locke Weems, whose *Life and Memorable Actions of Washington* (1800) celebrated his character as an exemplar of republican virtue but paid scant attention to partisan politics. It is from Parson Weems's enormously successful biography that we have received many of the myths surrounding Washington, notably the story of young George chopping down the cherry tree.

## CULTURAL POLITICS

The first historians of the United States were also embroiled in the cultural politics of their time. Sullivan,

weighing in on the debate over the role of religion in a republic, praised the privileged place that the founders of Massachusetts Bay had given religion in their communities. On the other hand, William Gordon, in *History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States* (1788), reminded readers that people with no identifiable religious affiliation had not only served in Pennsylvania's government but had done so with distinction. John Lendrum, in *Concise and Impartial History of the American Revolution* (1795), offered scathing criticism of both the institution of slavery and those who defended it; Marshall carefully pointed out the institution's centrality to the economic viability of the South. Hannah Adams, in *Summary History of New England* (1799), and Warren used their accounts to call for a greater role for women in the public life of the nation. Most authors, notably Williams, sought to find a place for Native Americans in the new Republic, usually arguing for their transformation into members of Euro-American society.

The historians and biographers of the colonial and post-Revolutionary eras were important players on the political and cultural stage of the new nation. These authors reflected the anxieties of the young Republic and sought to strengthen it by promoting particular values among its citizens. In the process of recording the emergence and development of the United States, they laid the groundwork for the modern discipline of history.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; Autobiography and Memoir; Historical Memory of the Revolution; Public Opinion; Rhetoric; Sensibility; Women: Writers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, Lester. *The Revolutionary Histories: Contemporary Narratives of the American Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Leder, Lawrence, ed. *The Colonial Legacy.* 4 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1971–1973.

Lowenberg, Bert James. *American History in American Thought: Christopher Columbus to Henry Adams.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.

Ramsay, David. *The History of the American Revolution.* Edited by Lester H. Cohen. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Classics, 1990.

Shaffer, Arthur. *The Politics of History: Writing the History of the American Revolution, 1783–1815.* Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1975.

———. *To Be an American: David Ramsay and the Making of the American Consciousness.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.

Van Tassel, David. *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607–1884.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Warren, Mercy Otis. *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution: Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations.* Edited by Lester H. Cohen. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Classics, 1988.

*Peter C. Messer*

## HOLIDAYS AND PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS

Guy Fawkes Day, King George III's crowning, the British evacuation of New York, the Battle of Yorktown: these were some of the most popular events commemorated in the colonies and the new nation. Celebrations of these events often involved whole communities and were marked by public sermons, toasts, and parades. Public commemorations of holidays served as a way to both express and inculcate a shared identity, first as British subjects and then as citizens of a new nation.

Prior to the Revolution, colonists celebrated a series of British events centered on the Crown. When word of George III's accession reached the colonies, colonists paraded in the streets and expressed with gusto their fealty to the monarch. These celebrations occurred throughout the colonies, binding colonists together as British subjects. They celebrated other traditional secular holidays that reaffirmed the colonists' British heritage, such as the monarch's birthday, the Restoration, and Guy Fawkes Day (called Pope's Day in Boston).

Although virtually all colonists shared in commemorating these events, celebrations were local. Philadelphians, for example, had little if any knowledge of what Bostonians were doing. Instead, they celebrated their heritage as members of a separate colony that was part of a broader Atlantic world directed toward London. The mustering of militias, followed by tavern-going and toasting, marked many of these secular celebrations. Guy Fawkes Day (5 November), the holiday commemorating the failed plot by a group of Catholic radicals to blow up Parliament and assassinate James I, became a holiday with both regional and class distinctiveness. The holiday was a particularly raucous event among mechanics and artisans in Boston and New York, whereas royal festivals in other regions were orchestrated by the elites and thus more subdued and standardized.

Celebrations of religious holidays were less formal and less public. The traditional Christian liturgical calendar was seldom observed outside the pages of almanacs; Christmas, in particular, was little celebrated except in German- and Dutch-speaking communities. Although colonists shared many secular holidays, local exigencies shaped religious celebrations. Churchgoing itself in the Northeast was a communal affair, with tightly knit towns congregating in a central parish to worship. In colonies with less centralization, particularly in the South, churchgoing was less frequent, serving as a special occasion for the community to gather and socialize. Congregational New England and Anglican Virginia practiced state-mandated fasts more often than the more pluralistic and expansive colonies like New York and Pennsylvania. Colonists fasted as a form of penance intended to influence God's will. In Pennsylvania during the Seven Years' War, for instance, casualties were attributed to the colonists' profligate ways, and the governor declared fasts to appease God. The fasts usually lasted for a day and restricted people from performing "servile labor"; instead, they were to devote a day to public prayers and sermons.

### AFTER THE REVOLUTION

In the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, citizens needed to create new holidays that would help cement a national bond. The Fourth of July was one of the most popular holidays, but citizens also celebrated other dates, now forgotten, with almost as much fanfare. Battles fought in distant colonies became the subject of parades and toasts. Newspapers throughout the country reported on these celebrations, helping to create a shared memory among widely scattered and previously unconnected people. As a new shared identity as American citizens took shape, the celebration of holidays reinforced the sense of collective nationhood and citizenship. Celebrating the battles also recast the Revolution, not as a bitter, divisive, bloody, and closely fought battle, but as a moment of national ascendancy and union.

As the nation became more partisan, especially following the debates about the Constitution's ratification in the late 1780s, celebrations of secular, civil holidays became politicized. Political parties realized that owning the commemoration of popular national events was a potent strategy for gaining power. Rather than the raucous, rebellious celebrations during Revolutionary days, the national culture began adopting more formal, prosaic, and sentimental displays of memory, which were nonetheless highly contested by the dueling parties. For a brief time, Fed-

eralists successfully used public celebrations to reaffirm their ascendancy. They promoted Washington's birthday as a holiday according to the tradition of celebrating the king's birthday. Anti-Federalists recognized the Federalists' success late and slowly, and then unsuccessfully tried to co-opt these same events for their cause.

Party politics inspired new kinds of commemorations. Republicans, the opposition party, began commemorating the French Revolution in the 1790s as a way to critique what they viewed as the growing elitism and aristocracy of the Federalist Party. Federalists, on the other hand, bitterly fought over the right to own the commemoration of George Washington's death.

Formal, public celebrations of religious fasts and thanksgivings were eclipsed by the increasingly contested but popular secular holidays. After Independence, the Continental Congress often endorsed fasts, in some respects linking God's will to the outcome of the Revolution. However, with the ratification of the Constitution, Federalist attempts—and then those of President Washington—to decree a day of thanksgiving met with widespread opposition. This day of thanksgiving was not a formal remembrance of a specific event like the modern Thanksgiving, but rather a day to give thanks to God for the success of the Revolution and creation of the federal government. Washington's successor, John Adams, decreed two national fast days during the Quasi-War with France and couched these declarations in explicitly Christian terms. Although individual states often celebrated a day of thanksgiving in the early Republic, it was not until Sarah Josepha Hale, a prominent writer, successfully lobbied Abraham Lincoln in 1863 to create a national holiday that commemorated the Pilgrims' original feast.

Although fasts and public religious celebrations were few, sermons at secular events were common, especially during the Federalist period (1789–1800). Newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets disseminated many of these sermons throughout the country, which allowed celebrants in different states to share a common bond as citizens. In this respect, even civil events had an air of sanctity. The strength of the Democratic Republicans and the Jeffersonian victory in 1800 brought another partisan change to celebrations. Sermons receded as secular orations about political, local, and patriotic heroes assumed a more prominent role. Although holidays were still hotly contested, both parties used orations to link their cause to the Revolution.

Partisanship may have marked the public performance of holidays, but the very nature of the celebrations—public events that often involved all members of a community as either spectators or participants—helped create a sense of national unity and identity in the new nation. Both Democratic Republicans and Federalists saw themselves as the proper inheritors of the Revolution's mantle, but the centrality of the Revolution in both camps' public celebrations helped create and reinforce a shared national identity.

*See also* **Almanacs; American Character and Identity; Democratic Republicans; Fourth of July; Federalist Party; Federalists; Franklin, Benjamin; Nationalism; National Symbols; Quasi-War with France; Religious Publishing; Taverns; Washington, George.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Fred. *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Newman, Simon. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

*The Papers of George Washington.* The Thanksgiving Proclamation. Available at http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/thanksgiving/transcript.html.

Pencak, William, Simon Newman, and Matthew Dennis. *Riot and Revelry in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Patrick Spero*

**HOME**   As much a mental as a physical construct, "home" is a place we dwell on as well as dwell in. The emergence of home as we understand it in the early twenty-first century began in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The modern notion of home ultimately replaced the older idea of household, a slow, almost imperceptible process but one of huge significance for the future of American society, for the shift from household to home was paralleled by the rise of the idea of "homeland," a key concept in the founding of the new American nation.

At the mid-eighteenth century, the subjects of European monarchies living on the North American continent, both free and enslaved, dwelled in places

universally described as households. The household was not only the basic residential unit, but also the fundamental political, economic, and social organization. In many of the New England colonies, everyone was obligated to live in a household. These were organized in a hierarchical manner, with the royal household at the pinnacle. The household of each royal subject was ruled by a patriarchal master, who exercised authority over all the inhabitants: family members, kin, servants, slaves, even guests. No distinction was made between family and household. Indeed, the term "family" applied equally to all living under the one roof. In the big houses of slave plantations, masters talked of their families as including both black and white members.

The household was a functional unit to which few of the sentiments that we now associate with home were attached. Membership of the household changed frequently, and people felt at home in a particular region rather than in a particular house. There was little interest in roots or the history of particular residences, and no sense of sacredness attached to domestic space as such. When people talked of going home, they were referring to a place of destination rather than of return. In the journey, the prevailing metaphor of Christian life, the ultimate home was in heaven rather than on earth. Households were mere way stations, and too great a fondness for worldly places was considered an obstacle to salvation among both Protestants and Catholics. Neither faith spiritualized the household in the ways that later generations would do.

The time and space of the household was not significantly different from the times and spaces of the world at large. Its rhythms were dictated by the work and leisure patterns of its inhabitants. It was more communal than private and was heterogeneous with respect to age, race, and gender. As long as each resident adhered to her or his assigned place in the household hierarchy, they mingled quite freely, sharing rooms, even beds. There was little concern for personal privacy; and the household was as much men's space as it was women's. Indeed, in this patriarchal society it was more his than hers.

### INVENTION OF THE HOME

There is no precise date by which to mark the transition from the eighteenth-century notion of household to the nineteenth-century idea of home. The shift was the product of changes in social and economic conditions, of religious transformations, but also of the American Revolution, which replaced the ancient notion of royal sovereignty with the idea of

the sovereign nation defined as a people sharing a certain bounded territory. The Revolution displaced not only the figure of the royal father but the royal house, replacing them with republican fathers and republican homes. The old hierarchy of households was replaced with an imagined landscape of single-family homes, congruent with the Jeffersonian vision of a nation of small farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers, each with a wife and children. The result was a radically new sense of both domestic space and domestic time that gradually established itself as the middle-class norm by the mid-nineteenth century.

By the early nineteenth century, the household had begun to lose its place at the core of American life. It shed its economic functions when paid work was relocated to the shop or the factory. Apprenticeship was replaced by wage work, and it became less common for employees to live in the houses of their masters. Servants remained, but they were now quartered apart from family members. In time, the household would also lose its educational role to the school, and in the new republican nation-state, powers once vested in the head of the household were relocated to the courts and governmental agencies. By the middle of the century, there was a clear separation of the private and public spheres. To the former belonged women and children; to the latter belonged the free, property-owning males who were now employed in offices and factories and who, as citizens, exercised power in the new nation. This process proceeded fastest in the industrializing Northeast, in cities rather than on farms. A clear distinction between family and household emerged first among the urban middle classes there. In the plantation South, older forms of household persisted, and among the working classes, heterogeneous households were still common.

Among the middle classes of the Northeast, a new kind of feminized domesticity was emerging, reflected in the gendered concept of the "homemaker." It came to be assumed that only a woman, preferably a mother, could create a proper home. Previously honored for their domestic skills, fathers were now defined by their prowess as breadwinners. The patri-centered house gave way to the matri-centered home. Thus, while the residence remained for women a place of work, it became something very different for middle-class men. For them, it became a retreat, a place of rest and relaxation. It was said that "with fond longings does he turn toward that bright paradise, his home. . . . With what refreshing gladness does he retire from the noise, and strife . . .

into this *sanctum sanctorum* of the world's vast temple" (Boydston, *Home and Work*, p. 146).

## NO PLACE LIKE HOME

Home had begun to take on a meaning once associated only with heaven. This transition was slow and uneven, but in the course of the early nineteenth century a shift in religious sensibilities initiated by the evangelical Protestant middle classes spiritualized domesticity, giving it a sacramental quality that it had not had earlier. Catholics were slower to sacralize the home, but they too would eventually sanctify it. The first step in this process was to erect new boundaries between home and world. The house, previously a semipublic space, was gradually becoming an entirely private sphere. Entry into the *sanctum sanctorum* took on a ritualized formality it had not previously had. But because most middle-class households had servants, internal space was differentiated in such a way as to segregate those rooms (the parlor, dining room, and bedrooms) that belonged to the family and those (kitchen, stables, and "below stairs") reserved for strangers. The single-family house, located at the edges of eastern cities, was becoming the norm of middle-class family life. This private way of life was mirrored in a private way of death, with new cemeteries laid out in family plots with tombs that looked like suburban houses. Heaven itself came to be imagined as a pleasant suburb filled with nuclear families.

Time was also used to set home apart from house. A series of daily, weekly, and annual family-centered rituals came into existence, separating the newly invented notion of "family time" from work and public time more generally. Christmas, previously a public event, came to be the archetypal family occasion, a moment of homecoming that had no precedent in earlier centuries. The idea of home, usually the maternal home, as a place of return reinforced its temporal as well as spatial mystique. Home came to be associated with personal or familial past, an object of intense nostalgia. In an era of rapid change and frequent movement, when Americans—both native and immigrant—were beginning to move westward in massive numbers and would never go back to their place of birth again, the symbol of home took on enormous meaning. Home became for many, and especially for middle-class men, both a dream of future success and a memory of lost paradise. Home was to become an ideal, often at odds with the places people actually lived in.

## MYTH OF THE AMERICAN HOME

The ideal of the American home emerging in the early nineteenth century should not be confused with the residential life even of the Protestant middle classes who invented it. It is wrong to think of housewives as ladies of leisure. Their toil, vastly increased by the elevated standards of Victorian homemaking, was portrayed as a labor of love. Yet married women were in many ways worse off than single women, who at least had access to their own earnings. Motherhood, also idealized, was no paradise either. High infant and maternal death rates made it a cause of intense anxiety and real distress. No wonder many women put off marriage and considered alternative living arrangements. Children were perhaps the chief beneficiaries of the newly established home life. Among the middle classes they were coming to be regarded as innocent creatures, in need of protection from the world. Withdrawn from work and increasingly confined to school, they were, however, still subject to whims of adults and were much less independent than their age-mates among the working classes.

For the vast majority of Americans, home was nothing more than a dream. A freestanding house was beyond the reach of most wage workers. Slaves, who were a part of their masters' household property, were not allowed to own their own houses. Immigrants might aspire to homeownership, but most were too poor to attain their goal. And even among the rising middle classes, the ever-increasing standards of a middle-class home—fashionable furniture, fine art, good food and drink—always seemed just beyond reach, a spur to constant striving, a source of anxiety, and in the case of those who failed to earn enough, a cause of shame. Home had become a generator of gender and generational differences. It was also to become a marker of class division.

The Protestant middle-class concept of home did not go unchallenged, however. Most Americans lived the best they could, ignoring and even defying its standards. In the early nineteenth century, inner-city slum dwellers as well as people on the expanding frontiers put together their own heterogeneous residential arrangements. The various utopian communities that proliferated in this same period offered a variety of alternative living arrangements which were explicitly aimed at coping with the well-known shortcomings of the private home and nuclear family. Experiments ranging from polygamy to celibacy attracted many adherents; at places like Oneida community in New York State, communal dining rooms and shared child care proved very popular. In the South, slaves, forbidden to marry, performed their

own nuptials, which allowed them to have some measure of family and domestic life.

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was particularly uneasy about the new homes and private cemeteries he saw being built all around Walden Pond. He worried that the sanctification of domestic life reflected in their architecture produced a poorer rather than richer spiritual life. Invoking an earlier tradition in which the house was a mere way station on a grander journey, he wrote: "We no longer camp as if for a night, but have settled down on earth and forgotten heaven. . . . We have built for this world a family mansion, and for the next a family tomb" (Chandler, *Dwelling in the Text*, p. 40). In this respect, Thoreau was a prophet, anticipating developments that continue to shape the American landscape into the twenty-first century.

*See also* **Architecture: Vernacular; Gender: Overview; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Parenthood; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Chandler, Marilyn R. *Dwelling in the Text: Houses in American Fiction.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Clark, Clifford Edward, Jr. *The American Family Home, 1800–1960.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth.* New York: Pantheon, 2003.

McDannell, Colleen. *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Sobel, Mechal. *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Van de Wetering, Maxine. "The Popular Concept of 'Home' in Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of American Studies* 18 (1984): 5–28.

*John R. Gillis*

**HOMOSEXUALITY**   In the late colonial and early national eras, same-sex sexual behavior was at times still seen as a discrete sinful act unrelated to a person's identity. Only over time did the notion develop that homosexual acts unquestionably indicated an overall sexual identity.

In the new nation the penalty for sodomy was death, but prosecutions for same-sex behavior were rare. (Some, like Thomas Jefferson, proposed changing the penalty from death to castration.) The numbers of sodomy cases heard by the courts had declined through the colonial period. The overall lack of court cases, although notable when compared with much of Europe in the same period, does not mean that homosexuality was virtually unknown in early America. Society was generally intolerant of explicit same-sex sexual behavior and especially condemned such behavior when linked to gender nonconformity.

Newspapers and imported literature poked fun at men interested in sex with other men and, with ribald humor, derided their character. A variety of eighteenth-century print genres viewed same-sex sexual behavior as indicative of moral corruption, and some publications endorsed executing men convicted of committing sodomy. Only very rarely did print sources even broach the subject of lesbianism.

The term "Boston Marriage" did not come into public use until after the publication of Henry James's 1886 novel *The Bostonians*, in which an early feminist develops a strong attachment to a young woman from a prominent Boston family. But the relationship the term describes—a romantic friendship between two women, usually expressed through correspondence—had been known since the mid-eighteenth century. In the 1750s, for example, Sarah Prince and Esther Burr wrote letters to each other expressing mutual support and their intense passionate interest in each other. When Burr died Prince compared her love for her friend to that she felt for her husband. In the mid-nineteenth century, the literary critic and reformer Margaret Fuller expressed similar emotions in her description of falling in love at the age of thirteen with an Englishwoman. Such intense female friendships became socially acceptable and allowed some women to live together in partnerships.

Men's diaries and correspondence from the late eighteenth century also reveal passionate and romantic male friendships. The Bostonians Joseph Dennie and Roger Vose wrote to each other about building a "permanent friendship." Their letters reveal an intensity of emotion that may or may not have included physical intimacy when the two men were together in private. The essayist and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) wrote in his journal a poem expressing the despair caused by his deep feelings for a classmate named Martin Gay.

**NATIVE AMERICANS**

European travelers had long noted sodomy in Native American communities. Missionaries of the Moravi-

an Church, for example, traveling in Pennsylvania, New York, and North Carolina, wrote of "unnatural sins"—a broad term that usually suggested same-sex sexual behavior. Travelers and missionaries noted the presence of the *berdache*, individuals who appeared to be men dressed as women and performing women's social roles. Many of these individuals were believed to occupy a special spiritual realm. The *berdache* made an impression on European travelers and missionaries not only because of their gender ambiguity, but also because they were understood to engage in sodomy. Jesuit priests noted homosexual behavior among *berdache* while on journeys throughout California. Father Pedro Font, who recorded observing such individuals while traveling in 1775–1776, said he was told that such men were "not men like the rest"; he concluded that they were hermaphrodites and called them "sodomites." The *berdache*, according to European accounts, was known among many indigenous communities in North America well into the modern era.

In the new American nation same-sex sexual behavior and desire had not yet been psychologized and medicalized. Although sodomy was a capital crime, interest in same-sex sexual behavior and romance was not yet considered distinct from other sensual tendencies. Homosexual behavior was not seen as indicating exclusive homosexuality, and homosexuality itself was not yet conceived of as a determining factor in an individual's identity. Thus intense romantic relationships between members of the same sex could flourish without necessarily being reproached as a form of moral degeneration.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Religions; Erotica; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Manliness and Masculinity.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Crain, Caleb. *American Sympathy: Men, Friendship, and Literature in the New Nation.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

History Project, comp. *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.

Katz, Jonathan Ned. *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U. S. A.—A Documentary.* Rev. ed. New York: Meridian, 1992.

Williams, Walter L. *Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

*Thomas A. Foster*

**HORSESHOE BEND, BATTLE OF** On 27 March 1814, a force of twenty-seven hundred U.S. soldiers, Tennessee militiamen, Cherokee cavalry, and one hundred "friendly" Creek Indians, all led by General Andrew Jackson, defeated the Red Stick faction of the Creek Nation in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Jackson's victory ended the Creek War (1813–1814) and thrust him into national prominence. It also marked the last serious armed resistance of southeastern Indians against the United States.

The battle's name came from a loop in the Tallapoosa River in Alabama. The Red Sticks, a segment of Creeks who wished to return to traditional social and religious practices, built a fort across the base of the bend in the stream. During 1813, the Red Sticks suffered a series of setbacks at the hands of the American militia and regular troops. The defenses on the Tallapoosa initially proved successful, allowing the Creeks to repel Jackson's first attack on 21 January 1814. However, harsh winter weather, food shortages, and a dearth of firearms made the Indians situation precarious by early spring. Over 1,000 Creek warriors, along with 350 women and children, were inside, hoping to hold off the American and Indian force of over 2,700.

At the start of the fight, General Jackson's Tennessee militia and regular army troops built a barricade across the base of the peninsula. Then Jackson opened fire on the fort with two cannons. However, the general hesitated to order a frontal assault on such a strong position. The Cherokees and Euro-American militia troops took up positions on the opposite bank of the river, across from the undefended side of the Red Sticks' camp. During the artillery bombardment, some Cherokee warriors swam the river and stole the Red Sticks' canoes. They then used the craft to bring more Cherokees and militiamen over to the Creeks' camp to engage the Red Sticks. When Jackson heard the sound of gunfire from inside the fort, he ordered his men to charge the Creeks' defensive works. The assault worked; the Euro-Americans and the Cherokees completely defeated the Red Sticks, killing nearly 600 Creek warriors. In addition, approximately 250 Red Sticks drowned in the Tallapoosa trying to escape. The losses suffered by the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend made it the single bloodiest day in the history of Native American warfare.

The remnants of the Red Sticks, under the leadership of Red Eagle, surrendered soon afterward. Andrew Jackson negotiated the Treaty of Fort Jackson on 9 August 1814 without federal authorization. Its

terms required the Creeks to give up half of their territory. Ironically, most of the land came from the Upper Creek Towns, the same people who fought alongside the Euro-Americans at Horseshoe Bend.

*See also* **American Indians: Southeast; Creek War; Jackson, Andrew; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ethridge, Robbie Franklyn. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Piker, Joshua. *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816,* Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

*George Edward Milne*

**HOSPITALS**    In eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America, birth, sickness, and death took place in the home. Furthermore, medical care was not dominated by physicians. Indeed, the small number of physicians found in such communities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston were not the sole or even the major providers of health care. Ministers, midwives, wives, and a variety of other laypersons played important roles in caring for the sick and dying.

Many of the "hospitals" that existed prior to 1830 bore little or no resemblance to their modern counterparts. The majority, particularly those in urban areas, originally were associated with welfare and penal institutions. Philadelphia, for example, established a pesthouse to confine sick immigrants and thereby prevent epidemics. Indigent residents who were ill or insane were cared for at the municipal almshouse, which later evolved into the Philadelphia Hospital. A similar situation prevailed in other urban areas. In New York City, the House of Correction, Workhouse, and Poorhouse that opened in 1736 became Bellevue Hospital in 1816. Combining the functions of almshouse, workhouse, and penitentiary, these institutions provided some semblance of care for sick and disabled inmates, most of whom were indigent and dependent. The existence of such institutions also provided physicians with opportunities to learn their craft and to train younger men.

As late as 1800, only two institutions in the entire nation provided inpatient care for the sick, namely Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hospital and New York City's New York Hospital. The idea for the former originated with Dr. Thomas Bond, who subsequently enlisted the aid of Benjamin Franklin. The need to provide suitable accommodations to care for poor and sick individuals (as compared with those with resources to pay for private care), as Franklin noted, seemed pressing. Moreover, he was concerned with the fate of inhabitants "who unhappily became disorder'd in their Senses, wander'd about, to the Terror of their Neighbours, there being no Place (except the House of Correction) in which they might be confined." After receiving a charter and a modest subsidy from the provincial assembly, the Pennsylvania Hospital received its first patient in 1752. The idea of creating a hospital in New York City originated with Dr. Samuel Bard, who believed that such an institution would facilitate medical education and elevate standards of medical practice. Receiving a royal charter in 1771, the New York Hospital had no sooner opened in 1775 when a fire destroyed the building. The ensuing war prevented its reopening until 1791.

During the American Revolution, military hospitals proliferated to provide care for wounded and sick soldiers, but they were short-lived. In 1798 Congress passed legislation that provided for the establishment of marine hospitals in seaports; they furnished temporary relief for sick and disabled seamen. After 1800 the pace of hospital founding began to accelerate. In 1811 the Massachusetts legislature, following the lead of elite Bostonians, passed an act of incorporation that created the Massachusetts General Hospital, which opened in 1821. A decade and a half later, a comparable institution was created in New Haven, Connecticut, to serve the needs of the Yale Medical School.

The few hospitals that existed before 1830 differed in fundamental ways from their modern counterparts. Individuals with resources would never be found in a hospital unless insane, taken sick during an epidemic, or involved in an accident while in a city away from home. Nor did hospital therapeutics differ from what could be done in a home. Indeed, the hospital was an institution created by elites to serve the needs of the less fortunate. Power within these institutions did not reside in medical hands; prominent laypersons played a dominant role in both admissions and the shaping of policy. The overwhelming majority of patients paid no fees; the costs were borne by philanthropic contributions. A small number of patients paid for their board and were provided with more comfortable quarters. In general, given

the lower–class makeup of the patient population, these institutions possessed a paternalistic character.

When the Pennsylvania and New York Hospitals were founded, the care of the insane was one of their primary responsibilities. By the early nineteenth century, however, separate institutions for the insane had become more common. Claims by such figures as Samuel Tuke in England and Philippe Pinel in France that environmental changes (that is, moral or psychological therapy) could reverse the course of the debilitating condition of insanity provided a rationale for institutionalization. Quakers played important roles in establishing the Friends Asylum in Pennsylvania in 1813 and the Bloomingdale Asylum as a separate part of New York Hospital in 1821. The McLean Asylum for the Insane (a division of Massachusetts General Hospital) opened in 1818, followed by the Hartford Retreat for the Insane in 1824.

Yet the structure, financial base, and goals of these private institutions were such that they could not become the foundation of a comprehensive system of hospitals serving the entire community. Consequently, during the 1820s and 1830s a movement to create public mental hospitals gained momentum. The first such institution, at Williamsburg, Virginia, had opened in 1773. By the 1820s South Carolina, Kentucky, and Maryland had created their own institutions. But the most important event was the establishment of the Worcester State Lunatic Asylum in Massachusetts. Opened in 1833, it set the stage for a phenomenal expansion of public mental hospitals throughout the United States. Indeed, the population of these institutions was considerably larger than those found in private and voluntary hospitals for much of the nineteenth century.

If anything symbolizes the contemporary American health care system, it is the modern hospital and its commitment to technology. Two centuries ago, however, the hospital was a fundamentally different institution, providing care for destitute, disabled, and dependent persons whose very survival was at risk. The emergence of the hospital in its modern form would have to await the scientific and technological changes that transformed America in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

*See also* **Medicine; Mental Illness; Penitentiaries; Poverty; Professions: Physicians.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dowling, Harry F. *City Hospitals: The Undercare of the Underprivileged.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Eaton, Leonard K. *New England Hospitals, 1790–1833.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957.

Grob, Gerald N. *Mental Institutions in America: Social Policy to 1975.* New York: Free Press, 1973.

Rosenberg, Charles E. *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System.* New York: Basic Books, 1987.

*Gerald N. Grob*

---

**HOUSING** Out of all the building types that combined to form the built environment during the second half of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century, houses provide the most considerable insights into the lives of the nation's citizens and illuminate the diverse complexion and provincial nature of the Republic. Numerous variables, among them ethnicity and geographic location, helped shape the native house and created the broad range of types and traditions that are encountered and studied in the early twenty–first century.

### A DIVERSITY OF INFLUENCES

In the decades immediately following the Revolution, the new Republic remained largely what it had been before, a collection of disparate regions with diverse cultural traditions. Within these regions distinctive building customs had been fostered and cultivated, shaped by economic and social variables, the strength of tradition, technology, climate, and geographic location. Dwelling forms, floor plans and room functions, heating and cooking arrangements, and construction materials and techniques were as varied as the nation's ethnic and socioeconomic composition. In certain instances dwellings reveal clear architectural precedents, that is, transplanted characteristics of foreign forms; in other cases the derivation of particular types is less pronounced if not altogether muddled. While high–style examples proclaimed, among other things, the prominence of their owners, vernacular manifestations often reflected more mundane and practical considerations. Some areas of the nation with distinctive ethnic traditions were, during the identified period, experiencing an influx of new influences that permeated established customs and created hybrid forms. House design and construction remained predominantly the domain of the master builder and mason; they drew foremost upon established building practices and tradition, tempered by local conditions.

**House plans.** Dwellings constructed from 1754 to 1829 can be broadly classified within two sub-

**Carroll Mansion.** This staircase spirals up three stories in Baltimore's elegant Carroll Mansion, a late-Federal-style house built circa 1811. The house served as the winter home of the family of Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

groups, freestanding or attached. Freestanding houses encompass a broad range of types, both rural and urban; attached dwellings, those built with shared walls, were more common in denser population centers. Among those plans to be found during this study period were modest one-room types, single cell and half house; two-room examples, like the hall-and-parlor house—the hall offering a mixed-use cooking and dining area and the parlor or "best room" denoting a formal capacity—and various three- and four-room types, often a story-and-a-half or two stories in size. Bedchambers might be found in finished areas on the primary or upper story, or accommodation found in unfinished garret space or a bed niche. Larger dwellings included the center chimney house, with the hall, parlor, and a rear kitchen occupying the primary floor with bedchambers above, and center-passage houses with end-wall fireplaces. Center-passage layouts became increasingly common as the eighteenth century progressed. More sophisticated dwellings, such as the eighteenth-century Georgian-style houses of

Virginia and the Federal-style houses of the early-nineteenth-century Atlantic seacoast, boasted fully developed multistory plans, often of the center-hall type. Earlier houses were sometimes subsumed or augmented as part of subsequent expansion phases.

**Heating and cooking.** Among the foremost concerns in the conception of a dwelling in colder climates was heating, which was achieved through the fireplace and the stove. Wood-burning fireplaces were by far the predominant heating feature of houses in this period, and they included both jambed fireplaces such as those built by the English and jambless open hearths that were losing favor as the eighteenth century progressed. Stoves were likewise finding increased application in American dwellings in the eighteenth century, including five-plate cast iron examples and ceramic types. Among the more ingenious arrangements for heating was that utilized by people of Germanic descent: from the large kitchen hearth, a small opening allowed hot coals to be pushed to a five-plate iron or ceramic stove situated behind in the adjacent parlor or "stove room." By the

**The Gardner-Pingree House.** A first floor bedroom in the Gardner-Pingree House, designed by Samuel McIntire for John Gardner, a prominent merchant, and built in 1804 in Salem, Massachusetts. © ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS.

end of the third decade of the nineteenth century, earlier advances such as the six-plate Franklin stove had begun to undermine the practicality of wood-burning fireplaces and coal, too, was gaining increased popularity as a fuel. As with heating, cooking was often conducted in large wood-burning fireplaces, yet by the end of the period cast-iron cooking stoves were beginning to replace the open fire. Beehive ovens facilitated bread baking. Food storage was accommodated in cellars and root cellars, pantries, and garrets. Indoor plumbing had yet to make any impact on domestic architecture, and people remained largely bound to privies, chamber pots, and hand pumps.

### REGIONS, TYPES, AND TRADITIONS

In the rural, English-settled regions of Massachusetts Bay and the Connecticut River valley, a tradition of heavy frame construction evolved during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that had its roots in southeastern Britain. These houses were sturdy and largely conceived in practical terms, though not without attention to aesthetic interests. By 1750 an important change governing the house plan was taking place in these dwellings, which were typically associated with Massachusetts and Connecticut but were also found in the larger environs of New England: the abandonment of the center chimney, hall-and-parlor arrangement for a center-hall layout with end-wall fireplaces. In rural Maine and parts of New Hampshire, where winters were fierce, houses of this type were built as components of attached farm complexes—the "big house, little house, back house, barn" interconnected arrangement—to shield human activity from the harsh climate. Other distinctive New England regional forms included the Cape Cod cottage common to coastal areas, which utilized a three-room plan like the above center-chimney type.

**The Hudson Valley and Pennsylvania.** New York State's Hudson Valley region witnessed a convergence of building traditions and cultures within the

time frame in question. Settled in part by Dutch, French Huguenot, and Palatine immigrants, this area gave rise to a tradition of native stone construction that helped define the vernacular spirit of the region for well over a century. These houses, particularly the earlier ones, were often built as single-room units with jambless fireplaces and unfinished garrets, expanded in linear fashion over the generations to accommodate growing family units. By 1750 the influence of English building practices was becoming increasingly prevalent in the Hudson Valley region; by the last quarter of the century, the largely insular Dutch had begun to incorporate distinctly English features such as the center-hall floor plan, the jambed fireplace, and the symmetrical arrangement of fenestration into their dwellings. By the conclusion of the 1820s, many of the distinctive hallmarks of the Dutch craft tradition had been eroded. Further to the south, in present-day Staten Island and Brooklyn, Dutch and Flemish settlers developed a tradition of frame dwellings peculiar to that region.

Similarly, Pennsylvania witnessed the convergence of multiple ethnic groups, among them Germans from the Rhine Valley, English Quakers who settled Philadelphia, and the Swiss. In parts of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, which like the Hudson Valley fostered a tradition of stone construction, three-room plans were common with both Germanic peoples and the English. Here, too, the influence of the Georgian tradition with its formal overtones was initiated near the midpoint of the eighteenth century and from that point forward began to transform the established subtypes.

**The South.** The American slave population's diminished place in society was reflected in its housing. In the South particularly, slave housing provided a stark contrast to the grand houses of large-plantation owners. Slave houses were utilitarian in concept, predominantly of log or crude frame construction, often with dirt floors, and expressing little or no pretense to architectural fashion. Multiple units were often housed within a single freestanding building. In the North it was not unusual for slaves to reside in their owner's dwellings, in quarters segregated from family areas such as a garret, not unlike farmhands.

Conversely, in the English-settled areas of Virginia and Maryland, the social and economic elite had constructed for them houses of great sophistication and pretense, echoing the prevailing Georgian manner of the mother country. Nowhere was the transplantation of high-style architectural trends from England more pronounced than in the mid-

eighteenth-century Georgian houses of this region. The hall-and-parlor and center passage frame houses of the Tidewater region accommodated those more modestly disposed. In the South kitchens were often relegated to a separate freestanding building. Elsewhere, other distinctly vernacular adaptations, such as the French-inspired Creole dwellings of the Mississippi River valley and the log houses of the mid-Atlantic Swedes, suggest the diversity to be found in the Republic's domestic architecture. The tradition of log construction introduced by the Swedes and Pennsylvania Germans, incidentally, was subsequently picked up by Scots-Irish settlers and transplanted in North Carolina and upland Virginia. Here the distinctive "dog trot" and "saddlebag" forms developed.

**Urban centers.** In densely populated areas like Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, the row house—an attached dwelling built as an integral part of a larger group—was emerging as the predominant housing form. Built to maximize efficiency in construction and to meet increasing demands for housing, row houses had—by the end of the period in places such as New York—assumed a generally standardized layout to conform to the dimensions of subdivided urban parcels. Often constructed on speculation by enterprising builders, row housing accommodated both the wealthy and the middling classes, finding expression in examples of varying quality and scale. The row house form emerged in the late seventeenth century in Philadelphia, first in the traditional half-timbered manner and later in masonry, and was derived from contemporary English examples. By the end of the period it represented the predominant urban housing type, in its most common manifestation laid out with a basement kitchen, a side-hall plan with double parlors on the primary story, and bedchambers on the story or stories above. The earliest identified examples in Philadelphia were quite modest in concept and scale and employed one-room plans.

*See also* **Architectural Styles; Architecture; Construction and Home Building.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

*Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920.* Vernacular Architecture Forum, 2004.

Foster, Gerald. *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

Glassie, Henry H. *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Hubka, Thomas C. *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1984.

Kelly, J. Frederick. *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecti-cut.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1924.

Kimball, Fiske. *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic.* New York: Dover, 1966.

Morrison, Hugh. *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Pierson, William. *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970.

Reynolds, Helen Wilkinson. *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley before 1776.* New York: Dover, 1965.

Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

*William Krattinger*

# HUMANITARIANISM

"Humanitarianism" is the term retrospectively applied by historians to the benevolent reform movement that swept through western Europe, England, and North America after 1750. The term itself did not come into use until the middle of the nineteenth century, although by the late medieval period, "humanity" had become a syn-onym for compassion, the inclination to treat other human beings and even animals with kindness and to relieve their distress.

## PRINCIPLES

Both the philosophical bases of humanitarianism and its first applications can be traced to the late sev-enteenth century. Latitudinarians rejected Calvinist notions of innate depravity and Hobbesian ones of self-interest, instead arguing for an inherent impulse toward benevolence. The third earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) developed the notion of "natural affec-tion." He also developed its negative corollary, writ-ing that "to delight in the torture and pain of other creatures," whether "native or foreigners, of our own or another species, kindred or no kindred," was unnatural. Hence, to feel for the suffering of others defined one as human. The Scottish philosophers Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), David Hume (1711–1776), and Adam Smith (1723–1790) devel-oped these ideas further. By the middle of the eigh-teenth century, the idea of irresistible compassion was so widely accepted that Smith could begin his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) with the proposi-tion that "how selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and ren-der their happiness necessary to him, though he de-rives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it. Of this kind is pity or compassion, the emotion which we feel for the misery of others." Humanitari-anism presumed that, as the Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) put it, "Human nature is the same in all ages and countries." Hence, "all the differences we perceive . . . may be accounted for from climate, country, degrees of civilization, forms of government, or accidental causes" rather than fundamental depravity or innate differences. Sharing in the Enlightenment's optimism, humanitarians be-lieved that both the environment and human beings were malleable. Indeed, the alleviation of suffering could serve as both cause and effect: a person who was treated kindly would in turn act with kindness. On the other hand, cruelty only begot more cruelty, while torture produced not truth but lies. As Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) argued in 1778 when pro-posing a new penal code for Virginia, "The experience of all ages and countries hath shewn that cruel and sanguinary laws defeat their own purpose." In the words of Pennsylvania's James Wilson (1742–1798), "A nation broke to cruel punishments be-comes dastardly and contemptible."

## PRACTICES

Such principles easily entered the wider culture through magazines such as the *Spectator*, in England, and the *New-England Courant*, where Benjamin Franklin (1702–1790), using the pen name Silence Dogood, observed in 1722 that "from a natural Compassion to my Fellow-Creatures, I have some-times been betray'd into Tears at the Sight of an Ob-ject of Charity." The effect of the new humanitarian sensibility can be seen as early as 1689 in the English Bill of Rights' prohibition on "cruel and unusual punishments," although it took several decades more before humanitarian reform movements emerged. After the Revolution, Americans joined together in countless benevolent societies, many of which sought to alleviate suffering. The Philadelphia Soci-ety for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (1787) worked for penal reform, while the same city's Magdalen Society (1800) attempted to reinte-grate prostitutes into society. The New York Manu-mission Society, founded in 1785, opened a school for free black children two years later.

Humanitarian reform focused on those institu-tions or practices where the infliction of pain was particularly obvious: torture, flogging, and other physical punishments and modes of interrogation; capital punishment; and slavery. The humanitarian

impulse can also be seen in the efforts to alleviate the suffering of the mentally and physically ill.

**Punishment.** In response to the new humanitarian ethos, both the Bill of Rights and many state constitutions banned "cruel and unusual punishment." Applying the arguments of Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794) and the Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), penal reformers argued that punishment must be proportionate to the crime. Post-Revolutionary revisions of state penal codes eliminated numerous physical punishments and reduced the number of capital crimes. Pennsylvania's Act Amending the Penal Laws (1786), for example, eliminated capital and corporal punishments for a host of crimes ranging from robbery to sodomy and horse theft, while reducing the maximum sentences for many noncapital offenses. Eight years later the state divided murder into two degrees, while other states defined as many as eight different degrees of homicide, effectively restricting capital punishment for those murderers who seemed wholly depraved. While some humanitarians, such as Thomas Jefferson, supported the death penalty for murder, others, such as Benjamin Rush, were beginning to advocate its elimination. The move to abolish capital punishment met with some success in the antebellum period. Pennsylvania eliminated public executions in 1834, and Michigan abolished the death penalty entirely in 1847, with Rhode Island following in 1852 and Wisconsin in 1853. Despite concerted efforts in other states, particularly New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, the reform movement was turned back everywhere else.

**Slavery.** Reformers also turned their attention to slavery. As early as 1754, the Quaker John Woolman worried about the effects of slavery on both slaves and their masters, "For while the Life of one is made grievous by the Rigour of another, it entails Misery on both." He argued both for the abolition of slavery and its amelioration where it existed, and these were the two approaches taken by humanitarians in the following decades. Their efforts were instrumental in achieving the abolition of slavery in states such as New York and eliminating some of the most horrific punishments for slave crimes, such as breaking on the wheel, burning at the stake, and displaying the dismembered body parts of executed slaves. Historians debate whether slavery itself became milder after the Revolution; southerners liked to think that it did.

### RESULTS OF REFORM

Historians debate too the efficacy of humanitarian reform. Some argue that it merely hid forms of cruelty that once had been public, replacing public executions, for example, with private hangings and lengthy incarcerations. Others point to unintended and ironic consequences. An intense preoccupation with pain could produce its own kind of pornographic pleasure; it is no accident that the age of benevolence was also the age of the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814). And ameliorating slavery may have made it more tolerable, at least to slaveholders, whose consciences were eased. Finally, as the age of Enlightenment gave way to that of romanticism, some humanitarians may have derived more pleasure from feeling another's pain than actually alleviating it. When one considers, however, the abuses that the humanitarians struggled to correct, it is hard not to appreciate their achievements, imperfect though they may have been.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; Antislavery; Capital Punishment; Corporal Punishment; Crime and Punishment; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Quakers; Reform, Social; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Welfare and Charity.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fiering, Norman S. "Irresistible Compassion: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37 (1976): 195–218.

Halttunen, Karen. "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture." *Journal of American History* 100 (1995): 303–334.

Haskell, Thomas L. "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility." *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 339–361, 547–566.

*Jan Ellen Lewis*

**HUMOR**   The humor of the colonial and early national periods featured indigenous American character types, some of whom were progenitors of what Louis D. Rubin Jr., in his introduction to *The Comic Imagination in American Literature* (1973), has defined as the "great American joke"—the difference between what people are and what they should be. In colonial America and in the early days of the Republic, this disparity was often treated satirically, satire being an import appropriated from Great Britain. Many of the practitioners of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century American humor cast their mocking barbs at various character types, manners, and social concerns endemic to the American experience. Their

comedy also often displayed a strong democratic tendency, which would become a key recurring ingredient in what Walter Blair has called, in his book of the same title, native American humor.

**COLONIAL WORKS**

Acknowledged as the father of American humor, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) introduced several comic types who have enjoyed long and prominent currency in American culture. In several of his most memorable comic works, Franklin adopted democratic voices who spoke in a direct, amusing, and sometimes even self-deprecating manner and who expressed essential values for living. Through Silence Dogood, a loquacious New England countrywoman, Franklin spoke forthrightly and practically, deriding Boston manners, education, religion, government, and male idleness in the *Dogood Papers*, fourteen essays written in a manner imitative of the *Spectator* papers of Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729) and published anonymously in his brother James's newspaper, the *New England Courant*, between 2 April and 8 October 1722. Richard Saunders, the wise fool of Franklin's perennially best-selling *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1733–1758), was both entertaining and moralistic, conveying gems of wisdom in jokes, light verse, comic predictions, and satiric pronouncements—all of which were intelligible to practical-minded common people. A conservative voice, a purveyor of witty advice or, as Walter Blair has classified it, "horse sense," Richard is remembered for his comically didactic and plainspoken aphorisms, such as "He's a fool that makes his doctor his heir," "Men and melons are hard to know," and "Tongue double, brings trouble."

Throughout the eighteenth century, in the competitive almanac market that *Poor Richard's Almanack* helped to spawn, humor became a major staple. And as Robert K. Dodge observes in *Early American Almanac Humor* (1987), almanac humor served as a barometer of "what early citizens of the United States considered funny" (p. 4), which included attitudes toward women, relations between the sexes, and attitudes toward immigrant minorities and Native Americans. One of Franklin's most famous comic pieces, "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker" (1747), uses as a female persona a woman of easy virtue who naively and reasonably defends her promiscuity by criticizing the double standard of sexual morality and justifies her sexual behavior by innocently claiming that she was merely following nature and "nature's God," the God who said "increase and multiply."

Another dimension of Franklin's humor, a dark and sinister side, is manifested in his pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary War political satires—"Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One" (1773), "An Edict by the King of Prussia" (1773), "A Method of Humbling Rebellious American Vassals" (1774), and "The Sale of the Hessians" (1777)—each caustically ridiculing oppressive British policies. In them Franklin creates personae, fashions them in the blatantly ironic manner of Daniel Defoe (1660–1731) and Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), and employs them as his mouthpieces, adopting the point of view that he is attacking, pretending to support it while actually carrying this view to an absurd extreme, thereby making a mockery of his subject.

Franklin continued this practice in "On the Slave Trade" (1790), an expression of his opposition to American slavery. Adopting the form of a fictitious letter from Moslem Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim that he enclosed with his own letter to the editor of the *Federal Gazette* under the signature of Historicus, Franklin, who belonged to a society dedicated to improving the conditions of African Americans, employed Ibrahim's letter as an ironic response to Georgia Congressman James Jackson's defense of slavery. In assuming the guise of Ibrahim, Franklin pretended to defend the continuation of slavery, drawing on some of the same political and economic arguments of Jackson. Although, his actual intent in exposing Moslem pirates' capturing of Christian white people along the African coast, a situation closely analogous to the slavery system in America, was to ridicule the irrationality of Jackson's proslavery stance.

The versatile Franklin also created one of the first American political cartoons, "Join or Die," published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1754, depicting a snake severed into eight parts, representing all of the American colonies except Georgia and Delaware. Franklin likewise used this cartoon as part of his "Plan of Union" presentation to the Albany Congress in New York to persuade the leaders of the colonies to unite in order to survive. Another famous political cartoon, Elkanah Tisdale's "The Gerry-Mander" published in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* in 1812, depicts a political district as a salamander in protest of Massachusetts Governor Elbridge Gerry's effort to restructure the state's voting districts to prevent the election of members of the opposing political party.

Humor as a vehicle for political protest can also be found in Thomas Paine's (1737–1809) widely influential pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776), his spirited and rational plea for ending all attempts at reconcili-

ation and for immediate independence from Great Britain. Sarcasm was among the strategies that Paine effectively employed in *Common Sense* to persuade his readers to embrace his political agenda, particularly in the section, "Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession," where he debunked the monarchy, particularly the British crown. In attacking the practice of hereditary succession, which he states is "a degradation and lessening of ourselves" and as "an imposition on posterity," Paine sardonically writes that "one of the strongest natural proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature disapproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an ass for a lion." He further caustically observes that persons "so weak" to believe in "the folly of hereditary right . . . let them promiscuously worship the ass and lion, and welcome. I shall neither copy their humility, nor disturb their devotion." Paine also turns his invective to the notion of the "honorable origin" of monarchy, cynically denying the possibilities of any noble origins of kingship. Instead, what one would discover, he points out, is "the first of them [is] nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners or preeminence in subtlety obtained him the title of chief among plunderers."

Another national leader, the future U.S. president, John Adams (1735–1826), also turned to humor, beginning in 1763, in a series of six epistolary satires, written in the vernacular dialect of Humphrey Ploughjogger, a New England farmer. He was an early exemplar of the rustic Yankee who commented critically on political and social issues, including the Stamp Act (1765), and who would reappear in numerous reincarnations in American humor of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

The three most prominent humorists of the American Revolution were John Trumbull (1750–1831), Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814), and Royall Tyler (1757–1826). One of the Hartford Wits, Trumbull was the author of a two-part mock-heroic poem, *M'Fingal* (1776, 1782), which satirized both British Loyalists and American Patriots. Warren was a Patriot who anonymously authored five satiric closet dramas between 1773 and 1779, the best-known of which is *The Group* (1775). In *The Contrast* (1787), Tyler introduced to the American stage the character of Jonathan, the comic Yankee, creating in him a discernible American identity. In *The Group*, which employs comedy as a tool for propagandistic ridicule,

Warren uses derogatory and ridiculous names such as Meagre, Hateall, Crusty Crowbar, and Dupe to expose and accentuate the greed, self-serving motives, and hypocrisy of Tory sympathizers. For his part Tyler, also a Patriot, employed the strategies of British Restoration comedy in *The Contrast* to juxtapose the simplicity, virtue, and innocence of Jonathan, a country bumpkin, and the artificial and pretentious manners and speech of urban sophisticates like Dimple, a Europeanized American. Tyler's play, which clearly privileged the virtuous and naïve Jonathan and which offered a corrective to a potentially false, supercilious, standard of America's national manners, afforded the audience the opportunity to examine itself honestly and to determine what manners, fashions, and values to adopt.

The antithesis of Tyler's promotion of a democratic ideal of the innocent and virtuous farmer in *The Contrast* is found in New England Federalist mock pastorals of the 1790s. In courtship poems like Thomas Green Fessenden's (1771–1837) "Peter Periwinkle to Tabitha Towzer" (1798), they express antagonism toward democratization, mocking the common man by comically denigrating the rural Yankee.

### FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION OF HUMOR

*Modern Chivalry: Containing the Adventures of Captain John Farrago and Teague O'Regan, His Servant* (1792–1815), by Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1778–1816), is a comic picaresque novel and double-edged satire directed against both the common people, depicted as fools, and the educated, presented as impractical. In this work Brackenridge exposes the excesses and dangerous tendencies inherent in a democratic system of government such as existed on the Pennsylvania frontier in the eighteenth century. He focuses on the misadventures of the ignorant and unrefined Teague O'Regan, an Irish servant and the main object of the novel's humor, who repeatedly exposes his ineptitude when trying to pursue responsible vocations for which he is unqualified.

Despite Brackenridge's negative attitude toward democracy, the frontiersman began to emerge as a significant comic figure in America in the early nineteenth century. Mason Locke Weems (1759–1825), book peddler, preacher, and author of a biography of George Washington, also wrote *The Drunkard's Looking Glass* (1812). It comprises his humorous observations of and anecdotes about his travels on the southern frontier, graphically capturing in print the vernacular voice of the southern frontiersman and some of his rollicking activities, such as boasting,

drinking, and fighting. Weems's contemporary, James Kirke Paulding (1770–1860), composed *Letters from the South* (1817), based on the author's travels in Virginia. It features epistles recounting some of the humorous manners and customs he observed among Virginia backwoodsmen. He subsequently incorporated this subject matter into *The Lion of the West* (1830), his popular play that features the bravado of Nimrod Wildfire, a tall-talking backwoodsman from Kentucky.

While both Weems and Paulding were important trailblazers in opening up the southern frontier as a rich source of humor, Washington Irving (1783–1859) was the pivotal force in popularizing and expanding the comic possibilities of the character of the backwoodsman. His *History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty* (1809) was notable for its foolish pedant, Diedrich Knickerbocker; its pseudocomic history; and its robust and earthy humor. More important, however, in the story called "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (1820), Irving created a paradigm for merging the two American comic types—the Yankee and the frontiersman. Ichabod Crane, a genteel, ambitious Yankee schoolmaster, intrudes on the quiet, settled, rural hamlet of Sleepy Hollow, where he cultivates a design to marry a rich farmer's daughter and then, with her father's money, to migrate to the frontier. But Ichabod's rival suitor, Brom Bones—a rural ruffian known for his marksmanship and roguish, humorous pranks—foils and vanquishes Ichabod through trickery and deception. The eponymous hero of "Rip Van Winkle" (1820) is Irving's other major character creation. A likeable frontiersman, he avoids work by spending his time playing games with the village children or going on long hunts in the Catskill Mountains. In the mountains he escapes both civilization and his termagant wife, an advocate of a staunch work ethic. In "Rip Van Winkle" Irving also fabricated a comic plot formula, the tale beginning on a factual basis, then proceeding into the realm of the fanciful or incredible, and concluding

with a return to a realistic semblance. Though derived from German folk sources, Irving's two classic tales are noteworthy for privileging the common man and his way of life and for popularizing several scripts featuring clashes of urban and rural values, lifestyles, and manners and a readily adaptable plot structure. These features would, beginning in the 1830s, be appropriated and reconfigured by the South's amateur frontier humorists and subsequent generations of professional American humorists, including Mark Twain.

*See also* **Fiction; Frontiersmen; Newspapers; Satire; Theater and Drama.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bier, Jesse. *The Rise and Fall of American Humor.* New York: Octagon Books, 1981.

Blair, Walter. *Horse Sense in American Humor, from Benjamin Franklin to Ogden Nash.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

Blair, Walter, and Hamlin Hill. *America's Humor from Poor Richard to Doonesbury.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Dodge, Robert K. *Early American Almanac Humor.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987.

Dorson, Richard. *America in Legend: Folklore from the Colonial Period to the Present.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1973.

Leary, Lewis. "Benjamin Franklin." In *The Comic Imagination in American Literature.* Edited by Louis D. Rubin Jr. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973.

Nickels, Cameron C. *New England Humor: From the Revolutionary War to the Civil War.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993.

Piacentino, Ed. "'Sleepy Hollow' Comes South: Washington Irving's Influence on Old Southwestern Humor." In *The Humor of the Old South.* Edited by M. Thomas Inge and Edward J. Piacentino. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Rubin, Louis D., Jr. "Introduction: 'The Great American Joke.'" In *The Comic Imagination in American Literature.* Edited by Louis D. Rubin Jr. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973.

*Ed Piacentino*

*I*

**ICONOGRAPHY**   The creation and promotion of symbols to represent the United States of America was a process that started with the Continental Congress in 1776, which issued a Declaration of Independence from Great Britain and charged a committee with designing an official seal for the nation. A complex effort ensued to create usable symbols that would communicate unity of purpose, core principles, and sovereignty. Participants in committees and competitions for designs—for everything from buildings in the federal city to flags, holidays, and currency—drew from familiar European forms to fashion symbols that would serve as reminders of ancient republics and recall revolutionary unity and sacrifice. But the creation of symbols to represent the nation and the people of the United States was not solely a governmental process. Artists, writers, and ordinary citizens also participated in creating symbols and rituals that expressed their vision of the new nation and its future.

### REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

Many symbols that were to become national had their origins in local efforts to instill revolutionary unity. The "liberty tree" or "liberty pole" became both a symbol of resistance and a physical location for planning that resistance during the war. Follow-ing the Revolution, partisan politics surrounded these symbols as they became a rallying site for dissent. In the 1790s inflamed Federalists described them as "sedition poles" to cast the actions associated with them (especially those of Democratic Republicans) not as dissent but as dangerous or even treasonable activities. Likewise, the "liberty cap," derived from the Phrygian cap worn by freed Roman slaves, had a limited life after the Revolution in part because of contemporary politics. Revived in the early 1790s during the initial excitement over the French Revolution, the classically inspired figure of Liberty on the half-cent coin took on a martial appearance complete with liberty cap. As the violence of the French Revolution became distasteful to the wary American government, overt symbols of revolution fell from favor.

### IMAGES AND HOMAGES

The figure of "Columbia," sometimes called "America" or "Liberty," was created deliberately to represent the nation. Traditionally Europeans, and particularly the British, had used the figure of an Indian to represent alternately the former North American British colonies or the entire New World. Like the new national figures, the Indian was usually female, with feathered skirt, bare breast, and bow and arrow. The inclusion of a crownlike headdress hinted at the idea

of a native aristocracy as personified in the Indian princess. As an American symbol, the Indian figure quickly became relegated to marginal official items such as the Indian Peace Medal, first struck in 1800. Such an item was meant only to be presented to Indians themselves as a mark of formal treaties with the United States; its supposedly Indian features were depicted in a hand clasped in "peace and friendship" below a crossed hatchet and peace pipe. The central image on the medal was that of the current president. After the Revolution, as the nation looked for representative figures, the Indian became undesirable. The founding generation of race-conscious Anglo-Americans looked to symbols they could more readily identify with and that could stand against similar European symbols. In such images Americans sought to reinforce their European origins and keep any lingering provincial insecurities at bay.

The choice of Columbia as the central figure honored Christopher Columbus. Variations on the name "Columbus" appeared everywhere in the 1780s and 1790s. Colleges and towns were named in his honor, and Columbus was a popular subject in poems and songs. The names of scores of newspapers and periodicals such as the *Columbian Magazine and Monthly Miscellany* and *The Columbian Centinel* also paid homage. The new federal city would be housed in the Territory of Columbia, and schoolbooks signaled American authorship and content by choosing names like *The Columbian Reader*.

The search for symbols that might easily communicate the principles and character of the nation went far beyond formal allegorical figures. To counterbalance the feminine figures, the masculine eagle was borrowed from the iconography of the Roman empire to remind all of the link to ancient republics. The committee charged by Congress in 1776 to create a symbol for the nation initiated a six-year process resulting in a Great Seal that held the motto "E Pluribus Unum" (out of many, one) and a central figure of an eagle. The eagle's vigilant stance suggested power and, in the inclusion of a red and white striped shield for a breastplate, an aggressive and even individualistic posture. To mark the number of original colonies, the image included thirteen leaves on the olive branch clutched in one claw and thirteen

arrows in the other. The centrality of the motif of thirteen carried over to the national flag. In the version adopted on 14 June 1777 by the Continental Congress, thirteen red and white stripes beside thirteen white stars on a field of deep blue signified the colonies in revolt and, more important, their presumed relationship to one another as equals.

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Read or "proclaimed" in cities and towns in the summer of 1776, the Declaration of Independence achieved its own iconic status. Bonfires, gun salutes (observing the ritual number of thirteen shots), parades, and toasts (again, thirteen) celebrated the document. In the 1790s Democratic Republicans used the Declaration in their own Fourth of July rallies and based their claims to authority on issues of government not only on the document itself but on the party membership of Thomas Jefferson, its author. Under the party system that emerged in the 1820s, both Jacksonian Democrats and Whigs claimed descent from the party of Jefferson and so too a particular guardianship of the Declaration's principles. In 1818 John Trumbull's paintings for the Capitol included the popular and widely reproduced *Declaration of Independence*, depicting the fateful proceedings at the Continental Congress as imagined by the artist. As the generation who fought the Revolution was dying off, a wave of nostalgia and filial piety swept the nation. Lafayette's visit in 1824, the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825, and the twin deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson on 4 July 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration, inspired commemorative fervor. Jefferson himself asked to be remembered for only three things on his gravestone. The first was his authorship of the Declaration of Independence.

### THE CAPITAL

Many Americans fervently desired a capital city to rival those of Europe. That the capital was to be located in the new, independent Columbia Territory (later the District of Columbia) was itself symbolic, because the city would neither depend on nor favor any single state. By 1790 the long, complicated process of designing the city, which would be fraught with competing visions through several administrations, was under way. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a veteran of the Continental Army and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, developed a city plan that emphasized large lots and wide boulevards to frame imposing buildings, whose design borrowed freely from ancient Roman and Greek architecture.

L'Enfant's vision called for numerous allegorical figures to adorn the facades of buildings, but President John Adams found these figures too "pagan" for his simple republican and Christian tastes.

The architect Benjamin Latrobe, whom Thomas Jefferson appointed in 1803 as surveyor of public buildings, modified L'Enfant's designs. Latrobe emphasized classical architectural forms, reduced the allegorical figures that so distressed Adams, and increased the number of eagles, stars, and representations of the Constitution. A primary element of building design in the federal city was symbols of the individual states of the union. The visiting citizen was to be reminded directly of the power of the nation and its component states rather than only abstract ideals. Where Latrobe did retain classical figures, such as the one of Justice and a winged youth, he added eagles in a watchful position and a copy of the Constitution in the youth's hand.

### HOLIDAYS

Ritual observance of holidays injected the symbols of the nation into public activities. First celebrated in Philadelphia on 4 July 1777, the Fourth of July became the preeminent national holiday. In 1778 George Washington ordered a double ration of rum for troops to mark the day; by 1783 Boston had enacted legislation officially declaring the day a holiday. The memory of the Revolution was the critical factor in shaping nationalism and political culture. Speeches, sermons, songs, poetry, and newspapers all focused on the ideas of shared sacrifice, heroism, and dedication to the principle of liberty. Grounding Independence Day festivities in tributes to those qualities of national character and founding principles created emotional bonds among citizens as well as to the nation itself. By 1800 public figures across the nation were taking advantage of local Fourth of July celebrations to lend authority to their political positions.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON AND POPULAR SYMBOLS OF THE NATION

Building new traditions on old foundations was often precarious. Washington's position as architect of the military victory in the Revolution and then as its first elected president went beyond simple celebrity and approached the divine. The popularity of and affection for Washington created a climate that was dangerously reminiscent of monarchical cults of personality. In Europe celebrations of the king's birthday were important public holidays; Washington's birthday was celebrated in Virginia in the years after

the Revolution and by the 1790s was widely and popularly celebrated across the nation. Upon his death in 1799, following two terms as president and his principled rejection of a third, extravagant public displays of grief included simulated funerals, memorials, needlepoint tributes, and reams of obituaries, songs, and poems. A move was made to bury him within an elaborate tomb in the Capitol itself, but dissenters to this plan included Washington's own family. Another idea floated was to put Washington's face on the penny, but, like the burial plan, this too smacked of monarchical practices.

Ultimately, the penny featured the eagle, and Washington was buried, according to his own wish, at his Mount Vernon home. But the impulse to raise George Washington to the pantheon of the gods found its expression in numerous illustrations, in Horatio Greenough's statue of the president in a Roman toga at the Capitol, in the federal holiday marking his birthday, and in the countless reproductions in schoolrooms across the nation of Gilbert Stuart's famous portrait. Although George Washington was among the elite, the force that propelled his fame and the celebration of his birthday was a product of popular will.

### PERSONIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Although powerful figures—politicians, presidents, newspaper editors—attempted to shape the symbolic elements of nationhood, popular symbols emerged and endured. The personification of the American people and, later, the American government was the natural outgrowth of a society born out of the words "We the People" and whose unfettered press drove political culture.

A prime example of personification is Yankee Doodle. For British soldiers stationed in the American colonies, "Yankee Doodle" was a term of derision that mocked the bumpkin colonists. But during the war the Patriots transformed Yankee Doodle into a symbol of American pride. The high point in this process was the victory over the British at Yorktown, where the troops played the "Yankee Doodle" song at the surrender ceremony to ask, in musical fashion, Who should be ridiculed now?

Following the Revolution, Brother Jonathan arose to fill the need for a figure illustrative of the new citizen of the new United States of America. This character appeared in stage plays and humorous newspaper pieces from the mid-1770s until the mid-nineteenth century. A figure of both energy and common sense, Brother Jonathan looked toward the future and always got the better of the confidence man or elitist who tried to trick or shame him. Northeastern, middle-class, and relentlessly entrepreneurial, Brother Jonathan eventually became less useful as a national figure. As sectional divisions deepened in the 1830s, Jonathan became a victim of politics. Southern periodicals began to use him as a symbol not of an American type but of a despised Yankee type. The figure of Jonathan gradually melded with that of Uncle Sam, who is first found in soldiers' jests during the War of 1812. With a wiry build, large hat, and striped trousers, Uncle Sam shared physical traits and costume with Brother Jonathan. A common element of political cartoons, Uncle Sam was American but less representative of the American people than of the American government itself.

### CONCLUSION

The United States of America, in its unique position as the first popularly created nation, promoted nationalism and sovereignty by means of the images that symbolized its principles. So that individual citizens would identify their interests with both the nation and their fellow citizens, the government needed to forge the affective ties of patriotic devotion. For the uneasy new states, fearing by the late 1780s that they had traded a royal master for a federal master, the constant reassurance that the foundation for the federal government was the individual state was key to binding the states to a common purpose. To the world beyond its borders, the new nation communicated unity of purpose, strength, stability, and, above all, sovereignty by means of its symbols. Thus American iconography contributed not only to its developing culture but to its standing in the eyes of the world.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; American Indians: American Indians as Symbols/Icons; Architecture: Public; Art and American Nationhood; Bunker Hill, Battle of; Congress; Continental Congresses; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; European Influences: The French Revolution; Federalists; Flag of the United States; Fourth of July; Holidays and Public Celebrations; Lafayette, Marie-Joseph, Marquis de; Liberty; Magazines; Music: Patriotic and Political; National Symbols; Newspapers; Washington, D.C.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kammen, Michael G. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Marling, Karal Ann. *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876–1986.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Morgan, Winifred. *An American Icon: Brother Jonathan and American Identity.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988.

Newman, Simon Peter. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Purcell, Sarah J. *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Rourke, Constance. *American Humor: A Study of the National Character.* Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1986; New York: New York Review Books, 2004.

Schlereth, Thomas J. "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism." *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (1992): 937–968.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Dis-Covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786–1789." *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (1992): 841–873.

Travers, Len. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969, 1998.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

*Gretchen A. Adams*

**ILLINOIS** The southernmost of all midwestern states, Illinois also borders on Lake Michigan. Laced with navigable rivers and relatively short portages, Illinois provided relatively easy passage from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River basin. Bounded by the Mississippi River to the west and the Wabash and Ohio Rivers to the east and south and situated opposite the mouth of the Missouri River, Illinois benefits from navigable rivers that link it directly to Pennsylvania, other midwestern states, states west of the Mississippi River, and the Gulf of Mexico. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, the Illinois and Michi-gan Canal, completed in 1848, and other canals and river improvements greatly augmented water transportation to and from and within Illinois.

Illinois is located in the prevailing westerlies belt and in warm months the Gulf of Mexico pumps huge amounts of moisture-laden winds into the Lower Midwest, generally guaranteeing adequate precipitation at critical times of the year and enabling Illinois to grow a wide variety of fruit and vegetables. Freezing winter blasts from Canada help retard soil leaching and ensure rich, black soil throughout much of the northern two-thirds of the state. In addition, the state enjoys rich alluvial soil, especially along the American Bottom, a region that stretches along the Mississippi River's eastern bank for one hundred miles south of Alton. Growing seasons lasting over half the year in the south and about half a year in the north sustain agricultural variety.

### FRENCH, BRITISH, AND INDIANS

Before French voyageurs and missionaries arrived in 1673, Iroquois Indians and others attacked and disrupted Indian societies, especially in northern Illinois, and drove some Indians over the Mississippi. French explorers found Cahokia, a former residence of mound-building Indians, virtually abandoned and relatively few Indians remaining in the region altogether. Establishing their first permanent settlement at Cahokia in 1699, the French generally established mutually beneficial ties with most Indians, intermarrying, providing via trade such goods as iron objects and other desired material culture, and exchanging ideas and understandings that fostered a "middle ground" culture, one that incorporated both French and Indian ways. By 1720 the French also had introduced slavery to Illinois.

After a series of wars with Britain in which local Indians generally sided with France or stayed neutral, France lost control of all of North America in 1763. The vast region west of the Mississippi was transferred to Spain. British occupation of Illinois was slow, difficult, and light, with only a handful of British and British colonists moving to the region before the American Revolution erupted in 1775. Britain tried to placate or even win over both the French and Indian populations of Illinois and surrounding regions, but were largely successful only with Indians in northern Illinois.

### AMERICAN CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT

Small units fighting in Illinois and north of the Ohio River brought spectacular results. In 1778 George Rogers Clark commanded about 150 Virginians;

they conquered French settlements in Illinois and then subdued the British fort at Vincennes on the Wabash. Although the American grip on lands north of the Ohio was frail, it gave Americans a claim to these lands. The entry of Spain into the war complicated the conflict for the British, and Spanish attacks against British posts from St. Louis reached northeast as far as Michigan. Peace in 1783 gave the United States not just the lands immediately north of the Ohio, but lands all the way to Lake Superior, a stunning accomplishment for the young nation.

The war introduced into Illinois a stream of settlers from Virginia and other southern states, many of whom had either served in Illinois or had relatives or friends who had served there. This migration gave Illinois powerful cultural, political, and economic links to the South and encouraged some efforts to make Illinois a slave state. In most instances, the French and the southerners coexisted reasonably well among or near each other.

The Ordinance of 1785 required that public lands be surveyed before sale, producing the familiar checkerboard land pattern common throughout the Midwest and elsewhere. This orderly method of sale avoided the tangled, bitter land disputes that flared in Kentucky and other states, inhibiting sales and cloaking social and economic developments in uncertainty. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was even more significant. It broke historical patterns of creating colonies from conquered lands and, instead, created a steady but radical system of allowing Illinois and the other states of the Old Northwest a measure of self-government as territories and then the right to enter the Union as full states. It also banned slavery in the region, although this had little impact on the hundreds of slaveowners and their slaves living in the region.

By 1810, the year after the Territory of Illinois was formed, trickles of migration boosted Illinois's non-Indian population to about 12,300. Its Indian population probably exceeded 14,000, many of whom kept in touch with British officers in Canada and British traders and agents around the Great Lakes. The War of 1812 triggered destruction and uncertainty, causing some settlers to flee the territory, but after peace in 1815, settlement surged. Many Indians had sided with the British during the war, leaving their cultures in tatters, and a great number of native groups left the state. The federal government continued via treaties to purchase lands from Indians who had claims to possession. A large stretch of land between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers was designated the Military Tract and was offered as reward to military veterans. Although many veterans throughout the country never settled in this tract, they sold their rights to the land and others came to settle.

## STATEHOOD, TRANSPORTATION, AND NEW SETTLERS

In December 1818, Illinois achieved statehood. This was done with a wink and a nod, for the population of the new state was only perhaps thirty-five thousand, far below the required level. Moreover, just before statehood, astute Illinois politicians and friends pushed the northern boundary upward from the southern tip of Lake Michigan, giving Illinois the town of Chicago, the route for the Illinois and Michigan Canal, valuable lead mines at Galena, and a region that now includes fourteen of the state's 102 counties, a region in which the vast majority of Illinois's early-twenty-first-century population lives. Kaskaskia had served as territorial capital, but the capital moved to Vandalia with statehood.

Despite sluggish national economic conditions during the 1820s, the Erie Canal opened in 1825, which did much to transform Illinois. Before the Erie Canal and the advent of predictable and inexpensive Great Lakes shipping, most flour, beef, honey, hides, and other goods shipped from Illinois were shipped downstream as far as the Gulf of Mexico, upstream transportation being prohibitively expensive and time-consuming for all but the most valuable commodities. With the Erie Canal, however, farmers and others in the northern quarter of the state and along the Illinois River could transport goods a relatively short distance to Lake Michigan, across the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal, and down the Hudson River to New York and other burgeoning cities on the East Coast. This did much to reorient Illinois economic ties from a north–south axis along the Mississippi River to an east–west axis via water and later via rail. The arrival of steamboats at St. Louis in 1817 and at Chicago in 1832 accelerated this reorientation. Land sales boomed into the mid-1830s, ten federal land offices by 1834 selling and recording orderly transactions. As the last sales from Indians occurred in the 1830s and as settlement pushed northward, the need for the state's capital to be more centrally located became apparent, and in 1839 Springfield became the capital.

Chicago became the state's largest city by the late 1830s, but the need for a canal to connect the Illinois River to Lake Michigan at Chicago became increasingly apparent, and construction on the Illinois and Michigan Canal started in 1836. The great national

depression that began in 1837, however, slowed work, delaying its completion until 1848, just several years before railroads would lace Illinois.

**NEW IMMIGRANTS, EDUCATION, AND REFORM**
Increased immigration to the United States and improved transportation to Illinois changed the state's population. Settlers from the Middle Atlantic states and from Ohio and New England dotted the landscape in increasing numbers. Cultural differences between them and the earlier southern settlers ignited clashes and disputes, including some friction over slavery and antislavery activities. In 1823 and 1824 Governor Edward Coles helped defeat an attempt to legalize slavery in the state. Settlers from the Northeast became involved in education and reform movements, and graduates of Yale College were responsible for the founding of the state's first institution of higher education, Illinois College, in 1829. Reform movements, including antislavery efforts, brought progress, but they also sparked political strife in the 1830s and beyond.

By 1860 the Illinois population stood at 1,711,951, perhaps about forty-five times the population at the time of statehood in 1818 and ranking it the fourth-largest state in the country. Its railroad track totaled nearly 2,800 miles, second in the country.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; Erie Canal; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Steamboat.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Davis, James E. *Frontier Illinois (History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Etcheson, Nicole. *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest*, 1787–1861. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Franke, Judith A. *French Peoria and the Illinois Country*, 1673–1846. Springfield: Illinois State Museum Society, 1995.

Simeone, James. *Democracy and Slavery in Frontier Illinois*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.

*James E. Davis*

## IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS

This entry consists of twelve separate articles: *Overview*, *Canada*, *England and Wales*, *France*, *Germans*, *Ireland*, *Scots and Scots-Irish*, *Anti-Immigrant Sentiment/Nativism*, *Immigrant Experience*, *Immigrant Policy and Law*, *Political Refugees*, and *Race and Ethnicity*.

### *Overview*

"Whence came all these people?" wrote Frenchman Michel-Guillaume-Jean de Crèvecoeur about the American population in his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782). Crèvecoeur, who immigrated to New York in 1759 and in 1783 became French consul in New York, noted: "They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race, now called Americans, have arisen." As the British American colonies expanded and the new American Republic emerged, individuals and families left the European Continent, coerced by circumstances at home and drawn by opportunities abroad. They sought new homes that offered economic security and nurturing environments for their respective cultures and religions. At the same time, European slave traders forcibly brought thousands of enslaved Africans to serve as the labor force that sustained the colonial economy and contributed to the livelihood of the new American nation. Through these multiple streams of migration, the American Republic took shape.

**SOURCES AND EXTENT OF IMMIGRATION**
Records of immigration to the British colonies and the early American nation are extremely spotty, thus making it difficult to describe accurately the extent of the period's migration. Compared to the mass migrations of the mid– to late nineteenth century, however, relatively few people came to America during the 1700s. From five thousand to ten thousand individuals, including slaves, arrived annually in the colonies and the American nation from the mid-1700s through the early 1800s.

The successes of the colonies and the attractiveness of the new Republic led to increased promotion of immigration. Newspaper advertisements and articles encouraged individuals with enterprising dispositions to settle America's fertile lands and those seeking work to pursue the numerous available labor opportunities. Immigrants responded to new inducements following the founding of the United States, including letters from family and friends, appeals by land companies, and recruiting efforts by manufacturers and state governments. Businesses involved in the emerging "immigrant trade" also played a significant role in stimulating and facilitating the migration of Europeans.

Immigrants of the period originated in northwestern Europe—the British Isles, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and France—and were predominantly Protestant. British immigrants settled throughout the colonies, solidifying the crown's hold on its territorial claims in North America, expanding the transatlantic trade, and laying the social and cultural foundations of a future republic. Families constituted a growing portion of the overall immigration stream, while African slaves gradually replaced the indentured servants that had been a critical component of the earlier colonial labor force.

More people (Celtic Irish, English Irish, and Scots-Irish) emigrated from Ireland than from Britain itself during the period. They came in two main waves, around 1754–1755 and 1770–1775, totaling some forty thousand, in response to high population density, subdivision of lands, and growing specialization within the Ulster linen industry. Mostly Presbyterian in religion, they settled in Pennsylvania, the Piedmont of North and South Carolina, and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.

Germans journeyed to America in reaction to harsh economic, political, and religious conditions. They established themselves as farmers, farmworkers, and artisans in the mid-Atlantic region. Most Germans were members of the Lutheran or Reformed Church, though dissenting groups like Mennonites and Dunkards were also present. The Scots, Dutch, French, and Swedes—groups that had arrived early in the colonial period—maintained distinct settlements in America, though migration streams were small.

The first census of the United States, taken in 1790, illustrated the migration streams that shaped the nation. More than three-quarters of the white population were of English stock.

An estimated 250,000 people arrived in America between 1783 and 1815. The origins of European migrants, however, are more easily defined after 1820 as the sending nations and the receiving nation began to gather more specific information on those making the transatlantic trek. Between 1820 and 1830, over 151,000 people came to the United States, more than two-thirds of whom originated in the British Isles. Of that number, the Irish contributed 54,338 immigrants, or approximately one-third; the English constituted about one-fifth of the migration.

Throughout the late colonial and early national periods, events in both the Old and New Worlds affected the waves of immigration, influencing individuals and families who sought to pursue dreams of freedom and economic opportunity and to follow the encouragements of those who had preceded them to the New World. The Seven Years' War halted immigration from 1756 to 1763. The years surrounding the American Revolution (1775–1783) brought immigration to a literal standstill. The turmoil accompanying the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, lasting from 1789 to 1815, kept yet another generation from migrating. Finally, the political uncertainty surrounding the new American Republic, the War of 1812 (1812–1815), and the Panic of 1819 discouraged immigration to America, thus limiting much of the nation's growth in its formative years to natural increases among the resident population. For nearly half a century, therefore, immigration to the new nation was but a trickle compared to later nineteenth-century migration waves.

## ATTITUDE TOWARD IMMIGRATION

The British considered immigration to be the principal means of securing labor for the colonies, which in turn strengthened their territorial claims and control of Atlantic commerce. Americans also possessed a favorable attitude toward immigration, viewing the colonies (and eventually their new nation) as an asylum for the oppressed of the world, open to all those who sought economic opportunities, freedom from persecution at home, or adventure in the American wilderness. There were, however, those who voiced concerns over the increasing diversity of the colonial population, considering regional clustering and resistance to Americanization by the minority non-English-speaking populations as a threat to the British colonies. Benjamin Franklin, writing in his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751), criticized what he perceived as the growing influence of German immigrants in Pennsylvania:

> Why should the Palatinate Boors be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them? (Daniels, *Coming to America*, pp. 109–110)

Starting in the 1760s, Britain rejected colonial demands for more open immigration policies. Thomas Jefferson, writing in the Declaration of Independence, expressed the Americans' pro-immigration stance by criticizing the king for preventing "the population of these States" by refusing to recognize naturalization acts passed by colonial assemblies. In *Common Sense* (1776), Thomas Paine acknowledged the importance of immigration on the grounds that America was "the asylum for the persecuted lovers

of civil and religious liberty from every Part of Europe. . . . Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America."

With the Revolution behind them and the challenge of forming a new nation ahead, Americans had to confront issues of immigration policy themselves. Members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 debated the issue. New York's Alexander Hamilton claimed immigrants would contribute to the well-being of the new nation. George Mason of Virginia favored an "open door" policy, but was hesitant about allowing "foreigners . . . to make laws for us and govern us." Others expressed fears that immigrants would retain the principles of despotic countries, which could undermine the American Republic.

From the founding of the United States, Americans saw their nation as a noble experiment in freedom, a place that would share its benefits, blessings, and opportunities with all who sought freedom. George Washington described the importance of immigrants to the new nation, noting that

> the bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations and Religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment. (LeMay, *From Open Door to Dutch Door*, pp. 7, 9)

While Americans proclaimed their new Republic to be a symbol of freedom and an asylum for the world's oppressed, there was a growing nativist attitude among certain groups. The belief in the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon institutions and principles and a need to restrict the influence of non-English immigrants led the Federalists and President John Adams to adopt various Alien Acts in 1798. These acts, which targeted recent Irish and French immigrants who supported the Jeffersonian Republicans, extended the time of naturalization and imposed restrictions to monitor and govern the behavior of aliens. Opposition to immigration at this time was based primarily on ideological grounds rather than on the ethnic or religious grounds of later years. Congress repealed or amended the Alien Acts after Jefferson became president.

In the early decades of the American Republic, the federal government did little to supervise, control, or regulate immigration, leaving immigration policy to state authorities. Not until 1820 did the U.S. government begin to record the number of immigrant entrants annually by requiring a complete list of all ships' passengers.

The early immigrants were, on the whole, successful. That fact, and the emergence of shipping and recruiting agencies, laid the foundation for the mass immigrations to the United States that began in the 1830s.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life.* New York: HarperCollins, 1990.

Hansen, Marcus Lee. *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940; reprint, New York: Harper Torchbook, 1961.

Jones, Maldwyn Allen. *American Immigration.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

LeMay, Michael C. *From Open Door to Dutch Door: An Analysis of U.S. Immigration Policy since 1820.* New York: Praeger, 1987.

Thernstrom, Stephan, ed. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.

*David G. Vanderstel*

## Canada

Before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, New France—subsequently Canada—was the neighbor of the United States not only to the north but also to the west. The colonial settlers in the vast and once contiguous area known as New France were overwhelmingly French as opposed to the inhabitants of the thirteen original states who were mainly of British extraction.

It is important to realize, however, that French colonization in North America, which was sparse except along the St. Lawrence River and in a few other areas—chiefly along the Mississippi River, notably New Orleans—came to an end with the British conquest in 1760. (Quebec assumed its modern boundaries by royal proclamation in 1763.) In Quebec, areas surrounding it, and a few enclaves in the rest of Canada, the early French settlers and their descendants have managed to preserve their ethnic identity into the twenty-first century, while those everywhere else in North America have largely been assimilated. Cajuns—descendants of Acadian colonists who were deported beginning in 1755 from what later became known as the Maritime Provinces and began arriving

in Louisiana in 1760—constitute an exception, although two and a half centuries later the group's cohesion and numbers are disputed. (Cajuns are sometimes lumped with the offspring of the original French settlers, the French planters who later emigrated from Haiti, and the latter's French-speaking slaves.). Meanwhile, in 1765, Acadian deportees were allowed to return to their homeland. Many did although they did not always settle in the same areas of Canada.

Migration between Canada and the United States has been a continuous phenomenon since the earliest times. Until the 1830s, however, Canadian immigration to the United States was slack and stood in sharp contrast to movement in the opposite direction. Afterward, however, the pendulum swung the other way.

During the American Revolution and especially in 1783 and 1784, some one hundred thousand Loyalists, American colonists who supported the British cause, left the United States. About half of them relocated to Canada, their preferred destinations being Montreal; Quebec City; Sorel; and above all, the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada and Nova Scotia. The Maritime Provinces admitted more than thirty thousand Loyalists, notably in the St. John River valley, and, in 1784, largely due to this influx, Nova Scotia was divided and its northern and western section became a separate province called New Brunswick. In the next two decades, perhaps as many as fifteen thousand other Americans, discouraged by poor economic conditions in the United States and seeking work and cheap land to homestead, followed in their footsteps, settling in the same areas and also in Ontario.

However, in the late 1830s, Canada was beset by political turmoil and business stagnated while prosperity returned to the eastern states. At the same time, vast new lands became readily available in the Mississippi Valley. As a consequence, American immigration to Canada dropped off sharply and the tide of immigration turned southward.

See also **Acadians; Canada; Louisiana; Louisiana Purchase; Loyalists.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brault, Gerard J. *The French Canadian Heritage in New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986.

Hansen, Marcus Lee, and John Bartlet Brebner. *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press,1940.

*Gerard J. Brault*

## England and Wales

The English and Welsh immigrants who crossed the Atlantic did so for a variety of optimistic reasons. Yorkshire farmers, London merchants, Monmouth tradesmen, and Brecon miners who embarked from ports in London, Liverpool, and Bristol were vital to the shaping of American identity.

English and Welsh emigration reached its peak during the last half of the eighteenth century, when it appeared as though all able-bodied young men were headed for port cities, intent on departure. Overcrowding and a weakened economy, particularly in the northern agrarian sections, caused many to look for relief in the American colonies. The population of the typical English village was already mobile, as a majority of young men had left home by the age of nineteen; this itinerant attitude made the prospect of an Atlantic move less daunting than for other European emigrants.

Middlemen on both sides of the Atlantic helped the process along, with promises of overseas fortune hung in notices in pubs and on shop windows. In some cases unscrupulous "crimps" encouraged seamen and laborers to run up large debts of ale, food, and clothes, and then called in the debt by presenting the choice of debtors' prison or indentured service across the Atlantic.

London was by far the most popular departure point, as almost a quarter of pre-Revolution emigrants claimed the city as residence. Seventy percent of English and Welsh emigrants left from its port, some coming from four hundred miles away. The remainder sailed from the ports of Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, and smaller harbors such as the Isle of Man. Yorkshire was a significant source of emigrants to Nova Scotia and the upcountry of New York, driven by an increasing scarcity of land and increase in rents. Yorkshireman John Wetherhead, who left Leeds in the 1760s, became one of the new breed of land speculators, scouting territory in northern New York and vigorously promoting purchases for new immigrants by promises of fertile land, easy access to river trade routes, and family safety.

Young men such as Wetherhead were by far the majority of emigrants. Over half of all English emigrants were men under the age of thirty, with many of those under twenty-five. Although they spanned all classes, the typical emigrant was a metropolitan skilled tradesman or artisan who had completed an apprenticeship in a skilled trade and felt his value would be realized in America. Clergymen and agrarian families, mostly from the North, hoped to settle

in a more fruitful situation as well. Less than 20 percent were described as being "the enterprising sort," namely merchants and entrepreneurs. Those who were settled in comfortable professions in England did not feel the pull to leave, and only a very small percentage of immigrants claimed to be upper-class.

The number of immigrants varied widely from decade to decade, increasing through the eighteenth century until the Revolution. It peaked at some 125,000 between 1764 and 1776, prompting Parliament to consider a bill banning North American emigration entirely. The glut of new arrivals soon spread farther to the American interior, greatly extending the possibilities on the continent away from the port cities.

Emigrants were drawn to certain regions based on available opportunities. Young urban men settled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, colonies with labor markets in need of experienced tradesmen. Rural families were drawn to Nova Scotia, New York, and North Carolina, farming regions where settlement, not fortune, was the goal. Familiarity played a role as well. Many preferred districts that resembled the areas they had left behind; thus, for instance, Welshmen populated the mining towns of Pennsylvania and English merchants the port cities of New England and the mid-Atlantic.

The ten- to thirteen-week Atlantic crossing was made by merchant ships, which picked up a few emigrants for the free labor they provided on the trip, and larger vessels dedicated to ferrying as many emigrants in as little space as possible. One ship in the mid-eighteenth century spent twenty-two weeks at sea and cast seventy-five bodies overboard during the crossing; the *Essex*, bound for the northern provinces in 1720, was taken by pirates, who terrorized the passengers and diverted the ship to Newfoundland. The sad fate of the *Nancy*, a Sunderland brig overloaded with settlers which embarked from Britain in 1773, meant for the northern wilderness of New York, was not unusual: after a brutal crossing, during which disease and storms claimed the lives of one-third of the passengers, the weak and emaciated remainder were submitted to a strict quarantine by unsympathetic customs officials in New York harbor.

Some made the crossing almost by accident. John Harrower left the Shetland Islands in 1773, seeking any employment in Britain, and his travels took him southward through Scotland, Newcastle, and Liverpool. Down to his last shilling, he walked eighty miles to London and accepted the first employment he found—passage to America as a servant

on the steamship *Planter*. In the end, he was luckily enlisted as a tutor to a Virginia merchant, avoiding the toils of fieldwork.

As the Revolution approached, new arrivals pushed westward with remarkable speed. By 1770 the Great Wagon Road stretched from Philadelphia some eight hundred miles through rocky and swampy terrain to Augusta, Georgia; via this route, migrants spread through the south and west by the thousand. Absentee land speculators in England, who had never even set foot in the province of "West Florida," enticed settlers with fantastic descriptions of plentiful game and fertile ground—which settlers quickly discovered was just so much swampland.

As many as half the male emigrants from England came across as indentured servants. They met the costs of emigration by reaching agreement with a ship captain or broker, who paid their transit in exchange for a period of service of anywhere from one to four years. Such indentures could be sold or bartered, and the servant was legally bound for the period of his contract. Though most served out their terms, there were many cases of escape. Londoner John Watts fled from his brass-making master in 1775 and was sought with the offered reward of five pounds and "reasonable charges" of capture; the former convict William Chase was hunted with the warning that he was a villain.

For those who came for the promise of open land, the West held limitless potential. Taking advantage of existing networks of trade and agriculture, wealthy British squires imagined potential estates that would dwarf the size of their lands at home. The earl of Dartmouth's tracts totaled 100,000 acres near present-day Miami. Absentee landlords like Dartmouth needed immigrants to cultivate and protect their lands, and found no shortage of Britons ready to cross.

While few families emigrated together in America, and those who did were frequently only a husband and wife with no children, emigration had a profound effect on family life in America. The greatest concentration of families settled in New York, and Nova Scotia, and quickly tried to re-create the family and gender roles they had in England. Colonial life forced changes in those roles, however, as both men and women assumed previously unfamiliar duties—particularly for women, in fieldwork and paid labor. While the traditional family structure survived, it was forced to adapt and become less rigidly defined than before. The large numbers of young, able men caused the structure of courtship and marriage to change as well; men and women married a few years

later, on average, in the colonies than in England, and also had fewer children.

Welsh emigration to America was quite small compared to that from England, but uniquely Welsh settlements were formed in many parts of colonial America. Welsh Quakers were by far the largest group of immigrants to Pennsylvania, and by 1700 they accounted for approximately one-third of the colony's estimated population of twenty thousand, reflected today in a legacy of Welsh place names like Bryn Mawr and Cardiff. Welsh miners, the most skilled in Europe, came to Pennsylvania because of the opportunities in the mines; they found better working conditions and a better chance of owning property. In the ironworks of Maryland, in scattered but close-knit communities in New York and Connecticut, in later migrations of Baptists to South Carolina, and in small settlements like the community of Calvinist Welshmen who settled in Jackson County, Ohio, in the mid-eighteenth century, Welshmen brought their cultural identity and guarded it in North America.

Perhaps because of their own conflicted colonial relationship with England, Welshmen were also more likely to ally themselves with American Revolutionary ideals. Fourteen generals of the Revolutionary army were Welsh, as were eighteen of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence. Men like James Davies, originally from Carnarvon, earned distinction as a militia captain during the time of the Whiskey Rebellion.

The polyglot mixture of emigrants in America was nothing like the ordered social world, with its defined strata, in England from which the immigrants came. Although many struggled to cope with the challenges of the colonial world, as a whole the English and Welsh showed a remarkable resilience. They established homogenous and integrative networks and practices with remarkable speed. Immigrants from England and Wales managed to retain their national identity even as as they forged a new, American presence.

*See also* **Expansion; Iron Mining and Metallurgy; Quakers; Work: Indentured Servants.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction.* New York: Knopf, 1986; New York: Vintage, 1988.

Campbell, Mildred. "English Emigration on the Eve of the American Revolution." *American Historical Review* 61 (Oct. 1955): 1–20.

Dublin, Thomas, ed. *Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America 1773–1986.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Dunaway, Wayland F. "Early Welsh Settlers of Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History* 12 (October 1945): 251–269.

Fogleman, Aaron S. "The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution." *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 1. (June, 1998): 43–76.

Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community*, 1735–1785. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Kulikoff, Allan. *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Wright, Louis B. *The Dream of Prosperity in Colonial America.* New York: New York University Press, 1965.

*Doug Krehbiel*

## *France*

Migration of French men and women to the new American nation followed two distinct, successive patterns between the 1780s and the 1820s. Setting aside the few individuals who fought alongside the Americans during the Revolutionary War and remained in the United States afterward, a first group included sizable contingents of migrants who reached the United States during the 1790s and 1800s, usually as a consequence of the French and Haitian Revolutions. Beginning in 1790–1791 and accelerating in 1792–1794, some ten thousand émigrés arrived in the United States from metropolitan France. Most were royalists. Others were moderate republicans who fled the increasing Jacobin radicalization of the revolutionary process. At the same time, the slave revolt in Saint Domingue led to a significant emigration of white and mulatto colonists—along with some of their slaves. Many of the white colonists had only arrived in the prized sugar island during the 1770s and 1780s. They now reinforced the French communities in the United States. One of the largest, albeit belated, population movements took place in 1809, when former Saint Domingue colonists who had resettled in Cuba were expelled from the island by the Spanish authorities as a consequence of Napoleon's invasion of Spain. Some eight thousand of these refugees fled to New Orleans, whose French-speaking population they doubled within a few months. Last and quantitatively least significant during these decades were the migrants, often of republican and later Napoleonic persuasion,
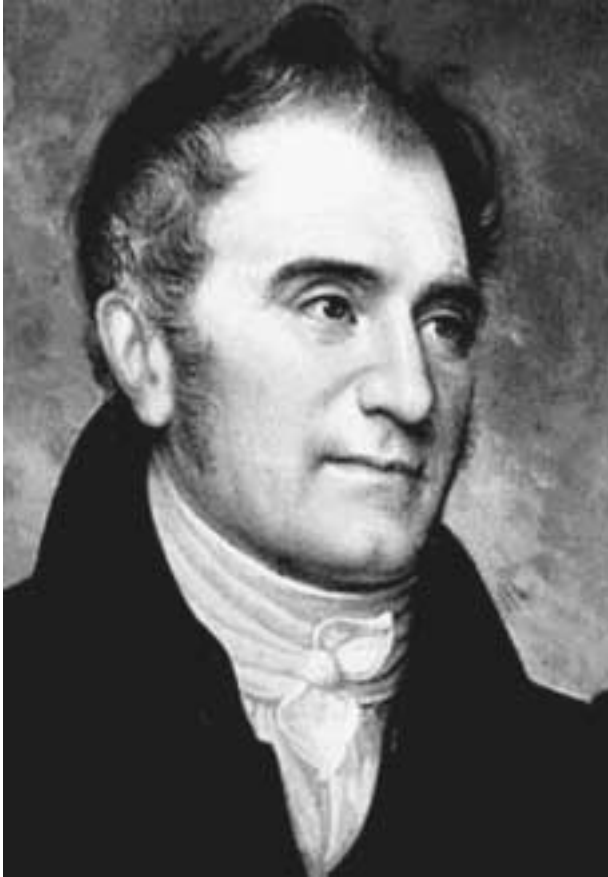
**Éleuthère Irénée du Pont.** A French immigrant to the United States, Éleuthère Irénée du Pont (1771–1834), shown here in a portrait by Rembrandt Peale (c. 1790), established a gunpowder company in 1802 in Wilmington, Delaware. This firm was the forerunner of the DuPont chemical company.

who fled Napoleon's imperial and Louis XVIII's Restoration France during the 1800s and 1810s.

Quite different from these diasporic movements linked to the French and Haitian Revolutions were the migrations that developed when peace returned to Europe after 1815. Like other Europeans at the time, some French women and men were attracted to the United States by economic motives. Fewer individuals left France than other areas of Europe in the late 1810s and 1820s because the country's lesser demographic growth alleviated population pressure and helped maintain France's pattern of small farms and small industry in the countryside, where many small farmers were also part-time laborers in the local mill or mine.

But France did not escape the migratory temptations that were common in the British islands and western continental Europe at the time. During the 1820s several thousand left France every year and many others dreamt of following their examples. The Río de la Plata, Mexico, and the United States were on the mental map of many Frenchmen hoping for a different future. Aside from Paris, most of those who chose the United States came from the peripheral regions of France: Alsace and Lorraine in the northeast, the southwest from Bordeaux to Toulouse to the Pyrenees, or the mountain regions of central France.

The different groups of immigrants and exiles who went to the United States between the 1780s and the 1820s created lively communities in the new American Republic, particularly in the capital at Philadelphia and in New York, Baltimore, Charleston, Norfolk, and New Orleans after the Louisiana Purchase (1803). During the 1790s Philadelphia was host to thousands of French men and women of contrasting political persuasions, ranging from Jacobin supporters of the French Revolution to royalist exiles.

In general, and although individual situations could be very different, continental émigrés and Saint Domingue refugees were mobile populations in uncertain circumstances. They crowded the seaports' boardinghouses and attempted to make do by using whatever social networks of the past might be available or by founding new ones. They created French ethnic societies and more than ten newspapers, which—while often short-lived—brought them news from home and provided space for political debates. More often than not, they disagreed in their assessments of the political situation in France and the events in Saint Domingue. Some émigrés left the seaports and relocated in rural America, becoming farmers in Pennsylvania or planters in Alabama or Virginia. Once the political situation quieted down in France in the late 1790s, many continental exiles returned to France. But others stayed. The arrival of the Saint Domingue refugees from Cuba in 1809 reinforced New Orleans's post–Louisiana Purchase preeminence as the most important concentration of French—indeed, the only one where French speakers were a majority.

Therefore, French economic migrants of the late 1810s and 1820s did not arrive in a vacuum. They built on migratory traditions within the French Atlantic that went back to the eighteenth century. Entering the United States through the ports of New Orleans or New York City, some decided to stay and reinforce what had become the two largest French communities in the United States. New Orleans's city directories of the 1820s testify to the number of

French natives who became merchants, clerks, artisans, or teachers and attempted to take advantage of the port's extraordinary growth. Like their predecessors in the 1790s, French migrants of the 1820s developed ethnic institutions in New Orleans and New York, including the *Courrier des États-Unis*, which was created in New York in 1828 and soon became the longest-lasting and most influential French newspaper in the United States. Perhaps the greatest moment of visibility for French migrants took place when Lafayette traveled to the United States a last time in 1824 and 1825 as "the guest of the nation" and met with his countrymen and women, some of whom had left the seaports and attempted to better their lots in rural America—in the Ohio and later the Mississippi Valley or in rural Louisiana.

With the exception of the later migration to California, the migratory patterns of French people to the United States between the 1780s and the 1820s remained in place for much of the nineteenth century. The relative weight of French migrants within the total European migration, however, became less significant.

*See also* **French; Haitian Revolution; New Orleans.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brasseaux, Carl, and Glenn R. Conrad, eds. *The Road to Louisiana: The Saint-Domingue Refugees (1792–1809)*. Translated by David Cheramie. Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1992.

Childs, Frances S. *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790–1800; An American Chapter of the French Revolution*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940.

Geggus, David P., ed. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001.

Greer, Donald. *The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951.

*François Weil*

## *Germans*

At the start of the American Revolution people of German background represented roughly 10 percent of the 2.5 million inhabitants of the British colonies. Nearly half of them lived in Pennsylvania and most of the others in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Significant numbers of Germans lived also in the Carolinas and Georgia, and a smaller number in New England.

German migration to North America began early in the seventeenth century when Germans accompa- nied English, Dutch, and Swedish colonizers in ventures along the Atlantic coast, but the settlement of Germantown, near Philadelphia, in 1683 is commonly regarded as the beginning of major German migration to what became the United States. From that year to the start of the Revolution, perhaps more than 110,000 German speakers left their homes in Europe to settle in America.

Most of the immigrants entered America through the port of Philadelphia, although other ports, such as New York, Baltimore, Annapolis, and Charleston, provided points of entry as well. Some of the immigrants settled in or near the port cities where they landed; many others migrated inland to more distant locations. Thus major German settlements developed along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers in New York, along the Delaware River in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, along an arc stretching from southeastern Pennsylvania through the Shenandoah region of western Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and in Savannah, Charleston, and the Carolina Piedmont.

For four decades starting in 1776, the stream of German immigration to the United States narrowed but never stopped. On average, less than one thousand German immigrants arrived in each of those forty years. The reduced immigration, however, combined with natural increase to maintain a significant percentage of people of German background within the American population. In 1790, the year of the first federal census, when the total population of the United States was approaching four million, estimates of the number of Germans and German descendants living in the country still represent roughly 10 percent of the total.

Areas of concentrated German settlement established in the colonial era continued as such in the early national period. Pennsylvania remained home to nearly half of all Germans living in the United States. In 1790 Germans represented 38 percent of Pennsylvania's white population. Some Pennsylvania counties had populations that were more than 50 percent German; in Pennsylvania's Lancaster County the figure was perhaps 70 percent.

Yet Germans also participated in the westward migration of American people that led to the development of new states and the geographic expansion of the nation. From established areas of earlier settlement in the original thirteen states, Germans pressed over mountains, along rivers, and through valleys to help settle new areas such as Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri.

## CULTURE AND RELIGION

The most reliable indicator of German background among inhabitants of the early Republic was the use of German language. German-speaking immigrants to America included people from Switzerland, Alsace, and the Netherlands, as well as territories inside Germany itself. The German language provided a mark of common identification for a diverse population of immigrants who otherwise differed from one another in many respects.

Germans who remained in the urban areas surrounding their port of initial entry, or migrated to other urban centers, tended to assimilate into the larger culture around them. Germans who settled in the countryside beyond the cities tended to form ethnic communities with other Germans. In both cases the German language served as social currency. In the cities a German-language print industry developed, providing German speakers a medium for the exchange of ideas and information in their native language. The urban centers of southeastern Pennsylvania radiating from Philadelphia hosted numerous print shops established by Germans, as did the Maryland cities of Baltimore, Frederick, and Hagerstown, and other locations such as New Market, Virginia, and Salisbury, North Carolina. Some of the production of German print shops served outlying rural areas, but in the countryside the German language also helped to maintain a degree of separation from the larger culture. A common motive for much of the German migration to and within America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was economic opportunity, and many Germans found such opportunity in the purchase and cultivation of farmland; the use of the German language helped to assure that the farming communities established by German settlers provided not only economic opportunity but also an integrated culture embracing all aspects of life and mitigating the pressures of assimilation.

Religion was a central aspect of an integrated culture for many Germans in America. Some German communities were founded on experimental religious blueprints. Examples include the Ebenezer settlement established by Salzburger refugees near Savannah, Georgia; the Moravian communities of Salem, North Carolina, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; and the Ephrata cloister near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Most religious Germans in the early Republic were Protestant, although there were also some Jews and enough Catholics to organize a German parish in Philadelphia in 1787. Among Protestants, the majority of Germans in early America were either Lutheran or Reformed. Missionary ministers of both denominations helped to organize local congregations among Germans in the cities and the countryside, although religious freedom in America meant that such efforts depended on the voluntary support—and often the initiative—of lay people. In many places Lutheran and Reformed congregations shared the same church building while maintaining separate denominational identities. Both denominations also worked to organize local congregations into larger cooperative networks known as synods, which later established colleges and seminaries. Renowned among the leaders of the German churches in the early Republic were the Lutheran missionary pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787) and the Reformed minister Michael Schlatter (1718–1790). Besides the Lutheran and Reformed majority, German Protestants in the early Republic also represented a number of traditions associated with the so-called Radical Reformation and Pietism. Groups of Mennonites, Moravians, Amish, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, and Waldensians had migrated to America before the War of Independence, seeking freedom from the persecution they often experienced as outlaw religions in Europe.

The episodes of religious revival that occurred in America in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries appealed to many Germans. The dramatic expansion of Baptist and Methodist churches during the early national period occurred in part because of Germans who exchanged their previous religious affiliation, or indifference, for the pioneer spirituality of the fast-growing evangelical denominations. Germans who wanted an evangelical alternative to their traditional Lutheran and Reformed churches also formed new denominations such as the United Brethren (founded by Philip William Otterbein), the Evangelical Association (founded by Jacob Albright) and the Church of God (founded by John Winebrenner). In spite of such developments, however, traditional German churches continued to thrive as the German population increased and expanded. Wherever they went, German settlers usually established churches, which served as the predominant institutions of German culture.

In association with churches Germans also established schools for the religious instruction and elementary education of young people. The prevalence of schools in German communities contributed to a high degree of literacy among the German population and further promoted the integrity of German culture.

## POLITICS AND LEADERSHIP

Despite their cultural distinctions in the early American Republic, Germans embraced the ideals and opportunities of the new nation and contributed to its vitality. On 5 July 1776 the Philadelphia printer Henrich Miller published a notice concerning the Declaration of Independence in his semiweekly newspaper, the *Pennsylvanische Staatsbote.* The next issue of the paper included a German version of the entire Declaration. Miller's eagerness to publicize in German the actions of the Continental Congress indicates the degree of interest Germans felt in the affairs of the Revolution and the new nation being established.

Though some Germans in America remained loyal to the British crown, the majority—including many religious pacifists who would not bear arms—supported the Revolution. Thousands served as ordinary soldiers; a few became distinguished officers. Notable among the latter was John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg (1746–1807), the eldest son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. At the start of the Revolution, Peter Muhlenberg, then serving as a minister in Virginia, was named to a local committee helping to organize that state's involvement in the war. He rose quickly through the ranks of command, becoming a brigadier general in 1777 and a major general in 1783.

The war itself brought many Germans to America. The British crown purchased the military service of nearly thirty thousand German troops from the princes of several German states; because the majority of the troops came from Hesse-Cassel, they have usually been referred to simply as "Hessians." The crown's money was ill spent: more than one-third of the contracted troops abandoned the British army either by simple desertion or enlistment with the American forces, later settling within German communities in Pennsylvania and other states. Congress actively enticed such desertions with offers of American citizenship and free land. Some Germans came to America enticed by the Revolution itself and eager to aid the patriots in their struggle. Perhaps the most famous was Friedrich von Steuben (1730–1794), a Prussian aristocrat in search of adventure who met Benjamin Franklin in Paris in 1777 and offered his services. Baron von Steuben aided Washington in the training and organization of the American forces. After the war he received American citizenship and retired to New York. Another notable German who fought for the Americans was Johann Kalb (1721–1780), a native Bavarian known as Baron de Kalb (although he was not in fact a baron). Kalb came to America in 1777 with Lafayette and was wounded and captured by the British in South Carolina, where he died.

Some Germans served the new nation in high political office. Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg (1750–1801), younger brother to Peter Muhlenberg, was elected in 1779 to serve as a Pennsylvania delegate to the Continental Congress. He later supported Federalist efforts to ratify the Constitution and was named Speaker of the House during the First (1789–1791) and Third (1793–1795) Congress, during which terms his brother Peter also served as a member of the House. David Rittenhouse (1732–1796), a native of Germantown, became the first director of the United States Mint in 1792. In 1808 Simon Snyder (1759–1819) became the first German American to serve as governor of Pennsylvania, serving three terms in that office.

Outside Pennsylvania, where they represented a large percentage of the state's population, Germans were not often elected to high office at the state or federal level in the early national period. More frequently, they held positions of local leadership within ethnic communities at the county or township level. The German conception of American law and liberty emphasized individual rights and local autonomy over against centralized authority. For this reason, although Germans never constituted a homogeneous political bloc, most of them preferred the Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson to the Federalist Party of John Adams. In the 1790s Frederick Muhlenberg shifted his own affiliation from the Federalists to the Republicans, and German support for Jefferson in 1800 helped to decide the election.

Preference for local autonomy shaped the attitudes and responses of Germans to a variety of issues in the early Republic. For example, Germans largely opposed various plans to establish public schools in Pennsylvania, preferring their own traditional parochial schools. When John Fries, a German in eastern Pennsylvania, led an armed opposition to federal tax assessors who were commissioned by the Adams administration in the late 1790s, many Germans sympathized with the rebellion as a necessary resistance to centralized encroachment over local autonomy. On the other hand, during the 1820s, when some evangelicals agitated to prohibit the government from delivering mail on Sunday, many Germans objected that the reformers were trying to establish unwarranted hegemony over the affairs of the nation, thereby usurping the authority of Congress. Ironically, one of the most enduring legacies of German emphasis on local preference is the national observance of a Christmas holiday in the contemporary

United States, which is due in part to German resistance to government workdays scheduled on 25 December and 26 December.

See also **Education: Public Education; German-Language Publishing; Hessians; Moravians; Printers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arndt, Karl John Richard, and Reimer C. Eck, eds. *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America: A Bibliography Based on the Studies of Oswald Seidensticker and Wilbur H. Oda.* Compiled by Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhof. 2 vols. Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 1989.

Fogleman, Aaron Spencer. *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Lehmann, Hartmut, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, eds. *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Moltmann, Günter. *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683–1983.* Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations in Cooperation with Inter Nationes, 1982.

Nolt, Steven M. *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Splitter, Wolfgang. *Pastors, People, Politics: German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, 1740–1790.* Trier, Germany: Wissenschaftlicher, 1998.

Trommler, Frank, and Joseph McVeigh, eds. *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

*Paul A. Baglyos*

## Ireland

Immigrants from Ireland played a critical role in the development of the new American nation. As indentured servants, they formed the backbone of the labor force that allowed the colonies to thrive. As artisans, tradesmen, merchants, and patriots, they made the foundation of the United States possible. The first census of the United States in 1790 found 3.17 million Americans of European descent, of which 400,000 to 517,000, or 14 to 17 percent, were of Irish origin. In 1820, the year when the Department of State began collecting statistics about immigrants and their country of origin, the Irish accounted for almost half of the total number of immigrants.

For the years 1820–1830, the Irish were the largest group of immigrants entering the country, consistently outnumbering the second-place British by a factor of at least two to one. As these figures indicate, the Irish formed a significant portion of the American population well before the great immigration waves of the mid-nineteenth century. However, unlike the later influx of Irish Catholics during the Famine, the Irish immigrants of the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries were predominantly Protestant. Their American contemporaries grouped all immigrants from Ireland under the label "Irish," but among themselves the Irish had more subtle distinctions based largely on religious affiliation.

Although it is a trap to view the conflict among the peoples of Ireland as solely based on religious differences, religious labels were often used as shorthand to indicate deeper cultural and political identities. Catholicism was the religion of the oldest groups in the country: the native Irish and the descendants of the twelfth-century English conquerors who had adopted the customs of Gaelic culture. Descendants of English colonists of the Elizabethan era, the self-named Protestant Ascendancy, were members of the Church of Ireland. The last significant religious grouping was that of Dissenters, Protestants not affiliated with the Church of Ireland. This group included Quakers, Methodists, and, most significant to Irish immigration, the Ulster Scots—Presbyterians of Scottish descent who colonized Ulster during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. In the past, the historiography of Irish immigration was heavily influenced by Irish nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a process that envisioned Irish immigrants as a homogenous, predominantly Irish Catholic whole. However, scholarship of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries favors a more nuanced treatment of the different immigration patterns of the Protestant and Catholic Irish.

### IMMIGRATION BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Eighteenth-century Irish immigration, especially before the American Revolution, was dominated by Protestants, particularly the Ulster Scots. It is estimated that between 250,000 and 400,000 Irish Protestants arrived in America during the eighteenth century, 75 percent of whom were Presbyterians from Ulster. In the pre-Revolutionary period, there were two significant waves of Ulster Scots immigration, in 1754–1755 and 1771–1775, with large numbers originating in the northern counties of Antrim, Derry, and Down. Faced with pressures in Ireland created by landholding practices, economic decline,

and a degree of religious intolerance, Ulster Scots saw emigration to America as an increasingly attractive opportunity for bettering the fortunes of their families and communities.

Most Ulster Scots were tenant farmers who survived by a mix of cultivation, livestock breeding, and either linen or wool production. Changes in landholding practices had the deepest-felt and most immediate impact on this lifestyle. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the original leases granted to Scottish Presbyterians for the colonization of Ulster began to come due. The implementation of the Ulster Plantation was rather successful, and the Anglo-Irish landlords no longer felt the need to keep a population of Scottish settlers as a buffer between themselves and the native Irish. Leases were renewed with shorter terms and higher rates (a process known as rack-renting), some leases were auctioned to the highest bidder (canting), and large renewal fees were tacked onto the transaction. As a result of these practices, access to land grew more restricted and competitive. The Ulster Scots found themselves up against native, Catholic Irish families who were willing to pay the high rents in order to live on their ancestral lands. As their access to land diminished, the Ulster Scots farmers discovered they had a way to obtain ready passage money; by a practice known as the "Ulster Custom," tenants were reimbursed by their landlords at the end of their lease for any improvements they made to the land during their tenancy.

Many may not have chosen to immigrate because of higher rents. However, several economic factors increased the pressure on the northern tenant farmers' incomes. As their rents increased, the Ulster Scots also faced higher food prices, at the same time finding they could no longer make as much money producing textiles. The linen industry declined in the second half of the eighteenth century, going into full recession during the 1770s. A currency and capital shortage placed stress on other crafts, creating a lull in trade overall. Agrarian violence rose as it became more and more difficult to make a living off the land, with such notable outbreaks as the Oakboys in 1764 and the Steelboys in 1770–1771. As Dissenters, Ulster Scots also bore a measure of religious intolerance—being required to tithe to the Church of Ireland in addition to supporting their own presbyteries—that may have increased their desire to leave the Anglican-run establishment of Ireland. Given all these factors, and the exacerbation of an ever-growing population, many tenant-farmers opted to accept their reimbursement and take their chances overseas.

The majority of Ulster Scots emigrated in groups, either with their families or with their local church community. The majority also relied on the Ulster Custom to pay their passage in advance; however, during the recession of the 1770s, the majority traveled as indentured servants or "redemptioners" who had to repay their ship's captain within a certain period of disembarking. A symbiotic shipping relationship between Ireland and America in the eighteenth century encouraged the flow of raw materials to Ireland and passengers to America. Departing from the ports of Belfast, Newry, Derry, and Larne, with occasional departures from the southern Irish ports of Dublin, Waterford, and Cork, Ulster Scots immigrants landed principally in Newcastle, Delaware, and Philadelphia. A portion of Ulster Scots, those with artisanal skills or a surplus of capital, remained on the American seaboard and made their living as trades- or craftsmen. In general, though, Ulster Scots immigrants continued to make their living by farming, becoming pioneer settlers in the backcountry of early America; in the South they also raised cattle and helped create the cattle economy. From Newcastle and Philadelphia they moved to where land was available, first in the Delaware Valley, then to the Cumberland Valley and beyond. By the 1760s the Ulster Scots fanned out into the South Carolina piedmont, into western Pennsylvania, and across the Cumberland Gap into Tennessee and Kentucky. Initially, their lives were full of hardship. They endured around-the-clock labor on isolated frontier farms, housed in rough log cabins; the women bore tremendous workloads on the frontier. The Ulster Scots focus on acquiring more land often placed them in contact and conflict with surrounding Native American tribes. In America the transplanted Ulster Scots found themselves acting as a buffer between British and Native Americans, much as their ancestors had served as a boundary between the Anglo-Irish and native Irish. With time and good fortune, the Ulster Irish were able to increase their standing in America. The seaboard merchants and professionals made their mark in American politics, medicine, law, and finance, speculating on the further development of the west. The backcountry pioneers eventually were able to move up from log cabins to respectable farmhouses.

Nearly 100,000 Irish Catholics immigrated to America in the eighteenth century. It is especially difficult to get a clear picture of those who made the journey in the pre-Revolutionary period. Unlike the Ulster Scots, they tended to travel singly, and it is assumed they were wanderers—underclass servants, migrant workers, and transported criminals—with

few ties to their ancestral lands in Ireland. In addition to the increased competition for resources created by Ireland's rapidly growing population, economic factors forced these immigrants from their homeland. Southern Ireland experienced a famine in 1740–1741, a potato failure in 1765, and a grain failure in 1766–1767. Cottage textile production was hurt by a handloom weaving collapse in Cork in 1769 and the linen depression of the 1770s. Living at the very margins in Ireland, this free-floating group of Irish Catholics felt that it was preferable to live as indentured servants in America, hoping for better opportunities once their terms of indenture were up. These immigrants followed the same shipping patterns as the Ulster Scots, landing predominantly in Newcastle and Philadelphia.

Around 20 percent of Irish Catholic servants worked for merchants, artisans, or tradesmen in cities like Philadelphia and Baltimore. The majority of Irish Catholic indentured servants became agricultural laborers. Those working in the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey worked as farmhands. Although they had to endure harsh adjustments to America's more variable climate and a corn-based diet, their masters tended to treat them relatively humanely. Servants in the South encountered a more exploitative environment, driven by the aristocratic tastes and heavy debts of the planter class. Indentured servants on plantations found their masters treated them as property, whereas northern masters only laid claim to their time. In both the North and South conditions were far from easy as shown by a disproportionately high percentage of advertisements for Irish-born runaway indentured servants. Those Irish who did successfully serve out their contracts were given "freedom dues" of clothing, tools, seed, and provisions, but rarely land. With this new stock, they often went on to become farmers or pioneers farther inland from their place of indenture, or wandering farm laborers. A minority became workers in towns and cities.

### IRISH AMERICANS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The period of the American Revolution saw a marked decline in immigration from Ireland. The war, with its closure of sea lanes, disrupted shipping and the passenger trade along the Atlantic. In addition, any potential passengers were hesitant to risk the danger of being taken up from their journey abroad and impressed into the British military. However, even as the tide of incoming Irish stemmed to almost nothing, the Irish who had immigrated in the earlier years of the 1770s took on a significant role in the violent birth of the new American nation.

By the middle of the 1770s, many Ulster Scots immigrants had established themselves firmly enough in their new land to have moved beyond the constant labor and hand-to-mouth existence of frontier life. Ulster Scots found themselves intensely interested in the Revolutionary crisis precisely because they were more established; their financial and physical security was tied up in their American colleagues and contacts and depended heavily on the outcome of the war. They were also quick to adopt the republicanism espoused by the proponents of the Revolution, exposed as they were in their Presbyterianism to the radical republican ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment. In general, the Ulster Scots immigrants were pro-Revolutionary. As a result, the American armies of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania had a disproportionately high number of Ulster Scots soldiers. Ulster Scots were especially prominent in the Revolutionary Pennsylvania government, with such men as Thomas McKean as chief justice, Joseph Reed as president of the executive council, and George Bryan as vice president.

Although evidence is sketchy, it is believed that Catholic Irish immigrants were more conservative and slower to choose sides between the British and American causes. Some may have felt the Revolution was a chance to prove their loyalty to the crown by serving in royalist forces against the rebels. However, dissatisfaction with the British handling of Irish affairs along with the lure of advancement within American society may have won over many. Indentured servants among Catholic Irish immigrants may have been most attracted to military service, which could very well reward them with an early termination of the indentures, business connections, and the possibility of land grants out west.

In the long run the service of Irish immigrants in the American Revolution earned the Irish in America better living conditions than those Irish living under British rule. As members of the early Republic, the Irish gained access to civil and military offices, voting, and membership in the professions of law and medicine. Even Irish Catholics benefited. Although there were still legal barriers to Catholic office-holding in some states, they did win other rights not held before. There was even an increased toleration for Catholic religion, which contributed to the solid establishment of the Catholic Church in America by 1790. The Irish Catholic immigrant John Carroll was consecrated the first bishop of Baltimore in this period.

## IMMIGRATION FROM 1783 TO 1829

Patterns of immigration changed markedly in the postrevolutionary period. America was now a competitive market, no longer providing the benefits of common British membership, and Irish shippers were forced to diversify their goods and broaden their geographic range. Immigrants now had greater opportunities to sail into ports in New York and New England, as well as Delaware and Philadelphia. There was also a sharp decline in the practice of indentured servitude in the 1780s. The American Revolution questioned the morality of both indenture and slavery, and captains were suspicious of the willingness of American courts to uphold articles of indenture. As the new American nation found its feet, other types of work were advertised that did not require indentures. By 1800 Irish indentured servants were no longer a factor in immigration from Ireland. Shipping agents preferred the security of paying passengers, such as farmers, artisans, small businessmen, schoolmasters, and physicians.

The end of the eighteenth century also saw a rise in the number of Catholic Irish entering America, although they were still outnumbered by Irish Protestants. The failed 1798 Rebellion of the United Irishmen forced many surviving Protestants and Catholics to flee prosecution or subsequent sectarian violence in Ireland. The United Irishmen themselves, with their classical republican tradition, turned to America as a natural sanctuary. Their skills in political organization and newspaper publishing along with the timing of their arrival had a significant impact on the debate between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans. Irish Protestants and Catholics united behind the Republican banner in opposition to the Federalists' implementation of the Alien and Sedition Acts and their attempts to keep United Irishmen out of America. The United Irishmen immigrants, such as the successful newspaperman Matthew Carey, pushed for a wider political franchise and a more egalitarian and accessible legal system. Their ideas became the hallmarks of what Americans proudly called democracy by the end of the War of 1812. The post-Revolutionary period saw increasing numbers of Irish and those of Irish descent successfully involved in American politics. Some became influential in local and regional party politics, especially in Philadelphia and New York, while others like the Scots-Irish Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun were elected to the highest national offices.

After 1800 the competition for Irish land coupled with the increased commercialization of agriculture pushed more and more Catholics out of Ireland. The era of Irish Catholic immigration had begun, with the numbers of Catholic immigrants doubling every twenty years—a full forty years before the Great Famine. By the 1810s Irish Societies were appearing in major American cities to help new immigrants find housing, jobs, and community. Ulster Scots adopted the label "Scotch-Irish" in this period to distinguish themselves from the growing enclaves of Catholic Irish immigrants. However, this was the most overt sign of sectarian differences. It seemed for the brief period of the 1820s, up through the inauguration of President Andrew Jackson, that the Irish in America would be able to put aside the religious and cultural differences that had marked them so profoundly in Ireland. This time of relative peace was broken by a mass southern Irish migration in the 1830s that sparked Irish sectarian differences and further fueled the rise of the anti–immigrant, anti–Irish Catholic hatred known as nativism.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Catholicism; Boston; Catholicism and Catholics; Democratic Republicans; Farm Making; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; Livestock Production; Presbyterians; Work: Agricultural Labor; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop; Work: Indentured Servants.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bric, Maurice J. "Patterns of Irish Emigration to America, 1783–1800." *Eire-Ireland* 36, nos.1–2 (spring–summer 2001): 10–20.

Chepesiuk, Ronald. *The Scotch-Irish: From the North of Ireland to the Making of America.* Jefferson, N.C., and London: McFarland, 2000.

Connelly, S. J. "Ulster Presbyterians: Religion, Culture, and Politics, 1660–1850." In *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish.* Edited by H. T. Blethen and Curtis W. Wood, Jr. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997.

Doyle, David Noel. *Ireland, Irishmen, and Revolutionary America, 1760–1820.* Dublin: Mercier Press, 1981.

———. "The Irish in North America, 1776–1845." In *A New History of Ireland*, Volume 5: *Ireland under the Union*, I, *1801–1870*, edited by W. E. Vaughn. Oxford U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Eid, Leroy V. "No Freight Paid So Well: Irish Emigration to Pennsylvania on the Eve of the American Revolution." *Eire-Ireland* 27, nos. 1–2 (spring–summer 1997): 35–59.

Kenny, Kevin. *The American Irish: A History.* New York: Longman, 2000.

Miller, Kerby A. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Miller, Kerby A., ed. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary*

*America, 1675–1815.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Wilson, David A. *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

*Jennifer Stiles*

## Scots and Scots-Irish

The relationship of Scots and Scots-Irish immigrants to North America—the latter principally Presbyterians from Ulster in the north of Ireland, predominantly of Scottish background and connections—is among the most complex of migration stories. At one time it was common to treat migrants from those two places as a single people deriving from a common ethnic "stock." But in recent years, as historians came to shun the use of racialist characterizations, they began to emphasize instead the distinctions between migrants from Scotland and from Ulster, who had been separated by many miles of water and a century of divergent development before the transatlantic migrations of either group began in earnest in the early part of the eighteenth century.

That approach has proved no more satisfactory than the first. The more that is learned about the extensive movements of peoples within the Atlantic world during the early modern era, the more difficult it is to establish such clear separations. In the case of the inhabitants of Scotland and Ulster, there was simply too much movement back and forth between the locales, and too many persistent connections, to permit the rapid establishment of distinct identities among their populations. While Scots began moving to Ulster at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for most of that century the north of Ireland and the west of Scotland were less separate societies than alternate locations to which populations flocked at different times in the face of religious and political conflicts and economic woes. Thus, while twenty thousand or more Scots settled in Ulster during the early plantation years, a large portion of them fled to Scotland during the civil war years in Ireland at mid-century. Some then returned to Ireland with the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and the return of Ireland to Protestant control. The greatest period of Scots migration to Ulster was undoubtedly during the famine years of the 1690s, a mere two decades before the start of substantial transatlantic migration from that province. Thus, Ulster's first migrants to America were hardly the products of a wholly separate society.

Several kinds of links continued to connect the inhabitants of Ulster and the west of Scotland thereafter. Ulster Presbyterians continued to travel to Scotland for their educations; in many respects, Glasgow served as their cultural capital. Moreover, they were linked by the process of migration itself; emigration vessels departing Scotland, for example, sometimes called at northern Irish ports along the way, and Scots traveling to America sometimes sailed from Ulster ports. It is often difficult to determine whether a particular group of immigrants had departed from Scotland or Ulster, or where they had lived before arriving at the point of departure.

### EARLY MIGRATION PATTERNS

One feature common to the experiences of those settlers was a strong migratory tradition. For centuries, Scots—coming from an impoverished land on the outskirts of Europe with few natural resources—had been among the most mobile people on that continent. Long before they began moving to America, Scots had traveled extensively within Europe, to the Baltic and Scandinavia and the Low Countries in search of opportunity in the army or in trade; the seventeenth-century movement to Ulster was one manifestation of that tradition. Moreover, the necessity of finding opportunities abroad had meant that migration among the Scots affected an unusually broad spectrum of the population, extending well beyond the desperately poor to include merchants, scholars, and clergymen in substantial numbers.

Early Scots and Scots-Irish migration to America was influenced by those traditions. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, relatively few Scots traveled across the Atlantic, even though they continued to move abroad in large numbers. That was largely because they were too well connected in Europe to be interested in transatlantic migration. The frequency of out-migration, including the massive movement to Ireland during the famine years of the 1690s, left Scotland rather underpopulated at the outset of the eighteenth century, with numbers at a level not much different from the century before. Thus, the overall rate of out-migration from Scotland declined in the eighteenth century. By contrast, the north of Ireland, which had attracted so many migrants, became a fertile source of emigrants, and from the 1710s men and women from Ulster began crossing the Atlantic in ever-larger numbers.

The immigration of Scots and Scots-Irish falls into three distinct phases. The first, lasting until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), saw modest Scots migration coupled with the beginning

of substantial movement from Ulster. The second phase took place between the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution (1775–1783), during which time emigration from both Scotland and Ulster became increasingly prominent phenomena and closely connected movements. The final phase followed American independence and led once again to the development of distinct patterns in Scots and Scots-Irish migration.

While there had been occasional migrants from both Scotland and Ulster to North America from the beginning of English colonization, the movement began in earnest in the second decade of the eighteenth century, heading first to New England but then, increasingly, to Philadelphia. In the peak year of 1729, close to six thousand persons may have left Ulster for the Delaware Valley. That movement was a response to several forces: the relatively high population levels carried over from the Scots migrations of the late seventeenth century; fluctuations in the linen trade, a staple for Ulster Scots; and the disadvantaged position of Presbyterians as dissenters from the established Church of Ireland. Over four decades, as many as thirty thousand persons departed Ulster ports for North America, the great majority heading for the Delaware Valley towns of Philadelphia and Newcastle. As many as one-third of Ulster migrants during this period may have traveled as indentured servants. Migration from Scottish ports during this period was much less, owing in part to stagnant population levels resulting from the considerable migrations to Ireland and Europe the century before. The principal exception was a growing movement to the colonies of persons from the commercial and professional classes that included merchants, doctors, clergymen, and public officials of all sorts.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

Scots-Irish migration continued and even accelerated in the second phase, as the end of the Seven Years' War opened up new lands to settlement and attracted new immigrants. At least thirty thousand and perhaps as many as fifty thousand emigrants headed to North America over the next fifteen years, still concentrating in the Delaware Valley, although increasing numbers moved west and south from there into the opening backcountry regions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and into the New York backcountry as well. What was new in the second phase was a dramatic increase in migration directly from Scotland, also amounting to upwards of thirty thousand persons. During this phase, migrations from the two places often overlapped, as ships from Ulster carried migrants from Scotland, while emigration promoters in Scotland advertised and enlisted agents in the north of Ireland as well.

The second phase of migration included a significantly broader spectrum of the population than had traveled before, especially from Scotland. Where earlier immigrants had come disproportionately from the educated classes, almost all from the Scottish Lowlands, they were joined after 1763 by increasing numbers of farmers and artisans. Where earlier movements had originated predominantly in the Scottish Lowlands, in the second phase nearly half of the migrants were Highlanders, and the proportion increased until the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and the colonies in 1775. Rather than concentrating in the eastern cities, as earlier migrants had done, they fanned out into the backcountry and into the underdeveloped but rapidly growing colonies of North Carolina and New York. Especially among the Highlanders, the great majority came in families and traveled as free passengers, with only a few single migrants or indentured servants among them.

Another new feature of the second phase of Scots and Scots-Irish emigration was the place it attained in public discussion. During this period Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) and James Boswell (1740–1795), touring the western islands of Scotland, saw the rising "emigration mania" wherever they went. During that time also, panicked Highland landlords asked the British government to place controls on emigration, fearing the depopulation of their estates. On the other side, political and religious dissenters cited a rising level of emigration as evidence of the need for the reform of Britain's economic and political systems, and they played leading roles in the creation of Scotland's first organized emigration companies. All of that encouraged writers and newspapers to publicize and quite probably exaggerate the movements to the point that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction in their accounts or to gauge the numbers involved.

In addition to those newcomers, the American colonies continued to attract more than their share of Scots with professional educations during this period. Among those were two who would be members of the Continental Congress and signers of the Declaration of Independence: John Witherspoon (1723–1794), minister of the Church of Scotland, who became president of the Presbyterian College of New Jersey at Princeton and de facto head of the Presbyterian Church in America, and James Wilson (1742–1798), Pennsylvania lawyer and leading political

thinker, an influential member of the Constitutional Convention, and a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

### AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The outbreak of war between America and Britain in 1775 halted the migration flow; when it resumed the following decade, there was a new United States. One result was to divert many migrants to the remaining British colonies in Upper Canada and the Maritime provinces, which in succeeding years became the principal destination for Scottish emigrants, especially from the Highlands, in numbers that sometimes exceeded the peak years of 1774–1775. Montreal and Quebec and Halifax now succeeded New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston as trading points for Scots merchants.

Migration from Ulster was less affected by American independence. By the third phase of emigration, the migration histories of Scotland and Ulster were less intertwined than they had been before, possibly because by this time the Ulster community had established a more stable identity than previously. As was the case with Scots migrants, movement from Ulster to North America resumed and even accelerated during the 1780s, in their case much of it to the new United States—as many as 5,000 arrivals per year. Migration declined during the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), but accelerated afterward. Overall, perhaps 200,000 people moved from the north of Ireland to North America between 1783 and 1835, some to the Canadian provinces, some directly to the United States, and some to the new nation by way of the northern provinces.

Among Scots, the one kind of migration that continued in earnest after American independence was that of merchants and professionals. Clergymen continued to migrate, as would physicians and educators. One group of Scots who were increasingly noticeable in particular were those with industrial and technical skills in mining and textiles who would play a considerable role in transferring the technology of industrialization to the United States. They would include Robert Dale Owen (1771–1858), son of the pioneer of the model industrial community of New Lanark in Scotland and founder of the utopian community of New Harmony in Indiana; in his utopianism, Owen would be matched by his partner, Frances Wright (1795–1852). Technicians and inventors and engineers would be followed by entrepreneurs investing in all facets of American development, of whom the most renowned would be Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919).

Another kind of immigrant who arrived in the new nation from both Scotland and Ulster was the political refugee. The 1790s was a decade of political reaction in Britain and Ireland, and those who supported political reform in Britain or the campaign of the United Irishmen—led first by Ulster Presbyterians—found themselves confronting prison and exile. Among those who fled to America were political journalists, such as the Scotsman James Thomson Callender (1758–?), and the future ornithologist Alexander Wilson (1766–1813). Most would support the Jeffersonian party or later democratic movements.

One thing that particularly distinguished Scots and Scots-Irish immigration from that of most ethnic groups was their relatively easy adjustment into American society as white, English-speaking Protestants from the United Kingdom—despite occasional outbursts against the allegedly uncivilized Scots-Irish of the backcountry or "Scotch mercenaries" at the time of the American Revolution. Thus, they never faced the discrimination encountered by Catholic migrants from southern Ireland. They have been called invisible immigrants for their ability to fit in. Moreover, the Presbyterianism of the largest number of these migrants was often more in keeping with the American religious mainstream even than the predominant Anglicanism of the majority of newcomers from England.

Their relatively easy adaptation was facilitated also by their migratory traditions. From early on, both Ulster Scots and Scots Highlanders were regarded as a valuable resource for settling backcountry lands, where they could serve as a buffer for eastern settlers against Indian attacks. Their history of venturing abroad in search of commercial opportunities also made them well suited to promoting the commercial development of the backcountry, where Scots traders established a powerful and disproportionate presence. And, having established some of the Western world's leading programs in the sciences and technology during the eighteenth century, and as a result of the long-standing willingness of trained and educated Scots to travel, Scots, along with the Ulster natives who flocked to their universities, played critical roles in bringing technical expertise and inventiveness to the new nation.

*See also* **Demography; Denominationalism; Frontier; Frontier Religion; Frontiersmen; Presbyterians.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aspinwall, Bernard. *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States*, 1820–1920. Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1984.

Bailyn, Bernard, with Barbara DeWolfe. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Brock, W. R., with C. Helen Brock. *Scots Americanus: A Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982.

Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718–1775.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

Durey, Michael. *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Graham, Ian Charles Cargill. *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707–1783.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Griffin, Patrick. *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Landsman, Ned C., ed. *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800.* Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 2001.

Miller, Kerby A. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Woceck, Marianne S. "Irish Immigration to the Delaware Valley before the American Revolution." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 96 (1996): 103–135.

*Ned C. Landsman*

## Anti-Immigrant Sentiment/Nativism

Nativism during the first half century of American nationhood played nothing like the part it did in the second. No movement to define nationality in a restrictive way coalesced sufficiently to produce local political movements like New York City's Native American Democratic Association of the mid-1830s, much less putatively national organizations such as the American Party of the 1850s. At the end of the third decade of the nineteenth century, there were still no colorful nativist fraternities like the Order of United Americans or the Sons of the Sires of '76. There were no convent burnings, lurid public exposés of the "licentiousness" of the Roman Catholic confessional, street battles between immigrant and "native" fire companies, or employers' windows posted with "No Irish Need Apply" notices. There was only a hint of the mass immigration from Europe that later offered nativists their foils, the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon (1793–1815) and the United States's own economic doldrums providing little encouragement to transatlantic migrants.

### THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY

Yet the roots of the robust nativist movement that spawned a major third party political insurgency at mid-century, played a role in the remaking of the American political landscape, and had a prominent and enduring cultural impact lasting into the twentieth century were nurtured in the decades before 1830. It should not be at all surprising that a movement about defining nationality had its origins in a period of nation building.

The opportunity for a nativist movement was provided by the unprecedented character of the American nation itself. The preexisting European definitions of "nation" did not seem to fit this new creation. The United States neither drew identity from association with a historic "people," with cohesion in common traditions, values, culture, or "blood," nor from time-tested institutions nor even long-established territorial boundaries in the ways to which Europeans were accustomed. To be sure, the United States had established political and legal structures, but the notion that they operated by the voluntary subscription of the citizenry rather than as the inheritance of monarchical authority or feudal obligation was untested.

European doubters regularly reminded Americans that they might not be a nation at all, certainly not one calculated to endure. Americans were disposed to have their own doubts. Political rhetoric inherited from eighteenth-century Britain posited that republics faced endemic internal threats. The rich and powerful might come to dominate as oligarchs or the poor and ignorant might fall to the sway of demagogues and tend to anarchy. Consequently, the central requisite for a republican citizen seemed to be what was then called "independence" or what later might be called "autonomy." The only reliable citizen was one with the freedom of mind to resist manipulation and the material possessions or prospects to avoid domination. This outlook encouraged scrutiny of others, and a conventional ethnocentrism directed attention to those who looked, talked, or lived differently. But, as important, it encouraged judgment of self. For if citizens fell into dependency of almost any sort, not only was the nation in peril, but their very identity as Americans was threatened. Nativists, or in the period from 1789 to 1829, protonativists, were those for whom anxieties about both self and nation became particularly intense.

## ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS

Authentic nativism and the beginnings of organized nativist activism should not be confused with the nascent party politics behind the four pieces of legislation passed by the Federalist leadership in Congress in the summer of 1798, which collectively came to be known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. Particularly vexing to hard-line Federalists was the enthusiastic participation in press and politics of small numbers of Irish expatriates whose experiences with nationalist organizations like the United Irishmen had inclined them to take their ideological cues from revolutionary France rather than conservative Britain. Finding outlets in the Philadelphia *Aurora* and the publications of the Carey brothers, Mathew and James, the group included such outspoken anti-Federalists as James Callender, William Duane, and John Daly Burk. While three of the four measures were directed at the foreign-born, the legislation was much less about nationality than about the uncertainties of political party formation, doubts over legitimate political opposition, and a neocolonial outlook which suspected that the Republic remained a pawn of the European Great Powers. Suspicious of revolutionary France, eager for commercial alliance with Britain, and observing that neither the French in the United States nor many recent arrivals from the British Isles were likely friends of Federalism and the administration, Federalist votes in Congress supported a "Naturalization Act," an "Act Concerning Aliens," an "Act Respecting Alien Enemies," and an "Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes" (the Sedition Act). The first extended the probationary period for naturalization from five to fourteen years; the second and third—never enforced—created conditions for the punishment or deportation of politically troublesome aliens in either peace or war; and the final act, of which a congressman and several prominent Republican newspaper editors were the chief victims, outlawed publicly shared "false, scandalous, or malicious" words about the government or officers of the government. While political enemies did not hesitate to castigate the Irish origins of Republican Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont, the most visible public figure convicted under the Sedition Act for "libeling" President Adams, the issue was not nativity or nationality but ideology. The chief consequence of the acts was not an enduring nativism but the solidification of the Republicans as an opposition party.

## PROTONATIVISM

Actual protonativism originated with groups that established themselves to promote citizens' partici-

pation in republican government and the autonomy that permitted them to be reliable repositories of self-rule. Mechanics societies that sprung up in New York and Baltimore during the 1780s and 1790s lobbied for a just wage and economic competency for the laborer or craftsman, while promoting oratorical and debating skills considered essential to participation in public affairs. New York City's Tammany Society, founded in the late 1780s, sought to encourage effective participation in republican government for those without the wealth or connections of aristocracy. It endorsed free public education and the cessation of imprisonment for debt. Although a later version of Tammany would be closely associated with Irish American politics, its earliest incarnation actually had free-thought and anti-Catholic tendencies. Democratic Republican societies, which emerged in 1793–1795 in the tradition of the Revolution's Committees of Correspondence, not only supported public schools as training grounds for republicans but scanned the political horizon for evidence of republican degeneration and instituted mutual benefit insurance for members as a way of promoting autonomy and, accordingly, political reliability. This was a tradition sustained in New York City by the Washington Benevolent Society, founded in 1808, with a more Federalist temper.

These bodies organized to guarantee the ability of members to function as citizens but also to watch carefully for those who might imperil republican self-government by undermining citizens' autonomy. There was a pattern to whom they watched most closely. The conventional Anglo-American view of Roman Catholics as priest-drilled and ill-educated raised the specter of an organized bloc of dependent voters. The poorest among foreign-born arrivals attracted attention as prospectively devaluing labor and throwing American workers into dependency. Ethnocentrism suggested that these might have a capacity for living at a low living standard, a capacity that the self-respecting American republican lacked. In fact, any collection of persons that could be regarded as clannish or under some form of uniform direction could be regarded by protonativist groups with suspicion.

## THE 1820S: A TRANSITIONAL DECADE

Conditions in the mid-1820s set the stage for the eruption of a real nativist movement. The death of the last of the Republic's founders underscored latent anxieties about the future. Franchise reform, such as that which increased the size of the New York City electorate by 30 percent, reawakened fears of depen-

dent voters. The recession that had begun in 1819 ended and was succeeded by an agricultural boom, an emergent factory system of production, and a canal craze. All encouraged European immigration, and the foreign-born became more widely dispersed around the nation. Disfranchisement of small freeholders in Ireland in the mid–1820s, followed by landlord consolidations and dispossession of homes and livelihoods put Irish Catholics on the move to both England and America. These were the kind of people bound to impress anxious republicans as habitual dependents. Immigration figures, which had been running from 6,000 to 10,000 annually during the first half of the decade, increased to nearly 150,000—almost 51,000 of them Irish—by the end of the 1820s. Roman Catholics, who numbered only 35,000 nationwide in 1790, by 1830 made up nearly 75,000 residents of the New England states alone. (There would be 660,000 nationwide ten years later.) In 1829 a Provincial Council of American Catholic bishops specifically called for parochial education, which suggested to those of suspicious mind clerical thought control on the one hand and an affront to culturally unifying (and culturally hegemonic) public schooling on the other.

Nativism, appropriately associated with the decades of mass immigration following 1829, with the tensions of a growing and sectionally diverse nation, as well as with the stresses of urbanization and early industrialization, was, however, fundamentally about defining nationality. Its luxuriant growth in the antebellum period would have been impossible without the public debates and private anxieties about national character that were so prominent in the early American nation.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Catholicism and Catholics; Nationalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Archdeacon, Thomas J. *Becoming American: An Ethnic History.* New York: Free Press, 1983.

Bennett, David H. *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Knobel, Dale T. *America for the Americans: The Nativist Movement in the United States.* New York: Twayne, 1996.

Murrin, John M. "A Roof without Walls: The Dilemma of American National Identity." In *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity.* Edited by Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

*Dale T. Knobel*

## *Immigrant Experience*

Immigration was a consistent theme and formative force in the creation of the British colonies and the new American Republic. Streams of people from different nations left their homelands at different times and for various reasons, carrying their distinct cultures, beliefs, and institutions to the shores of a new land. They first came in small numbers, populating the colonies and helping to build the transatlantic trade. As the reputation of America spread, the flow of immigrants swelled, though economic and political conditions affected the actual periods and rates of migration. British officials and colonial leaders, ship and land companies, merchants, and others had to address the means of transporting, receiving, and accommodating this new population. Following the creation of the United States, American leaders addressed immigration policy, usually to ensure the ongoing flow of people that had helped to create the Republic and to guarantee the rights of those who sought asylum and freedom. During the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800), however, Congress in 1798 passed three Alien Acts that limited naturalization and provided for the deportation of immigrants.

### REASONS FOR COMING TO AMERICA

Immigration was a complex process that required an individual, family, or group to assess conditions in their homelands, decide whether relocating would be advantageous for them, and ultimately take the risk of packing up and moving to an unfamiliar location. In the late nineteenth century, British social scientist E. G. Ravenstein sought to explain this process through his "laws of migration." He posited that migration was a selective process whereby "push factors" impelled individuals to migrate and "pull factors" attracted immigrants to specific locations. Ravenstein concluded that each nation, region, and time period ultimately had its own distinct "push-pull factors" which shaped the streams and rates of migration.

Throughout the colonial and early national periods, there were numerous push factors that led to emigration from Europe. Between 1750 and 1850 the European population doubled in size, which contributed to significant economic and social changes across the continent. Skilled handworkers in the English textile industry were replaced by power looms. Farmers faced the enclosure of lands and the reorganization of the rural economy. High taxes and land rents along with increased poverty inspired individuals to migrate. Political circumstances, wars, and even the desire to escape military service led others to

leave their homes, while persecution of religious minorities caused others to depart.

There were also many pull factors that fostered emigration to America. Most common was the belief that America was "the promised land," a "land of liberty," and an asylum for the persecuted or the less fortunate. The colonies and eventually the new states attracted people by touting their flourishing settlements through pamphlets and newspapers. Ship companies, land companies, and labor brokers announced the many employment opportunities abroad. Clearly, the pursuit of economic opportunity was key for many as German and Scots-Irish farmers sought land and displaced English and Irish textile workers pursued employment in the developing textile industry in Philadelphia and New England. The American states, as they embarked upon internal improvements programs, recruited immigrant laborers to assist in the construction of roads and canals that would bind the new nation together. Likewise, the presence of distinct ethnic communities established by earlier immigrants encouraged individuals and families, often from the same region, hometown, or parish, to emigrate. There were even occasional instances of Americanized immigrants who returned home (known as Newlanders among the Germans) to promote the benefits of emigration.

One of the strongest motivating forces were written accounts, often called "America letters," sent back home by immigrants. These accounts brought families separated by the Atlantic together with news about economic conditions, cultural life, descriptions of daily life, and comparisons with previous conditions in the homeland. The letters often encouraged the recipients to relocate to America; some even included prepaid passage. Several foreigners also wrote travel accounts about their experiences in America, which were published in their homelands. Book-length works such as Englishman Morris Birkbeck's *Letters from Illinois* (1818) and German Gottfried Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord Amerika's* (1829, *Report on the Journey to the Western States of North America*) not only provided detailed information about life in the new nation but offered additional reasons and inspiration for migration. These letters and narratives provided potential immigrants with the rationales for leaving their homes and created images of expectations that shaped their visions of America well before they had departed home.

Observing the growing popularity of independent America, England imposed restrictions on emigration. In 1788, fearing the loss of workers to the growing American employment market, England banned the emigration of skilled artisans. The British Passenger Act of 1803 reduced the number of passengers that ships could carry, thus making it unprofitable for ship companies to seek immigrants as westbound cargo and hampering the flow of immigrants.

### FINANCING AND TRANSPORTATION

Immigrants generally financed their own trips to America from savings or sale of property. Some, however, received prepaid passages from family members or were recruited by American businesses. Another way of covering passage was becoming a redemptioner. Unlike thousands of early immigrants who were forced into indentured servitude, whose service contracts were at the disposal of the ships' captains or the owners' agents, a redemptioner voluntarily entered into a labor agreement, probably as a means of escaping undesirable conditions at home. Individuals actually executed two agreements, either before departure or after arriving—one with the ship captain, guaranteeing payment for passage upon arrival, and the other with the purchaser in America, specifying the terms of service.

Those departing Europe traveled from their hometowns by road or river to reach the principal ports of London, Belfast, and Londonderry, where they secured passage for America. As immigration increased and attracted a diversity of groups, the ports of Le Havre, Bremen, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Liverpool became more important in handling the Continent's immigrant flow. Sailing ships transported the immigrants to the principal American ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and later New Orleans.

Ships participating in the regular transatlantic trade were critical to the emerging immigration trade. Departing the colonies, the ships carried assorted goods to England and the European Continent; on the return trip, unoccupied space was made available to immigrants, thus allowing merchants and shipowners to gain from the return trip. Following the War of 1812 (1812–1815), ship companies introduced packet ships with regular sailings between New York and Liverpool, Le Havre, and other European ports. Steerage rates dropped from ten to twelve pounds in 1816 to five pounds in 1832, making travel more affordable for the common person.

Upon arriving in the port cities, the immigrants faced the challenges of getting situated in America. They might have been greeted by family members or encountered recruiters seeking laborers for local businesses. If the immigrants were redemptioners,

they faced the scrutiny of individuals, often Americanized immigrants, who would buy their services. For some groups there were benevolent associations, such as the German Society of Maryland, that addressed the needs of distressed Germans arriving in the country.

## SETTLEMENT

Immigrants responded to their new environments generally by settling in distinct ethnic enclaves, which allowed them to maintain their sense of community and cultural identity. Most transplanted the familiar institutions and cultural surroundings of the homeland—building houses and farms like the ones at home; adopting similar agricultural techniques; and establishing churches, schools, and social organizations. While British immigrants easily blended into the English-based society, other groups like Germans and Scots-Irish carved out distinct areas of settlement in Pennsylvania, the North and South Carolina Piedmont, and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, for example, where their cultural influences were clearly evident. Though many immigrants found a new life in America's growing cities, most acquired some of the abundant agricultural lands and established farms, thereby distinguishing themselves from the next major migration of immigrants, which would be heavily urban in residential concentration.

## ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE TO ASSIMILATION

All immigrants, regardless of origin and period of migration, had to come to terms with life in America as well as with their separation and isolation from home. Their ability and willingness to adapt or assimilate varied, depending much upon their socioeconomic status, the extent to which their group's traditional cultural had been transplanted in the regions where they settled, and the number of people within their communities.

The transition of immigrants from the British Isles was generally easier, given the predominance of English culture and institutions within the American colonies (though the Scots-Irish continued to maintain hostility toward all things English and sought to maintain a separate existence). There were, however, reservations among many English people about the increasing diversity of the American population, which, they believed, could undermine the colonies. Some feared the threat of Catholicism to the American experiment. Others, like Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), expressed a concern that Pennsylvania

would become "a Colony of Aliens" and that the growing German population would eventually "Germanize us." Germans tended to cluster and were consequently more visible than other non-English immigrant groups as an "unassimilable bloc." As a result, according to the historian John Higham, fear of Germans represented the first ethnic crisis in American history. With the slowing of immigration due to world events in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many of the earlier non-English immigrant groups—Dutch, Germans, Swedes—were not reinforced by regular arrivals of new immigrants to maintain the strength of their cultures. The first generation traditionally retained much of its ethnic identity; intermarriage, education, and contact with American society, however, led the second generation to become increasingly assimilated, which often strained the ethnic community. Frenchman Michel-Guillaume-Jean de Crèvecouer, writing in the 1780s, argued for assimilation and called upon immigrants to "cast off the European skin, never to resume it. They must look forward to their posterity rather than backward to their ancestors."

Following the American Revolution and the creation of the American nation, immigrants, in their letters and books about life in the United States, affirmed America as a land of opportunity and a sanctuary for the oppressed. Not only did these attitudes intensify the desire to emigrate, but they also elicited a growing sentiment among the resident immigrant population to associate more strongly with the American nation.

## NATURALIZATION

The British Parliament enacted a naturalization law in 1740 that permitted foreigners in America to acquire "subjectship" in their colonies of residence, provided they proved residence in any colony continuously for seven years, professed Christianity, had taken the sacrament in a Protestant congregation, and swore allegiance to the king. In 1761 Parliament permitted the British army to naturalize those foreign Protestants who had served in the military for two years in the colonies. Americans, however, believing that the colonies should exercise their own control, passed their own naturalization laws until the king nullified them in 1773 and prohibited colonial governors from approving such laws. Writing in the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson charged the king with obstructing immigration and the naturalization process of foreigners.

With independence won, the new American states took control of naturalization policies, which essentially required a public oath of allegiance to the state government, a period of residency, and a disavowal of allegiance to foreign sovereigns. The first Congress of the United States adopted a naturalization statute in 1790 that allowed any "free white person" who had resided in the country for two years to be naturalized. Fearing the growing political power of the Jeffersonian Republicans and the strength of ethnic voters as well as responding to the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and a military crisis with France, the Federalists raised the residency requirement to five years in 1795 and to fourteen years in 1798 as part of the Alien and Sedition Acts. After Jefferson's election as president in 1800, the Republican-controlled Congress, opposing his proposal to grant immediate citizenship to all newcomers, returned the residency requirement in 1802 to five years.

As immigration resumed following the War of 1812, the Naturalization Law of 1802 governed the process of becoming a citizen. It required individuals to submit their applications at local courts, declare their intention three years prior to naturalization, reside for five years in the United States, and renounce allegiance to foreign rulers. All naturalization laws in this period restricted citizenship to white aliens. Despite these guidelines, there were some native-born Americans and Americanized immigrants who called upon Congress to simplify the citizenship process, seeking to encourage greater immigration to the United States.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Work: Indentured Servants.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life.* New York: HarperCollins, 1990.

Dublin, Thomas, ed. *Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America, 1773–1986.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Hansen, Marcus Lee. *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940.

Jones, Maldwyn Allen. *American Immigration.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Kamphoefner, Walter D., Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds. *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.

LeMay, Michael C. *From Open Door to Dutch Door: An Analysis of U.S. Immigration Policy since 1820.* New York: Praeger, 1987.

Leyburn, James G. *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962.

Miller, Kerby A., et al., eds. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970.* 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1975.

*David G. Vanderstel*

## Immigrant Policy and Law

The Naturalization and Alien Acts of 1798 were part of the Federalist program to insulate the United States from the radical principles of the French Revolution, which seemed to have infected both newly arriving immigrants and the political opposition, headed by Thomas Jefferson. The Naturalization Act's fourteen-year residence requirement would, given eighteenth-century life expectancies, completely disenfranchise most adult immigrants. The Alien Act gave the president the power to deport any foreigner he deemed dangerous. Both of these acts violated America's Revolutionary principles and previous practice.

In 1776 the American colonies declared themselves independent states—free of a British government that had been corrupted by its abuse of power. By renouncing allegiance to the British crown, the American rebels created a new form of volitional citizenship: Americans were no longer perpetual subjects, by birth, of hereditary monarchs but rather citizens, free to choose and change their allegiance. The American Republic also broke new ground by creating a single class of citizens. In the Old World, naturalization (or denization) never conferred the full rights of natural-born subjects; foreigners could become only second-class citizens, forever subject to economic, political, and religious disabilities. Eight years of war finally forced British recognition of American independence. However, the British government continued to deny its subjects the right of peaceful expatriation and volitional citizenship well into the nineteenth century.

After declaring independence, the American states invited the oppressed subjects of Old World tyranny to join in the battle to preserve liberty and to enjoy the fruits of free republican government. Initially, full citizenship was readily bestowed on

**Congressional Brawl.** The Naturalization and Alien Acts of 1798 fueled opposition to the Federalist Party, and issues related to immigration led to political conflict. This 1798 cartoon depicts a fight that broke out on the floor of the United States House of Representatives between Matthew Lyon (center), an Irish immigrant and Republican congressman from Vermont, and Roger Griswold (right), an American-born Federalist from Connecticut. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

foreigners who supported the American cause. The Continental Congress and individual states rewarded foreign soldiers with lands and citizenship and offered similar grants to those who deserted from the British army. The path to citizenship was even easier for noncombatants. Several states required only evidence of commitment to the American cause, by oath (or affirmation) of allegiance and renunciation of all other governments or potentates. For states with residency requirements, one or two years were the norm; all states provided access to full civil and political rights.

As the war progressed, some states, especially those that had endured years of occupation by the British army, enacted more stringent naturalization requirements and increased the economic and political disabilities imposed on aliens. In the mid-1780s New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia all passed laws to bar American Loyalists from political office and to prevent British traders from regaining their economic stranglehold on American markets.

Yet at the same time states such as Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware publicized their eagerness to welcome and enfranchise the Loyalists and foreigners shunned by other states.

By the end of the Revolution, the American naturalization process was a confusing amalgam of disparate practices that varied over time and place. In Pennsylvania the oath administered by justices of the peace in the 1770s to ferret out British sympathizers was used in the 1780s to naturalize foreign-born immigrants. From Massachusetts to Georgia state legislatures conferred citizenship on immigrants seeking asylum, foreigners hoping to perfect land titles or escape customs duties, and repentant Tories. In 1783 Benjamin Franklin, then in France to negotiate a peace treaty with Great Britain, drew up and administered an oath that naturalized the Scottish-born father-in-law of Franklin's grand-nephew.

In the summer of 1787, delegates to the Constitutional Convention recognized the need to rationalize the motley assortment of state procedures into a

single national avenue to U.S. citizenship. However, the daunting magnitude of that task was soon revealed. Rather than grapple with yet another divisive issue, convention delegates handed Congress the mandate to create a uniform code of naturalization. In 1790 the First Congress elected under the new Constitution did create a unique, national mode of naturalization—requiring a two-year residence, an oath of allegiance, and proof of good character. However, this national procedure did not supercede state law but was merely added to the mix. In 1795 Congress finally overcame states' rights arguments and enacted a new national, and exclusive, naturalization code. All free, white foreigners arriving after June 1795 would be required to meet the same naturalization requirements, including a five-year residence and a declaration of intent to seek citizenship at least three years prior to naturalization.

Although the Naturalization Act of 1795 barely had time to take effect before being replaced in 1798, its provisions became the foundation of American policy. The laws of 1798 fueled, rather than squelched, opposition to the Federalist Party and helped to secure the presidency for Thomas Jefferson in 1800. The so-called Revolution of 1800 returned the nation to its more liberal stance on alien rights and American citizenship. After the expiration of the Alien Act in 1800, Congress made no attempt to resurrect the extraordinary presidential power over America's immigrants. In 1802 Congress repealed the Naturalization Act of 1798 and reinstated, in essence, the citizenship requirements enacted in 1795.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Continental Congresses; Election of 1800; Federalist Party; Federalists.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baseler, Marilyn C. *"Asylum for Mankind": America, 1607–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Kettner, James H. *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Smith, James Morton. *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966.

*Marilyn C. Baseler*

### Political Refugees

"Freedom hath been hunted round the globe," Thomas Paine wrote in *Common Sense* (1776). "[Asia and Africa] have long expelled her, [Europe] regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart." The American people must "receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind." Paine (1737–1809) had been in the United States for less than two years, but his call resonated with his American audience, many of whom were recent arrivals.

Immigrants seeking economic opportunity had come to the new world in great numbers after 1750. In the Revolutionary years, aristocratic idealists like the Marquis de Lafayette or the Polish officers Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko had come to offer their services. After the war, politically active Europeans fled to America to escape political oppression at home. Drawn by the promise of creating a haven for liberty, political immigrants helped to create the American political system.

Among them were Albert Gallatin (1761–1849) and Matthew Carey (1760–1839). Gallatin, born in Geneva, arrived in America in 1780. After briefly teaching French at Harvard and accompanying Massachusetts troops to the coast of Maine, he settled in western Pennsylvania where he quickly became involved in politics, serving in the state convention in 1789, and the legislature in 1790 and 1791.

Carey had been driven from his native Dublin for his political views. An apprentice printer and bookseller, Carey at age nineteen (1779) found himself in deep trouble for his pamphlet "To the Roman Catholics of Ireland." In it he urged Irish Catholics to throw off the "tyrannical bigots" who ruled them: "At a time when America, by a desperate effort, has nearly emancipated herself from slavery," Irish Catholics should seize their natural rights. Protestants and even Catholic leaders who accepted British rule denounced him (Dublin's archbishop wanted the pamphlet burned). Fearing for his safety, Carey escaped to France, where a Catholic priest introduced him to Benjamin Franklin. Franklin set him up printing American tracts and introduced him to Lafayette. A year later Carey returned to Ireland, but he continued to provoke the authorities. When the Irish House of Commons called for his arrest in 1784, Carey fled to Philadelphia. After Lafayette, then in America, learned that the "Dublin printer" was also there, he gave Carey four hundred dollars to start a newspaper. Two years later Carey published a "Philosophical Dream," a vision of the United States in the year 1850, when the thirty states of the union stretched to the Mississippi. Canals connected the prosperous land, and Americans had even built a canal through central America linking the Atlantic and Pacific. Slav-

ery had been eliminated, and the freed slaves repatriated to a thriving free Africa. The most serious crime to be found was that of a man who failed to send his son to school.

When the French Revolution came, Carey and Gallatin welcomed it. So did other political refugees and some native-born Americans. In Paris, Lafayette and the American minister Thomas Jefferson drafted proposed constitutions for the French Republic, and Thomas Paine served in the French Assembly. But the revolution drove a wedge between moderates and radicals. As the revolution became increasingly radical and moderates (like Lafayette and Paine) were imprisoned or executed, some Americans, who saw the French Revolution as an extension of their own, now worried that France's anarchy would spread to the United States.

Edmond Genet (1763–1834) came to America not as a refugee or immigrant. The French Republic sent him to reaffirm the Franco-American treaty of 1778. When, in April 1793, he arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, Citizen Genet, as he called himself, was greeted as a hero. When President Washington declared America neutral between France and England, Genet turned to the American people to support the French cause against the English and their own president. He encouraged citizens and French exiles to form Democratic Republican Societies, modeled on the Jacobin Clubs that toppled France's monarchy. Jamaican immigrant Alexander J. Dallas launched the first society in Philadelphia on 4 July 1793. Genet's meddling in American politics so infuriated Washington that the president demanded Genet's recall. By this time a more radical faction had overthrown Genet's government in France, and, realizing that the guillotine awaited him, he chose to remain in America. He married the daughter of New York Governor George Clinton and settled down on a farm in Rensselaer County. Genet avoided politics for the rest of his life, but he had helped to create a political movement.

The Democratic Republican Societies spread—opposing the pro-British drift of the Washington administration and championing the French Revolution. The number of French and British political refugees in these societies alarmed some political leaders. Connecticut Congressman Oliver Wolcott warned in 1794 of "great numbers of violent men who emigrate to this country from every part of Europe." Abigail Adams's son-in-law wrote her, "Let us no longer pray that America may become an asylum to all nations."

France reacted to the U.S. peace with England in 1795 by attacking American ships on the high seas. In 1798 Congress created a navy and a provisional army, and it passed a series of laws to prepare for a looming conflict with France. The Naturalization Act extended the time an alien must reside in the United States before becoming a citizen from five years to fourteen. The Alien Enemies Act permitted the president to deport any alien from a nation at war with the United States. If the alien hailed from a country at peace with the United States but was a threat to American security, the Alien Friends Act permitted his deportation. And finally, the Sedition Act punished any editor, writer, or speaker who brought "contempt, hatred, or ridicule" upon the president or Congress.

Secretary of State Timothy Pickering became the chief enforcer of the Sedition Act, and he understood how the Republican press operated. Ideas and opinions percolated out of the Democratic Republican Societies through a national network of papers. It was said that a jibe at the Federalists would make "its way into the beer houses in the evening, to the *Aurora* in the morning, and to a large portion of the Democratic papers throughout the Union in due course." To cut off the flow of such ideas, Pickering could shut off the source of sedition—immigrants. Five of the fourteen or fifteen individuals charged under the Sedition Act were foreigners: Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont was born in Ireland, and a Federalist paper said he spoke "a gibberish between Wild Irish and vulgar American." Philadelphia *Aurora* editor William Duane, though born in 1760 near Lake Champlain, New York, had spent his childhood in Ireland (he had also spent some years editing a newspaper in Calcutta, and his attacks on the British East India Company led to his imprisonment there). John Daly Burk had been expelled from Ireland in 1796 for his political activities. Journalist and scandalmonger James T. Callender was a Scot, and Thomas Cooper was an English radical. Callender had been jailed for sedition in England, and on his arrival in America in the early 1790s had worked as a reporter for the *Federal Gazette.* But his verbatim coverage of Congress, showing the incomprehensible ramblings of its members, led to his being fired. Callender attacked not only Congress, but venerated figures like Washington, accusing him of the "foulest designs against the liberties of the people." The pro–administration *Gazette of the United States* warned that the country should not become "a receptacle for malevolence and turbulence, for the outcasts of the universe," and Francis Hopkinson (author of the anthem "Hail Columbia") noted with alarm that "this foreign leaven"

had "fermented the whole mass of the community" and "divided the country into contending political parties."

Though no enemy aliens were deported, French philosophe Abbe Constantin François Volney left voluntarily, and French General Victor Collott dodged prosecution until the Alien Enemies Act expired. The Philadelphia *Aurora* speculated that "Cremona fiddles are to be ordered out of the kingdom under the *Alien Bill*," as their tones were "calculated to bring the *constitutional* music of *organs* and *kettle-drums* into contempt."

William Duane (1760–1835), editor of the *Aurora*, joined with Dr. James Reynolds to solicit signatures against the Alien Acts outside St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia in February 1799. As some parishioners gathered in the churchyard after mass to sign the petitions, Federalist parishioners objected to having "Jacobins" outside the church and tried to push Reynolds from the churchyard. When Reynolds drew a pistol, parishioners panicked, and he, Duane, and two others were arrested for provoking a "united Irish riot," bringing "terror and torment to America." Federalists hoped to silence Duane, but Alexander J. Dallas so ably defended him that the jury only deliberated half an hour before acquitting.

During the election of 1800, Duane helped to expose the Ross Election Bill, which many said was a Federalist plot to prevent Jefferson's election. Duane reported that Federalist senators were preparing a plan to create a Grand Council to judge the validity of electoral votes, and thus prevent Thomas Jefferson's election as president. Duane's publication of the plan outraged Republicans, and Federalists charged Duane with breaching Senate privilege. Cooper and Dallas handled Duane's legal defense, delaying an indictment until October 1800 and delaying the trial for another year. By then the Grand Council had been squelched, and Jefferson had become President.

Jefferson pardoned the men sentenced under the Sedition Act and restored the immigrant to a place of trust in American society. French immigrant Stephen Girard, a Philadelphia ship-owner, donated gunpowder to celebrate Jefferson's inauguration. Albert Gallatin, a Swiss émigré who by now led the Republicans in Congress and who was regarded by the Federalists as a French agent, became Secretary of the Treasury and one of the most powerful men in the administration. Duane moved with the *Aurora* to Washington, and his son later became secretary of the Treasury. Carey's publishing empire grew, and his son became one of the first American economists. Jefferson even brought Thomas Paine back from his

European exile, to live out his days in the new land Paine and other political refugees had helped to create.

*See also* ***Aurora***; **Alien and Sedition Acts; Freedom of the Press; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Parties and the Press; Press, The.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Abbott, Edith. *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Select Documents.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926.

Bowen, Marjorie. *Peter Porcupine: A Study of William Cobbett, 1762–1835.* London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1935.

Carey, Matthew. *Autobiography.* Brooklyn Research Classics, no. 1, 1942. First published, *New England Magazine*, 1833–1834.

Durey, Michael. *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Smith, James Morton. *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956.

*Robert J. Allison*

## Race and Ethnicity

British North American society was defined by race and racial divisions in the eighteenth century. The colonists understood each other as being white and part of a superior race of Europeans. Close contact and intermixing notwithstanding, Africans (called Negroes) and American Indians were consigned to separate racial categories. Racial attributes were considered biological and racial differences placed the members of nonwhite races at a greater or lesser distance to civilization as whites understood it. While the societies of Spanish and French North America were based on the mutual assimilation of Indian and white cultures, the English colonies of North America experienced such mixing only at the edges, on the Upper Midwest frontier and parts of the frontier South.

By the time of the American Revolution (1775–1783), the general Enlightenment view of Indians, which regarded them as people of the earth whose less acquisitive and more primitive way of life was destined to fade or even merge with that of whites, bore little relation to Indians' struggles in the North American colonies for land and resources. The erosion of power of even the larger Indian tribes and federations toward the late eighteenth century further contributed to the whites' belief that Indians lacked

civilizing force and were doomed. The expulsion of Indians from their lands beginning in the 1820s only seemed to confirm the view that even "civilized tribes" could not resist the power of the European race.

Africans in the colonies were a diverse group in terms of their cultural and geographic origins. Blacks born in North America, slaves born in the West Indies and sold to North American colonists, and African-born men and women all intermingled, especially in the southeastern part of North America, and formed communities of slaves for whom their different cultural origins diminished in importance. Regardless of their specific origins, blacks were deprived of rights as a result of their racial designation. Over 80 percent were unfree, and their enslavement was associated with their race—though not yet justified by it. Resistance, including some open slave revolts, as well as flight and intermingling with native Indians also characterized the relationship of African-origin immigrants to whites.

Whites in the English colonies were not a very diverse group in terms of their origins. Over 80 percent of colonial settlers were of English origin, an even higher percentage was English speaking (English people, Scots, and Protestant Irish). Germans and remnants of Dutch and Swedish colonists on the Atlantic seaboard were among the more visible non-English-speaking whites, but with the exception of the Germans, their number declined in the pre-Revolutionary era. Though in 1751 Benjamin Franklin expressed misgivings about the "Palatine Boors" among his fellow Pennsylvanians, such hostile comments on distinct immigrant subcultures remained rare in pre-Revolutionary times.

Race was one of the ideas that structured the Revolution and the new Constitution (1787). The Declaration of Independence (1776) offered an inclusive vision of the new nation, declaring that "all men are created equal," but this Enlightenment vision of the innate right to freedom for people of all races remained a theoretical premise not met by the political and constitutional realities that followed. In 1775 the Continental Congress prohibited blacks from joining the Revolutionary forces. Indians were suspected as collaborators with the enemy by both Loyalists and Revolutionary forces.

Indians were largely situated outside the Constitution. Unless they were taxed members of a white community, they were not considered to be citizens of the United States. The Constitution was silent on the issue of black citizenship except in Article I, which counted free blacks as full citizens but slaves as just three-fifths of a person for purposes of congressional apportionment. While African immigrants and their descendants were not explicitly denied American citizenship, the Naturalization Act of 1795 specified that U.S. citizenship could only be acquired by whites. This racialization of American citizenship would become one of the cornerstones of ideologies of race and ethnicity in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

Increasing immigration from Europe in the early nineteenth century, especially after 1815, heightened the awareness of cultural differences among European immigrants. While older groups (Dutch, Swedes, Huguenots) became subsumed in the English-speaking majority cultures, newer immigrants (Irish, Scots, and Germans) arrived in sufficient numbers to increase ethnic diversity among white Americans in the early nineteenth century. Ethnic awareness in the modern sense, however would not emerge until the large-scale immigration of Irish Catholics throughout the Eastern seaboard that began in the 1830s.

*See also* **Citizenship; Racial Theory.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Archdeacon, Thomas J. *Becoming American: An Ethnic History.* New York: Free Press, 1983.

Galloway, Colin G. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Jordan, Winthrop. *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812.* New York: Norton, 1977.

*Dorothee Schneider*

**IMPERIAL RIVALRY IN THE AMERICAS**   The struggle of the United States for independence and post-Revolutionary development occurred in the context of a contest between the European imperial powers to achieve geopolitical, commercial, and cultural dominance in the Western Hemisphere. Once independent, the United States became an actor in this larger drama of imperial rivalry.

### EUROPEAN EMPIRES IN THE AMERICAS IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the contest for the Americas primarily occupied three of the great European powers—the kingdoms of Spain, France, and Great Britain. Spain claimed the largest empire—all of South America except Brazil and the

Guyanas, all of Central America, all of modern-day Mexico, most of what is today the western United States, Florida and the Gulf coast, and the largest Caribbean islands (Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico). France laid claim to most of the eastern half of modern-day Canada, the Great Lakes basin, the Ohio-Mississippi-Missouri drainage, and a few islands in the Caribbean, including modern-day Haiti, then called Saint Domingue. Great Britain held the thirteen American colonies, Nova Scotia, the area around Hudson Bay, the islands of Jamaica, Barbados, and the bulk of the Lesser Antilles in the Caribbean, in addition to the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua and modern-day Belize.

In addition, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Russia all claimed territories in the Americas: the Dutch in Guyana and the Caribbean, the Portuguese in Brazil, and the Russians in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest. These powers were minor players in the contest between European empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In all of the European empires, the amount of territory claimed exceeded the amount of territory actually controlled. In North America especially, the indigenous population retained control of much of the land and its resources. Much of the rivalry between empires played out in a contest of Europeans trying to win political and commercial alliances with the various communities of American natives.

The American Indians of North America were a numerous and diverse lot, and it is difficult to generalize about them. Language, political organization, and culture varied among different tribes and nations. Modes of subsistence tended to vary by region, with temperate-region nations being more sedentary and arid-region nations being more mobile, although there are important exceptions even to this rule. By the middle of the eighteenth century, nearly all American Indian communities had been transformed by contact with the Europeans.

The American Indian communities that survived the onset of Old World diseases and had not been displaced by settler colonies gradually worked out a set of customs and practices with their European neighbors that facilitated cross-cultural interaction. These relationships were centered around commerce—one historian has characterized the European empires of the early and middle eighteenth century as "empires of trade." American Indian hunters provided furs and hides—generally of deer, beaver, or buffalo, depending on the region—in exchange for European-made metal goods, firearms, and alcohol. The contest among the Europeans through the middle of the eighteenth century was over who would dominate access to these trading arrangements.

## THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The Seven Years' War (1754–1763), or the French and Indian War as it was known in America, was a continuation of the conflict Britain and France had fought in America during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748). British colonial subjects desired to bring the Indians of the trans-Appalachian region into their commercial orbit and expand the frontiers of their settlement. The French hoped to pull British-allied Indian nations into their orbit and check British settler expansion. British traders had crossed the Allegheny Mountains in the mid-1740s, attempting to open trading relationships with the Algonquian-speaking communities of the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes basin. In 1749 a French expedition under the command of Céloron de Bienville officially claimed the Ohio Valley for France, and a subsequent French expedition destroyed British trading posts. In 1754 an expedition from the British colony of Virginia under the command of Colonel George Washington attempted to counter the renewed French military presence in the Ohio Valley and touched off the war in America.

From Virginia northward, the war pitted the French and their predominantly Algonquian allies against the British (both colonials and the regular army) and their predominantly Iroquois allies. Initial French success, under the command of Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, was soon checked. The emergence of William Pitt the Elder as head of the British government in 1757 transformed the British war effort. Pitt saw the North American theater as crucial. Pitt directly paid the American colonies for the goods and troops he requisitioned, spent the British government into debt, and appointed new and more competent field commanders. Under James Wolfe, the British consistently won on American battlefields, his campaign culminating in a daring and successful attack on the city of Quebec in 1759. Success continued the next year when Jeffrey Amherst took Montreal and drove France from North America.

King Charles III of Spain formed an alliance with Louis XV of France in 1762. Yet Spain fared no better than France. The British Royal Navy took Spanish ports in Havana and the Philippines, as well as nearly all of France's island possessions in the Caribbean.

The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris. The peace settlement transformed the geopolitical dynamic of North America. Britain ceded Havana back to Spain and Guadeloupe back to

France. Britain retained all of Canada and the Ohio Valley and was awarded the two Floridas by Spain. Spain acquired the Louisiana Territory, the western drainage of the Mississippi. Of course, these claims were still more notional than real, as Europeans still had to negotiate with Indians for the land they claimed. In the immediate aftermath of their victory, the British commanders in North America, notably Amherst, forgot this and downplayed the need to conciliate the Indians. As a result, warfare between the Algonquians of the Great Lakes basin and the British regulars (Pontiac's Rebellion) erupted and ensued for nearly two years. The late 1760s found North America contested by only two major European empires—Great Britain and Spain.

## THE ERA OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The new geopolitical situation proved unstable. The French government resented the loss of its empire. The Comte de Vergennes, foreign minister to the new French king Louis XVI, was committed to returning France to the preeminent position it had once held in Europe and the Americas. Vergennes began preparing for a new war with Britain, which he viewed as inevitable. In 1775 the prospect of a rebellion by Britain's American colonies offered Vergennes and the French government the opportunity to strike a blow at their mortal enemy.

The American Revolution would not have been successful had the American movement for independence not enmeshed itself in the larger European rivalries. When the thirteen North American colonies declared their independence from Great Britain and called themselves "the United States," their leaders knew that they needed recognition and assistance from other European powers. Under Vergennes, France provided the United States with clandestine assistance (materiel and financing) during the first two years of the war. Following the American victory at Saratoga in 1777, France openly allied itself with the United States in early 1778. A French expeditionary army under the Comte de Rochambeau aided George Washington's Continental Army upon its arrival in America in 1780, and the French navy under the Comte de Grasse defeated the British navy off Hampton Roads to ensure the American-French victory at Yorktown.

It was Vergennes and the French, not the Americans, who turned the other European empires to the American side. Vergennes signed a treaty of alliance with the Conde de Floridablanca, the Spanish foreign minister, at Aranjuez in April 1779. The French–Spanish alliance did not explicitly include the Ameri-

cans, and Spain did not recognize the United States until after the war. But Spain was fighting Britain, thus weakening the overall British position. The Netherlands too entered the war as a French ally, but unlike Spain, the Dutch government recognized American independence and offered the Americans financial assistance. The peace settlements of 1783 ended the American war, granted the United States independence, and returned the Florida territories to Spain.

Even before the 1783 Treaty of Paris formally ended the American Revolutionary War and secured American independence, the United States became an actor in the ongoing imperial rivalry for the Americas. The United States contested the right to navigate the Mississippi River with Spain, and Great Britain retained alliances with American Indian communities that were technically inside the borders of the United States. In 1778–1779, Virginian George Rogers Clark had led a militia expedition down the Ohio River that captured British posts at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. While some Indian communities, such as the Kaskaskia and the Delaware, allied themselves with the United States, others, notably the Shawnee, did not. Britain continued to trade with Indian communities in the Northwest, and Spain continued its trade with the Indians in the South. This unstable border situation was a key impetus behind the American states' coming together to strengthen the Union by ratifying the Constitution of 1787. Although the United States was still a weak power, it had the military and diplomatic muscle to rival Spain, France, and Britain for access to trade and alliances with the American Indians.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 transformed the political balances in Europe, affecting the Americas as well. The greatest changes occurred following the arrest of King Louis XVI by the Paris Commune in August 1792. Soon the radical National Convention replaced the National Assembly as the head of the French government. With the new regime's public execution of the king in January 1793, the vast majority of European monarchies declared war on revolutionary France. The War of the French Revolution quickly became a world war. France required materiel from the Americas to support its war effort, and it hoped at the same time to disrupt the flows of materiel to its British enemy. The National Convention's minister to the United States, Edmond Charles Genêt, actively (and controversially) sought out American citizens to embark on priva-

teering raids against British merchantmen. The administration of George Washington did not want European politics brought into the Americas in this manner and publicly declared the United States neutral in the conflict.

As the War of the French Revolution escalated, the polities of the Americas were drawn deeper into the conflict. Great Britain sought to interdict all commerce bound for France, and even seized the ships of neutral nations, notably the United States, that were trading with belligerents in the war. The preponderant power of the Royal Navy led to two important outcomes. First, it induced the United States to negotiate a commercial accord with Britain that tended to favor British interests. This commercial treaty, known in America as the Jay Treaty, was ratified in 1795. Perceived closeness between Britain and the United States alienated France, and the Directory, which replaced the radical National Convention after a 1794 coup, began seizing American ships. A low-scale, undeclared naval war (the Quasi-War) between France and the United States ensued between 1797 and 1800.

At the same time, the French Revolution and resultant war wreaked havoc in the Caribbean. In August 1791 the African slaves of the French colony of Saint Domingue, hearing of the Revolution, rose in rebellion, and aided by Spanish forces on the island, demanded their liberty. The National Assembly responded by granting full citizenship to Saint Domingue's free blacks and mixed-race population. The National Convention abolished slavery in 1794. Saint Domingue remained a French province, with prominent people of color, notably Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, in charge of its civil and military affairs. The image of former slaves wielding political and military power shocked many Anglo-Americans and Europeans.

In November 1799, with the coup of 18 Brumaire, Napoleon Bonaparte became First Consul of France. At the head of the French state, Napoleon transformed French foreign policy. He ended the Quasi-War with America in September 1800 and, with the Peace of Amiens (1802), the long war with Great Britain. Even before peace in Europe, Napoleon sought to expand France's empire in the Americas. By the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800), France reacquired the vast Louisiana Territory. In November 1801, Napoleon ordered General Victor Leclerc and a large army to Saint Domingue. Leclerc carried orders that provided for the re-enslavement of large portions of the black population on Saint Domingue. Plans also existed for the colonization of the Louisi-

ana Territory: settler farms in Louisiana would feed the slave plantations of the French Caribbean. These plans came to nothing when disease and defeat decimated Leclerc's army. In April 1803 Napoleon sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States and abandoned the colonial project in Saint Domingue. That colony declared its full independence as the Republic of Haiti in 1804. France's role in the imperial rivalry for the Americas ended.

In Europe, the war between France and the rest of the European powers began again in 1803, and it too spread to the Americas. After Napoleon defeated Prussia, Austria, and Russia and knocked each power out of the war, only Britain remained in the fight. After the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), the Royal Navy had complete control of the Atlantic, and the British government sought to restrict the flow of New World goods to France and its allies. The British government resumed seizing neutral ships bound for the European mainland, with most of these seizures being of American ships. Similarly, the British impressed sailors of suspected British origin into service in the Royal Navy. This affront to American sovereignty was deeply humiliating. The combination of these policies led to war between the United States and Great Britain in June 1812. The War of 1812, or Anglo-American War, lasted until the early weeks of 1815. Though essentially a draw, the War of 1812 did confirm the dominant position of the United States vis-à-vis the American Indian communities within its borders.

### AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

With the Restoration of the European monarchies at the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) and the conclusion of the War of 1812, the United States became the preeminent player in the imperial rivalry for the Americas. The United States forcibly annexed West Florida from Spain in 1810 and acquired East Florida from Spain in 1819. At the same time, Spain and the United States concluded the Transcontinental Treaty, which fixed the boundary between New Spain and the United States, from the Sabine River to the Pacific Ocean. Between 1815 and 1820 the United States and Great Britain concluded a series of treaties. The Rush–Bagot Agreement (1817) essentially demilitarized the Great Lakes, while two Commercial Conventions (1815, 1818) resolved the commercial issues that had caused the War of 1812 (except impressment) and fixed the U.S.–Canada border (except for the Maine boundary).

The final point of contention was how the United States and the European powers would respond to

the disintegration of the Spanish Empire. Gran Colombia, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and the United Provinces of Central America all declared independence between 1815 and 1825, and the United States recognized these states between 1822 and 1826. When it appeared that Spain and its European allies might attempt to reconquer these new states, British foreign minister George Canning offered to make a joint statement with the United States standing against European intervention in the Americas. American Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and President James Monroe decided that it would be better for the United States to make such a statement by itself. Their statement, the Monroe Doctrine, told the world that the United States would resist European attempts to interfere in the political life of the Americas. Though born from the European imperial rivalry for the Americas, the United States presumptuously declared the rivalry to be at an end.

*See also* **European Influences: The French Revolution; European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Quasi-War with France; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Broers, Michael. *Europe under Napoleon, 1799–1815.* London: Arnold, 1996.

Deconde, Alexander. *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797–1801.* New York: Scribners, 1966.

Dull, Jonathan. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Elliott, John H. *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Hinderaker, Eric. *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Horn, James, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Langley, Lester D. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

———. *The Louisiana Purchase: Jefferson's Noble Bargain?* Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2003.

Onuf, Peter S., and Nicholas Onuf. *Federal Union, Modern World: The Law of Nations in an Age of Revolutions, 1776–1814.* Madison, Wisc: Madison House, 1993.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies.* New York: Viking, 2001.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*Leonard J. Sadosky*

**IMPRESSMENT** Impressment, the unsystematic seizure of men by a state to fill the ranks of its military machine, had provided warriors long before the opening volleys of the War of 1812. From the peasant spearmen of ancient Egypt to the superbly trained soldiers of Frederick the Great (1712–1786), monarchs had forced men from fields and city streets to battle the foe. In England, heads of state since Alfred the Great (849–899) had pressed men for army and navy alike, and impressment would provide 75 percent of the Royal Navy's crews during the Anglo-French wars of 1793–1815.

Conflict with France meant a global struggle for far-flung colonies and trade routes. As the Royal Navy added new vessels to its list, manning requirements climbed from a prewar low of 10,000 to 85,000 in 1794 and 140,000 by 1812. Attrition by disease, accident, desertion, and combat reduced crews and required constant replacements. At the same time, the ranks of the army had to be filled. But whereas a soldier could be trained in a matter of weeks, a sailor needed years of experience to become proficient in nautical skills—and at least one-third of a ship's crew needed to be able seamen to avoid shipwreck or destruction at the enemy's hands. Britain's Quota Act of 1793 ordered each county to provide a percentage of the navy's manpower, but few of those men possessed any seafaring skills. Skilled seamen could be acquired in a number of ways, such as by taking them from passing merchantmen, though laws exempted many sailors and fishermen from service lest the economy collapse. Quite often, captains coerced foreign nationals into serving by threatening the latter with becoming prisoners of war. Also, coercion was frequently applied when the foreigners were regarded as actually being British citizens. For the Royal Navy, the definition of citizenship was quite clear. Any man born on English soil was and would always be a subject of the crown and thus subject to impressment. This included most American citizens born before 1783.

The impressment of American citizens, whether naturalized or not, began with the outbreak of war in Europe during 1793. The United States attempted to protect its seamen by issuing warrants or "protections" attesting to citizenship, but the ease of forgery and the British definition of citizenship made them ineffective. Even American warships proved unable to resist the Royal Navy: the USS *Baltimore* lost fifty-five of its crew to impressment in 1798, and the USS *Chesapeake* was fired upon and then stripped of four crewmen in 1807. Merchant vessels suffered more cruelly, the Department of State reporting in January 1812 that 9,991 American seamen had been impressed since 1796. The exact number of Americans pressed to crew the Royal Navy may well have exceeded twenty thousand. Despite continuous efforts of American presidents from George Washington through James Madison to end this threat to Americans and to American sovereignty, Britain—its very survival threatened by France—ignored them. Thus Madison, in his war message of 1 June 1812, listed impressment as the first justification of conflict. As the War of 1812 continued, abandonment of the practice of impressment would be the last American condition dropped for a negotiated peace.

*See also* **Chesapeake Affair; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dudley, William S., ed. *The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History.* Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 1985.

Hutchinson, J. R. *The Press-Gang Afloat and Ashore.* New York: Dutton, 1914.

Lavery, Brian. *Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men, and Organization, 1793–1815.* Rev. ed. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1994.

Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812.* 2 vols. London: Low, Marston, 1905.

Zimmerman, James. *Impressment of American Seaman.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1925. Reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1966.

*Wade G. Dudley*

**INDENTURED SERVANTS** *See* **Work: Indentured Servants.**

**INDEPENDENCE** Independence was a central keyword of politics in the eighteenth century. For in-

dividuals as well as the United States in 1776, independence—the ability to dictate one's own course without outside reference—was a goal that in theory was worth striving for, but in reality was difficult to attain.

### THE CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE

Personal independence was an important concept for many eighteenth-century Americans. Independence was the notion that a person was entirely free from all entangling obligations, the ability to be self-sufficient in all political, economic, and social relationships. A person free from any dependence on another, most Americans agreed, epitomized an ideal citizen, the perfect guarantor of liberty. Independence was synonymous with happiness, comfort, ease, a trouble-free life. Eventually—although not easily—the concept of individual or personal independence would become a national ideal as well; independence, in other words, became the model for Independence.

True independence, though, was built on contradiction. Although self-sufficiency was the goal, this end was highly compromised. Gendered male, the "independent" patriarch was in fact actually reliant on the labor of those in his household who were by definition dependents, including women, children, and slaves. Also, the social standing of elites depended on the consumption of an increasing variety of consumer goods, and as a result many so-called independent Americans were rarely free of debts owed to British merchants. As members of an empire ruled by a monarchy, Americans were politically dependent on the king. Although they did not view this as complete dependence—colonists insisted the relationship was reciprocal and that their allegiance was contingent on the king's ability to provide for their protection—they were still subjects of the crown.

Personal independence, then, was largely evanescent. Although the concept was consensually agreed upon as the goal for happy individuals and a healthy community, it was seldom realized. Still, aspiring Americans believed the freedom to pursue independence, as Jefferson intimated, to be a closely guarded right, one that sat at the epicenter of the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s. Throughout their controversy with Great Britain, colonists protested that their ability to achieve independence was under increasing assault by an insidious and grasping imperial administration. Their reaction reflected the desire to eliminate all forms of dependence. Economic boycotts, political maneuvering to control imperial

agents, and the promotion of virtue all addressed the issue of American independence.

One of the primary tactics Americans employed to protest British policies was to boycott imported goods. Seeing their purchasing power as a lever with which to pressure Parliament, American leaders administered nonimportation boycotts to varying degrees of success in response to the Stamp Act (1765), Townshend Duties (1767), and Coercive Acts (1774). Americans' concept of personal independence lay at the heart of the boycott movement. Because nonimportation naturally reduced consumption, the measure also had a side benefit of limiting debt. With the nonimportation boycott, personal independence from consumer debt suddenly became a patriotic act; personal virtue and the public display of political principles were now one and the same. Americans who protested British policies further drove home the connection between economic independence and political resistance by labeling virtuous the consumption of domestic manufactures, such as homespun clothing. Wearing a suit of clothes stitched by a person in one's own household played on many different levels of independence: it reduced the influence of British merchants; it rejected the notion that Britain could take away individual liberties; and it served as a totem that this individual was his own person not beholden to anyone.

Ideas about the dangers of dependence also fed into American concerns about the arrangement of political power in the British Empire. While they nominally declared their dependence on the crown (albeit with reserved rights), colonists worried about the independent status of the king's agents in America. Throughout the eighteenth century, imperial officials had depended on American assemblies to pay their salaries and expense accounts. This leverage, colonial leaders argued, was a vital check that safeguarded American rights. When Parliament attempted to consolidate its authority in the years after the Stamp Act, one of its most pressing concerns was the wrestling away of the ability to control the livelihood of British colonial officials. Parliament, in other words, wanted to ensure that its representatives in the colonies would be dependent on its authority only. Colonists, especially in Massachusetts, reacted in horror; they protested that if the interests of imperial agents were independent of the colonies they administered, tyranny would directly ensue, followed, inevitably, by slavery.

Concepts of personal independence—whether political, economic, or social—mobilized increasing numbers of Americans to resist British policies. But the incorporation of ideas about personal or individual independence did not naturally or easily lead to calls to cut all ties with Britain. The road from independence to Independence was indeed long and tortured.

### THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

With the Treaty of Paris in 1763, American feelings of patriotism and attachment to the British Empire overflowed. Believing they were fully vested partners in the defeat of France, Americans saw themselves as belonging to a "Greater" Britain. Independence from Britain and the king was far from their minds at the beginning of the imperial crisis. Throughout the 1760s and 1770s, even as they protested British policies as an abridgment of their rights, American petitions continually pledged allegiance to the king. The major statements that underscored the American position, from the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 through Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View of the Rights of British Colonies* in 1774 to the Olive Branch Petition of 1775, each denied that the colonies desired their own independence. They begged the king to take up his role as protector and act on their behalf by reining in a runaway Parliament and ministry. While they insisted that colonial legislatures should have sovereignty over provincial laws, most revolutionaries adamantly denied that they should cut ties with the British monarchy as well.

*Common Sense* (1776) in large part changed this. Thomas Paine's pamphlet spoke directly to the possibilities of Independence. Paine argued that continued attachment to Britain would drag America into war, destruction, and tyranny. The first to "kill" the king, *Common Sense* became a literary phenomenon throughout the colonies in the early months of 1776; the forty-six page pamphlet convinced thousands of Americans that hereditary monarchy was corrupt and that an immediate declaration of national independence was in their best interest. But as powerful as the argument was, even Paine's sensational rhetoric did not spur Congress to action. Even after news reached America in early 1776 that the king had withdrawn his protection from the colonies, the question of Independence remained controversial. By the first anniversary of the Battle of Lexington of April 1775, only a few colonial assemblies had authorized their representatives to concur if Congress were to hold a vote on Independence. As of May 1776, no delegate had permission to initiate debate on the issue.

The deepening exigencies of war, however, would ultimately trump the colonists' attachment to

the monarch. In the spring of 1776, war continued throughout the colonies from Canada to the Carolinas. Rumors of British efforts to supplement their invasion force with foreign mercenaries, from either Russia or the German principalities, had been rampant throughout America since the previous fall. Throughout the first two weeks of May 1776, American newspapers were filled with reports from ship captains that testified to seeing a transport fleet filled with British and German soldiers en route to New York. The simultaneous arrival of official transcripts of the king's treaties with the German states for mercenaries confirmed the reports. Congress reacted immediately. On 15 May 1776, it ordered a de facto independence by instructing every colony that had not yet done so to draft its own republican constitution. At the same time, proponents of Independence dispatched Richard Henry Lee to Virginia to secure instructions from that critical province to bring up the issue on the floor of Congress. Lee returned on 7 June with a resolution from Virginia that instructed Congress to vote on whether "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Congress agreed to consider Lee's resolution and, on 11 June, appointed a committee of five delegates—John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman—to draft a declaration of independence.

After taking a three-week recess for the remainder of June, Congress debated Independence on 1 and 2 July, a huge step made only more difficult by word that the vanguard of the impending British invasion fleet had indeed arrived off New York City a few days previously, on 29 June. With twelve colonies supporting the measure (New York lacked instruction and therefore abstained), the vote for Independence passed on 2 July. Congress spent the next two days editing the language of the draft declaration of independence written by Jefferson and the other members of the "Committee of Five." On 4 July 1776, Congress approved the final version of the Declaration of Independence and sent the copy to Philadelphia printer John Dunlap for its publication. The concept of independence—the republican ideal of complete self-sufficiency—had finally come full circle. Ideas about personal independence into which the revolutionaries had tapped in order to mobilize support for resistance to British policies had become national Independence.

*See also* **Continental Congresses; Declaration of Independence; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Thought; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bushman, Richard L. *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Holton, Woody. *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Lewis, Jan. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Ragsdale, Bruce A. *A Planters' Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1996.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretative History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

*Robert G. Parkinson*

**INDEPENDENCE DAY**   *See* **Fourth of July.**

**INDIANA**   The territory and state of Indiana emerged from conflict between Native American and European peoples and the eventual victory of American colonists over British domination.

Native Americans (including Miamis, Weas, Piankesaws, Kickapoos, and Potawatomis) were the first to occupy the Indiana country. The Frenchman René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, arrived in 1679, opening the way for the French to establish the fur trade and erect fortified trading posts at Fort Miami (renamed Fort Wayne, 1715), Fort Ouiatenon (renamed Lafayette, c.1718), and Fort Vincennes (1732). As British colonies in the East expanded, Great Britain and France contested the American interior and sought to protect their respective interests in trade and land. By winning the French and Indian War (1756–1763), Britain, through the Treaty of Paris (1763), gained control of lands east of the Mis-

sissippi. The Proclamation of 1763 prevented white settlement west of the Appalachians until Britain acquired Indian lands and established an orderly system for settlement. Native Americans challenged British authority, resulting in Ottawa chief Pontiac's failed effort in 1763–1764 to expel the British.

During the American Revolution Native Americans, recognizing that American colonists posed a greater threat to their lands, sided with the British against the Americans. In 1777 Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark, sponsored by the Virginia General Assembly, launched a campaign to gain control of the Ohio River Valley. He captured several posts in the Illinois country and, after a long wintry trek, recaptured Fort Sackville at Vincennes to force a British surrender (1779). The British continued to resist, however, until their eventual defeat in October 1781. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 led to British recognition of American independence and cession of all lands up to the Mississippi River, including the Indiana country, to the United States.

Unsettled Indiana benefited when Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, adopted two ordinances for the economic and political organization of the newly acquired western lands. The Land Ordinance (1785) prescribed a survey and public auction of lands. The Northwest Ordinance (13 July 1787) organized lands north of the Ohio River as the Northwest Territory, established a three-stage process for achieving statehood, and adopted a standard of civil rights, including the prohibition of slavery. In a further effort to weaken Indian control of the interior, President George Washington sent General Anthony Wayne against the tribes. Wayne's victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 led to the Treaty of Greenville (1795).

On 7 May 1800, the U.S. Congress approved the division of the Northwest Territory into two separate governments, which led to the formation of the Indiana Territory. The white population of Indiana at this time was 5,641. President John Adams appointed William Henry Harrison as territorial governor, and Vincennes became the territorial capital. The population grew steadily, and in 1805 the Indiana territorial legislature convened to adopt territorial laws, including laws allowing indentured servitude. The Indiana Territory was decreased in size when the Michigan Territory split off in 1805 and the Illinois Territory in 1809. By 1810 the Indiana population, including 237 slaves, numbered 24,520.

As territorial governor, Harrison pursued an aggressive policy of land acquisition. He negotiated land cession treaties with tribes, sometimes using military intimidation, to chip away at Indian possessions and effect the demise of native culture. Seeking to regain their dwindling land, Shawnee leader Tecumseh and his brother "The Prophet" Tenskwatawa established a confederacy of tribes to attack Indiana settlements. Continued tensions led to the Battle of Tippecanoe (7 November 1811) near Tecumseh's village of Prophetstown, where the confederacy was damaged. The subsequent death of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames (1813) in Canada marked the demise of Indian resistance in Indiana.

After enduring the War of 1812, the territorial legislature convened in December 1815 at Corydon, which had succeeded Vincennes as capital in 1813, to draft a petition for statehood. With the approval of Congress, the representatives wrote a constitution, and on 11 December 1816 Indiana became the nineteenth state of the Union. Although the Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery, there were unsuccessful efforts during both the territorial and early statehood stages to reintroduce slavery to Indiana. Jonathan Jennings, an opponent of slavery who was instrumental in drafting the constitution, became the first governor.

With Native Americans still occupying most of the central and northern parts of Indiana, the first decade of statehood witnessed numerous treaties that gradually removed the Indians, making way for settlers migrating primarily from the upland South. The Treaty of St. Mary's (1818), or the "New Purchase," opened the central third of the state to white settlement, and by 1820 the population had increased to 147,178. In that year the General Assembly chose a centrally located capital on the White River, and in January 1825 the legislature convened at the new capital of Indianapolis.

The new state quickly pursued policies of economic development by chartering a state bank (1817), encouraging agriculture and manufacturing, and promoting a system of internal improvements. As the state prospered the population grew, totaling 343,031 in 1830. Towns such as Madison, located on the Ohio River, profited as improved transportation spawned increased migration and continued economic growth for the Hoosier state.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Expansion; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Thames, Battle of the; Tippecanoe, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Barnhart, John D., and Dorothy L. Riker. *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period.* Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1971.

Carmony, Donald F. *Indiana, 1816–1850: The Pioneer Era.* Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1998.

Cayton, Andrew R. L. *Frontier Indiana.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Madison, James H. *The Indiana Way: A State History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, and Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1986.

Voegelin, Erminie W. "Indians of Indiana." Indiana Academy of Science *Proceedings* 50 (1941): 27–32.

*David G. Vanderstel*

---

**INDIANS**   *See* **American Indians.**

---

**INDIVIDUALISM**   A powerful ideal that signifies the preeminence of the self as an autonomous, rights-bearing entity, individualism first emerged as a national ethic during the half-century after the American Revolution. Elements of individualistic thought reach back to ancient Greece and Renaissance Europe. Over the centuries, various writers have used individualistic themes to express and proclaim all sorts of agendas and convictions. All of these efforts, however, strive to locate the singular person within—or atop of—the social institutions that standardize life. Individualism is, at root, a relational idea, one that responds to and rejects its foils: anonymity, passivity, conformity. As such it has often borne a defensive or embattled posture. This was certainly true in early national America. For some, individualism helped to define the Republic against its ancien régime enemies; for others, individualism menaced both public order and personal morality.

**ROOTS OF AMERICAN INDIVIDUALISM**

The concept of individualism grew from religious, political, and economic roots in early America. Protestant Christianity, practiced in some vein by most Euro-Americans, rejected the symbolic and institutional props of Catholicism in favor of a more intimate link between the seeker and God. The personalized thrust of Protestantism inhered in Puritan diaries, through which the writer catalogued his or her search for salvation, and in Quaker meetings,

during which men and women silently accessed their "inner light" of faith. The conversion experiences of eighteenth-century Evangelicals also underlined this personal connection to God. American individualism also derived from liberal political theory, especially from John Locke's precept that an individual's rights preceded the formation of governments. According to Locke, all men—women were subsumed by their fathers or husbands—bore inherent entitlements to life and property that the state had to respect. Finally, the concept of individualism issued from the market economy that developed throughout the North Atlantic world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In light of this new economic setting, some philosophers celebrated the "natural" workings of trade and commerce. When each person pursued his own interests, they argued, every person benefited. Mercantilist or paternalistic controls on self-interest (and, by extension, self-awareness) thereby lost some of their cultural legitimacy.

**THE INDIVIDUAL VS. DUTY, OBLIGATION, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST**

As powerful as these experiences and belief systems were in colonial America, they cut against the grain of early modern thought and culture. In both Europe and North America, most of those in power as well as most philosophers understood society as an organic whole, a "body politic" of unequal but interdependent parts. No one but Robinson Crusoe lived alone or unattached; all people bore duties and obligations to those above and below them on the "great chain of being." In Revolutionary America, political radicals who called themselves "republicans" found these old ideas increasingly hollow. Haughty aristocrats who curried favor with the crown did not appear to uphold their responsibilities to the commonweal. Yet such radicals did not seek an alternative to monarchical "corruption" in the ascension of the individual. On the contrary, republicans exhorted would-be citizens to sacrifice their private interests for the sake of the political community. "Every man in a republic," declared the physician and Revolutionary Benjamin Rush, "is public property. His time and his talents—his youth—his manhood—his old age—nay more, life, all belong to his country" (Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, p. 61). Thus, neither the monarchical precepts that Americans rejected nor the republican philosophies they embraced during the Revolution celebrated (or even tolerated) the free-floating, autonomous individual.

Nonetheless, the American Revolution propelled individualistic thought toward its eventual enshrinement as a (not *the*) national ethic. Historians often

argue that the Revolution bequeathed a dual legacy of republican and "liberal" tendencies to American culture, and that the latter eventually won out. Individualism is often taken as the end product of liberal capitalism and liberal democracy. Early national Americans, however, would have puzzled over the term "liberalism." Many, perhaps most, explicitly invoked or implicitly embraced Christian and republican virtues of self-sacrifice and public service. Yet others discerned a fresh potential for self-fulfillment within the cultural topography of the new Republic. They celebrated "emulation"—creative tension between an individual and a certain goal or another person—as the key to such fulfillment. Teachers, ministers, and other local notables argued that emulation pushed people, especially youth, to "excel" their peers in learning or virtue, tapping reservoirs of personal energy that monarchy had kept frozen. Some even lauded the long-feared passion of "ambition"—the personal desire for honor and preeminence—as a potential virtue, an emotional "fire" to be harnessed rather than stamped out. Such beliefs intersected with hero-worship of Revolutionary figures ("which one of you will be the next Washington?" asked one academy preceptor) and manifested in everything from school spelling-bees to debate societies. For the first time, the cultivation of the self for a distinct role in "the grand theater of the world" gained widespread legitimacy.

Again, though, such ideas ran counter to vital currents of thought and experience. Even as Americans moved toward a popular and competitive rather than an elitist and consensual political culture, and even as they participated in an ever-expanding commercial economy, they remained enmeshed in household and neighborhood obligations. The family economy, in which women and children worked for household heads, survived the Revolution. In fact, it adapted to and helped to propel a burgeoning of commerce in the early nineteenth century. Farmers and artisans enhanced labor demands on their wives and children and used republican citizenship to affirm their authority within the household. Many an "ambitious" farm lad found his aspirations thwarted by his father's wishes. Ironically, proponents of emulation often assailed such fathers as litigious, greedy, and selfish—in other words, as individualistic. Protestant views of the self as depraved and worthless also retained their power over the new nation's religious culture.

## A CELEBRATION OF SELF-DEFINITION

The term "individualism" finally emerged in national discourse during the 1820s, as those who inherited the Revolution and its new grammar of personal potential gained civic, cultural, and economic power. The word, and the social types associated with it, celebrated personal discovery and self-definition, not (or not just) personal gain and self-interest. The appearance of the term coincided with the rise of the autobiography as a popular genre. The first of the so-called "self-made men" in America were those who had left the farm, admired and imitated some hero or ideal type, and then invented a special vocation or niche—a "career"—in society. They included itinerant ministers, factory founders, Western explorers, and college professors; they also included many who went bankrupt and a few who struck it rich. Women faced even greater obstacles to self-definition. Effectively marginalized from the world of commerce, ambitious women sought distinction and personal fulfillment in reform movements like temperance, antislavery, and, of course, women's rights. All of the early autobiographers conveyed a sense of struggle—with physical disabilities, with financial hardships, and with the provincial mores and local commitments that fettered the self.

By the 1830s, the language of individualism helped to portray the United States as a hurried and "bustling" place, one where the demands of money-making and self-making intersected and collided. Yet no sooner had individualism established itself in the American vocabulary than it provoked new criticisms and alternatives. The French traveler Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), for example, believed that the America he toured in 1831 was degenerating into individualism, which he called "a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows." Many middle-class commentators, who now worked in offices or shops rather than at home, praised that very tendency. The middle-class home, by design, provided a gentle retreat from the callous world of work. But many worried that this withdrawal hindered the civic engagement and public spirit that made republics better than monarchies. Tocqueville also noted that the prevailing sense of self-interested busy-ness actually suffocated personal creativity and self-expression. Individualism was, in a sense, its own worst enemy.

Even as it became the nominal core of the democratic, capitalistic world of nineteenth-century America, individualism remained a controversial and complex notion. As home and work divided in the industrial age, more and more Americans took for granted the need to exercise one's ambition, to find one's unique place in the wide world. Competition

and the disciplined pursuit of wealth and status became organizing principles of American society—at least, of its bourgeois elements. But the formation of a full-blown market economy and democratic polity only sparked a new quest for authentic freedom and self-determination. Transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau sought a more satisfying form of autonomous experience than industrial society, or conventional ideas of individualism, would allow. Thoreau found his in the solitude of Walden Pond outside Concord, Massachusetts; Emerson, in the introspective faith he called "self-reliance." Religious perfectionists, moral reformers, and factory workers all invented new kinds of associations to combat the anonymity and inequity of nineteenth-century America. And the vexed career of individualism stretches to the present day, underscoring the multiple and conflicting legacies of the American Revolution.

*See also* **Autobiography and Memoir; Democratization; Home; Industrial Revolution; Market Revolution; People of America; Quakers; Reform, Social; Religion: Overview; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Women: Rights.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2000.

Bellah, Robert N., ed. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* 2 vols. 1835, 1840. Translated by George Lawrence, edited by J. P. Mayer. New York: HarperPerennial, 2000.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

*J. M. Opal*

**INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION** The "industrial revolution" is a term coined in the nineteenth century to describe the rapid rise of the modern factory system and the related economic, social, and cultural effects. It is a phrase that to some extent began to fall out of favor in the latter part of the twentieth century as the factory no longer seemed quite so central to western society and as historical research began to question whether the rise of the factory system was quite as revolutionary and rapid as it once seemed.

Nevertheless, it remains a useful concept for understanding the great changes of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### ORIGINS

The concept is probably most applicable to late-eighteenth-century England, where the rapidity of the onset of industrialization, particularly in the textile and metal industries, was very much remarked upon by contemporaries. The crux of this revolution was in the transformation from handicraft work performed at home or in an artisan's shop to factory work, performed by wage laborers and characterized by a highly developed division of labor and reliance upon automated machinery, such as the spinning jenny of James Hargreaves (d. 1778), the water frame (an automated spinning machine) of Richard Arkwright (1732–1792), and the power loom of Edmund Cartwright (1743–1823). Initially, this machinery was most frequently powered by hand or water, but as the century progressed, the steam engine of James Watt (1736–1819) became increasingly important. While undoubtedly innovative, these developments built upon a long history of textile manufacture in England reaching back at least to the Norman Conquest of the eleventh century. The seventeenth century saw a marked rise in interest in manufacturing by so-called projectors, who began all sorts of new initiatives. By the first half of the eighteenth century, England had entered a transitional phase variously described by historians as an age of manufactures or as protoindustrialization, during which manufacturing began to be performed much more widely and on a broader scale in large, factorylike settings that, nonetheless, had not yet attained the extent of mechanization and division of labor that characterized the industrial revolution.

The United States lacked this long engagement with manufacturing. Before the American Revolution, most colonists remained content to make money through agriculture and commerce while importing manufactures from Britain. Furthermore, mercantilist legislation such as the Wool Act (1699), Hat Act (1732), and Iron Act (1750) made many forms of large-scale manufacturing illegal. After the Revolution, however, Americans became very interested in ending their dependence on British manufactures for political and economic reasons. Without a rich manufacturing heritage they found themselves at a disadvantage. Often the solution was to rely on skilled immigrants and to steal British technology. Immigrants such as the German glassmaker John F. Amelung (1741–1798), the British cloth dyer John

Hewson (1744–1821), and most famously Samuel Slater (1768–1835), who smuggled plans for Arkwright's machinery out of England, brought established European technologies to the new nation.

Americans also developed some innovations of their own. They were particularly adept at creating automated machinery, a necessity in a country where labor costs remained relatively high. Oliver Evans of Delaware invented an automated gristmill (1784) that allowed Americans to grind wheat into flour with very little human labor. Jacob Perkins's nail-making machine (1795) automated that process and rapidly drove the price of nails down by more than 60 percent. David Wilkinson cleverly automated the machine shop at Slater's Rhode Island mill, creating instruments such as a power-driven lathe (1794). By the early nineteenth century, precision machine tools allowed Eli Whitney (1765–1825) to develop his system of interchangeable parts, which came to be known as the American System of Manufactures and which opened the door to mass production.

While industrialization was relatively late and derivative in the United States, demand for manufactures was quite high from the colonial period onward. From the first seventeenth-century settlements, Anglo-Americans were highly disposed to purchase fine manufactured goods on the world market, and by the eighteenth century many were avid participants in a consumer revolution that was connected to the increasingly widespread availability of manufactured goods from industrializing England. Additionally, well before the onset of industrialization, Americans were participating in what has been described as an "industrious revolution" characterized by increased household production of agricultural and manufactured goods by families hoping to improve their income in order to purchase new manufactures such as inexpensive, factory-made china. Thus, developments that once were described as effects of the industrial revolution—increased consumption and increased productivity—are now seen to have preceded industrialization in the United States and Europe.

## THE PROCESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

The textile industry followed the industrial revolution model more closely than any other early national American economic sector. Before the American Revolution, virtually all domestic-made textiles were manufactured in the home. With the onset of the Revolutionary crisis and the demonization of British manufactures during the American boycotts, Patri-

ots attempted to construct textile factories in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York City. The Philadelphia project, commonly known as the American Manufactory (1775), was the most successful. It employed several hundred workers, many of them women, to produce wool, linen, and cotton cloth before disbanding due to the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777. Many new textile factories emerged in the decade following the war in the mid-Atlantic and New England states, including the famous Almy, Brown, and Slater mill (1790) in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. While these early operations all anticipated the modern factory in employing some automated machinery, usually powered by water, they also continued earlier traditions of hiring large numbers of outworkers, usually (although not exclusively) women who spun thread or sewed fabric in their own homes.

Between 1808 and 1830 the textile sector began to industrialize in earnest, prompted in large part by difficulties in importing products during President Thomas Jefferson's embargo (1807–1809) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815). One of the first and largest projects was the heavily mechanized Union Manufacturing Company established in Baltimore in 1808 and initially fitted with between six and eight thousand spindles. It was followed by a number of other sizable textile mills clustered in Baltimore, New England, and western New York. The largest and most famous were the Waltham-Lowell factories in Massachusetts, founded in 1812 by the so-called Boston Associates using technology pirated from England by the merchant Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817) and modified by Paul Moody (1779–1831), a skilled mechanic.

The Boston Associates' establishments were the first fully automated, vertically integrated factories in the United States. Their factories at Lowell performed all the functions of textile manufacturing —spinning, weaving, finishing, printing, and packaging—under a single roof housing impressive amounts of water-powered machinery. By 1836 the Boston Associates had invested more than $6.2 million in these establishments.

Although immensely important in the development of American industry, the Lowell pattern was not the only one followed by early national industrialists. In Philadelphia, manufacturers created a different model that came to be known as "proprietary capitalism." Unlike their corporate counterparts in Massachusetts, these individual proprietors invested in numerous smaller, specialized textile firms that lacked the efficiencies of scale of the vertically inte-

grated Massachusetts firms but had the advantage of flexibility, which allowed them to retool rapidly and produce only those products currently in high demand.

Other manufacturing sectors followed still different paths. Iron making was one of the few large-scale colonial industries. By 1775, America's iron foundries produced one-seventh of the world's iron, frequently relying upon the labor of enslaved African Americans. The technology and scale of this industry changed very little during the early Republic, although after 1830 a switch to anthracite coal would have important ramifications. Shoe manufacturing grew very rapidly during the same period in places such as Lynn, Massachusetts, where output rose from 100,000 pairs in 1788 to nearly 1.7 million by 1830. This increase was made possible through increased division of labor and centralization of production under the control of market-oriented merchants. Unlike the textile industry, the shoe industry underwent virtually no mechanization before 1830. Similarly, New York City became increasingly industrial despite a relative absence of mechanized factories. This pattern, sometimes called "metropolitan industrialization," was marked by relatively small manufactories composed of twenty or more workers performing traditional craft processes as wage workers, who generally had less expectation of becoming a master than in earlier generations. But metropolitan industrialization, like early industrialization generally, was difficult to define because it was characterized by diversity rather than typicality.

### IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION
Although the heaviest industrialization would come later in the nineteenth century, the labor force of the United States was already showing signs of transformation in the early Republic. As late as 1810, nearly thirty times as many Americans worked in agriculture as in manufacturing. By 1840 that ratio had dropped to seven to one. Even more important, as a result of industrialization the nature of those jobs shifted. Earlier, most manufacturing workers labored in small shops within a craft system of masters, journeymen, and apprentices, with some expectation of attaining a "competency," a comfortable living as a master, by the latter stages of their careers. By 1830, laborers more frequently worked for wages within a factory or a larger shop in which the artisanal system was breaking down and in which hopes for advancement were less realistic. In short, a more clearly defined working class was now emerging.

Workers increasingly expressed dissatisfaction with the emerging labor system. In the early 1790s a number of journeymen actions—at least six in New York City alone between 1791 and 1793—protested the declining wages and loss of workplace control already developing as the craft system began to weaken. In the well-known Philadelphia cordwainers' strike of 1805, journeymen who struck against lower wages were imprisoned, charged, and convicted of conspiracy to restrain trade, thereby setting a precedent allowing courts to break up subsequent strikes as illegal conspiracies. Despite this setback, in the 1820s workers began a new phase of intense organization during which they formed workingmen's societies that called for ten-hour days and more educational opportunities for laborers. The unions of the 1820s published twenty newspapers and attracted up to 300,000 members.

Early industrialization also led to important shifts in gender roles. The Boston Associates initially employed women, many of them New England farm girls, as operatives in their mills. Although many of these young women planned to work only a short time before leaving to get married and have a family, they nonetheless came to resent their low wages, typically below those of the lowest-paid male workers, and by the 1830s they, like their male counterparts, began to strike for better pay. Even the women who remained at home saw their roles altered by early industrialization. The home had been the most important workshop for American manufacturing throughout the eighteenth century, but by 1830 home manufacturing was in precipitous decline as the factory began its ascendency. As a result, the role of middle-class women could now be increasingly directed away from producing goods and toward raising children in the more intensive fashion of the Victorian era.

Although the greatest period of immigration would not begin until the 1840s, in the years before 1830 industrialization was already attracting a steady stream of immigrants to the United States. Many early entrepreneurs such as Samuel Slater emigrated to the new nation expressly because they saw an opportunity to profit from the emerging manufacturing sector. Of the fifty-three thousand Irish immigrants arriving in Philadelphia between 1789 and 1806, an estimated 30 to 40 percent were skilled artisans and their families.

Finally, early industrialization also led to an acceleration of urbanization and the growth of the market economy. Some new mill towns quickly became urban centers. The population of Lowell, for

example, ballooned from twenty-five hundred in 1826 to more than twelve thousand by 1833. Established population centers such as Philadelphia and Baltimore also grew rapidly. Because early factories were generally powered by streams and rivers, many rural areas were also affected. For example, largely agricultural Oneida County in western New York contained fourteen textile factories by 1832. Rural people there became more closely tied to markets as they purchased factory goods and sold farm goods to factory workers. More generally, the widespread availability of inexpensive manufactured items coupled with better and cheaper transportation of goods in the canal age were important factors in the great market revolution of the early nineteenth century.

See also **Economic Development; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Manufacturing; Manufacturing, in the Home; Technology; Textiles Manufacturing; Work: Factory Labor.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ben-Atar, Doron S. *Trade Secrets: Intellectual Piracy and the Origins of American Industrial Power.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Bezis-Selfa, John. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Dublin, Thomas. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Licht, Walter. *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Mantoux, Paul. *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century.* Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Meyer, David R. *The Roots of American Industrialization.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Peskin, Lawrence A. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Scranton, Philip. *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

*Lawrence A. Peskin*

**INFRASTRUCTURE** *See* **Internal Improvements.**

**INHERITANCE** Despite some changes, at Independence the law of inheritance, which the English jurist Sir William Blackstone described as "the double preference given by our law, first to the male issue, and next to the firstborn among the males," retained the imprint of its feudal origins. In every society the rules governing inheritance—the principles by which property descends to an heir—embodied economic structures, social norms, and cultural preferences. As Blackstone correctly pointed out, English law had developed its rules of succession at a time when a monarch had to identify and sustain those on whom he counted for military aid: "the ability for personal service was the reason for preferring males at first in the direct lineal succession."

Among these rules was that of primogeniture, according to which land held by a person who died without a will went in its entirety to the eldest son. Consistent with their reformist impulses, every New England colony abolished it and replaced it with a biblically inspired rule dividing lands among all children—sons as well as daughters—equally, except that a double portion went to the eldest son. This rule of "partible inheritance," established in the Puritan colonies, followed religious impulses; but it also reflected a distributive ideal of spreading property broadly to produce a society of numerous independent households. A significant number of New Englanders drafted wills providing for all their children with some legacy of property. Outside New England, by contrast, all but the Quaker colonies of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey retained primogeniture, with its traditional English dynastic ideal of keeping property consolidated within a male bloodline. Widows were not heirs of their husbands: a widow was entitled only to her "dower" rights of one-third of her husband's personal property and the use of one-third of his real property during her lifetime, after which the property went to the husband's legal heirs. Such rules, which Blackstone described as "intended for [a married woman's] protection and benefit," also barred her from bequeathing any of her own land to her husband. In practice, many men left real property to their widows or made them executors in charge of their estates. Mortality left many a widow but also many an orphan, and Maryland created courts to assure the proper use of assets left to minors.

The limited abolition of primogeniture marked the limits of colonial inheritance reform. All the colonies continued English rules that gave priority to male heirs and allowed them to preserve their lands

undivided by converting them into "fee tail" estates passing to "the heirs of my body." Because title to the land could pass to no one else, these heirs could not sell or mortgage it. As in England, ending an entail was costly and time-consuming, and Virginia, where many estates were entailed, made it even more so in 1705. Tradition held out, therefore, supported by social ideology and enforced by English authority when challenged, as the Privy Council made clear in 1728 when it invalidated Connecticut's law on partible inheritance.

Independence provided the opportunity to reshape inheritance law consistent with the goals of the Revolution. As a type of property law, the rules governing succession were left to the states; but the shared impulses of creating republican societies produced some general patterns of change in state statutes of distribution. Because Virginia's laws governing succession were particularly retrogressive, the reform efforts of Thomas Jefferson and others stand as noteworthy attacks on an ancien régime of law that protected huge landed properties. "The transmission of this property from generation to generation in the same name," he wrote, "raised up a distinct set of families who, being privileged by law in the perpetuation of their wealth were thus formed into a Patrician order, distinguished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments." His proposals to abolish primogeniture and entail provoked fierce opposition among conservatives, one of whom said that only a "mid-day drunkard" would think of doing so. Nevertheless, reformers persisted in using law instrumentally to create what Jefferson called "a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of antient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican." Their goals went beyond the political and envisioned a reform of social behavior as well. The entailment of estates, Jefferson argued, was "contrary to good policy" because it deceived lenders, discouraged improvement, and emboldened children to disobey their parents.

Despite its defenders, entailment aroused powerful opposition as a bulwark of privilege and obstacle to economic growth. Jefferson believed that each generation held its property as "usufruct"—a term describing land possessed for use only—and that entailment denied a people's right to determine its own policies. Virginia abolished entail in 1776, and in the process crippled the dynastic tool of the "strict settlement" that had also been used to tie up property for generations. Massachusetts, acting in 1791, was among other states following suit in abolishing entailment.

In 1777 Georgia became the first southern state to end primogeniture, followed by North Carolina in 1784. Virginia, to Jefferson's embarrassment, did so only in 1785. Massachusetts, which had replaced primogeniture with its double-portion rule in the seventeenth century, finally ended even that discrimination by making all shares equal in 1789. In any event, as more and more people made wills in the post-Revolutionary era, such a rule governing intestacy was of diminishing practical importance.

As a Connecticut judge commented, inheritance was "not a natural, but municipal right," and the powerful force of Revolutionary positivism overcame resistance and propelled legislatures across the new nation to reform the law of succession. Statutes weakened the paternalistic and aristocratic English system and in its place made inheritance law an instrument of creating responsible property-holding citizens. Where English law had served to preserve an aristocratic family bloodline by excluding half-brothers and half-sisters from inheriting, for example, Virginia abolished the discrimination and allowed them legacies. Although statutory change stopped short of expanding the inheritance rights of women, they benefited from the expanded use of practical methods that allowed families to create legal settlements in the form of trusts or chains of future interests.

*See also* **Death and Dying; Domestic Life; Jefferson, Thomas; Legal Culture; Marriage; Property; Wealth; Wealth Distribution; Widowhood; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brewer, Holly. "Entailing Aristocracy in Colonial Virginia: 'Ancient Feudal Restraints' and Revolutionary Reform." *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (April 1997): 307–346.

Ditz, Toby L. "Ownership and Obligation: Inheritance and Patriarchal Households in Connecticut, 1750–1820." *William and Mary Quarterly* 47 (April 1990): 235–265.

Katz, Stanley N. "Republicanism and the Law of Inheritance in the American Revolutionary Era." *Michigan Law Review* 76, no. 1 (November 1977): 1–29.

Orth, John V. "After the Revolution: 'Reform' of the Law of Inheritance." *Law and History Review* 10, no. 1 (spring 1992): 33–44.

*David Konig*

**INSURANCE**   Despite receiving scant scholarly attention, the creation of a domestic insurance sector was an important factor in the commercial and eco-

nomic development of the early United States. The first and most consequential form of insurance in the period between 1750 and 1830 was marine insurance, developed after 1720 in colonial port towns by American merchants who sought to lower the risk of their growing overseas commerce and benefit from a financial intermediary that could mobilize capital and spur greater economic development. The first fire and life insurance enterprises appeared in the 1750s and 1790s respectively, but they remained less important (and profitable) than marine insurance until after 1815, when the centrality of overseas commerce to the U.S. economy declined and American cities began growing more rapidly. Along with commercial banks, insurance companies represented a significant source of capital accumulation and credit for early American entrepreneurs and also, because of generally low share prices and strong returns, an accessible and reliable investment opportunity for both small and large investors.

### MARINE INSURANCE

In the early eighteenth century, American merchants purchased marine insurance largely from British sources, most frequently from agents of Lloyd's of London, who set up shop in American ports. However, the difficulties of obtaining insurance from foreign sources—the high commissions paid to agents and the problems of providing proof of loss and collecting claims—convinced colonial merchants that they needed their own sources of insurance. All the early American firms operated along the same principles as Lloyd's. A broker drew up policies for shippers and a variety of local underwriters were invited to subscribe for whatever portion of the policy they wished. Insurance firms employing this model appeared in Boston (1724), Charleston (1739), Philadelphia (1748), and New York (1759). Prior to the American Revolution this type of private, informal, and unregulated insurance expanded the supply and lowered the cost of insurance for small shippers and provided more established merchants an important investment opportunity—though British sources of insurance remained important for American shippers into the early nineteenth century.

The Revolutionary War, however, deeply disrupted American shipping, raised insurance rates exorbitantly, and made British insurance nearly impossible to obtain. The war experience convinced American merchants that they needed to develop additional domestic sources. Moreover, the problems associated with private insurance—the ease of fraud, the low capital reserves of individual underwriters,

and the need to launch multiple lawsuits when underwriters refused to fill claims—led merchants to develop the corporate form of insurance. The first such U.S. company was Philadelphia's Insurance Company of North America, established in 1792 and incorporated by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1794. The key figure in the creation of this company was Samuel Blodget Jr., an inveterate entrepreneur and early statistician. He began the enterprise as a tontine association—that is, a scheme in which all subscribers received an annuity during their lives, with the last survivor enjoying the whole income—but when it failed to attract enough investors, the cash raised provided the capital for the new insurance company.

Despite these inauspicious beginnings, incorporated marine insurance companies began appearing in every major U.S. port. In 1800 there were eleven such firms in the United States, and in 1809 the chairman of Lloyd's of London estimated that there were forty-four marine insurance companies in America. Their creation was largely in response to the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815), which provided lucrative opportunities for neutral American merchants who shipped goods to Europe and the West Indies. The era's conflicts, however, also posed great hazards to American shippers as both British and French vessels attacked U.S. merchantmen with impunity. Indeed, so great were the risks that during the War of 1812 a number of American insurance companies ceased issuing policies. Nonetheless, marine insurance played an important role in the economic development of the early Republic. It helped stabilize the commercial environment and permitted direct access to overseas markets for American commodities, thereby sparking increased domestic production. Equally significant, it supplied a regular source of credit to merchants because premiums did not have to be paid until after the voyage was complete, and most companies possessed the power to lend—though this aspect of their business has remained murky. Finally, marine insurance companies invested their assets heavily in the stocks of other financial intermediaries such as commercial banks, providing capital that fueled economic growth.

### FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

The Napoleonic Wars had a second important impact on the insurance business: they convinced many firms to concentrate more heavily in the field of fire insurance. The nineteenth-century growth of U.S. towns and cities had a similar effect. Though early attempts were made to establish fire insurance asso-

ciations in Boston (1728 and 1748) and Charleston (1736), the first enduring firm, the Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, appeared in 1752, with the support of Benjamin Franklin.

Like early marine insurance efforts, the Contributionship was based on English models, and Philadelphia merchants Joseph Saunders and John Smith, who were heavily involved in marine insurance, played key roles. In 1768 the Contributionship was incorporated by the Pennsylvania legislature, but heavy losses in the early years resulted in slow growth, and the expansion in the fire insurance business did not occur until after the Revolution. Between 1786 and 1800 some twenty firms were incorporated by the states, and in 1804 Samuel Blodget Jr. estimated that there were forty insurance firms of all types in the new nation, with capital in excess of $10 million. In subsequent years the number and size of insurance companies continued to rise rapidly; by 1830, for example, New York City alone had twenty-eight insurance firms with capital in excess of $10.8 million, $7.8 million of which was in fire insurance.

In contrast, life insurance foundered in the early Republic. Noah Webster noted that some financial intermediaries were authorized to insure lives, but the "business . . . is novel in this country and of small value to the insurers." For instance, when chartered in 1794 the Insurance Company of North America was empowered to insure lives and the company appointed a committee to establish a business plan. However, the firm seems to have drawn up only a few short-term policies, usually for the life of an individual during the duration of a voyage. Slow growth continued throughout the period. By 1814 there were only four active life insurance companies in the United States, a number that had risen to only seventeen (with a total capital of $2.8 million) in 1836. Not until the 1840s would life insurance be-

come an important part of the insurance business in the nation.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buel, Richard, Jr. *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Davis, Joseph Stancliffe. *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations.* 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917. Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1965.

Fowler, John A. *History of Insurance in Philadelphia for Two Centuries (1683–1882).* Philadelphia: Review Publishing and Printing, 1888.

Krooss, Herman E., and Martin R. Blyn. *A History of Financial Intermediaries.* New York: Random House, 1971.

Ruwell, Mary Elizabeth. *Eighteenth-Century Capitalism: The Formation of American Marine Insurance Companies.* New York: Garland, 1993.

*A. Glenn Crothers*

**INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS**   The term "internal improvements" came into popular usage in the United States during the 1780s and originally referred to most economic, educational, and engineering programs undertaken by federal and state governments. Over the next few decades, the idea of internal improvements narrowed to include state-sponsored transportation projects such as improvements in navigation of existing rivers, turnpike roads, canals, and railroads. Although all could agree that innovations in the nation's transportation network were a positive goal, the extent of public funding and administration quickly served as a focal point of a political debate that lasted throughout the antebellum period. The federal government had several opportunities to take the lead in promoting a national system of internal improvements, and in each instance it failed to overcome political opposition grounded in a states' rights approach to the Constitution. Individual states briefly seized the initiative during the canal boom of the 1830s, but they eventually withdrew from massive public works programs. In the end, private firms assumed the major responsibility for American transportation networks, although often with financial backing from public institutions.

### EARLY EFFORTS

Early attempts at internal improvement often blended public and private initiative. George Wash-

ington, for example, promoted a survey of the Potomac and James Rivers to explore the possibility of connecting them with the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. In 1785 Virginia's legislature responded to Washington's idea by passing charters for the Potomac Company and the James River Company. The Potomac Company later declared bankruptcy, but the James River Company thrived during the post-Revolutionary decades. It had no problem finding subscribers for the initial capitalization of $100,000, of which the Commonwealth was entitled to purchase $20,000. In 1790 the company completed a short section of the canal and improved navigation linking Westham to Richmond; in that year it also successfully petitioned the legislature for permission to raise an additional $20,000 in private subscriptions plus another $20,000 in state-held stock. Although it never lived up to the ambitious designs of its founders, the James River Company is an excellent example of the mixed enterprises typical of early internal improvements.

Canals figured prominently in the nineteenth century, but at its beginning, turnpikes were the most common type of internal improvement. These toll roads were sometimes built on existing paths but in other cases blazed entirely new trails through the countryside. Most turnpikes were privately owned companies with routes of from fifteen to forty miles, although many received subsidies from local or state governments. The National Road, a federally funded turnpike, was the most ambitious road project of the early Republic. Federal engineers planned for this gravel-topped road to link Baltimore on the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio River and ultimately to the Mississippi River. Although some hoped that the National Road could serve as a shining example for federally funded turnpikes, the vast majority of toll road construction occurred under the authority of private firms with only limited public investment. From 1800 to 1810, states chartered 398 turnpike companies—more than five times the amount during the previous decade. Meanwhile, construction on the National Road languished until the first major section, which connected Baltimore and Wheeling, Virginia (later West Virginia), was finally opened in 1818. Although the federal government spent $1.6 million dollars on the National Road over the next six years, it suffered from rockslides and erosion that made it almost impassable. When it finally reached Columbus, Ohio, in 1833, the grandiose plans for the federal turnpike had all but disappeared.

Internal-improvement boosters nonetheless continued to agitate for a larger role for government in

transportation projects in the United States. In 1807 the Senate instructed Albert Gallatin, Thomas Jefferson's secretary of the treasury, to make a report on the need for further public improvements in the United States. Gallatin's *Report on Roads, Canals, Harbours, and Rivers*, issued in 1808, set out a plan for a nationwide series of federal projects aimed at improving the transportation and communications network of the young nation. Gallatin recommended that the federal government oversee the construction of canals and improvements to rivers that would create an inland water navigation from Massachusetts to North Carolina and build roads to cross the Appalachian Mountains and link the seaboard with inland cities such as Detroit, St. Louis, and New Orleans. He estimated that this network would cost approximately $16.6 million to build, and in addition, he also recommended $3.4 million for smaller local improvements across the United States. The revenue from tariffs would pay for this very ambitious scheme. Gallatin argued that the project was aimed at the development of both the seaboard and interior and that therefore it was the duty of the federal government to embark upon such a program. Despite the extensive nature of this plan, opponents denounced the use of public funds for projects that would benefit only those in the projects' immediate area.

The War of 1812 (1812–1815) put an immediate stop to Gallatin's plan, but it was revived in 1817 when John C. Calhoun of South Carolina suggested that a $1.5 million chartering bonus along with any future stock earnings from the newly created second Bank of the United States be used to create a permanent fund to "bind the Republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals." The debate in the House over Calhoun's so-called Bonus Bill revolved around an all-too-familiar question: Should the federal government pay for projects that did not benefit all of the states? Nationalists argued that the federal government should allocate funds to roads and canals that would have the greatest impact upon the economy; states' rights advocates countered that such a plan would funnel massive amounts of money for pet projects that would reflect political, not economic, agendas. In the end, opponents of Calhoun's plan stated, the federal system would be corrupted beyond repair. The Bonus Bill narrowly passed Congress, but President James Madison sided with the states' rights approach to the matter and vetoed the legislation in 1817.

## STATE GOVERNMENTS TAKE CHARGE

With the federal government temporarily out of the picture, state governments picked up the internal improvements torch. New York was the first state to undertake a massive internal improvement project with its own public funds. In 1817 the legislature authorized the construction of the Erie Canal, to run from the Hudson River to Buffalo on Lake Erie, under the watchful eye of the state's governor, DeWitt Clinton. Critics of the plan thought that it would never succeed and referred to the project as "Clinton's Big Ditch." But in 1825, only eight years after work on the project had begun, the Erie Canal was finished. The fruits of the endeavor were both impressive and immediate. In the first year of its operation, toll revenues on the Erie Canal surpassed the annual interest on the state's construction debt as traffic on the improvement ranged from heavy freight including lumber and wheat to small manufactured valuables to passengers utilizing the canal for both speedy transportation and leisure. By 1837 the revenues from the Erie Canal had erased New York's construction debt completely—only twelve years after beginning operation. The waterway shortened the time and expense required for the transportation of both bulk and high value commodities considerably and also effectively opened up New York's western counties to development; the growing cities of Buffalo, Syracuse, and Rochester all prospered from bordering the Erie Canal. Moreover, as a public works project constructed by New York's state government, the Erie Canal demonstrated the potential benefit that a state-funded internal improvement networks could provide.

Many states rushed to copy New York's success with the Erie Canal. During the 1820s the state of Virginia took over the James River and Kanawha Canal project, which was designed to cross the mountains and enrich the inland counties along the way. In 1826 Pennsylvania decided to build a statewide system of trunk and branch canals, commonly known as the State Works. Even states west of the Appalachian Mountains such as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois rushed to build systems of their own, and during the 1830s a full-blown canal boom gripped the United States. But as quickly as many of these projects were begun, they began to see diminishing returns. Because many canal projects were inspired more by political expediency than by an actual prospect of improved economic efficiency, they lost money.

In addition to building these roads themselves, states also chartered transportation companies that provided funding for other ventures. Probably the

most famous example of this is the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In 1827 a group of Baltimore merchants met to discuss ideas about a central line of improvements for Maryland. They looked at the case of New York and Pennsylvania to the north and Virginia to the south and saw that these states were all planning massive canal systems to aid the development of their interior counties. Since Maryland had no sizable river system to expand upon like the Hudson River in New York or the James River in Virginia, they decided to experiment with a new form of transportation known as the railroad. These merchants petitioned the legislature for a charter, and in February 1827 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was created with a capital stock of $3 million. But more important, of the company's thirty thousand shares of $100, the state subscribed to ten thousand, for $1 million. In exchange for the rights of eminent domain and exemption from taxation, the Maryland legislature received the right to set passenger and freight rates. Railroads, like turnpikes, would be built by private firms, but often with limited public financial backing.

### THE RISE OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE

A final attempt to involve the federal government in supporting internal improvements occurred in 1830 during the administration of President Andrew Jackson. Although a proposed national road linking Buffalo to New Orleans failed to pass Congress, several bills authorizing the federal government to subscribe to the stock of private canals and turnpikes passed. One such project, the Maysville Road, was a planned route from the Ohio River to Lexington, Kentucky. Jackson vetoed federal funding for the Maysville Road and seized the opportunity of his veto message to make a statement about the appropriateness of the federal government's role in internal improvements. In his message Jackson argued that the Maysville Road was of "purely local character" and that he wanted to "keep the movements of the Federal Government within the sphere intended." Thus, like James Madison before him, Andrew Jackson constricted the federal government's role in regard to internal improvement programs.

Following the heady canal boom of the 1830s, individual states showed signs of withdrawing their support for massive public works. As construction and operational expenses rose and revenues dwindled, state officials reconsidered their support for canal construction. The Pennsylvania State Works, for example, was completed in 1835 and cost an estimated $12 million. But toll revenues never lived up to expectations and the State Works dragged Pennsylvania into a deep financial crisis. In 1844 the legislature authorized the sale of the Philadelphia to Pittsburgh route for $20 million, a price that no private concern was willing to pay for a line of navigation that had proved both unpopular and unprofitable. In the end, the State Works were sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad over the course of the 1850s, but in the process, the idea that state-built internal improvement projects were not just expensive, but were by their nature an unwise move, became popular. The idea of laissez-faire began to take hold in many states. Railroads—the next great innovation in transportation in the United States—would depend mainly upon private firms for their construction and operation.

Internal improvements thus went through several distinct stages. At first, it seemed as if the federal government would replicate its sponsorship of the National Road and branch into other endeavors. After it failed to do so, state governments responded with ambitious but unwieldy canal programs to provide needed links between market centers. The failure of these programs caused a withdrawal of administrative, if not financial, support for internal improvements by state governments.

*See also* **Economic Theory; Erie Canal;
    Railroads; States' Rights; Transportation.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Friend, Craig Thompson. *Along the Maysville Road: The Early Republic in the Trans–Appalachian West.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005.

Goodrich, Carter. *Government Promotion of American Canals and Railroads, 1800–1890.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

Klein, Daniel B., and John Majewski. "Economy, Community, and Law: The Turnpike Movement in New York, 1797–1845." *Law & Society Review* 26 (1992): 469–512.

Larson, John Lauritz. *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Majewski, John. *A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia before the Civil War.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Shaw, Ronald E. *Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790–1860.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Sheriff, Carol. *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817–1862.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* New York: Rinehart, 1951.

*Sean Patrick Adams*

**INTERRACIAL SEX**  Judging by the laws and rhetoric of early Americans, the notion of sex across the color line struck them as repulsive, unnatural, and intolerable. White concern over the act of interracial sex can be traced to seventeenth-century colonial America. Criminalization of interracial sexual relations stood as a monument to white society's commitment to maintaining the "purity" of the white race.

The ideal of racial purity proved elusive, however, as conditions in the very early years of colonial settlement simply did not permit the absolute sexual separation of the three races: indigenous Indians, African slaves, and Europeans. The dire scarcity of European women in some regions, especially in the southern colonies, left many European American men partnering with non-European women, some merely for sex, but others in marriage. Also, during this time racial categories had not yet fully formed, so there was greater fluidity across racial lines. Some colonial historians have even claimed that full-blown racism, long associated with the American South, was inchoate in colonial America, permitting a certain degree of tolerance of interracial sexual relations that continued through the Civil War.

In 1662, however, the first clear statutory legal proscription against interracial sexual relations was adopted. The Virginia law reflected a new, harsher racism that had taken hold in the Chesapeake as African slaves began significantly to supplant European indentured servants as the chief labor source. This law, which punished only whites for broaching the color line to have sex, seems to have emerged primarily in response to a social conundrum in the New World: What to do with mixed-race children in a society that was increasingly associated with racial slavery? Prohibitions against interracial marriage soon followed. Antimiscegenation laws, as they were known, continued throughout much of the United States well into the twentieth century.

By the eighteenth century, lawmakers' aversion to racial mixing was shored up by an emerging ideology that cast sexual intimacy across the color line as abominable. Clearly the notion of interracial sex offended the sensibilities of many whites, signifying underlying fears of racial difference and worries that a mixed-race population could undermine slavery and confuse the social and racial order. Famously, Thomas Jefferson decried "amalgamation" or the "mixture of colour," which he equated with the degradation of whites. Less famously, countless Americans voiced their disgust with the possibility of racial mixing. James Wilson, a Pennsylvania delegate at the Constitutional Convention, announced to the gathering that he, like his constituents, responded to stories of racial miscegenation with "disgust."

Based on pronouncements like Jefferson's and Wilson's, as well as the statutes denouncing and punishing interracial mixing, historians long believed that actual cases of miscegenation were infrequent. Because of the public antipathy toward interracial sex, of course, few whites would risk social opprobrium by publicly acknowledging they had traversed sexual and racial boundaries. Hence, traditional sources of evidence failed to reveal a pattern of extensive racial mixing. However, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, social historians relying on different kinds of historical sources (for example, local court transcripts rather than statutes) have asserted that miscegenation was common, even ubiquitous, at some times and in some places.

Few Americans at the beginning of the twenty-first century are unaware that the founding father and third U.S. president, Thomas Jefferson, likely had a long-term intimate relationship with his slave, Sally Hemings, that produced several children. Journalist James Callender, Jefferson's chief political enemy, first publicized allegations of the affair to a mass audience in 1802, but neighbors near Jefferson's Monticello home had long been aware of such rumors. While the nature of the relationship continues to be debated by historians, scientists, and laypersons, the larger truth is that Jefferson's purported relationship with Hemings was hardly an isolated or even an unusual episode in the early American slave South. Sexual relations between master and slave, which took many forms including rape and other forms of nonconsensual sex, as well as long-lasting, loving concubinage, were relatively common.

Not only was interracial sex rather common in early America, but much of society tacitly if begrudgingly tolerated such relations in their communities. If the offending interracial couple acted discreetly, not flaunting the taboo relationship, it was not uncommon for southerners to look the other way, in much the same way as turn-of-the-century Virginians seemed nonplussed at Jefferson's rumored relationship with one of his slaves. This pattern is documented throughout early America.

While sexual relations between black men and white women were less common, they nonetheless occurred with regularity. White women's sexual relations with slaves were especially policed in nineteenth-century America, in large measure because of

*A Philosophic Cock* **(c. 1804).** In this satirical cartoon by James Akin, President Thomas Jefferson appears as a rooster courting a hen with the face of Sally Hemings, one of Jefferson's slaves. Jefferson's political opponents sought to weaken his presidency with charges of promiscuity and interracial sex. COURTESY, AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

worries about the economic welfare of the offspring whose fathers might be enslaved, but also to enforce the fiction of racial purity that permeated much of early America, including the area outside the South. While sporadic attempts were made to outlaw inter-racial sex in the North, the policing was never as strict as in the slave South. Slave fathers obviously could not provide for their mixed-race children. Still,

white women—especially of poor and middling rank—had frequent contact with men of color, free and slave. They sometimes worked as servants alongside slaves. Or sometimes they traveled on er-rands with little or no protection, making them sus-ceptible to sexual assault. White women without husbands or fathers to support them and their fami-lies may have engaged in sexual bartering or ex-

change with blacks occasionally or regularly. As with master-slave sexual relations, suspecting neighbors typically ignored such activities unless a pregnancy or an accusation of rape forced the community to deal openly with the relationship.

*See also* **Jefferson, Thomas; Rape; Sexuality.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bardaglio, Peter W. "'Shamefull Matches': The Regulation of Interracial Sex and Marriage in the South before 1900." In *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*. Edited by Martha Hodes. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Clinton, Catherine, and Michele Gillespie, eds. *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Gordon-Reed, Annette. *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

Higginbotham, A. Leon, Jr., and Barbara K. Kopytoff. "Racial Purity and Interracial Sex in the Law of Colonial and Antebellum Virginia." *Georgetown Law Journal* 77 (1989): 1697–2029.

Hodes, Martha. *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Jennings, Thelma. "'Us Colored Women Had to Go through a Plenty:' Sexual Exploitation of African-American Slave Women." *Journal of Women's History* 1 (1990): 45–74.

Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

Lewis, Jan Ellen, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Rothman, Joshua D. *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Sommerville, Diane Miller. *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004.

*Diane Miller Sommerville*

**INTOLERABLE ACTS**   The Parliament of Great Britain passed the Intolerable Acts, also known as the Coercive Acts, in 1774 in response to the Boston Tea Party of December 1773. Angry with the "dangerous commotions and insurrections" that had roiled Boston, the British ministry passed these acts in Parliament for the "reestablishment of lawful authority" in Massachusetts. By doing so, Parliament inspired widespread resistance in North America to its policies, including the meeting of the first Continental Congress later in 1774 and the actions at Lexington and Concord the following year.

The Boston Port Act closed and blockaded the city's harbor beginning 1 June 1774. Boston could neither ship outward nor import any goods (with the exception of supplies for the British armed forces and fuel or food via the coastal trade). The blockade would not be lifted until the townspeople had repaid the East India Company for the tea that had been destroyed. The Massachusetts Government Act altered the colony's cherished charter by directing that the king could appoint members of the council and that the royally appointed governor could appoint judges and county sheriffs, who in turn selected jurors; Parliament sought effective law enforcement by ridding these offices of men with Whig sympathies. In addition to stripping the House of Representatives of these powers, the act also curtailed the incidence of town meetings. The Administration of Justice Act allowed the Massachusetts governor to transfer the trials of certain persons (magistrates, those suppressing riots, and customs officials) to another colony or to Great Britain, particularly in the case of capital offenses. The law was intended to protect British officials and supporters of the crown, who believed they could not get a fair trial in front of a Boston jury. The law's detractors believed (erroneously) that soldiers might now kill Massachusetts people with impunity. The Quartering Act, which applied to all the colonies, allowed British officers, in conjunction with governors, to demand suitable billeting in uninhabited buildings.

The colonists also associated the Quebec Act of 1774 with the Intolerable Acts, though it was not intended as a response to the Boston Tea Party. The bill expanded the boundaries of Quebec to include the land north of the Ohio and Illinois Rivers, allowed French Catholics the free exercise of their religion, recognized French civil law (which did not include trial by jury) in Canada, and established a council appointed by the king in lieu of an elected legislature. To the Protestant colonists south of the St. Lawrence River, many of whom feared ecclesiastical control, the Quebec Act was a provocation: the establishment of an arbitrary, tyrannical government filled with Catholic subjects menacing their borders and blocking westward expansion. To the north, however, the Act effectively helped Parliament retain Canadian loyalty to the British Crown.

Though most of the Intolerable Acts were aimed solely at Massachusetts, people throughout the colonies recognized them as setting a dangerous precedent for the subversion of constitutional rights and liberties. Parliament was testing its supremacy against the autonomy of colonial legislatures, and it was clear which side most Americans favored. Arguments against the Intolerable Acts spread through newspapers and committees of correspondence across North America. Though the colonies had often bickered over boundaries and other issues, the acts motivated them to unite. Boston became a martyr, suffering for the cause of all America. Americans sent aid to the blockaded city, and twelve colonies sent delegates to the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia in September 1774. These delegates soon endorsed the Suffolk Resolves, passed by Boston and its surrounding towns, which proclaimed the Intolerable Acts unconstitutional and called for a boycott of British goods. The Continental Congress enumerated the Intolerable Acts as grievances and asserted the Americans' rights as citizens under the British constitution. The Intolerable Acts provoked a striking unanimity and assertiveness among the delegates.

Meanwhile, the king had appointed General Thomas Gage, commander of His Majesty's forces in America, to serve as governor of Massachusetts. When Gage attempted to enforce the Intolerable Acts by appointing sympathetic judges and suspending town meetings, he met with anger and resistance. General Gage, therefore, believed it prudent to seize the colony's stores of arms, powder, and ammunition. In each instance, New Englanders rose to stop his movements. Gage sent one such expedition of seizure to Concord on 18 April 1775, and the next day British troops exchanged fire with Americans for the first time. Boston became a city under siege. Thus, the Intolerable Acts mobilized military and political action in ways that united the colonies in their resistance to Great Britain. The execution of the acts had failed, just as these laws had misfired as tools of persuasion and authority.

See also **Boston Tea Party; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Quartering Act; Revolution: Military History.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ammerman, David. *In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974.

Bushman, Richard L. *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Reid, John Phillip. *Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority of Law.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

*Benjamin L. Carp*

**INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS** Rapid and extensive technological change was not one of the hallmarks of the colonial era, but the pace increased noticeably during the early national period. Except for the evolution of the American felling axe and Benjamin Franklin's promotion of an efficient heating stove (1742) and lightning rod (1752), notable contributions by Americans had to wait until the era of the Revolution. Then, energized by the example of British inventions in manufacturing and fired by the ideals of American independence, entrepreneurs, inventors, and legislators aggressively promoted innovation.

True, most innovations came from the workbenches of now-anonymous workmen and nearly all were the product of incremental change rather than the inventor's mythical "eureka!" moment of inspiration. Still, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, individual innovators multiplied in numbers, expanded their range of work, transformed the material conditions of society, and earned an international reputation for their storied "Yankee ingenuity."

### PROMOTION OF LEARNING

In his *Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations* (1743), Benjamin Franklin wrote of encouraging studies that would increase the power of men over matter and multiply the conveniences and pleasures of life. Most of the earliest learned societies, such as the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, promoted practical knowledge as much as literary, philosophical, or scholarly pursuits. Recognizing that their members commonly pursued multiple enterprises, occupations, and intellectual interests, these societies supported the Enlightenment ideal of useful learning.

A proliferation of local societies for the promotion of agriculture, natural history, and arts and sciences culminated with the establishment at Philadelphia in 1824 of the Franklin Institute and its journal specifically for the increase and spread of practical knowledge. The Institute became a de facto public-private research laboratory, bureau of standards, and educational institution.
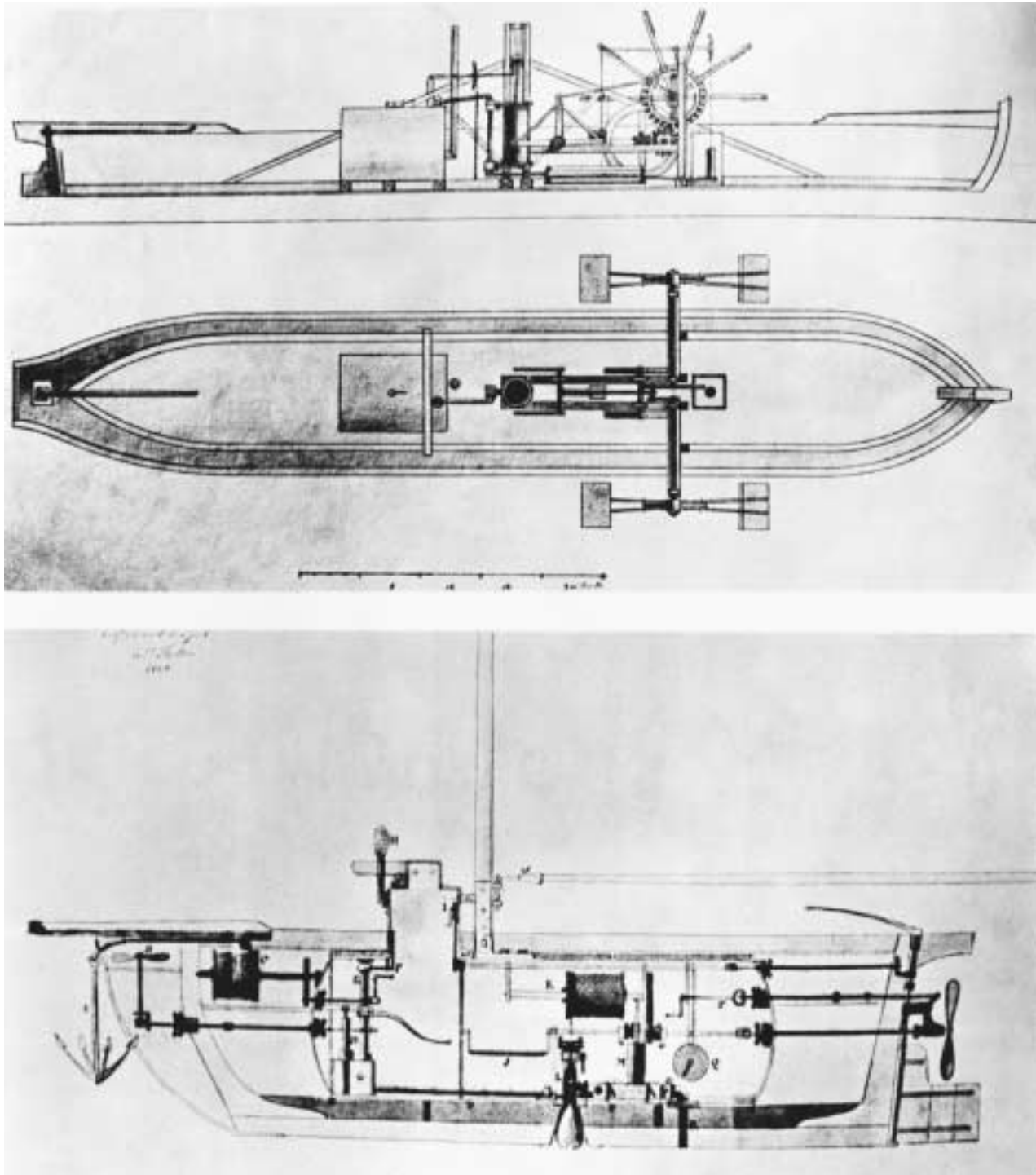
**Fulton's Steamboat and Submarine.** Although Robert Fulton did not invent the steamboat, he was the first to dramatically illustrate its financial potential. He designed his first experimental steamboat (top) in 1803 to travel the Seine River in France. Fulton also designed submarines (bottom). © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

### ENCOURAGEMENT OF INVENTIONS

The colonists found themselves in an ambiguous situation, subject to British mercantile restrictions on manufacturing but anxious to improve the colonial economy. A handful of colonies passed legislation offering incentives such as bounties and subsidies for profitable inventions. Some colonies, prominently Connecticut and South Carolina, offered monopolies
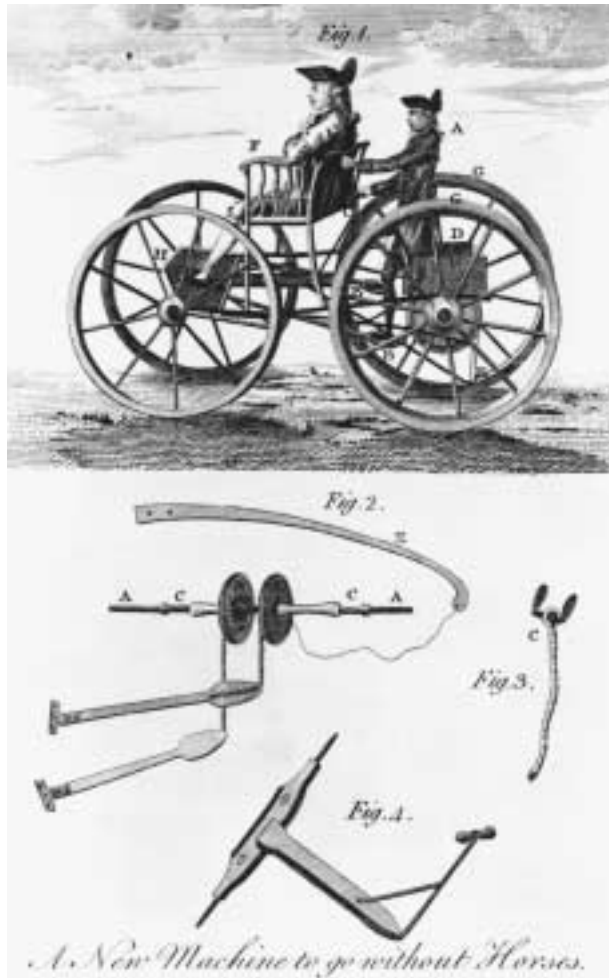
**"A New Machine to Go without Horses."** A 1774 version of a horseless carriage. © CORBIS.

or land grants for the establishment of new industries such as ironworks. The situation was difficult for inventors since they had to obtain a patent in each colony in order fully to protect their rights.

After the Revolution several state governments, following the theories of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Coxe, actively promoted innovations by granting patents or monopolies. Most often these monopolies were offered as much to promote economic development for the state as a whole as to reward individual achievement, a distinction worth noting. In the 1790s Georgia established a commission to promote the invention of a device to remove the seeds from cotton. Still, the lack of a uniform patent system frustrated inventors and created difficulties for economic promoters.

The framers of the Constitution debated a number of incentives for authors and inventors, but ultimately included in Article I, section 8, congressional power to grant them "the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries" for a limited period of time. While disliking monopolies, the framers felt the need for a uniform system covering all the states. Enacted in 1790, the first patent law proved cumbersome, since each application had to be examined for originality and utility by a commission headed by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. Substantially revised in 1793, the new system required no examination or proof, only the inventor's assertion that the idea was original and useful, leaving the courts to decide which claims were justified. Further, this law required that patents be granted only to native-born citizens, a significant limitation given the number of talented immigrants arriving from more technologically sophisticated England and Europe. Not until 1836 was the patent system revised again, this time putting it upon the solid basis of professional patent examiners. By this time, just 9,957 patents had been granted, only a small fraction of which actually proved useful.

### SIGNIFICANT INVENTIONS AND NOTABLE FAILURES

The impact of the continent's vast forests on American inventiveness cannot be overstated. As early as the late seventeenth century, Americans excelled in constructing water-powered sawmills since nearly every community near a suitable waterway had one. The American felling axe is a classic case of anonymous technical evolution. No one invented it, but over time its handle was given a curve and length to fit the individual user rather than the standard European straight shaft. The iron cutting-edge was made shorter than the European versions while the poll or flat edge was longer. This balanced the axe and made it three times as efficient as its European cousins, a fact of no small consequence.

Jacob Perkins's water-powered nail-making machine, patented in 1795, was said to be capable of producing 200,000 nails a day and helped lower the cost of nails by 85 percent over the next thirty years. The introduction in 1819 of Thomas Blanchard's copying lathe for the production of rifle stocks was a landmark of American armory practice that contributed to the manufacture of interchangeable parts. By 1829 America was a leading producer of woodworking machinery—saws, planers, lathes.

Intrigued by the complaints of Georgia plantation owners, Yale-educated Eli Whitney in 1793 devised a simple mechanical device to remove seeds from short-staple cotton. His problem-solving approach was practical, not theoretical; his machine

INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS

was easy to build and to operate by hand. Exports of cotton increased by a multiple of fifty to nearly twenty-one million tons in less than a decade.

In the mid-1780s Oliver Evans developed an automatic flour mill in which grain was ground into flour without any human intervention. The mill was the most dramatic early illustration of automation, replacing human labor with machinery, and it encouraged flour production around the nation.

While Robert Fulton did not invent the steamboat, in 1807 he was the first to dramatically illustrate its financial potential and social impact. Earlier, between 1787 and 1790, John Fitch had designed from scratch, constructed, and operated a steamboat on the Delaware River. Fulton's demonstration on the more heavily traveled Hudson River proved more financially successful and more inspiring to others seeking to improve inland transportation, the sine qua non for westward trade and expansion.

There were any number of unsuccessful inventions, some developed by the unknown and some by the famous. David Bushnell, a renowned mechanic, attempted to construct a submarine during the Revolutionary War. Thomas Paine, the Revolutionary pamphleteer and author of *Common Sense* (1776), proposed using incendiary arrows to attack warships and patented a prefabricated iron bridge. Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), the painter, experimented unsuccessfully with a telescopic sight for rifles. Oliver Evans developed an ineffective machine for inserting wire spikes into a leather pad used to unsnarl wool or cotton fibers. In 1813, Philadelphian George E. Clymer produced the first hand printing press made of iron, the patriotically ornamented and named Columbian Press. Weighty, awkward to move, and elaborately decorated, it never found favor in the United States but was popular in England and Europe for more than fifty years, a testament to the peculiar requirements for success in the new nation.

### INFLUENTIAL INVENTORS

In 1744 Benjamin Franklin, a printer by trade, published *An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire-Places*, beginning an extraordinary career as a promoter of technical innovation. Franklin's original cast-iron stove was based on scientific principles but was technologically unsound and filled many a room with smoke. Later, he and others modified the original design and the misnamed "Franklin stove" became a common household device. Franklin began his experiments with electricity at about the same time and in 1753 published directions for construct-ing lightning rods to protect houses, a practical application of his scientific experiments. He later developed bifocal eyeglasses and promoted technical improvements in papermaking and printing.

Thomas Jefferson was less an inventor than an enthusiastic polymath interested in all sorts of intricate devices and technical improvements. His one public invention, a moldboard plow he devised in 1788 and introduced at his Monticello plantation in 1793, found little favor among the yeomen farmers he championed. Though wary of the social impact of manufacturing and cities, Jefferson was a significant promoter of technological innovation in the new nation.

Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806), an African American, was not technically an inventor. But his mathematical skills, his construction of a self-designed clock, and his publication of an almanac rank him among the most celebrated innovators of his time. Banneker's abilities directly challenged Thomas Jefferson's assumptions about racial inferiority and induced him to a grudging recognition of the intellectual potential of some blacks. Thomas Jennings, a free black resident of New York City, may have been the first black to receive a patent, granted him in 1821 for a dry cleaning process.

Oliver Evans, the prototypical ingenious mechanic, repeatedly demonstrated the economic benefits of mechanization, the substitution of mechanical for human labor. His automatic gristmill, his improvements in machine shop practice, his application of steam engines to manufacturing and transportation, and his well-read publications on these nascent industrial practices make him one of the most significant technologists in American history.

Robert Fulton may be best known for his successful demonstration of the steamboat on American rivers. But he also developed a rope-making machine, underwater bombs (torpedoes), and an inclined plane for moving barges from one level of a canal to another. Indeed, his description in 1796 of the inventor as a poet combining old mechanisms into new ideas stands as an early, signal description of inventive creativity.

Though historians question his claims for originality and success with both the cotton gin and interchangeable parts, Eli Whitney remains one of the most important technologists in American history. Whitney's optimism, practical approach to innovation, and very public promotion of interchangeability mark him as an early advocate of technological progress.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEW AMERICAN NATION

237

Samuel Slater (1768–1835) invented little of note but represented a significant source of technological innovation, the transfer of technology from England and Europe to the United States. Slater's success at bringing new technical ideas into use in the textile industry marked the beginnings of the industrial revolution in the United States.

*See also* **American Philosophical Society; Franklin, Benjamin; Military Technology; Paine, Thomas; Patents and Copyrights; Steamboat; Textiles Manufacturing.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hindle, Brooke. *Emulation and Invention.* New York: New York University Press, 1981.

Hindle, Brooke, and Steven Lubar. *Engines of Change: The American Industrial Revolution, 1790–1860.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986.

McGaw, Judith A., ed. *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Mokyr, Joel. *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Oleson, Alexandra, and Sanborn C. Brown, eds. *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Pursell, Carroll. *The Machine in America: A Social History of Technology.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

*William S. Pretzer*

**IRON MINING AND METALLURGY** Iron mining, refining, and manufacturing were at the core of early American industrial development. The iron industry was both the most capital-intensive to develop and the most potentially lucrative business venture in the British colonies of North America. Interest in locating deposits of iron, extracting the ore, smelting it, and refining it was evident in the earliest permanent settlements. Small amounts of ore were found in Virginia in 1608 and sent back to England for refinement. A bloomery (a small, enclosed kiln used for roughly smelting iron) was established in the colony at Falling Creek by 1622, although it was destroyed in the Powhatan rising in the same year. In 1641 John Winthrop, Jr., proposed the construction of a complete ironworks in Massachusetts, including a blast furnace (where iron ore was initially smelted into liquid and turned into large bars, called

pigs), fineries (a large hearth where pig iron was reheated into a softened mass called a "half-bloom," from which larger impurities were hammered and chipped out manually or by means of a trip-hammer), and chaferies (a smaller hearth where the iron was again heated and drawn into thinner bars, which were continually rubbed and redrawn until all visible impurities were eliminated). By 1643 a company was formed in London to finance the Massachusetts works. In 1644 construction of the works on the Saugus River began, and more than one hundred experienced ironworkers were imported to carry on the operations.

In the 1650s and 1660s ironworks were established in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. But these iron companies were expensive to build and maintain. Because the cost of transatlantic transportation in the period was high, with few local markets available, all of these early operations fell into severe financial difficulties and eventually failed. The first profitable iron company in the English colonies was founded by Lewis Morris at Tinton Falls, New Jersey, around 1680, followed by others in Maryland and Pennsylvania. By the turn of the eighteenth century, establishing a viable and profitable iron industry in the colonies became easier for several reasons. First, the settlement and stabilization of more than fifteen colonies from New England to the West Indies after 1630 created a much larger market network in the Americas that could support iron manufacture. Second, after 1660 more ships were built for transatlantic shipping and regulation increased, greatly reducing shipping costs and making exportation of pig iron from the colonies to England at least minimally profitable. Third, the expansion of trade under the English mercantile system beginning in the mid-seventeenth century aided in enriching a significant number of colonial merchants and their families. These merchants, seeking to diversify their interests, had the capital to finance the building and expansion of dozens of new ironworks. Fourth, and perhaps of the greatest importance, local populations grew rapidly in the colonies, continually expanding local markets for iron and iron goods. These local and regional markets along the Atlantic coast were keys to the profitability of the iron industry, as nearly 80 percent of the iron produced in the British colonies of mainland North America was sold on the mainland.

Not all iron manufacturing operations were successful. At a cost of between £10,000 and £50,000 in the eighteenth century, depending on the size and complexity of the ironworks, problems with resources, labor, transportation, weather, competi-

tion, or any combination of these factors could spell disaster. Nearly half of the ironworks established in the six decades prior to the American Revolution failed less than twenty years after they were founded. Others, however, would last nearly a century.

### LAND AND RESOURCES

Iron ores, including red and brown hematite, magnetite, and carbonate can be found throughout southern Virginia through western and northern Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and in the colonial period could be found widely across the land's surface. The visible abundance of iron deposits, as well as limestone deposits (used as flux in charcoal iron manufacture), were the first indicators that profitable extraction and refining were possible. But iron ore and limestone deposits were not enough. Fueling even a small ironworks required a large area of forest, as charcoal production was a necessary step preliminary to the smelting process. A colonial blast furnace produced approximately 400 tons of pig iron per year (2 tons of ore could be smelted into 1 ton of pig iron), with each ton requiring between 100 and 120 cords of wood as fuel. Hardwoods burned hottest and were most efficient, softwoods less so. An acre of forested land yielded an average of 20 usable cords of wood, and would take a minimum of twenty years to replenish, if conservation was followed. An iron plantation needed 4,000 to 5,000 acres of forested land in order for production to continue for more than twenty years. The average iron company operated on 5,400 acres.

### MINING

The availability of much surface ore in the early eighteenth century kept mining operations fairly basic before mid-century. Miners dug shallow trenches, following the visible lines of ore and extracting the most accessible iron. Under these conditions four to six miners could dig a sufficient amount of ore per day (three to four tons) to keep a furnace in operation. The deeper the trenches were cut, the more labor was necessary, as impacted ore was harder to extract and required additional workers to hoist the ore out of deeper trenches and keep the pits clear of water.

Although technologies did not change, by 1750 most iron companies that had been in operation for two decades or more were operating what could be more accurately called mines. Mine holes forty to fifty feet deep required eight miners to produce the same daily tonnage as six had done from a surface trench, and at least one winch operator was needed to hoist water from the hole. By the 1770s and 1780s, long-established operations were beginning to move toward shaft mining to access deeper veins of ore. This was more costly and dangerous, as it required more labor as well as blasting. Shaft mines had to be shored up by wooden palisades in order to prevent regular collapses. Accidents were still fairly regular and the narrow shafts, typically less than a hundred feet deep, did not allow for rescues of men trapped by flooding waters or cave-ins.

Miners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were typically skilled both in locating profitable veins deeper in the earth and the art of gunpowder blasting. Men whose higher wages were based on skill were called masters, and laborers who actually did the digging were often called helpers. Higher wages for skilled workers and the need for more labor increased the cost of production after the mid-eighteenth century. Britain still needed American iron, but its value decreased as its production costs increased. Parliament, through regulation, tried to keep colonial iron competitive with Russian and Swedish iron sources, but this became more difficult over time.

### BRITISH REGULATION

Many Americans viewed the British mercantile system as restricting, and at times it was, but it was always intended to benefit both the home country and the colonies. In the field of iron production, parliamentary allowances were historically generous. Parliament routinely voted down bills that would have raised the import duties for pig and bar iron and outlawed the manufacture of ironware in the colonies. This policy allowed for colonial iron to enter England competitively compared to foreign exporters' iron. Also, owing to the prohibitive cost of establishing and running a blast furnace in the colonies, to prevent ironmasters from refinement beyond initial smelting or a prohibition on ironware manufacturing would have eliminated any profit incentive for colonial entrepreneurs.

In 1750, however, a new iron act was passed in reaction to the great expansion of ironware manufacture in the colonies, which was drastically reducing imports from England. Pot ware (kettles, pots, pans), wrought iron, and stove plates of colonial manufacture covered almost all of the American market; of even greater concern, the proliferation of steel furnaces, plate mills (producing sheet iron), rolling and slitting mills (producing rods), naileries, and wire mills were eliminating local need from Brit-

ish manufacturers. In exchange for elimination of all duties on American iron brought into England, the Iron Act of 1750 banned the new construction of any of these operations in the colonies.

No one on either side of the Atlantic was satisfied with the 1750 act. British manufacturers wanted existing colonial mills shut down, and colonial entrepreneurs saw the regulation that barred them from tapping into an expanding market for goods as unfair. In the end, the inability of the British government to enforce the act made it essentially moot. American iron manufacturing had come too far in the half-century prior to 1750 to stop cold. Colonial ironmasters took the stance that, rather than fighting for the repeal of the act, they would ignore it. Not only were preexisting iron mills underreported by at least 75 percent, between 1752 and 1775 five new steel furnaces, five naileries, four slitting mills, three plate mills, and three wire mills were built in Pennsylvania alone. In the mainland colonies as a whole, more than sixty operations made illegal by the Iron Act of 1750 were constructed in defiance of parliamentary regulation.

Independence requires both a belief and a practical demonstration that one can stand on one's own. In the business of iron manufacturing in British America, that belief and demonstration began to appear soon after 1750.

In many ways, both independence and available resources hampered technological expansion in the U.S. iron industry in the half-century after the Revolution. By the early 1790s, Congress regularly passed tariff legislation to protect the iron industry from foreign competition. This kept the price of iron and iron products high enough in the domestic market for U.S. companies to maintain profitable businesses, but most were unwilling to invest capital in newer technologies before the 1840s. The application of steam power technology, expanding in other U.S. industries, was universally ignored in the iron industry for decades. U.S. iron manufacturers held to charcoal blasts long after coke was employed as a cheaper fuel source internationally. The rationale for this was based on the availability of seemingly endless forests on the western frontier. Iron manufacturers generally abandoned older works situated one hundred miles or less from the Atlantic coast and set up newer works to the west—in upstate New York, the Alleghenies of Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, the northwestern counties of Virginia, and eastern Tennessee—still applying seventeenth- and eighteenth-century techniques.

This attitude damaged the ability of U.S. iron manufacturers to compete effectively in the international iron and steel markets. It was only the rapidly expanding domestic market the allowed iron makers to profit. One of the highest rates of natural increase in the world and high immigration figures swelled the population in the early nineteenth century. Urbanization, particularly after 1815, expanded markets for iron goods for construction as well as potware and utensils.

U.S. iron manufacturers might have continued for decades longer without change had it not been for the advent of railroads. Between 1835 and 1850, it became clear in the first flurries of railroad building that the quantity and quality of U.S. iron was insufficient to meet the needs of expansion. The needs of railroads to tie the growing United States together, along with the realization that forests were a finite resource, forced iron makers to modernize.

*See also* **Manufacturing; Work: Overview; Work: Unskilled Labor.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bining, Arthur C. *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933.

———. *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1973.

Bruce, Kathleen. *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era.* New York: Century Company, 1930.

Paskoff, Paul F. *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry, 1750–1860.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Temin, Peter. *Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America: An Economic Inquiry.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964.

*Michael V. Kennedy*

**IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY** In the 1750s the Iroquois Confederacy (or League) comprised 8,500 individuals spread across some forty-five villages and hamlets west of Albany in New York and in northern Pennsylvania. Despite their modest numbers, the Iroquois were powerful players in the struggles for control of the Great Lakes region and enjoyed more success in preserving their cultural viability and territory than most aboriginal societies did south and east of the lower Great Lakes before the War of Independence. Yet, in its wake, Americans forced them

onto reservations in an effort to assimilate the tribes-people and open their lands for Euro-American settlement.

## SIX NATIONS SOCIETY

The confederacy began to form around 1450, primarily to end intertribal strife among five member nations, and secondarily to engage in common foreign policies. However, achieving league-wide agreements in external affairs was difficult. Decisions arose out of a consensual political process that incorporated the opinions of most adults, with the result that agreements regularly could not be achieved above the village level, where regional relationships with the outside world dominated people's views.

In the mid-1700s the league embraced the five original confederates—Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas—plus the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian people who fled settler persecution in North Carolina in the 1710s to settle among the Five Nations and become the confederacy's sixth nation in 1722 or 1723. Other aboriginal refugees, such as the non-Iroquoian Tutelos and Delawares, settled among or near the Iroquois and fell under league suzerainty. Beyond tribal divisions, confederacy communities were multicultural: as a result of intermarriage, in-migration, and the adoption of prisoners. various red, white, and black people entered Six Nations society, typically as full members, although some were treated as inferiors. In addition to immigration into Iroquois territory, people emigrated to New France, beginning in the mid-1600s, to live in mission communities along the Saint Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers. Along with other natives, they formed the Seven Nations of Canada, of whom fifteen hundred were Iroquois in the 1750s. Beginning in the 1720s other Iroquois moved west to the Ohio country to form the Mingo nation, which had five hundred to six hundred people by 1750.

Iroquois people primarily were horticulturists who also fished, hunted, gathered, and traded. Through contact with Euro-Americans, they grew foreign crops in addition to such indigenous plants as corn, beans, and squash. Some individuals in the 1700s adopted animal husbandry or worked for wages in the fur trade and in other realms of white-native interaction. The importance of these new activities increased after the American Revolution, and people in the late eighteenth century also turned to lumbering and milling.

By 1750 most Iroquois no longer lived in the stockaded villages of earlier times. Instead they occupied less dense settlements, typically spread out along waterways. Many individuals, especially toward the east, had begun a process, which would encompass almost all Iroquois by 1800, of abandoning longhouses for smaller, often single-family dwellings that outwardly (and sometimes inwardly) resembled the homes of white settlers. Although the externals of material culture changed dramatically during the colonial and early national periods, core interior beliefs and customs remained strong, with the majority of Iroquois embracing traditional faith and social practices. Nevertheless, Christianity made inroads, particularly among Mohawks, Oneidas, and the Seven Nations of Canada.

## COLONIAL STRUGGLES, 1754–1774

In their relations with other natives and with Euro-Americans, the Iroquois wanted to preserve their land, independence, and culture, prevent outsiders from monopolizing their trade (and acquire large quantities of gifts from colonial powers), and exercise some control over other indigenous peoples to prevent them from becoming threatening rivals. They pursued these goals during the first half of the eighteenth century mainly through diplomacy rather than war. For instance, while serving as intermediaries between the crown and the natives of the Ohio country, they gained privileges from the British and inhibited the power of other tribes to compete against the league.

In the Seven Years' War (1754–1763 in America; 1756–1763 in Europe), the Iroquois adopted a military approach to defending their security, especially the Mohawks and Senecas who sided early in the conflict with the British and French respectively because of trade and other associations that they had built up with them over previous decades. However, the British succeeded in improving their standing with the Iroquois during the conflict, largely through the efforts of the crown's superintendent to the Six Nations, Sir William Johnson (c.1715–1774), who worked from his Mohawk Valley estate to cultivate Anglo-aboriginal alliances. Then in 1758 the confederacy as a whole allied with Great Britain, primarily to harness ascending British power to exercise suzerainty over native people in the Ohio country who resented Six Nations interference in their lives and whose emerging regional alliance posed a challenge to Iroquois ambitions. Thus Six Nations forces, including Senecas, participated in the British capture of Fort Niagara in 1759 and in the subsequent move against Montreal that led to the capitulation of Canada in 1760. (As New France foundered, the formerly French-allied Iroquois of the Seven Nations negotiat-
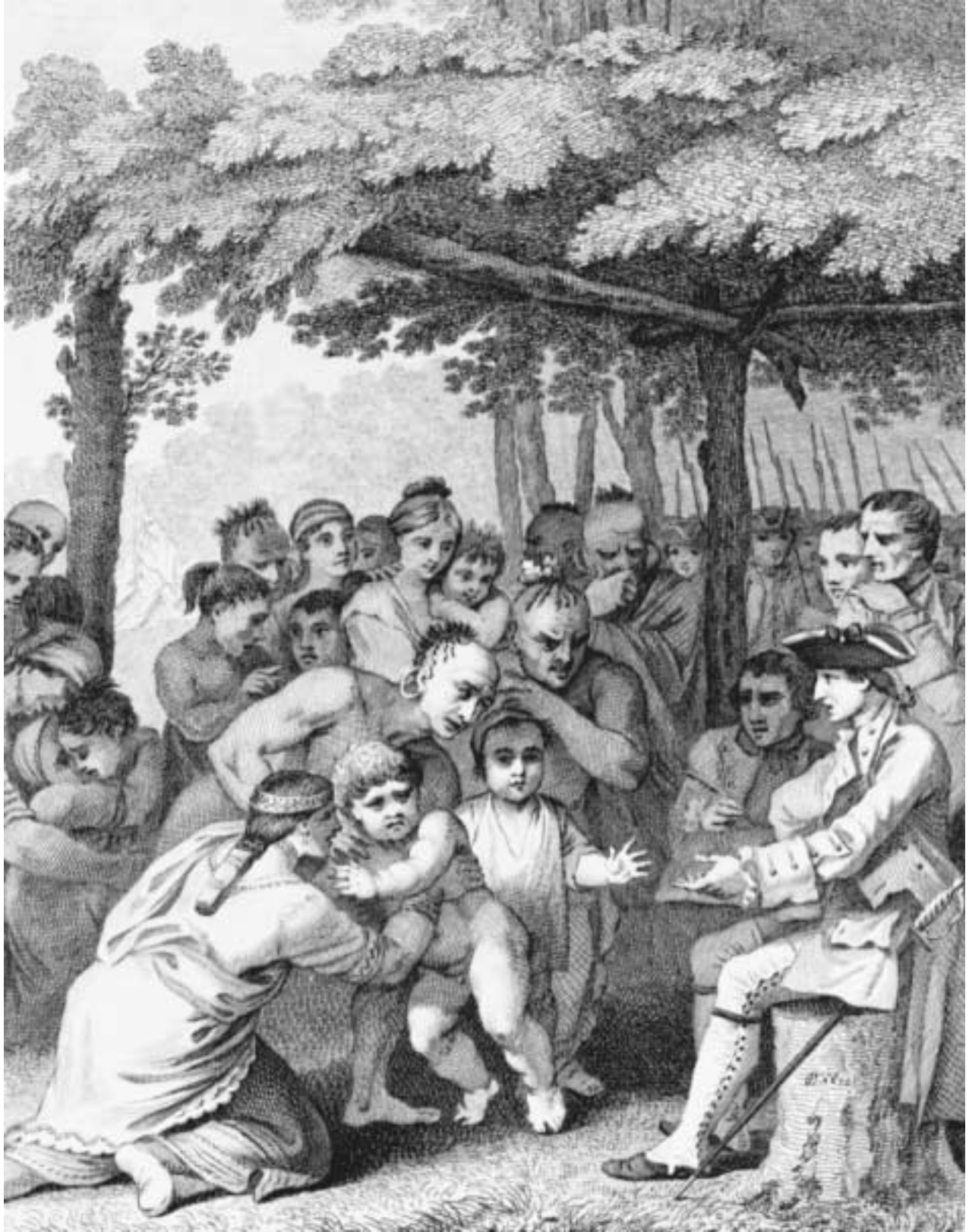
**Returning Captives.** In this illustration from circa 1766, a party of Indian warriors returns captives after Colonel Henry Bouquet marched up the Ohio River to put an end to Pontiac's rebellion in 1764. © CORBIS.

ed treaties with the British to defend their rights and independence.)

In Pontiac's War (1763–1764) many Senecas, and closely allied Delawares, participated in the wider rising against the growing British colonial menace to aboriginal aspirations in the wake of France's expulsion from North America. In contrast, the Mohawks helped white forces suppress the native alliance while the other confederates generally stayed neutral. For their hostility, the Senecas lost land along the Niagara River to enable the crown to secure communications between Lakes Ontario and Erie. Then in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the confederacy united with the British to sell the territory of tribes south of the Ohio River, especially the Shawnee, which had risen in the late war and which had resisted Iroquois efforts to manage its foreign affairs. To make this transaction possible, the Six Nations claimed the region through a tenuous ancient conquest, which white officials agreed to acknowledge. Aside from giving the Iroquois the proceeds of the sale, the treaty opened the region south of the confederacy's heartland for white settlement and thereby reduced the pressure to alienate league homelands, although some losses did occur at the eastern end of the Six Nations territory in New York.

### AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775–1783

At the outbreak of the Revolution, many Mohawks sided with the crown because of their connections to loyalists through such individuals as the Mohawk matron, Molly Brant (c.1736–1796) and her half-brother, the war and diplomatic chief, Joseph (1743–1807). However, the rest of the confederacy adopted a neutralist stance. Then, in January 1777, an epidemic killed three important league chiefs, which brought confederacy business to a halt until new leaders could be "raised up" to replace them. This problem, combined with the degenerating wartime situation and pressure from the white combatants to join their respective causes, led the confederacy to "cover" its great league council fire and free the member nations to choose their own course of action. The Onondagas opted for neutrality, the majority of Tuscaroras and Oneidas sided with the revolutionaries, and the Cayugas and Senecas joined the Mohawks in a Loyalist alliance. Logic suggested that, as most of the threats to Iroquois liberties came from people associated with the rebellion, the crown offered a better future. London promised to protect aboriginal property and freedom in return for help in suppressing the revolt. Nevertheless, the Tuscaroras and Oneidas, influenced by their pro-rebel missionary, Samuel

Kirkland (1741–1808), chose to support the revolutionaries.

Divisions among the Iroquois had a brutal impact when pro- and anti-Loyalist warriors fought each other at the battle of Oriskany in August 1777. In subsequent campaigning—raiding rebel districts in New York, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio country alongside Loyalist forces to destroy crops and settlements—the crown-allied Six Nations had the greater influence on the course of events. In response, revolutionary armies invaded Iroquois territory in 1779 to knock the confederacy out of the war by burning most of its villages (including those of the neutral Onondagas). Yet even as the rebels forced people to flee from their homes, warriors continued to fight effectively until 1782, when hostilities wound down. During the latter part of the conflict, most Iroquois ended up in squalid refugee camps, with the pro-revolutionaries concentrated at the eastern end of their traditional homelands, and the pro-Loyalists sheltered around Fort Niagara in the west. (Most Seven Nations Iroquois had negotiated peace with the rebels when they controlled Montreal in 1775; but when crown forces reasserted their dominance along the Saint Lawrence River in 1776, most then entered the war on the Loyalist side. The Mingos helped the Loyalists, although they had fought against the British during Pontiac's War.)

The Treaty of Paris of 1783, which ended the Revolutionary War and created the current Canadian-American border, put Six Nations land inside the United States. One-third of the Iroquois in New York chose not to live in the new Republic but moved to Canada, beginning in 1784, to settle at Tyendinaga on Lake Ontario and along the Grand River north of Lake Erie. Modest numbers of others moved to Ohio, either to join the Mingos or to form a separate "Sandusky Seneca" community. (The Iroquois in Ohio later participated in the frontier war of 1790–1795 against the Americans; the rest of the Iroquois fundamentally stayed aloof, believing they would only suffer if they fought the United States.)

### THE NEW RESERVATION SOCIETY, 1784–1829

Within a year of the Treaty of Paris, Americans began to force the Iroquois in the United States to give up land and move onto reservations. Tragically, it was the pro-Revolutionary Tuscaroras and Oneidas who first were dragooned into signing away substantial territories. By 1797 all of the Iroquois in New York and Pennsylvania had been restricted to reservations that encompassed only a tiny fraction of their former homelands.

Aside from acquiring territory for settlement, Americans hoped that confining the Iroquois to reservations would lead to assimilation: surrounded by newcomers, the natives would be forced to adopt Euro-American ways of life in a rapidly changing environment. The result was the opposite: reservations, with their small but concentrated populations, became heartlands of aboriginal identity and resistance. Yet they also became economically desolate places where intense levels of alcohol abuse and family violence erupted, symptoms of the oppression and poverty their residents suffered in the 1780s and 1790s.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, reformers within Six Nations society—and missionaries from without—offered ways for the Iroquois to overcome their problems and make their way in the shifting environment. The most famous reformer was the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake (1735–1815). Beginning in 1799 he demanded that people renounce alcohol, witchcraft, and other vices and exercise moral restraint within a rekindled but reformed indigenous faith. He also promoted Euro-American farming and craft production, not so his people could assimilate (as the missionaries wanted), but so they could achieve economic independence and thereby reject unwanted white influences on their lives. He also preached that Six Nations interests lay in standing aloof from any future hostilities that might occur between Britain and America. Through his and other people's work, the Iroquois rebuilt their society after 1800 to regain some of the prosperity and self-esteem that they had lost since 1775.

In the War of 1812, the Six Nations again pursued actions that they thought best protected their interests. Except for the Mingos, who joined the British, most Iroquois in the United States allied cautiously with the Americans, although many of Handsome Lake's followers remained neutral. In Canada both Six and Seven Nations warriors fought, mainly on the British side, and made an important contribution to defending Canada from U.S. annexation.

After 1815 the Iroquois in both the United States and Canada continued to be pressured to give up land and assimilate. The problem was worse in the United States, where powerful land interests, a flood of newcomers, and the construction of New York's Erie Canal (opened 1825) combined to force the loss of more territory as well as the removal of many Iroquois to British territory or to the West between the 1820s and the 1850s. Yet others hung on, physically and culturally. As a result, Iroquois communities survive not only in Quebec, Ontario, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma, but also in New York, thus making the Iroquois one of the few aboriginal peoples to occupy land in their traditional territory in what is now the eastern United States.

*See also* **American Indians: British Policies; American Indians: Middle Atlantic; American Indians: Northern New England; American Indians: Southern New England; Canada; New York State; Pontiac's War.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Abler, Thomas S., ed. *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary War Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake, as told to Benjamin Williams.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Benn, Carl. *The Iroquois in the War of 1812.* Toronto and Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Fenton, William N. *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

Hauptman, Lawrence M. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999.

Kelsay, Isabel Thompson. *Joseph Brant, 1743–1807: Man of Two Worlds.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1984.

Seaver, James E., comp. and ed. *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990. (Seneca adoptee's memoir, first published 1824.)

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.* New York: Knopf, 1970.

*Carl Benn*

**JACKSON, ANDREW**  Born 15 March 1767 on the rural frontier region called the Waxhaws, located on the borders of North and South Carolina, Andrew Jackson did not represent what many expected in a president. His Scots-Irish immigrant origins, lack of education, and virtual poverty all destined him for the affairs of average men. He was, however, anything but average. With a fiery temper and vaulting ambition, the young Jackson stood out among his peers. Orphaned at the age of fifteen, he could easily have become lost. Instead, Jackson looked to the upper class and strove to join society's elite. He ultimately succeeded and as a result symbolized the possibilities for self-made men.

By the age of thirteen, Jackson had learned the meaning of struggle, duty, sacrifice, and Union because of the American Revolution's impact on his family. Both of his brothers and his mother (his father had died before Jackson's birth) were killed during the conflict. In the war's aftermath Jackson wandered for a time but ultimately settled on the study of law, realizing that it was an entrance to the upper class. While studying, Jackson made important connections that resulted in an offer to serve as public prosecutor for the western district of North Carolina. In 1788 he accepted and traversed the Appalachian Mountains into a new territory that came to be the state of Tennessee. It was here that Jackson achieved his initial goal of wealth and society. In 1791 he joined the Donelson clan by marrying Rachel Donelson Robards and in doing so aligned himself with a well-respected, landowning family.

In 1795 Jackson served as a delegate to the Tennessee constitutional convention and the next year was elected as the state's first representative to Congress. He served as a U.S. senator in 1797–1798 and then, in 1798, was elected to the judgeship of Tennessee's superior court. In 1802 Jackson achieved election as major general to the Tennessee militia, a position that signified social standing and prestige. It was as military leader that he gained his greatest fame and ultimately opened the door to the presidency.

When the United States declared war on England in 1812, Jackson eagerly awaited his opportunity to repay the injuries he had received during the Revolution. Yet his first actions as commander were not against the British, but the Creek Indians who had utilized the timing of the war to stop American expansion into the Old Southwest. In a series of battles in 1813–1814, Jackson revealed his skill and courage. Subsequently promoted to the rank of major general in the U.S. Army, he proved victorious against the British at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) and in doing so raised himself to the heights

of everlasting fame. The battle itself was won against overwhelming odds. The disciplined, veteran English forces were some of the same troops that defeated Napoleon, and many in both Britain and America expected a swift defeat for the rather meager defenses at New Orleans. Jackson, however, won the day and in doing so achieved the greatest military victory in the young nation's history up to that time. The people sang Jackson's praises and recognized him as a symbol of American greatness.

Just a few years later, in 1818, Jackson was once again ordered to defend the nation's borders, this time against Seminole Indians who engaged in raids on American citizens in Georgia. Jackson's subsequent invasion of Spanish Florida caused controversy because the action violated Spanish sovereignty. Nevertheless many Americans once again heralded Jackson's defense of the nation. His popularity greater than ever, Jackson entered the presidential race of 1824. He was narrowly defeated by John Quincy Adams during a runoff election in the House of Representatives but charged corruption when Henry Clay, who had orchestrated the House voting, was appointed secretary of state. Jackson and his supporters immediately began preparations for the election of 1828, campaigning on a platform of reform and arguing that Jackson was robbed of the presidency. As a man from humble origins who had struggled to gain fame and fortune, Jackson's victory was a symbol of what common men could achieve.

During Jackson's two terms as president, from 1829 to 1837, he oversaw the dismantling of the aristocratic, deferential governmental system created by the founding fathers. He believed that any man of intelligence could serve in governmental office. Such ideas, along with expanding voting rights throughout the nation, ushered in the era of the common man. Jackson continually argued that he was the elected representative of the people and that his job was to protect their interests. Jackson championed his famous veto of a bill to recharter the second Bank of the United States (1832) in such terms, and he beat down South Carolina's attempts at nullification by stressing the importance of Union and the Constitution for the people.

Not everyone loved Jackson, however. Some viewed him as a dangerous military chieftain who threatened the very liberties that he himself heralded. His invasion of Florida violated international law and exceeded orders. His veto of the bank and subsequent removal of federal deposits was viewed as tyrannical. The fact that he vetoed more bills than all of the pre-

vious presidents combined revealed tremendous and, some argued, aggressive power. Even his defense of Union during the Nullification Crisis bordered on mania, charged opponents. The Whig Party called Jackson "King Andrew" and fought what they viewed as dangerous, monarchical power.

Even after his retirement from the presidency, Jackson wielded significant political influence. The masses continued to love him as the nation's hero and at the time of his death on 8 June 1845, cities throughout the nation mourned his loss with the largest outpouring of veneration and respect America had ever witnessed.

*See also* **Creek War; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; New Orleans, Battle of.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Booraem, Hendrick. *Young Hickory: The Making of Andrew Jackson.* Dallas, Tex.: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2001.

Coles, Donald B. *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993.

Remini, Robert. *Andrew Jackson: The Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832.* New York: Harper & Row, 1981.

———. *Andrew Jackson: The Course of American Democracy, 1833–1845.* New York: Harper & Row, 1984.

Rogin, Michael. *Fathers & Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian.* New York: Knopf, 1975.

*Matthew Warshauer*

**JAY, JOHN**    Born on 12 December 1745, John Jay was an active leader of the Revolution and a key figure in the founding of the nation. During the period of the early Republic he served in Congress, as a diplomat, as chief justice of the United States, and as governor of New York. He was also a co-author of the *Federalist Papers* and president of the New York Society for the Manumission of Slaves.

Jay's grandfather was a Huguenot who had been imprisoned in France before escaping to America. His father, Peter Jay, was a successful merchant; his mother, Mary Van Cortlandt, came from a Dutch patroon family in the Hudson Valley, one of the most aristocratic families in the American colonies. Jay graduated from King's College (now Columbia University) in 1764 and was admitted to the bar four years later. By the eve of the Revolution, he was a prosperous and effective lawyer, who, unlike most New York attorneys, and most members of the wealthy landed gentry, was a committed Whig. In

1774 he increased his status and access to power by marrying Sarah Livingston, daughter of one of the leading families in New Jersey, whose father, William, would be a signer of the Constitution and a governor of his state. The couple would have seven children, including William Jay, a future judge and abolitionist.

In 1774 Jay was elected to New York City's Committee of Correspondence and later as one of the colony's five delegates to the First Continental Congress. Jay was relatively conservative within the Congress, but went along with, and supported, the more radical members who denounced acts of Parliament as "unconstitutional" and urged local militias to arm themselves. Jay drafted the *Address to the People of Great Britain*, which Congress used to justify its radical moves. Here he rejected the idea that Parliament could tax the colonists or subordinate them within the imperial economy. Americans, he asserted, would never become the "hewers of wood or drawers of water" for their English cousins.

Jay had returned to New York by early 1776 and was a member of the colonial legislature. In that position he opposed declaring independence but after July 1776 was fully committed to the Revolution and independence. He helped obtain munitions for the troops, investigate traitors, and organize spies. More important, in 1777 he helped write New York's first constitution. Like many others in the founding generation, Jay had experience with constitution-making well before the United States wrote its constitution in 1787. The New York document of 1777 was the only constitution of the period to have no religious tests for officeholding, reflecting his French Huguenot background and his respect for religious freedom. On the other hand, the constitution also required that foreigners seeking naturalization as citizens of New York renounce allegiance to any foreign "prince or potentate," an anti-Catholic measure that reflected his Huguenot ancestry and his family's memory of Catholic persecution.

With the adoption of the New York Constitution, Jay became chief justice of the state's Supreme Court while at the same time serving as a delegate to the Continental Congress. He was elected president of the Congress in 1778 and helped negotiate the treaty that led to the French alliance. In 1779 Congress made him minister plenipotentiary to Spain, where he arrived with his wife in 1780. This first diplomatic mission for Jay was mostly a failure. Spain refused to give him diplomatic status, recognize the new American nation, or acknowledge Americans' navigation rights on the Mississippi. The government in

Madrid feared—correctly, as it would turn out—that American independence would be the first step leading to the destruction of Spain's New World empire.

In the spring of 1782 Benjamin Franklin asked Jay to come to Paris to help negotiate the treaty of peace with England. Jay declined to formally meet with the English envoys, however, because their credentials directed them to meet with representatives of the American "colonies" and not with the United States. Franklin ultimately joined Jay in taking this position, and the British acquiesced, getting new instructions from London. This position put him at odds with America's French allies, who urged a more speedy negotiation. Jay soon came to suspect that France was attempting to negotiate a separate peace with England, and on his own, without consulting Franklin, contacted an official in Britain to derail this possibility. Ultimately, Jay, Franklin, and John Adams, who had just arrived from the United States, negotiated a separate peace with England that recognized American nationhood and secured rights to all British possessions on the continent south of Canada, including all territory bordering the Mississippi River. The skillful negotiations of Jay, Adams, and Franklin led in 1783 to the comprehensive Treaty of Paris signed by Britain, France, Spain, and the world's newest nation, the United States of America.

Jay triumphantly returned to his homeland and was immediately appointed secretary for foreign affairs in the government under the Articles of Confederation, which had been ratified in his absence. This made the American ministers to France (Thomas Jefferson) and England (John Adams) his subordinates. Despite the weakness of the Confederation government, in 1786 Jay negotiated a trade agreement with Spain, known as the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, in which the United States agreed to give up any navigational rights on the Mississippi for thirty years. This was perhaps Jay's greatest mistake in this period, because it infuriated Southerners, who believed the New Yorker had sacrificed their vital interest in access to the Mississippi in return for trading rights that helped only the Northeast. Congress did not ratify the treaty, but Southerners continued to mistrust Jay for the rest of his career.

Throughout the convention period Jay remained frustrated by the weakness of the national government. Thus he enthusiastically supported the Constitutional Convention of 1787, although he was not a delegate. After the convention he joined James Madison and Alexander Hamilton in writing essays to gain support for the new Constitution in New York. These became *The Federalist Papers.* Jay became

ill shortly after the project began and wrote only five of the essays. When the Constitution was ratified, the new president, George Washington, nominated Jay to be the first chief justice of the United States. He held that post until 1795, but his legacy was minimal. His most important decision, in *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793), in which he interpreted the Constitution to allow a citizen of one state to sue another state, outraged almost all the states and led to the Eleventh Amendment (1798), which reversed this ruling.

More significant than his jurisprudence was Jay's diplomacy. In 1793 he drafted Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality as war broke out in Europe. In 1794 he went to England at Washington's request and successfully negotiated what became known as Jay's Treaty. Under this treaty England finally vacated forts on the American side of the Great Lakes; the treaty also helped the United States obtain British support for access to the Mississippi. However, the settlement signaled a tilt toward Britain in its emerging conflict with France, and supporters of Jefferson attacked it as pro-British and pro-North. Ultimately, however, the Senate ratified most of the treaty.

While in England Jay had been elected governor of New York, and when he returned to the United States he resigned from the Supreme Court to become chief executive of his home state. He held this position for two terms, retiring in 1801. While governor he signed into law a gradual abolition act (1799) that led to the end of slavery in the state. In 1800 he refused to follow Hamilton's suggestion that he alter the way the state chose its presidential electors, in order to secure the electors for Adams. The end result was that New York, and the election, went to Jefferson. The lame duck Adams offered the chief justiceship to Jay, but he declined. Adams then gave the position to John Marshall. Jay then retired to his home in Westchester County, after more than twenty-five years of public service at home and abroad. He died 17 May 1829.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Adams, John; Articles of Confederation; *Chisholm v. Georgia*; Constitution: Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Emancipation and Manumission; Federalist Papers; Founding Fathers; French; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Jay's Treaty; Madison, James; Supreme Court; Treaty of Paris.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Combs, Jerald A. *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Monaghan, Frank. *John Jay: Defender of Liberty.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1935; New York: AMS Press, 1972.

Morris, Richard B., Floyd M. Shumway, Ene Sirvet, and Elaine G. Brown, eds. *John Jay.* Vol. 1: *The Making of a Revolutionary: Unpublished Papers, 1745–1780.* Vol. 2: *The Winning of the Peace: Unpublished Papers, 1780–1784.* New York: Harper and Row, 1975–1980.

*Paul Finkelman*

**JAY'S TREATY**   Negotiated and signed in 1794, Jay's Treaty attempted to resolve several diplomatic and commercial issues between the United States and Great Britain. As Britain and France warred with each other beginning in 1793, the United States found itself being drawn into the fray although it tried to remain neutral, maintaining trade with both belligerents. Britain secretly disrupted and seized over three hundred U.S. ships and a furious America demanded a diplomatic mission to that nation. In April 1794 Chief Justice John Jay was appointed envoy with instructions to seek indemnification for British seizures of American ships, fulfillment of all the unfulfilled elements—especially the evacuation of western posts—of the 1783 Peace of Paris treaty, and a more liberal interpretation of neutral rights. Some southerners wanted Jay to request compensation for slaves that had been carried off by the British during the Revolutionary War. Jay and the administration of President George Washington believed they were negotiating from a position of weakness and so could not press too hard on any of these points. Negotiations continued sporadically throughout the spring and summer of 1794 until a treaty was signed on 19 November 1794.

The treaty's twenty-eight articles addressed most of the issues the mission was designed to accomplish. The second article secured British troop withdrawal from the western posts on or before 1 June 1796 as had been promised in the 1783 treaty. The treaty also established four commissions to investigate and resolve disputed issues, such as the debts owed to British merchants by American citizens and compensation for losses for U.S. ships seized by the British. Most problematic was article 12, which granted the United States access to the West Indian trade but only in vessels of seventy tons or less, an almost insulting condition that would severely restrict and limit trade.

Jay believed that he had obtained the best terms possible at the time and subsequent historians, while noting the weaknesses, have largely agreed. The United States was unable to force compliance from the British and unwilling to risk a serious rupture between the two nations. The treaty failed to gain recognition of America's neutral rights in shipping or compensation for slaves carried off during the Revolution, and it did not address the matter of impressment or compensation for slaves. Still, comparing Jay's instructions to the final product, he did reasonably well.

The treaty was sent to the Senate, which debated it in secret, rejected the controversial twelfth article, and on 24 June 1795 ratified the document by a 20 to 10 vote, exactly meeting the required two-thirds majority. Before the administration could publish the treaty, Republican anti-treaty newspapers had printed an extract of the leaked document and then the full text. Publication provoked furious, sometimes violent, protests by opponents who charged that the treaty was a sellout to Britain, willingly placed the United States in a subservient position to that nation, and further solidified American ties to a country many believed to be corrupt and dangerous. Despite the public protests, President Washington signed the treaty in late August 1795 and many of the protests died down. They were revived in the spring of 1796 when the House of Representatives took up the matter of funding the commissions created by the treaty. After several weeks of intense debate and against a backdrop of petitions cascading into the House—most of them now favoring approval of the treaty—the House acted in a series of close votes on 30 April 1796 to fund the treaty.

As its negotiators had hoped, the treaty strengthened commercial relations between the United States and Britain and preserved peace between the two nations even as it intensified partisan politics in the former. However, it infuriated the French, who felt betrayed by the U.S. decision to side with Britain against its Revolutionary War ally. Consequently, it was the French who stepped up attacks on U.S. ships and violations of American neutrality in the late 1790s, heightening tensions between the erstwhile allies and culminating in the Quasi-War with France in 1798.

See also **Treaty of Paris.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962.

Combs, Jerald A. *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Horsman, Reginald. *The Diplomacy of the New Republic, 1776–1815.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1985.

*Todd A. Estes*

**JEFFERSON, THOMAS**   Thomas Jefferson (13 April 1743–4 July 1826) was the most gifted writer among the founding fathers. He was, among other things, the principal author of the Declaration of Independence, governor of Virginia, minister to France, secretary of state, vice president, president, founder of the University of Virginia, president of the American Philosophical Society, naturalist, architect, and philosopher of democracy. A sentence from his prologue to the Declaration has become a sacred text for Americans and many others: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Jefferson's father, Peter, was a pioneer of Albemarle County, Virginia, a successful planter, surveyor, lieutenant of militia, and member of the General Assembly. He died when Thomas was fourteen, leaving a fine estate, a small library, and an example of personal distinction. Less is known about the talents of his wife, Jane Randolph, who belonged to one of the most prominent families in Virginia. Young Thomas was blessed with advantages and opportunities available to very few of his contemporaries. What set him apart even among those few was the remarkable use he made of them. Well prepared through his own appetite for study and the guidance of the Reverend James Maury, Jefferson in 1760 entered the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. His wide learning, musical abilities, polished manners, and active mind won him the friendship of the lieutenant governor and de facto governor, Francis Fauquier and two outstanding teachers, William Small (mathematics) and George Wythe (law).

After college, Jefferson returned often to Williamsburg, studying and then practicing law. Beginning in 1769 he sat in the House of Burgesses. In 1772 Jefferson married a young widow, Martha Wayles Skelton, who brought land and slaves in abundance, but also debts that would plague Jeffer-

Thomas Jefferson. The third president of the United States, in an engraving by Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin. Jefferson sat for this portrait by Saint-Mémin in 1804. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

son for the rest of his life. The newlyweds settled in a cottage on the little mountain near Charlottesville that would eventually be world famous as Jefferson's Monticello. Martha Jefferson died after ten years of marriage and six children. Three daughters survived her: Martha (Patsy) and Mary (Polly, Maria), who would live to marry and have children, and Lucy, who lived less than three years.

### JEFFERSON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Jefferson's political fame spread beyond Virginia in 1774 with the publication of his pamphlet, *A Summary View of the Rights of British North America.* He argued, powerfully if not quite accurately, that England's colonists had settled, developed, and defended their American homes with their own lives and treasure and were under no obligation to accept taxation from an imperial government already enjoying great profits from commerce with the colonies. Jefferson's literary powers earned him membership in Virginia's delegation to the Second Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia in 1775. Before departing he helped draft a plan for organizing the militia of Virginia and wrote a firm reply to Lord North's proposal for peace, based on submission to parliamentary taxation. In Philadelphia he collaborated with John Dickinson on *A Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms* (1775). In June 1776 he became the principal draftsman of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence. Benjamin Franklin and John Adams modified it slightly; the full Congress eliminated an entire section that denounced the slave trade and blamed the King of England for continuing it. Historically the charge was doubtful, and many members of Congress owned and traded slaves.

For the next several years Jefferson labored in Virginia. Resuming membership in the House of Burgesses, he served with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton in undertaking a thorough revision of the laws of Virginia. Jefferson succeeded immediately in abolishing the entailing of landed estates, a practice tending toward hereditary aristocracy. He also moved to abolish primogeniture, but that reform had to wait several years before Madison and other allies accomplished it. That was also true of Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom (1786), which completed the disestablishment of the Church of England in Virginia and guaranteed that all religious organizations would be voluntary and separate from government. The assembly rejected Jefferson's proposals for universal public education, for reducing suffrage requirements, and for representation on the basis of population. He succeeded, however, in liberalizing the criminal code. Though Virginia's slave code remained much as it had been in colonial times, the state did outlaw the further importation of slaves in 1778. Jefferson also reported, in his book *Notes on the State of Virginia*, completed and first published in France in 1785, that he drew up a proposal for the gradual emancipation and deportation of Virginia's slaves. But this proposal never came before the assembly.

In June 1779 Jefferson followed Patrick Henry as governor. Virginia's constitution gave very little independent authority to its governor, whom the General Assembly elected for one-year terms, with three consecutive terms the maximum allowed. During his two terms, Jefferson was able to support George Rogers Clark's military successes in the West and managed to send some Virginia forces to the defense of the Carolinas. Unfortunately, a series of British invasions overtaxed the resources of the state. Jefferson spent much of his time searching for arms, supplies, and manpower while moving state papers and military supplies from one place to another, trying to evade British troops. Considering that his fellow Americans had been unable to hold New York City, Philadelphia, Charleston, or several other key positions, Jefferson's military failures were fairly typical of the Revolutionary War, but some legislators demanded an inquiry into his actions. Vindicat-

ed but still offended, Jefferson refused the third year offered to him.

Jefferson's retirement in June 1781 proved relatively brief and was marred by the death of his wife in September 1782. Though immobilized with grief for several weeks, Jefferson soon agreed to serve again in the Continental Congress. In only five months his legislative achievements were remarkable. He worked out the plan for U.S. currency that has been the basis of American money ever since: a decimal system based on the Spanish dollar. He developed plans for the survey and future government of the western territories ceded by various states. His two ordinances of 1784—Congress adopted one, concerning local self-government and the means toward statehood, but rejected the second, dealing with land surveys and sales—were changed in many details by the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, both written when Jefferson was in France. But most of the essential principles originated with Jefferson, including the rights of people to form states that, once admitted to the Union, would be equal to the original thirteen. Jefferson, following a suggestion from Timothy Pickering, wished to prohibit slavery in all western territories after 1800; the Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery immediately, but only north of the Ohio River.

### MINISTER TO FRANCE

In July 1784 Jefferson left for France to assist in the drafting of commercial treaties with European powers. In 1785 Congress made him U.S. minister to France; Benjamin Franklin, seventy-nine and in declining health, was eager to return home. In Paris, Jefferson enjoyed a commodious dwelling, a French cook, a growing circle of political and philosophical friends, and sufficient leisure to travel. He completed his only book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, intended for European philosophers and printed privately in an edition of two hundred copies. A pirated edition appeared in Philadelphia in 1788, somewhat embarrassing the author for its severe strictures on slavery and slaveholders. Jefferson also enjoyed a long flirtation with an English painter, educated and steeped in Italian culture, Mrs. Maria Cosway. As a diplomat Jefferson tried vigorously to advance the interests of the United States, but was frustrated by the fact that neither he nor the Congress could bind individual states to commercial agreements with foreign nations. He was also furious that Congress, lacking a navy, had to pay protection money to Morocco and other Muslim states in North Africa to permit Amer-

ican merchant ships to sail in the Mediterranean Sea. Corresponding with friends in the United States, Jefferson criticized certain aspects of the Constitution of 1787. However, his experience in France caused him to advocate a far stronger government for the United States, with powers to pass and enforce commercial regulations and a power of taxation sufficient to build and maintain a navy as well as guarantee the security of western territories. Before leaving France in October 1789, Jefferson enjoyed witnessing and playing an advisory role in the early stages of the French Revolution. His close friendship with the Marquis de Lafayette enabled Jefferson to contribute advice on the Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) and other matters.

### SECRETARY OF STATE AND VICE PRESIDENT

Expecting to return to his diplomatic post in the spring of 1790, Jefferson was surprised when President George Washington nominated him secretary of state in September 1789. Jefferson accepted and, assuming the post the following March, became an actor in most of the great political events and controversies of the next eighteen years. The new government began its career in New York City, where Jefferson joined his friend Madison in brokering a political deal in mid-1790: a few less Virginia votes against the assumption scheme of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (the federal government would assume responsibility for all state debts incurred during the Revolution) in exchange for a few Pennsylvania votes supporting the permanent location of the U.S. capital on the Potomac River. Before moving to the Potomac, however, the government would settle in Philadelphia for ten years.

Jefferson and Madison came by degrees to oppose the policies of Hamilton, who they believed exerted an improper influence on Washington. In fact, Hamilton's view of things had long been more in harmony with Washington's than with theirs. When Hamilton late in 1790 asked Congress to charter a National Bank, Jefferson argued that the Constitution gave no such authority to Congress. Hamilton advocated conciliatory diplomacy with Britain; Jefferson preferred strengthening the alliance with France while taking a tough line against Britain and Spain. In 1791 Jefferson hired Philip Freneau as a translator in the State Department, but his real job was editing an anti-Hamilton—and eventually an anti-Washington—newspaper, the *National Gazette.* Jefferson shared confidential papers with Freneau and ghostwrote some of his material. This was part of a larger policy of organizing an opposition party,

the Democratic Republicans, from whom Jacksonian Democrats later claimed direct descent.

Following the creation of a French republic, Jefferson advocated immediate recognition and meeting scheduled debt payments, while Hamilton urged delay and caution. President Washington took Jefferson's position, maintaining diplomatic relations with France. However, when France declared war on England, Washington issued a Proclamation of Neutrality (1793). In Jefferson's view, this gave protection to Britain without requiring any reciprocal concessions. The energetic new French diplomat, Edmond Charles Genet spent much of 1793 using the United States as a base for attacks on Spanish territory and British shipping. This was too much even for Jefferson; he had to spend much of his last year as secretary of state restraining Genet and trying to repair the damage done to Franco-American relations. He hoped that his final *Report on Commerce* would move Congress to take a firmer line against British trade restrictions, and encourage increased trade with France.

Jefferson resigned at the end of December 1793, weary of partisan politics and eager to look after his family and estates. Since 1784 he had spent but a few months of vacation at his beloved Monticello. He maintained an extensive political correspondence, however, and in 1796 became his party's candidate for president against Federalist John Adams, Washington's vice president. Under the terms of the Constitution in its original form, the odd result was Jefferson's serving a full term as vice president under his increasingly bitter rival, Adams, having received the second-highest number of electoral votes. Jefferson was discreet about his opposition. Many years passed before the world learned that he had written the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, claiming the right of a state to nullify acts of Congress that were unconstitutional—in this case the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798). In public, he was a model vice president, systematizing the Senate's procedures with rules that are still in use.

## PRESIDENT

The election of 1800 produced an unexpected result when Jefferson and Aaron Burr received the same number of votes in the electoral college. This threw the election into the lame-duck, Federalist-controlled House of Representatives. Burr, whose probably treasonable acts were still in the future, appeared a preferable candidate to many Federalists, so a deadlock persisted from 11 February to 17 February 1801. Finally, on the latter date, two Federalists—

possibly influenced by Hamilton—stopped voting for Burr, permitting Jefferson's victory. Hamilton had the satisfaction of seeing Jay's Treaty (1794) honored until its term (and Hamilton himself) had expired. Jefferson also retained the Bank of the United States, which established additional branches under the new secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania.

Jefferson's first term was extremely successful. Trade expanded, Ohio entered the Union as a state in 1803, the Indiana Territory grew, revenues improved, and expenditures were reduced. A serious crisis in relations with France ended spectacularly when Napoleon sold the vast Louisiana Territory to the United States (1803). Instead of continuing the practice of paying bribes, Jefferson sent a small fleet to the Mediterranean in 1801, eventually forcing the pasha of Tripoli, by a treaty in 1805, to leave American commerce alone. The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), originally conceived as military reconnaissance, turned into a valuable exploration of new U.S. territory. Congress repealed the tax on distilled liquors and the Federalists' lame-duck Judiciary Act of 1801, which created judgeships for many otherwise unemployed politicians. The Twelfth Amendment, ratified in 1804, provided that the president and vice president should be elected separately. During the same year, Congress removed an incompetent federal judge, John Pickering of New Hampshire, by impeachment in the House and conviction in the Senate. An attempt to remove a justice of the Supreme Court, Samuel Chase of Maryland, failed. Chase had proved anything but impartial when presiding over a trial under the Sedition Act. But while he was impeached late in 1804, early the next year his opponents failed to muster two-thirds of the Senate to convict. Meanwhile, Jefferson was not amused by Chief Justice John Marshall's assertion of the Supreme Court's right to nullify federal laws (euphemistically known as judicial review) in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803).

Jefferson won the election of 1804 in a landslide victory, with fair hopes for a second term as successful as his first. It was not to be. At war once more, France and Britain each tried to prevent the United States from trading with the other. Because thousands of British sailors sought safer and higher-paid employment with the commercial ships of the United States, the British navy increasingly stopped American ships on the high seas and impressed sailors they identified, correctly or not, as British subjects. Failing to secure recognition of neutral rights from the belligerents and following the attack of a

British warship on the new, not fully fitted United States frigate *Chesapeake* (22 June 1807), Jefferson resorted to an embargo, lasting from 22 December 1807 to 15 March 1809. Unfortunately the United States suffered more from this measure than either France or Britain. Another distraction was Aaron Burr's western conspiracy, his arrest in 1807, and his trial for treason later that year, at which he was acquitted. Historians still dispute Burr's intentions, if indeed he ever had a distinct plan. However, it is known that he proposed to a gullible British minister a plan for separating the western states from the United States and sought money from Spain to engineer a coup d'état in Washington, D.C. John Randolph of Virginia, a pillar of strength in the House of Representatives during Jefferson's first term, became a caustic and persistent critic of the administration during the second. Nevertheless, James Madison easily won the election of 1808.

### THE SAGE OF MONTICELLO

Jefferson enjoyed an active retirement. He continued to maintain an extensive correspondence, notably with a reconciled John Adams. Perfecting Monticello occupied him, as did designing an elegant, new, octagonal house for his Poplar Forest plantation. Jefferson wished his grandson Francis Eppes, the only child of Polly, who had died young, to inherit Poplar Forest; he designated Monticello for the most accomplished of Patsy's children, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. The University of Virginia was Thomas Jefferson's last major achievement. He cajoled funds from the General Assembly, chose the location in Charlottesville, designed the buildings, and recruited faculty. The nation noticed with awe that Jefferson and John Adams died on 4 July 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson opposed any sort of hereditary privilege or established religion; he also advocated the free exchange of ideas, natural science, universal education, and political democracy. In other respects he was not so progressive: he thought freedom would last only so long as Americans owned and worked their own farms; he thought himself a friend of Native Americans, but ran them off their land as fast as any president before or since; he wrote eloquently about the evils of African American slavery, but did nothing effectual to limit its growth after 1800, let alone to begin its unwinding. There was one notable exception: he secured from Congress and promptly signed a law as soon as the Constitution permitted outlawing the importation of foreign slaves (1808).

Recent DNA evidence has given added credence to the story that Jefferson was the father of the children of his slave Sally Hemings. Although Jefferson brushed the charge off when it was first made in 1802 by the journalist James Thomson Callender, it long circulated in abolitionist circles and in the black community, as well as among those who claimed descent from Jefferson and Hemings, including one of Hemings's sons, Madison, who told his family's story in his 1873 memoirs. Sally Hemings was the half-sister of Jefferson's deceased wife and both the daughter and granddaughter of white men. Her children with Jefferson were seven-eighths white, making them legally white at the time, but still legally Jefferson's slaves. Presumably in accordance with the pledge he made their mother, Jefferson freed Hemings's four surviving children when they reached the age of twenty-one, and after his death, Jefferson's daughter Martha quietly freed Sally Hemings as well.

### LEGACY AND ICONOGRAPHY

Thomas Jefferson's incomparable phrases have been repeated for over two centuries: by Whigs and Democrats, by the new Republicans of 1854 and by the founders of the Confederate States of America, by capitalists and communists, and by segregationists and integrationists. His benign pronouncements can be claimed by virtually anyone. On other points his messages remain clear. He favored reason over revelation, feared religious establishments, promoted natural science, advocated education at all levels, and favored the fine arts. His actual practices regarding freedom of the press were no better than those of his contemporaries, but his pronouncements in favor of intellectual freedom ring through the ages.

The spirit of Jefferson illuminates his restored mansion and plantation at Monticello and the buildings he designed for the University of Virginia, two miles away in Charlottesville. Poplar Forest has also been restored and is now open for visitors; it is located near Lynchburg. Jefferson sat for many portraits, which have been reproduced in countless books and prints. Among the finest are those of Mather Brown (1786; National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution); Charles Willson Peale (1791; Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia); Rembrandt Peale (1800; White House); Gilbert Stuart (1805; Colonial Williamsburg); and Thomas Sully (1821; American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia). Jean-Antoine Houdon executed a fine marble bust in 1789 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). On the bicentennial of Jefferson's birthday, 13 April 1943, the United

States dedicated the Jefferson Memorial on the banks of the Potomac River in Washington, D.C. John Russell Pope captured Jefferson's own style in the architecture, and Rudolph Evans executed an imposing bronze statue, nineteen feet tall. Jefferson's likeness is rarely seen on paper money: someone assigned him to two-dollar bills. This neglect is redeemed by the five-cent coin, with its fine profile of Jefferson on one side and his home at Monticello on the other.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Embargo; Federalist Party; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Politics: Political Parties; Politics: Political Thought; Presidency, The: George Washington; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Virginia; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Appleby, Joyce. *Thomas Jefferson.* New York: Times Books, 2003.

Bernstein, R. B. *Thomas Jefferson.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Gordon-Reed, Annette. *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997.

Kennedy, Roger G. *Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Levy, Leonard. *Emergence of a Free Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. *Jeffersonian Legacies.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993.

Peterson, Merrill D. *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.

———. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

*Robert McColley*

**JEWS**    There were few Jews in the early Republic. They numbered between thirteen hundred and three thousand in 1790, and only seven communities—Newport, Rhode Island; New York City; Philadelphia and Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Richmond, Virginia; Savannah, Georgia; and Charleston, South Carolina—had the requisite minyan, or ten men, to hold services. By 1830 the Newport and Lancaster congregations had gone out of existence, and the Jewish population had risen only slightly, numbering between four and six thousand. Many Jews converted to Christianity since they could not marry outside the faith and retain it. An astonishing 40 percent never wed. Other Jews were isolated merchants in smaller towns or were frontier traders.

By the 1790s Jews could vote in all states and hold public office in most states. Maryland explicitly granted them that right in 1826. They ensured this through service in the Revolution and their subsequent endorsement by George Washington. When the synagogues congratulated him on his election as president, he responded that "it is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. . . . The Government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." Prominent Revolutionary Jews were Mordecai Sheftall (1735–1795), who headed Savannah's Revolutionary committee; Major Francis Salvador (1747–1776) of South Carolina, killed early in the war, who served in the Provincial Congress; and Haym Salomon (1740–1785) of New York and later Philadelphia, who gave large sums of money to the new Republic and negotiated much of its foreign exchange. A brigade from Charleston, South Carolina, that included twenty-six Jews ("Lushington's" or "the Jews' brigade) acquitted themselves nobly when the British besieged Savannah in 1779. David Salisbury Franks was an aide to General Washington and later negotiated the United States' first treaty with Morocco.

Anti–Semitism far out of proportion to the presence of Jews was a feature of American political life before 1800. Foreign–born clergy and newspaper publishers whose loyalty to the nation was suspect were leaders in projecting their own marginality onto Jews. During the 1790s, anti–Semitism shifted from anti–Federalist to Federalist hands, as the Jews almost unanimously supported the French Revolution, which granted them full equality, and hence Jefferson's party, which supported that revolution. Jews joined and were leading members of the Democratic Societies and later the Republican Party in several cities. Even practicing Christians, such as Israel Israel and his son John, two prominent Pennsylvania leaders, were objects of anti–Semitism, since it was thought that they could abandon Judaism as a faith but not their Jewish ethnicity. With Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800, anti–Semitism died out in public debate. Jefferson appointed Jews to office, although he despised Jews who clung to the formalities of a religion he considered superstitious.

Although they were few in number, by the early 1800s German and Central European Jews (Ashkenazim) had established separate synagogues in several cities. Largely poorer immigrants who came to America after 1760, they chafed under the power of the earlier, wealthy Jewish communities that followed the Sephardic ritual and perpetuated their leadership through self-selection of ruling elders. The newcomers differed in appearance, wearing beards and robes, from the assimilated elite whose numerous portraits are indistinguishable from those of gentiles.

Both groups, however, strictly observed rituals and holidays, performed lengthy services in Hebrew that few could understand, and restricted burials to members in good standing. Young, secularized men in the new Republic sought the religious self-government and comprehensible ritual of their Protestant neighbors: the first Reformed Jewish congregation was founded in 1824 by Isaac Harby (1788–1828), although few followed before the Civil War. Like Americans in general, Jews—wherever they were sufficiently numerous—also established charitable and fraternal orders. The most visible Jew of the early Republic was Manuel Mordecai Noah (1785–1851). A controversial figure who served as consul to Tunis and high sheriff of New York City, he fought a duel in Charleston, tried to combat anti-Semitic stereotypes with his plays on the New York stage, was an early Zionist, and planned a rural colony for Jews on Grand Island, south of Niagara Falls, that never attracted his urban coreligionists. Naval captain Uriah Levy (1792–1862) also fought a duel and was a focus of attention for his ultimately successful campaign to abolish flogging. Merchant Judah Touro (1775–1854) of New Orleans was one of the nation's leading philanthropists; he donated ten thousand dollars to help finish the Bunker Hill Monument and gave hundreds of thousands to numerous Christian as well as Jewish charities throughout the nation. Philadelphia's Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869) and her Christian beloved, Samuel Ewing, refused to marry outside their respective faiths; she became the model for Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819) and was known throughout Europe and America for her beauty as well as her philanthropy. In the early Republic, Jews were so few in number compared to other groups like the Irish and Germans that following the Federalists' defeat, they attracted little attention until large numbers began to arrive in the 1840s.

*See also* **Architecture: Religious; Judaism; Religion: Overview; Religion: The**

Founders and Religion; Religious Publishing; Religious Tests for Officeholding; Theology**.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Faber, Eli. *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Sarna, Jonathan D. *American Judaism: A History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

*William Pencak*

**JUDAISM**   A minute percentage of the population of early America, Jews settled primarily in seaport towns, New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Charleston, and Savannah during and after the colonial era and Richmond and Baltimore during the late 1700s and early 1800s. A handful resided in rural sections of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In each of the towns in which they settled, their first communal religious action was the acquisition of land for a cemetery. Traditional Jewish religious law requires burial in ground surrounded by a wall or a fence, thereby creating an enclosure in which only Jews are interred. In New Amsterdam, mainland North America's earliest Jewish colonists acquired land for a cemetery in 1656 and twenty-six years later, in 1682, the reappearance of a small Jewish presence in New York necessitated purchase of cemetery land a second time. Subsequently, wherever a new Jewish community took root, consecration of a cemetery connoted the permanent appearance of the Jewish religion in that new location.

**SYNAGOGUES AND RITES**

By contrast, synagogues were constructed long after a Jewish presence developed. Because traditional Jewish law permits communal worship in virtually any location, congregations gathered at first in private homes or in homes rented for services, waiting many years, or until the community deemed itself sufficiently well established, to build houses of worship. In New York, for example, services were held in a private home as early as the 1690s, and they continued to be held privately for a generation. It was not until 1728 that the congregation embarked upon construction of a synagogue, dedicating it for use in 1730 and subsequently adding a ritual bath, a school, quarters for a hired caretaker, and a booth for the autumnal festival of Sukkoth (Festival of Booths). Similarly in Philadelphia, a Jewish commu-

nity began to form during the late 1730s, but its members did not construct a synagogue until 1782, while in Charleston and Savannah synagogues were not erected until 1794 and 1820, respectively. In Newport, however, action was swifter. A new Jewish community emerged there during the 1740s and early 1750s, and it had formulated plans for a synagogue by 1754; it broke ground for the synagogue in 1759 and began to worship in it in 1763, although the congregants were unable to complete the structure until 1768.

Whether within the private home or later in the synagogue, the Sephardic rather than the Ashkenazic rite was the one that the congregations followed. Most of the Jews who settled in the colonies during the seventeenth century were Sephardim, that is, the descendants of Jews who originated in Spain and Portugal. While Ashkenazim, or Jews who originated in central and eastern Europe, also appeared in America during the seventeenth century, the small population was preponderantly Sephardic. Consequently, the Sephardic rite became the American rite, and it continued to prevail until the 1820s, despite the fact that, as early as 1720, Jews of Ashkenazic descent were in the majority. Notwithstanding their larger numbers, the Ashkenazim accepted the Sephardic system of worship in keeping with another fundamental principle of religious law, namely, that established custom has the status of law as long as the custom in question conforms to the norms of Jewish *halacha* (traditional religious law). The Ashkenazim may well have maintained their own customs and traditions within the privacy of their homes, but at communal worship they adhered to the Sephardic rite. Signs of conflict among early American Ashkenazim and Sephardim surfaced in Charleston and Philadelphia late in the eighteenth century and again in New York around 1820, leading in 1825 to the creation of the first congregation in North America to follow the Ashkenazic rite. The Ashkenazic ritual became the norm thereafter throughout the United States, owing to a large influx of Jews from central and eastern Europe after 1820, although the congregations that dated to the colonial period continued to adhere to the Sephardic tradition.

### TRADITION: ENFORCEMENT AND DEVIATION

In their spiritual lives and in questions pertaining to the legal and customary requirements of normative, traditional Judaism, early American Jews did not have the guidance of trained rabbis. Unlike their counterparts in the Caribbean colonies belonging to Britain (Jamaica and Barbados) and the Netherlands (Curaçao), Jews in mainland North America did not secure the employment of ordained rabbis, and there is no indication in surviving records that they even attempted to obtain such expertise. Save for several brief visits by rabbis from abroad, and with the additional exception of requests for rulings that were directed to rabbinic authorities in London and Amsterdam, the Jews of North America were largely on their own. Judaism in early America was therefore almost entirely defined and maintained by laypersons.

That they endeavored to enforce compliance with traditional Jewish beliefs and practices is evident from the disciplinary methods the leaders of the Jewish community employed. These ranged from a simple admonition to withholding honors in the synagogue, expulsion from membership, and denial of the right to burial in the community's cemetery. In theory, the leadership could also have imposed the *herem*, or excommunication, a severe penalty that required members of the community to shun the punished individual not only in the synagogue but outside as well, commercially and socially. In practice, however, the sanction of excommunication appears to have been rarely invoked.

The fact that such disciplinary methods were believed to have been necessary reflected the extent to which some American Jews as early as the mid-eighteenth century deviated from tradition in their private lives. There were no organized attempts to reform Jewish law and practice prior to 1824, when a group within the community in Charleston proposed to revise the synagogue service and then, between 1825 and 1833, congregated separately and formulated a prayer book that introduced a number of theological reforms. Moreover, there is little to suggest that Enlightenment skepticism and rationalism provoked dissent from Orthodoxy (a term that was not employed until the late nineteenth century). Nevertheless, tendencies to abandon strict Sabbath, festival, and dietary laws did exist, although many early American Jews were scrupulous in their fidelity to tradition. Deviations that occurred among the traditionalists are attributable not to intent but, rather, to the absence of rabbinic authorities in America who could resolve questions of Jewish law and who could provide adequate instruction to a Jewishly undereducated laity.

*See also* **Jews; Religion: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blau, Joseph L., and Salo W. Baron, eds. *The Jews of the United States, 1790–1840: A Documentary History.* 3 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Faber, Eli. *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Marcus, Jacob Rader. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776.* 3 vols. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970.

Sarna, Jonathan D. *American Judaism: A History.* New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2004.

*Eli Faber*

**JUDICIAL REVIEW** In the years preceding the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), Americans gradually came to accept the notion that courts could in certain instances strike down laws as contrary to a constitution. They formulated a rationale for *judicial review* (a term coined in the twentieth century) that drew upon several interrelated ideas, including fundamental law, written constitutions, popular sovereignty, and the separation of powers. Eighteenth-century Americans firmly believed that the acts adopted by their legislatures should conform to some unwritten "higher" or "fundamental law," variously referred to as divine or natural law; the immutable standards of reason, morality, and justice; or the principles embodied in the British constitution. Unwritten fundamental law was not the kind of law that judges were particularly qualified to enforce, however, because it was too general and amorphous to accommodate itself to judicial interpretation. After 1776, however, Americans began to identify fundamental law with the written constitutions that accompanied the establishment of their new state governments. These constitutions provided the concreteness and specificity of written documents that were the staple of judicial exposition. In time, written American constitutions, including the U.S. Constitution, came to be framed and adopted by conventions elected for the purpose. A constitution so formed was perceived to be more than a plan of government but a "law" enacted by the supreme legislative power, the sovereign people. It was a law of superior obligation, imposing limits upon government that were to be obeyed in the same way citizens obeyed ordinary laws.

The concept of supreme law as the original and deliberate act of the people was the indispensable basis for a theory of judicial review compatible with popular government. In the emerging American doctrine of separation of powers, legislature, executive, and judiciary were joined together in an equality of subordination to the people. The judiciary, in consequence, could plausibly claim that to uphold a constitution was to preserve and enforce the people's permanent will. To void an act as contrary to a constitution was not an encroachment upon legislative power but a legitimate exercise of the judiciary's province to declare the law.

Before 1803 state and federal courts explicitly or implicitly endorsed the doctrine of judicial review; for example, *Bayard v. Singleton* (1787), a North Carolina case, and *Hylton v. U.S.* (1796), in the U.S. Supreme Court. The most articulate defense, however, was undertaken by Alexander Hamilton. Writing as Publius in *The Federalist* No. 78 (1788), Hamilton set forth the essential elements of the doctrine: the Constitution was a written fundamental law enacted by the people; courts were the peculiar guardians of the Constitution, trustees acting on behalf of the people; the refusal to uphold a law contrary to the Constitution did not imply judicial superiority over the legislative power but "only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both"; and choosing between Constitution and statute was an act of discretion wholly within the scope of judicial power, no different in kind from that exercised in ordinary cases of determining between two contradictory laws. This argument was effective in persuading Americans that judicial review was both a sound theory and a practical means of insuring that popular government would also be orderly and constitutional government.

*See also* **Marbury v. Madison; Marshall, John.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hamilton, Alexander [Publius, pseud.]. "*The Federalist* No. 78." In *The Federalist Papers.* Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: New American Library, 1961.

Snowiss, Sylvia. *Judicial Review and the Law of the Constitution.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.

Wood, Gordon S. "The Origins of Judicial Review Revisited, or How the Marshall Court Made More out of Less." *Washington and Lee Law Review* 56 (1999): 787–809.

*Charles F. Hobson*

**JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789** The Judiciary Act of 1789 established a three-tiered hierarchy of federal courts. Article III of the U.S. Constitution provides that the judicial power "shall be vested in one su-

preme Court and such inferior [federal] Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish," but the number and nature of those courts is not specified. At the top of the structure established by the 1789 Act was the Supreme Court, with five associate justices and one chief justice. Down one level were the circuit courts, composed of two itinerant U.S. Supreme Court justices for each of the three geographical "Circuits," who would sit with local district court judges. At the base were the one-judge district courts, one each for eleven of the original thirteen states and two in Massachusetts and Virginia. The act gave the district courts jurisdiction in matters of admiralty and revenue collection, while it gave the circuit courts jurisdiction over other commercial cases and jurisdiction over "all crimes and offenses cognizable under the authority of the United States." Article III gave the Supreme Court original jurisdiction in cases "affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party" and appellate jurisdiction in all other federal cases.

Some opponents of the proposed Constitution of 1787 had argued that federal courts were unnecessary and might usurp the jurisdiction of the state courts. Because of this fear, complete jurisdiction over cases "arising under the laws and Constitution" of the United States was not given to the lower federal courts. Further, section 29 of the act required that the federal District Courts follow the trial procedures in use in their particular states, and section 34 provided "that the laws of the several states, except where the constitution, treaties or statutes of the United States shall otherwise require or provide, shall be regarded as rules of decision in trials at common law in the courts of the United States in cases where they apply."

Nevertheless, one purpose of the federal courts was to ensure that cases that arose between citizens of different states would be decided without prejudice, and since it was assumed that state courts might tend to favor citizens of their own states, the 1789 act gave circuit courts jurisdiction over disputes between citizens of different states or between a citizen of the United States and an alien, as long as the amount in controversy was more than five hundred dollars. The system of having Supreme Court justices "ride circuit" to sit with the district court judges was designed to keep those justices in touch with the needs of the American people, but circuit riding proved to be a difficult hardship for the justices. It was abolished by the Judiciary Act of 1801, but reinstated by the Judiciary Act of 1802 and not

permanently ended until after the Civil War, when full jurisdiction over matters of interpretation of federal law was also extended to the inferior federal courts.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; Supreme Court.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Goebel, Julius, Jr. *History of the Supreme Court of the United States.* Vol. 1, *Antecedents and Beginnings to 1801.* New York: Macmillan, 1971.

Ritz, Wilfred J., Wythe Holt, and Lewis H. LaRue. *Rewriting the History of the Judiciary Act of 1789 : Exposing Myths, Challenging Premises, and Using New Evidence.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

*Stephen B. Presser*

**JUDICIARY ACTS OF 1801 AND 1802**   The Judiciary Act of 1801, commonly referred to as the "Midnight Judges' Act," was passed at a time following the Republicans' election victories in 1800 but before the Jeffersonians actually took office. It has been traditionally viewed by historians as an attempt by the outgoing Federalists to secure the judiciary, since they had lost their control of the executive and legislative branches of government. The act created sixteen new federal judgeships, each of which was filled with a Federalist appointee. These judges were to be members of newly constituted circuit courts, which were to be given an expanded jurisdiction to handle cases arising under "the Constitution and laws of the United States." The circuit courts had existed prior to the passage of the 1801 act, although with narrower jurisdiction and without specially appointed judges. The Federalists argued that their act was nonpartisan, as there was an objective need for expanded federal jurisdiction and for specially constituted circuit courts, with their own judges. There was some merit to their argument, as the circuit courts' dockets were crowded and since, more often than not, it was difficult, if not impossible, to have more than one justice sit with a district court judge.

The practice under the Judiciary Act of 1789 had been for two justices from the U.S. Supreme Court to sit on the circuit courts with a local district court judge. However, riding circuit, as it was called, proved to be onerous, given the frailty of the Supreme Court justices and the precarious state of overland transportation in the country. From the beginning, the justices had argued in vain for an end to the

practice. At least one justice, James Iredell of North Carolina, is supposed to have gone to an early grave, dying at the age of forty-eight, exhausted by the practice. Two years after Iredell's death, the 1801 Act abolished circuit riding for the justices. Nevertheless, since the incoming Jeffersonians regarded the appointment of Federalist judges as anathema, because they believed that there was merit in the system of circuit riding since it kept the Supreme Court justices in closer contact with the people, and since they favored state over federal court jurisdiction, as their first legislative act the Jeffersonians in 1802 used their new congressional majority to repeal the 1801 act. They thus reinstituted circuit riding, restricted federal jurisdiction, and abolished the freestanding circuit courts created by the 1801 act.

The Constitution provided no means for removal of federal judges other than by impeachment for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. Article III vested the judicial power "in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish," and the Jeffersonians read this provision as giving them authority to abolish as well as to create federal courts. They argued, in other words, that they were not removing judges, only courts, but the sixteen new Federalist circuit judges were still out of their jobs. Many Federalists and at least one Supreme Court justice, Samuel Chase, viewed the repeal of the 1801 act as unconstitutionally removing judges without benefit of impeachment; he wrote Chief Justice John Marshall that the Supreme Court should make that declaration. The constitutional terms were certainly ambiguous, but since only a simple majority was required in both houses of Congress to abolish courts, and an express two-thirds majority of the Senate to remove judges by impeachment, it would seem that Chase and the Federalists had the better argument.

In order to avoid an adverse Supreme Court decision immediately regarding the Judiciary Act of 1802, the Republicans postponed the Court's next term until February 1803. That term saw John Marshall make a powerful statement supporting the power of judicial review of congressional and executive acts in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). In that case, he declared that the Jeffersonians had wrongly failed to deliver a commission to a Federalist appointee pursuant to a statute, passed contemporaneously with the 1801 Act, creating several new Federalist justices of the peace. But since Marshall declared unconstitutional a provision of the 1789 judiciary act that gave the Supreme Court jurisdiction to issue a mandamus

compelling that the commission be granted, he held that he was without power to act, thus avoiding a battle with the Jeffersonians and signaling that the Court was not likely to overrule the repeal of the 1801 Act. When the Court had the opportunity directly to rule on the issue, in *Stuart v. Laird* (1803), the Court, as expected, upheld the repeal act. The restrictions on federal jurisdiction remained in effect until well after the Civil War, and thus the lower federal courts were not particularly important to the development of the nation for many years.

*See also* **Judiciary Act of 1789; Supreme Court.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Haskins, George L., and Herbert A. Johnson. *History of the Supreme Court of the United States.* Vol. 2, *Foundations of Power: John Marshall 1801–1815.* New York: Macmillan, 1981.

Turner, Kathryn. "Federalist Policy and the Judiciary Act of 1801." *William and Mary Quarterly* 22 (1965): 3–32.

Whichard, Willis P. *Justice James Iredell.* Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2000.

*Stephen B. Presser*

**KENTUCKY** A forty-thousand-square-mile region of grassland and forest bounded by the Appalachian Mountains and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, Kentucky derives its name from Iroquois and Shawnee words for "grassland" and "dark and bloody ground." While the area had few permanent Native American settlements during the era of European colonization, it was a favorite Shawnee and Cherokee hunting preserve and the junction of several major Indian paths.

In 1750 Virginia explorers led by Thomas Walker discovered the Cumberland Gap, which allowed regular overland travel from Virginia to central Kentucky. Surveyors and hunters from Pennsylvania and Virginia, including Daniel Boone (c. 1734–1820), followed Walker's party in the 1760s and 1770s, despite a royal proclamation of 1763 forbidding white settlement west of the Appalachians. These adventurers' reports encouraged Virginia speculators to claim and sell Kentucky lands and white farmers to establish permanent settlements there, beginning with Harrodsburg in 1774.

The Ohio Valley Indians resisted the intruders, and skirmishes between warriors and settlers led to Dunmore's War (1774), whereby Virginia laid claim to the Kentucky region. During the Revolutionary

War the Shawnees and other British–allied Woodland Indian warriors ambushed white travelers, plundered flatboats, and besieged frontier outposts in Kentucky. The Indian confederates renewed their guerrilla war in the 1780s and maintained it until 1794 in an effort to bar white farmers from the Ohio Valley. White Kentuckians built blockhouses, organized punitive raids, and in 1779 captured the British post of Vincennes, but ultimately they could not secure their settlements without outside assistance. They finally received it in the 1790s, when the U.S. Army broke the Northwest Indians' confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on 20 August 1794.

Migration from the eastern states to Kentucky continued in spite of the war, encouraged by a liberal Virginia land law of 1779 that opened Kentucky lands to white settlement and allowed old settlers to buy land at a discount. Kentucky's non-Indian population increased over 900 percent in the 1780s, and with the end of Indian warfare and Spain's opening of the Mississippi River to American shipping in the 1790s, immigration surged. In 1790 the total population of Kentucky was 73,677 and its slave population was 12,430. These figures grew to 220,955 and 40,343 in 1800; 406,511 and 80,561 in 1810; 564,317 and 126,732 in 1820; and 687,917 and 165,213 in 1830.

Kentucky's economy concurrently changed from a subsistence culture to a commercial one. Farmers in the Bluegrass raised wheat, tobacco, hemp, cattle, and horses for export to the Lower South and New Orleans. The villages of Lexington and Louisville had grown into booming cities by 1830. Businessmen financed ropewalks, sawmills, and gristmills and opened dozens of private banks. In fact, Kentucky chartered one-third of the approximately four hundred American banks that opened between 1815 and 1820.

Economic growth had some adverse social costs. Many planters increased their profits by employing African American slaves, particularly on the state's hemp and tobacco plantations. Hard work, harsh punishments, and unstable family life were norms for Kentucky slaves, though opportunities for escape were greater than in other southern states because of the North's proximity. The spread of the institution of slavery, the growth of a cash and credit economy, and frequent litigation stemming from inaccurate land surveys concentrated wealth in the hands of planters, merchants, and lawyers. Thousands of less successful families, like that of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, the parents of the future president, left Kentucky after 1800 in search of better opportunities.

Educational opportunities were limited in early national-era Kentucky, and private academies remained the sole source of schooling until the 1830s. Religious institutions, however, experienced explosive growth during a series of Protestant revivals that produced tens of thousands of converts. The Cane Ridge Revival of 1801 drew over twenty thousand attendees, and membership in Baptist and Methodist churches tripled within a few years. The Presbyterians and Disciples of Christ also used revivals to increase their membership. Kentucky Evangelicals later took the lead in establishing the state's first temperance society in 1830 and transforming Transylvania University into an eminent institution of higher learning.

Kentuckians' political outlook remained localist and populist throughout the period. Kentucky settlers denounced the never-consummated Jay-Gardoqui Treaty of 1785–1786, opposed the federal Constitution of 1787, and refused to pay the Federalists' whiskey excise of 1791. Kentucky's admission to the Union as the fifteenth state in 1792 did not improve its relationship with the federal government, and in 1798 the legislature threatened to nullify the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional. In national elections Kentuckians voted for the Democratic Republican Party, then in the 1820s, when that party splintered into factions, supported the presidential candidacy of Henry Clay (1777–1852). Clay, a native Virginian and lawyer, moved to Lexington in 1797 and successively served in the Kentucky General Assembly, the U.S. Senate, and the U.S. House of Representatives. He became Speaker of the House in 1811, and later served on the commission which negotiated the Treaty of Ghent and crafted the legislation that resolved the Missouri Controversy. Clay's reputation suffered, however, after he helped engineer the election of President John Quincy Adams in 1824 and became Adams's Secretary of State. Meanwhile, a state controversy over banking, debtor relief, and judicial reform from 1823 to 1825 led many Kentuckians to transfer their political allegiance to Andrew Jackson in 1828.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Frontier; Frontier Religion; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Revivals and Revivalism; Ohio.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aron, Stephen. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Friend, Craig Thompson. *The Buzzel about Kentuck: Settling the Promised Land.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Hammon, Neal, and Richard Taylor. *Virginia's Western War, 1775–1786.* Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 2002.

Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *The Trans–Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. Reprint, Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1990.

*David A. Nichols*

L

**LABOR MOVEMENT: LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND STRIKES** Labor organizations appeared in the half century after the Revolution, responding primarily to the stratification of the artisan trades in eastern seaboard commercial and manufacturing cities. Before then, the trades had been predominantly communities of independent petty producers. On completing their training, apprentices would simply set up as sole traders rather than become journeymen wageworkers. After the mid– eighteenth century, the incidence of wage labor began to increase. In Philadelphia, from 30 percent to 50 percent of the city's shoemakers and tailors can be found hiring themselves out to master craftsmen, the actual numbers fluctuating by decade. In Boston and New York, the preponderance of independent tradesmen was greater. In Boston during the 1790s, there were still eight master carpenters for every journeyman. By 1815, however, the journeymen were in a majority. By then, journeymen also outnumbered masters across all trades in Philadelphia, and decisively in New York.

### TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

The turn to wage labor meant friction over terms. How the price and hours of labor should be set and enforced became the object of intense debate from the 1780s onward, accompanied by resort to association on both sides and competing declarations of standards for a trade throughout a given locality. Journeymen enforced their declarations by "turn outs"— refusals to work except on the terms they prescribed or with any person not part of their fraternity. These tactics earned them indictment, and usually conviction, for conspiracy. Between 1806 and 1815 at least half a dozen conspiracy trials took place in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. The depression of 1819 put a halt to journeymen's organizing activities, but another cluster of prosecutions came between 1823 and 1829 as the economy revived. Shoemakers and tailors were the most frequent defendants, but urban textile workers—spinners and weavers—were also indicted. Though concentrated in the artisan trades of the seaboard cities, trials spread to inland centers, such as Pittsburgh (1814) and Buffalo (1824), and as far south as New Orleans (1826). More trials came in the mid–1830s, at the peak of the Jacksonian labor movement, and in the early 1840s, when for the first time indictments were returned against rural factory workers.

Journeymen's associations recapitulated traditions of craft organization with roots deep in the English past and with scattered precursors in the colonies. They were, however, certainly not the new nation's only expression of concerted labor action.

Riots and strikes over working and living conditions also occurred among unskilled workers: canal diggers, mostly working in rural areas (particularly as the economy began to improve after 1825); waterfront workers on several occasions in the second half of the 1820s; and New York's building laborers (1816). Strikes also occurred among urban female tailors (New York, 1825) and among rural textile factory workers—the first in Pawtucket, Rhode Island (1824), another at the Slater Mills in Dudley, Massachusetts (1827).

### DEVELOPMENT OF A LABOR MOVEMENT

More significant than who was organizing and striking was when. It is the coincidence of action among different groups that signifies the beginnings of a full-fledged labor movement.

Before the late 1820s, a labor movement as such did not exist. The journeymen's associations of the previous forty years were not a movement. They were trade-specific combinations organized within a particular locality, asserting quasi-corporate or quasi-municipal rights of regulation, not a nascent collective bargaining mentality. There was little communication among them, far less any explicit attempts at translocal organization. Combinations among unskilled workers, meanwhile, tended to be spontaneous and short-lived.

This situation began to change in the mid-1820s. Economic recovery brought renewed organization across a broad front of trades in all the eastern cities, accompanied by wage conflicts and agitation for the ten-hour day, notably the Boston house carpenters' strike of 1825. Simultaneous stirrings among the new classes of factory workers and strikes among canal workers suggest generalized grievance. Different segments of working people appeared to share a common understanding of the extent of economic transformation that had occurred since the end of the War of 1812: decomposition of the artisan mode of production in the cities, growing concentration of wealth, and the spread of entrepreneurialism and "free market" rhetoric, all accompanied by growing stratification in the employment relationship. The result was the first attempt to create more general forms of organization. Beginning in Philadelphia, journeymen joined with factory hands not only to organize unions but also confederations of unions as well as workingmen's political parties that quickly assumed an active role in local and state politics. Establishment in 1827 of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, the first citywide federation of journeymen trade societies in the country, led to in-

dependent organized participation of workingmen in the 1828 city and state elections. In 1829 and 1830 Working Men's parties developed in New York and Massachusetts.

Notwithstanding that this was a movement founded in the first instance on journeymen's associations, the Working Men's parties showed little programmatic commitment to trade unionism. Particularly in Massachusetts, the Working Men's parties transcended a specifically urban base, attracting support from rural artisans and farmers. Eclectically radical, they are best considered representative of a "catchall" popular anxiety about the course of the polity. All articulated broad programs of republican reform, and all were shaped by a diversity of influences—middle-class intellectuals and Jeffersonian agrarians, not just plebeian radicals. Frontiers between the Working Men's parties and factions in the mainstream parties were highly permeable.

In the fifty years after the Revolution, "labor" had emerged amid the expansion and reorganization of the new nation's economy as an increasingly separate and identifiable interest. But its organizational manifestations were eclectic and brief, its politics undefined. Strikes had become commonplace, but periods of agitation were easily snuffed out by economic downturns. The 1830s saw more of the same, but with the crucial addition of a growing emphasis on permanent trade unions as the only basis upon which working people could expect to have any impact upon the polity. Federations of urban craft unions were established in all the eastern seaboard centers during 1833 and 1834 and remained active for several years. Ultimately, they too would prove vulnerable to economic downturn and depression after the Panic of 1837. But their appearance lent real definition to labor activity in the 1830s, proving what had still been uncertain as late as 1829: that the new nation now had a labor movement.

*See also* **Economic Development.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Prude, Jonathan. *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860.* New York and Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Tomlins, Christopher L. *Law, Labor, and Ideology in the Early American Republic.* New York and Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Way, Peter. *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780–1860.* New York and Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

*Christopher L. Tomlins*

## LAFAYETTE, MARIE-JOSEPH, MARQUIS DE (1757–1834)

The Marquis de Lafayette (born Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier) became the most influential non–American commander in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War and an important foreign contributor to the emergence of American nationalism. He was born into a prominent noble family in the rugged, remote south-central French province of Auvergne. His father was killed in battle (in 1759) during the Seven Years' War, and his mother died (in 1770) while he was still at the Collège du Plesis in Paris, where Lafayette received most of his formal education. Like most other noble boys in eighteenth-century France, he studied ancient history, prepared for a military career, and collected income from his family's landed estates. His wealth and noble status attracted the attention of the powerful Noailles family, and they arranged for Lafayette to marry the youthful Adrienne de Noailles (1759–1807) in 1774. This marriage gave Lafayette a position in the prestigious Noailles Dragoons and set him on course for a successful military career.

Soon, however, he developed a political interest in the American colonists' declaration of independence from Britain. In December 1776 Lafayette received the promise of a military commission from the American representative in Paris, Silas Deane. Lacking official permission to leave his French regiment, Lafayette secretly bought a ship and sailed to the New World with several other military officers in April 1777. This flight from the privileges of European nobility later became a popular American story, in part because it displayed Lafayette's commitment to America's Revolutionary cause and in part because it exemplified a familiar American desire to break with the constraints of the Old World.

### LAFAYETTE'S ROLE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Although some Americans opposed the appointment of French officers in the Continental Army, George Washington accepted Lafayette as an unpaid major general whose family connections at the French court might be useful for the development of a military alliance. Lafayette quickly gained Washington's



**The Marquis de Lafayette.** The most influential non-American commander in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, in a portrait (c. 1825) by Matthew Harris Jouett. THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

personal respect and trust when he demonstrated both courage and military skill in battles at Brandywine and Barren Hill, both in Pennsylvania. The friendship between Washington and Lafayette grew into a kind of father-son attachment in which Lafayette deferred to the older man's judgment and Washington expressed his appreciation of a young European noble "who acts upon very different principles than those which govern the rest." These principles included Lafayette's willingness to listen to Americans (rather than just to give them instructions) and his support of the political objectives of the Revolutionary War.

Lafayette's military role in the American Revolution developed in several different spheres. He provided valuable military leadership as he helped to train, organize, and supply the American brigades that he commanded. Equally important, he constantly urged the French government to send more supplies and military support after France entered into a formal alliance with the American Continental Congress, and he became an energetic cross-cultural mediator when French naval forces and a French army

arrived in Rhode Island. Finally, Lafayette commanded American forces with exceptional skill in Virginia during the decisive campaign there in the spring and summer of 1781. This campaign required careful political negotiations as he gathered supplies for his small, ragtag army and imaginative military strategies as he closed the trap around the British army at Yorktown. Although Lafayette could not gain a decisive victory until the Comte de Rochambeau and Washington arrived with the main French and American forces, his strategic maneuvers prepared the way for the final French-American siege.

### LAFAYETTE'S AFFIRMATION OF AMERICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

His leadership of the complex Virginia campaign and his close friendship with Washington were important enough to give Lafayette an enduring reputation in American history, yet his political affirmations of the emerging national identity may well have contributed even more to the American cause than his notable military achievements. Lafayette was the first famous foreigner to affirm the new national narrative of America's exceptional achievements, political ideals, and historical destiny. He described Americans as they liked to describe themselves. Lafayette always assured his American friends that their struggle for national independence had the broadest possible historical significance. When he was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1781, for example, he noted in his acceptance letter that America promoted the rights of mankind on a more liberal basis than any other country in the world. Such public praise for the Revolution reinforced what American leaders already believed about the moral superiority of their national cause, but the statements of a disinterested European nobleman added welcome international credibility to the American claims.

Lafayette's useful and symbolic role as America's best European friend later paved the way for an equally significant role as a leading symbol of American national ideas in France. When the French launched their own revolutionary movement in 1789 to promote the "rights of man" and establish a new constitutional government, most Americans interpreted Lafayette's leadership of the new French National Guard as evidence that France wanted to adopt enlightened American principles of freedom and legal equality. When the French rejected Lafayette in 1792 (he fled for his life and spent five years in Austrian and Prussian prisons), Americans had new reasons to believe that they had a unique national mission: only the United States truly under-

stood and defended the commitment to freedom and order that Lafayette had carried home from the New World.

Lafayette eventually returned to France after Napoleon seized power in 1799, but he rejected Napoleon's authoritarian policies and viewed Jeffersonian America as the main refuge of liberty in the modern world. He continued to praise the American political system as the Napoleonic Empire gave way to a restored French monarchy and to the political conservatism that spread across Europe after 1815. Challenging the ascendancy of conservative regimes wherever he could, Lafayette supported liberal national movements in Spain, Greece, and Poland—all of which he compared to the earlier American struggle for national independence and political freedom. Yet, the powerful conservative tide blocked the progress of liberal nationalisms and his own political career, so he welcomed an invitation from Congress and President James Monroe to return to the United States for a triumphal national tour.

This thirteen-month tour of every American state in 1824–1825 became Lafayette's final important contribution to early American nationalism. He was welcomed everywhere as a living connection to George Washington and the heroic Continental Army. Traveling through a nation engaged in a bitter conflict between the supporters of Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams, Lafayette became a unifying messenger from the generation of the founders. He assured uncertain Americans that they were carrying forward the vision of their Revolutionary ancestors, and he reaffirmed, as always, the nationalist belief in America's world-historical significance. He also praised the unique success of the American Revolution, celebrated the superior achievements of America's constitutional government, and interpreted America's rapid economic development as a remarkable consequence of the nation's freedom and republican institutions.

In response, Americans hailed Lafayette as the greatest and wisest man in Europe. Newspapers reprinted his speeches, musicians composed songs to describe his accomplishments, and artists portrayed his image on souvenir dishes, handkerchiefs, and in published illustrations. The celebration of Lafayette became also a celebration of America's national history, political accomplishments, and economic progress. Towns, streets, and schools were named in his honor, and even his occasional references to the dangers of sectionalism or the injustices of slavery could not diminish the nationalist rituals that his tour evoked.

Lafayette later returned to political prominence in the French Revolution of 1830, and he continued to support national independence movements in Poland, Italy, and Greece until his death. Yet these later campaigns for French political reforms and liberal nationalisms never led to the kind of decisive victories he had witnessed at the conclusion of the American Revolution. In the end, therefore, it was the Americans who offered the highest praise for the European who first embraced their cause in 1776 and reaffirmed the central beliefs of American nationalism throughout his long life. At a joint session of Congress in 1834 John Quincy Adams gave a eulogy for Lafayette in which he asserted that no one "among the race of merely mortal men" could rival Lafayette "as the benefactor" of mankind. Though modern historians have questioned such nineteenth-century claims for Lafayette's achievements, the rhetoric points to his exalted status in a new nation that yearned for foreign affirmation of its emerging national identity and historical significance.

*See also* **Nationalism; Revolution: Military History.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gottschalk, Louis. *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Idzerda, Stanley J., et al., eds. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers*, *1776–1790.* 5 vols. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977–1983.

Idzerda, Stanley J., Anne C. Loveland, and Marc H. Miller. *Lafayette*, *Hero of Two Worlds: The Art and Pageantry of His Farewell Tour of America*, *1824–1825.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989.

Kramer, Lloyd. *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolutions.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Unger, Harlow Giles. *Lafayette.* Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley and Sons, 2002.

*Lloyd Kramer*

**LAKE ERIE, BATTLE OF**    The Battle of Lake Erie, which took place on 10 September 1813, was a critical naval engagement in the War of 1812. It allowed the American reconquest of much of the Michigan Territory lost earlier in the war, relieved Ohio and Indiana Territory from Native American raids, contributed to the destruction of the Tecumseh Indian confederacy, elevated the martial reputation of the U.S. Navy, and made Oliver Hazard Perry a national hero.



Battle of Lake Erie
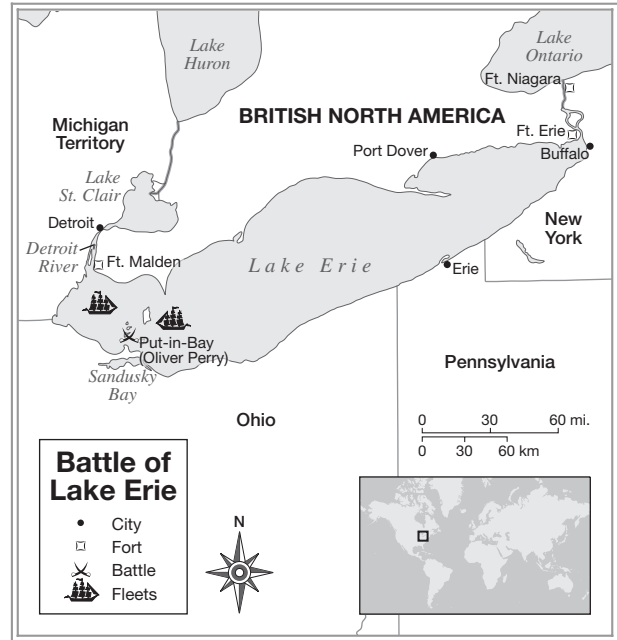
Combined with the U.S. Army victory at the Battle of the Thames or Moraviantown on 5 October 1813, it insured the retention of the modern states of Michigan and Wisconsin within the American national boundary.

After the surrender of Detroit on 16 August 1812, President James Madison began a major effort to reclaim lost territory. Many recognized that the key to such an endeavor was the attainment of naval superiority on Lake Erie, a crucial line of communications. After a winter ground offensive against Detroit failed, Major General William Henry Harrison began construction of Fort Meigs at the Maumee River rapids (now Perrysburg, Ohio) and awaited naval superiority on the lake before moving northward.

The Navy Department appointed Captain Isaac Chauncey commodore of the Great Lakes, and he secured Master Commandant (modern commander) Oliver Hazard Perry for the almost nonexistent Lake Erie squadron. Ably assisted by shipwright Noah Brown, Perry supervised the construction of two brigs—*Lawrence* and *Niagara*—and four schooners at Erie, Pennsylvania. After some delay in securing sailors, Perry led his squadron onto the lake on 12 August 1813 and, after conferring with General Harrison, established his base at Put–in–Bay on South Bass Island.

Suffering from a decided logistical disadvantage at their naval base at Amherstburg, Ontario, near the Detroit River's mouth, in 1813 the British construct-

ed only the ship *Detroit.* The ship augmented a small squadron that had previously given the Royal Navy dominance on the lake. Commander Robert H. Barclay led a British squadron carrying 64 guns throwing 905 pounds total weight of metal and 496 pounds in broadside. The U.S. flotilla mounted 54 guns with a total weight of metal of 1,536 pounds and broadside of 936. Barclay brought six vessels into his line of battle, Perry nine.

Once a wind shift allowed Perry to close with the HMS *Detroit*, the battle's outcome seemed obvious. But Jesse Duncan Elliott, captaining the *Niagara*, failed to engage his designated foe, and the British concentrated their fire on Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence.* For over two hours the ship fought gallantly until completely disabled. About this time Elliott brought the *Niagara* forward, and Perry transferred his flag to that undamaged vessel. He sent Elliott to bring up the trailing gunboats while he commanded the *Niagara*, which broke the British line and forced the entire Royal Navy squadron to surrender.

Perry's report to General Harrison—"We have met the enemy and they are ours"—was an immediate sensation and his battle flag's inscription—"Don't Give Up the Ship"—became an unofficial navy motto. The controversy over Elliott's behavior remained a cause célèbre in the U.S. Navy until his death in 1845.

*See also* **War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Friedman, Lawrence J., and David Curtis Skaggs. "Jesse Duncan Elliott and the Battle of Lake Erie: The Issue of Mental Stability." *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (1990): 493–516.

Mackenzie, Alexander Slidell. *The Life of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843.

Mahan, Alfred T. *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812.* 1905. Reprint, New York: Haskell House, 1969.

Malcomson, Robert, and Thomas Malcomson. *HMS* Detroit*: The Battle for Lake Erie.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1990.

Skaggs, David Curtis, and Gerard T. Altoff. *A Signal Victory: The Lake Erie Campaign*, *1812–1813.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997.

Welsh, William Jeffrey, and David Curtis Skaggs, eds. *War on the Great Lakes: Essays Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie.* Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1991.

*David Curtis Skaggs*

**LAND POLICIES**   During the early history of the United States, land and the policies governing its distribution, disposition, and transferal from public to private ownership were of great national interest. Land policies were crucial to a range of nation-defining issues including federal Indian policy, westward expansion and settlements, the spread of democracy, and the development of a strong national agricultural economy. Geographically, they imposed a rational order upon the land, most notably in the form of a grid-pattern, geometric landscape that was devised by politicians, marked and drawn by surveyors, and domesticated by the western farm people.

### STATE CLAIMS TO WESTERN LANDS

The 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended America's Revolutionary War left unresolved the matter of state claims to western lands north and south of the Ohio River that stemmed from old royal charters. Considering the political advantages afforded to larger states, smaller states without western land claims, such as Maryland, held out and refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until states gave up their western lands. When Virginia, the largest state, gave up its claims in 1784, others followed. By 1786 all state claims to Old Northwest lands had been ceded to the federal government in return for the creation of a vast public domain that encompassed more than 230 million acres. This public domain represented both a veritable windfall of untapped land revenues for a cash-strapped fledgling government and a seemingly boundless western space for a land- and agriculturally minded nation to grow. Additional land cessions followed: North Carolina in 1790 and Georgia in 1802.

Although states ceded their rights to western lands, other claims and contingencies on the public domain existed for the government to handle. Numerous states retained a considerable amount of lands for their own disposal, whereas Virginia and Connecticut held on to "reserves" so as to meet their obligations to holders of military bounty land warrants issued to Revolutionary War soldiers. Far more complicated and vexing to the government was the process of confirming private claims to land granted to settlers by prior French, Spanish, and English authorities. More important with respect to land policy, however, was the government's active and aggressive securing of land cessions and the extinguishing of tribal claims from Native Americans, whether through warfare, deception, or trea-

ties. From the beginning land policy was predicated on the dispossession of the native peoples.

### THE EMERGENCE OF LAND POLICIES

Given the unique American circumstances, early government land policies reflected the tentative, innovative, and idealistic nature of the new Republic, and some practices persisted and became distinctive features of U.S. land policy. A national land disposal policy emerged in 1784–1785 only after lively congressional debates had taken place over such fundamental issues as whether Virginia's system of indiscriminate location with surveys following was more expedient than New England's orderly course of surveying and sectioning townships prior to land sales, along with reserving lots for churches and schools. The latter won out (minus the church lots) and formed the basis of the Land Ordinance of 1785. It bore a significant measure of Thomas Jefferson's influence and his interest in surveying. Among the stipulations was that Indian titles must be extinguished before surveys were done; herein also were the beginning stages of an administrative process of record-keeping to legitimate and safeguard land transactions.

The survey was important for a number of reasons. Besides the appearance of security, familiarity, and a simple grid pattern, the rectangular survey was an exercise in rationality. The land ordinance specified that a presidentially appointed geographer, in this instance Thomas Hutchins, would oversee a corps of surveyors and chain carriers whose job was to mark off the land, by way of recorded descriptions and actual markings on trees, into townships that were six miles square and then into sections of 640 acres each. These were numbered from south to north beginning in the southeastern corner. After seven ranges of townships had been surveyed, the geographer would convey a scaled diagram of this tract, called a plat, to the Board of the Treasury in advance of a public sale minus reserves for public schools (sixteen in each township) and military bounty lands.

The Seven Ranges represented the first of these organized surveys and was inaugurated where the Ohio River crosses into Ohio from Pennsylvania. This method, however, proved slow and costly, especially in the opinion of Congress, which noted that by February 1787 only four ranges had been completed. That fall, Congress acted at variance with the Land Ordinance and auctioned off the four completed ranges at one dollar per acre with disappointingly low sales. Although the land parcels and price failed

to attract the average yeoman farmer, speculators and land companies, including the Ohio Company, the Scioto Company, and John Cleves Symmes, received Congress's blessing for one-million-acre purchases in the hopes that they would generate federal revenue and encourage settlement. With organized settlement Congress sought to diminish the chronic appearance of squatters on the public domain who it believed were robbing the federal Treasury of land revenue and whose illegal settlement also precipitated Indian hostilities. Nevertheless, as land historian Paul Gates observed, squatters' persistence on the landscape influenced land policy by constantly bringing the matter of preemption (a squatter's "right" to first consideration in gaining title to land he and his family have worked by being allowed to circumvent competitive bidding for it at the public auction) to Congress's attention such that it was finally sanctioned by law in 1841. Altogether, as fellow land historian Malcolm Rohrbough contends, the Land Ordinance fostered a break from the Old World's feudalistic landholding patterns by instituting a large-scale, democratic system of land ownership in the new American Republic.

### THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE

The question of how the public domain would yield politically functioning territories and ultimately add new states to the Union was answered by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Integral to U.S. land policy, this ordinance of governance was considered vital to the success of speculative land company enterprises such as the Ohio Company. Moreover, it provided for the creation of three to five territories northwest of the Ohio River, from which the present-day states Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin would emerge. Concurrent with national expansionist objectives, the land area comprising the public domain expanded with the federal acquisition of additional territories, including the Louisiana Purchase (1803), Florida (1819), Texas (1845), Oregon (1846), and the Mexican cession (1848).

Land disposal policies underwent constant revision in the quest to generate more federal revenue to apply against the national debt. Added incentive came through a series of Indian land cession treaties that followed hostilities and afforded the opening up of more land for sale and settlement, including the 1795 Treaty of Greenville. At this point, Pennsylvania Democratic congressman Albert Gallatin took a leading role in reformulating what would become the Land Act of 1796. Policymakers debated whether it was more profitable to tailor prospective land sales

to settlers or to speculative groups, who would then presumably sell to those settlers; the terms of sale reflected the most substantive policy reform. The minimum purchase size remained at 640-acre tracts, although the minimum price was raised from one to two dollars per acre. Modest credit was now extended so that a purchaser could put down one-twentieth of the price, one-half within thirty days, and the rest within one year. However, this translated to $1,280, a considerable amount for the average settler. Cash purchases were discounted by 10 percent, but this was still out of reach for many. Additionally, the act called for more detailed surveys, and it made the receipt of land sales monies the responsibility of the new secretary of the treasury, Oliver Wolcott. Although western settlers benefited from the designation of two convenient points of sale (Pittsburgh and Cincinnati), overall sales were low and the act failed to achieve anything close to revenue objectives.

## EVOLUTION OF LAND POLICIES

Almost immediately Congress recognized the need to liberalize its land policies in order to compete for sales against the major land companies in Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania as well as with large investors. Many of the private landholders had acquired military bounty lands so cheaply that they offered settlers many more advantages than the government could: the best prices, smaller lots, longer credit, payment in produce and livestock, local agents, as well as developing tracts that encompassed towns, roads, and improvements. Ohio Territorial delegate William Henry Harrison was keenly aware of these circumstances and figured prominently in the drafting of what became the Harrison Land Act of 1800. This act finally facilitated increased revenues, largely because it met the needs of western settlers by reducing the minimum purchase tract to 320 acres, creating four western land office districts (Marietta, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and Jeffersonville), and by extending favorable credit terms to meet the retained minimum two-dollar-per-acre price. The terms allowed the purchaser to pay in fourths: one-fourth of the price within forty days, another within two years, another within three years, and the final fourth within four years. The unpaid balance incurred 6 percent interest. If the tract was not fully paid within five years, it was subject to forfeiture. However, pleas from delinquent purchasers led Congress to suspend this clause and pass numerous relief measures that granted additional time during the next two decades.

By 1820 the West was taking shape in the form of spreading land offices north and south of the Ohio River as well as in the admission of new states to the Union—from Ohio (1803) to Illinois (1818) on the one hand, and Mississippi (1817) to Alabama (1819) on the other. The General Land Office was established in 1811. Yet the experiment with credit sales had a ruinous effect on the economy as evidenced by the Panic of 1819, a time when western land buyers owed the government more than $24 million. Through the Land Act of 1820, Congress abolished credit sales, mandating that land must now be paid in full with cash on the day of purchase, although the minimum price was reduced to $1.25 per acre and the tract size to eighty acres. Predictably, land sales plummeted to nothing; the government, on the other hand, succeeded in reducing the land sales debt to just over $6 million by 1825. This act seriously hurt western pioneers—as much by denying them much-needed credit as by not incorporating preemption, which at least would have given them some means of acquiring a farmstead without credit. One consequence was a greater visibility of squatters' claims clubs in places such as Iowa during the 1830s. These clubs operated as self-protection associations to prevent competitive bidding by speculators against farmers' interests at public auctions.

Despite the hardship to settlers caused by ending credit land purchases and insisting on cash, Congress recognized that it had a revenue interest in reforming land policies to further the transfer of as much of the public land into private ownership as possible. The graduation of land prices represented one of these reforms. Between 1820 and 1854 the issue consistently appeared before Congress, usually at the urging of its chief proponent, Missouri Democratic senator Thomas Hart Benton. The Graduation Act, passed in 1854, addressed the problem of undesirable lands that stayed unsold because the government minimum prices were too high, leaving potentially workable land unimproved and untaxed. As a result of the act, the price of public land that had been on the market for ten years, with some exceptions, would be reduced to graduated levels. For example, the price for land that had been unsold for ten to fifteen years would now be valued at one dollar per acre, and valued even lower, at seventy-five cents per acre, if unsold for fifteen to twenty years. Policymakers hoped that by imposing a 320-acre limitation on the purchase size, broad speculation of these lands would be difficult. According to Gates, however, the act prompted substantial abuses and runs on land. Less than a decade after the Graduation Act, Congress passed its most liberal, ambitious, and optimistic land reform in the Homestead Act of 1862, a pivotal policy that would define America to many and en-

courage land-hungry immigrants to flock to the United States. Prospective farmers could enter 80- or 160-acre tracts at the nearest land office, pay nothing more than the ten-dollar filing fee and the four-dollar commissions, and take five years to "prove up," after which the land belonged to them.

### LAND AS NATIONAL SYMBOL

From the beginning, Americans invested complex national meanings in the public domain. Although flawed and constantly revised, early American land policies simultaneously generated revenue and provided a means to gain access to the soil for the predominant agricultural populace as well as for the land entrepreneurs. They were also inherently bound up with national expansionist goals and Native American dispossession. Equally important were the seeds of republican ideals, which were transplanted and widely spread as the public domain was progressively marked, surveyed, sectioned off, and sold. As townships were laid out, the lot reserved for education aimed to ensure—with poor results in this period—that the new American Republic would contain an educated populace, while the Northwest Ordinance stipulated that the West would be fashioned after republican principles of governance. Americans' beliefs in "progress" and in the benefits of a market economy were evident in land policy as well, particularly in the area of land grants to states for internal improvements in roads and canals—which also served to raise land values. Indeed, railroads were given grants totaling 127 million acres. Land policies, then, embodied the broad aspirations of an ambitious early American Republic.

*See also* **Expansion; Frontier; Land Speculation; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Surveyors and Surveying; Trails to the West; West.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dick, Everett. *The Lure of the Land: A Social History of the Public Lands from the Articles of Confederation to the New Deal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.

Gates, Paul W. *History of Public Land Law Development.* Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing, 1978.

Johnson, Hildegard B. *Order upon the Land: The U.S. Rectangular Land Survey and the Upper Mississippi Country.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Opie, John. *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.

Robbins, Roy M. *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776–1970,* 2nd ed., rev. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976.

Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789–1837.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

*Ginette Aley*

**LAND SPECULATION**  British North America appeared to its colonizers as a land of boundlessly rich natural resources, unworked and thereby unclaimed by its Native American inhabitants. Thus, even before the end of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), to an extent unknown in Europe, land became a commodity to be granted, traded, bought, and sold, and land speculation became an outlet for Americans' drive for self- and community improvement. While land speculation was at first the province of highly placed elites, the Revolution marked a major disjuncture, with social uncertainty providing an opportunity for new men to make—and lose—quick fortunes through land trading. Later, during the period of the market revolution, land sales were inextricably tied up with Americans' general excitement over the development of canals, roads, cities, and later, railroads, but the tensions between eastern land speculators and western settlers were always acute.

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It is ironic that the enthusiasm about America's natural resources contributed greatly to the loss of Britain's American empire. A group of noteworthy Virginia planters, including George Washington, had created the Ohio Company in 1747 in hopes of speculating in land west of the Appalachian Mountains. Having secured a large tract, they began to survey it in 1750. In the course of exploring a disputed area of the tract in 1753, they collided with the French, who were also hoping to exploit the tract for settlement and fur trading. Attempts at diplomacy failed, and the resulting Battle of Great Meadows in 1754 touched off the eighteenth-century equivalent of a world war and ultimately resulted in a permanent estrangement between Britain and its North American colonies.

Eighteenth-century land speculation was undertaken by companies arranged on the joint-stock model as well as by individuals. In the immediate aftermath of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), for example, veterans of the conflict who had been granted lands as military bounties formed into the Military Company of Adventurers to find and map out their claims. Those who speculated in land this early were in every sense adventurers, having to

trudge through trackless wilderness and, like George Croghan (1720–1781), parlay with Indians in order to find and mark out the limits of settlement. The rewards could be totally disproportionate, however. Croghan was able to pay for tens of thousands of acres of land with bonds secured by mortgages on the same land—a circuitous method of payment that ensured that the Indians he bought it from would receive nothing in return.

Whether companies or individuals like these were seeking to buy and populate military bounty lands or other lands held in reserve by the existing states, their success depended on their political connections. The modern idea of "conflict of interest" was more or less absent in this period of patronage. This enabled men like William Duer (1747–1799), secretary to the Board of Treasury, to enrich themselves through land speculation. Duer negotiated on behalf of the Ohio Associates for Congress to sell to military veterans of the Revolutionary War five million acres of land at a good price in return for U.S. debt certificates. At the same time he negotiated this contract, Duer and two of his friends formed a private company, the Scioto Associates, to benefit from the contract and receive the majority of the land. After an abortive attempt to settle French emigrants on the Scioto company's land, Duer's company failed, dragging the military veterans' company down with it. Duer's land speculations numbered among his many dodgy enterprises before an attempt to corner the New York stock market in the 1790s landed him in debtor's prison.

Eighteenth-century land speculators also depended on the ability to exploit multiple jurisdictions and conflicting surveys. Only after the Land Ordinance of 1785 initiated a the rectangular survey system for the Northwest Territory was the process of land survey and auction regularized, and even then there were still opportunities to bend the rules. The case of the acquisition of the Otsego patent in 1786 in upstate New York by William Cooper (1754–1789) illustrates various actions that might today be considered fraud, including ignoring existing boundaries, the deliberate failure to publicize a land auction, and the holding of an auction in disregard of a legal injunction against it. Cooper's career as a land speculator also shows, however, that after the Revolutionary War the land business provided great opportunities for self-fashioning, enabling a poor and unlettered son of an artisan to climb into the ranks of gentlemen. Cooper was able to buy land with no fortune of his own by selling his land off in large tracts as soon as he bought it. Although many of the tract holders themselves failed, the land defaulted back to Cooper, and he was able to sell it to new farmer-speculators.

## THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Most people who purchased land in the early Republic intended to reap a return on their investments, although many would not have thought of themselves as speculators. Some purchasers were farmers hoping to buy more land than they needed to finance the development of their own farms by selling off part of their newly acquired tracts at a higher price. Bankers, judges, legislators, and other professionals speculated in land as a sideline. Land was a great investment, providing about a 40 percent return; but it also contained hidden dangers. Many eastern speculators proved unappreciative of the hardships of western settlers, including Indian attacks, lack of transportation, and lack of access to markets, and were often more concerned with reaping paper profits than with actual settlement. Thus, while the Connecticut Land Company, formed in 1795 to sell lands in the Western Reserve, foundered, the Holland Land Company, a group of Dutch developers who speculated in New York lands, succeeded because the company refused to allow land sales until it had developed sufficient infrastructure, including a modicum of government and educational opportunities, for prospective settlers.

The actual process of land purchase depended on both time and geography, because throughout the early Republic, lands for sale included state and federal lands and land that was priced as part of improvement districts (a way of making public improvements by assessing through taxes those private properties standing to benefit), all of it for sale under different rules. Vast tracts of land were sometimes purchased at auctions that lasted only half an hour, and other tracts lay open for twenty years at a time. This was possible because the price of land sold at land offices—unlike lands resold by speculators—often did not vary with supply and demand. Prices could be set by state land offices without anyone having actually assessed the quality of the land, which resulted in artificially high prices and, therefore, few sales. On the other hand, states might offer deep discounts on the official price of lands; Ohio offered a 75 percent discount per acre to actual settlers willing to swear out an affidavit that they planned to live on and cultivate the land. Under these circumstances, land prices could fall to as low as 12.5 cents per acre.

Federal and state governments actively promoted the transfer of public lands to private citizens in several ways. Veterans of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 (1812–1815) were given warranty claims to western lands as payment. The granting of these bounty lands fueled speculation, since to the extent that these lands were far from the line of existing settlement, grantees sold their plots to speculators, sometimes for less than they were worth. In the wake of the Panic of 1819, the government reduced the minimum price of its public lands from $2 to $1.25 per acre, with a minimum farm size of 80 acres rather than 160. Auctions were advertised three months before the opening of sales and were opened for two weeks; then, any unsold lands were kept on sale at the minimum price, making farms widely available for around $100. Missouri U.S. senator Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858) campaigned in favor of graduation laws that would gradually drop the price of unsold lands to as low as 25 cents an acre. By the late 1820s states then in the far West, like Arkansas and Indiana, were giving tracts of land to settlers who agreed to live there, develop towns, and serve as a buffer zone against Indian encroachments.

### SPECULATION: BENEFICIAL OR HARMFUL?

One of the main concerns of historians, when discussing land speculation, is the degree to which rampant speculation held back or promoted national development. It seems fairly clear that land speculation promoted the settlement of the West by making more land available more cheaply than did the state or federal governments and by offering potential buyers a choice of land tract sizes and easier credit terms than did government. The picture is mixed in relation to the impact of speculation on taxation. In contrast to war veterans, who were not immediately responsible for taxes on their land grants, land speculators were responsible for taxes. This was beneficial in that speculators who did not live on the western frontier helped to subsidize infrastructure for the settlers who did live there. But it also had a downside. Larger speculators depended on the success of smaller ones or on tenants who failed to pay, defaulted, or renegotiated contracts. Speculators who found themselves overextended often lost their lands to confiscation for nonpayment of taxes, which created a good deal of churn in the land market.

Even once the process of land purchase in the early Republic had become fairly regularized, it was rife with corruption, which explains in part the bad reputation that land speculators had. Land receivers were known to have engaged in a number of corrupt practices, among them arranging for land surveys that included notes describing the land's quality, maintaining their own maps of sold land, and allowing their silent partners to purchase land before and in greater quantities than other buyers. Even the wholesale bribery of legislators was possible, as in the Yazoo land fraud of 1795, which resulted in the sale of tens of thousands of acres owned by Georgia to four land companies. Despite the scandalous behavior of the Georgia legislators, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Yazoo contracts in *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), which seemed to illustrate that it was better to apologize later than to ask permission at the start. Elites were also able to establish banks in order to finance their land purchases, a fact that led to widespread popular distrust of banking.

Land speculation has often been implicated in the boom-and-bust cycle of the nineteenth-century economy; and while it was not the cause of economic depression, it certainly contributed to the general air of instability. The Panic of 1819 began with falling prices for American grain, meat, and cotton in foreign markets. This fall in prices was exacerbated by the high level of land-related indebtedness at every level of society. Land speculation also contributed to a feeling of being exploited among western settlers, who languished in frontier settlements without infrastructure and under the threat of Indian attacks while promoters made money at a distance. Given the importance of widespread landholding to a Jeffersonian republic, the checkered history of land speculation would lead to calls later in the nineteenth century for a more equitable and transparent distribution of lands through homesteading.

*See also* **Frontier; Frontiersmen; Land Policies; Panic of 1819; Pioneering.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bronstein, Jamie L. *Land Reform and Working-Class Experience in Britain and the United States, 1800–1862.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Feller, Daniel. *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815–1840.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Harte, Brian. "Land in the Old Northwest: A Study of Speculation, Sales, and Settlement on the Connecticut Western Reserve." *Ohio History* 101 (1992): 114–139.

Jones, Robert F. "William Duer and the Business of Government in the Era of the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 32 (1975): 393–416.

Shannon, Timothy J. "The Ohio Company and the Meaning of Opportunity in the American West, 1786–1795." *New England Quarterly* 64 (1991): 393–413.

Swierenga, Robert. "Land Speculation and Its Impact on American Economic Growth and Welfare: A Historio-

graphical Review." *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (1977): 283–302.

Taylor, Alan. *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic.* New York: Knopf, 1995.

*Jamie L. Bronstein*

**LANGUAGE**   What is meant by "language" in the context of the early Republic? Do we mean simply the English language, the dominant spoken and written language in the early United States? If so, does it make sense to speak of one "language"? After all, there were (and are) many "Englishes." For instance, there is the language spoken by New Englanders and then there is the one spoken in the Smoky Mountains. We may choose to define these as separate dialects, implying that English speakers in these regions can easily understand each other. But for linguists, levels of mutual intelligibility are not necessarily meaningful. After all, the English spoken in northern Maine differs significantly from that spoken in the Smoky Mountains. And the reason for this is partly the very real difference in the character of these varieties of English: they had (and have) distinct vocabularies, distinct syntax, and widely differing pronunciation.

### VARIETIES OF AMERICAN ENGLISH

The various types of English in the new United States had their origins in patterns of immigration during the colonial era. Settlers from different regions of England and Britain carried with them distinct patterns of speech. Settlers in Virginia came primarily from the East Midlands of England. Those who traveled to New England came from London as well as the East Midlands. The British migrants to Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley were primarily from the North and North Midlands. And through the eighteenth century Irish and Scottish migrants settled regions adjoining the Blue Ridge and Appalachian Mountains. As these initial foci of settlement expanded to the West, North, and South, they carried with them their regional English.

Although the varieties of American English had their origins in British English, by the early nineteenth century they had acquired distinctive American qualities. Americans, for example, came to prefer "fall" to "autumn," and they came to use the term "creek" to mean small stream or brook, whereas in Britain the term refers more specifically to a small seacoast inlet. American spelling also came to be very different from English spelling. Because printers in the Northeast were prepared to adopt Noah Webster's more economical spellings, Americans now write "color" and "labor" instead of the English "colour" and "labour." Aside from being simpler, these spellings saved printers money by reducing the amount of costly metal type required for printing.

### NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGES

Beyond simply the varieties of English spoken in the new nation was the variety of other languages that were heard. German was a virtual official language in parts of eastern and central Pennsylvania; French, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Greek, Portuguese, and Ladino were among those also present in the early national years. As long as African slaves continued to be imported into the country—and for at least a generation after—native speakers of dozens of distinct African languages lived in the early United States. Similarly, Native Americans continued to speak several hundred distinct, mutually unintelligible languages and dialects in North America. To this mix of languages we might add the dozens, perhaps hundreds (given their evanescent nature, the exact number is unknown), of Creoles, pidgins, and trade jargons that combined elements of different languages.

It is also important to note that spoken languages—contrary to the wishes of lexicographers and authors such as Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) and Noah Webster (1758–1843)—are constantly mutating and evolving. Like culture itself, language cannot be fixed. Hence, the prevalence of Native American loan words such as *caribou*, *moose*, *powwow*, *bayou*, and *tepee* or African words such as *banana*, *yam*, *cola*, and *goober* (peanut) in American English. And in much the way that the computer revolution has transformed modern English, so the industrial revolution transformed nineteenth-century English. Words such as *factory*, *mill*, and *engine* acquired meanings that would have been almost totally unfamiliar to English speakers in eighteenth-century America. Much like vocabulary, whole languages themselves come and go. From the colonial era to the early nineteenth century, European languages—usually some variety of English or French—and various pidgins and Creoles supplanted an untold number of non-European languages and dialects. In the South Carolina low country, for example, Gullah, a New World Creole combining elements of English and a variety of African tongues, became the dominant language among some African slaves.

Any complete assessment of language in the early United States must also account for the fact that language is not necessarily a spoken medium. Hence, although elite young American men learned Latin and Greek and possibly Hebrew, few actually knew them as spoken languages. Similarly, a variety of symbol systems and sign systems that themselves might be characterized as languages were used during the period. Native peoples of the Great Plains had developed an elaborate sign language to serve as a sort of lingua franca in that vast, diverse part of North America. In the late 1820s, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, the principal of the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, Connecticut, announced the creation of a new sign language designed to allow the deaf to communicate. Several years later Samuel F. B. Morse devised the system of coded dots and dashes subsequently called Morse Code.

### LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Finally, "language" does not necessarily mean specific systems of speech. It can also refer to that collection of thoughts, sentiments, values, or assumptions that allow certain behavior (sometimes involving speech or writing; sometimes not) to have a specific meaning in a specific time and place. To modern Americans, for instance, the "tweaking" or twisting of a nose has little real meaning. But to politicians in the early United States, such an act carried with it very specific and widely recognized implications: it was one man's way of accusing another of being a liar and a coward. In other words, those distant figures—Aaron Burr or Alexander Hamilton or Andrew Jackson—understood a very different language of politics from the one that would be familiar to us. Instead of discipline and party loyalty, the governing values—some might even say the "grammar"—of their political language was personal honor and reputation. Indeed, every profession or social grouping uses a distinct language—a language sometimes involving speech, sometimes centering on gesture or comportment, sometimes having to do with clothing or insignia.

Insofar as we can generalize about language in the early United States, we can thus say that language was many, many things to many, many people. Much like the values or customs or cultural habits of the early United States, so the languages of the nation reflected a vast array of social, ethnic, and economic imperatives.

### A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

For some members of the founding generation, much as for some Americans in the early twenty-first century, this was a disturbing reality. A nation of many and diverse languages would—in their minds—be a weak, incoherent nation and as such a nation prone to the sorts of corruption and conflict that appeared to plague the bodies politic of the Old World. Indeed, the entire philosophical project of the American Enlightenment (and, really, everything we call the Enlightenment) was founded on faith in the idea that human speech, and its accrued conventions, obscured truth and, in doing so, produced human conflict. Whether Patrick Henry's oratory or the social facts and statistics in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) or Noah Webster's lexicon—all sought more transparent, less historically inflected modes of communication. Human beings, they believed, needed to find ways to communicate and discover truths unhindered by the cumulative effects of politics and self-interest that left language a cloudy, imprecise, and deeply flawed medium.

Although everyone who gave the issue any thought at all assumed all language to be flawed and opaque, they also believed that some languages were simply better than others (a notion that has no currency among turn-of-the-twenty-first century linguists). The thinking went something like this: as human creations, languages bore the imprints of the minds that fashioned them. Crude minds would thus fashion crude tongues. Hence, among Americans inclined to think about such things, there was no doubt that some form of English, the product of the most historically advanced society on earth, would be the language of the United States. Because the language had been fashioned by people achieving the highest known levels of literacy and social development, it would be well suited to the needs of a modern republic. As such, it would inevitably displace minority languages, whether those of native peoples, African slaves, or non-English-speaking Europeans.

Contrary to what is occasionally asserted, no one ever seriously proposed German or any other European tongue as an alternative language for the new nation. Noah Webster and others may have believed that English would have to be improved to adequately serve the new Republic, but no one ever seriously proposed that America be anything other than an English-speaking country.

It is one thing to envision an English-speaking nation, and another to create one. Noah Webster may have envisioned a simplified, standardized idiom bringing the republican people of the United States

together, and he may have believed his lexicon and his spelling texts could produce such a result. But he was profoundly mistaken. Languages become national not because of the interventions of pedants and grammarians. Of far greater importance has been the growth of mass media such as cheap newspapers and magazines. Still, even with the regularizing influence of print, one has to feel for those purists among us making usually futile efforts to protect American English from neologisms, regionalisms, and other developments that they might call "corruptions." For most linguists, language change represents neither corruption nor improvement. It simply is. It is an inevitable facet of that ever-fluid and endlessly adaptive thing called language.

*See also* **European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; German-Language Publishing; Immigration and Immigrants.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Algeo, John, ed. *The Cambridge History of the English Language.* Volume 6: *English in North America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Cmiel, Kenneth. *Democratic Eloquence: The Fight over Popular Speech in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Morrow, 1990.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance.* Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Gray, Edward G. *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Howe, John R. *Language and Political Meaning in Revolutionary America.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.

Lepore, Jill. *A Is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States.* New York: Knopf, 2002.

Mencken, H. L. *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States.* 4th ed. New York: Knopf, 1965.

Romaine, Suzanne. *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Simpson, David. *The Politics of American English, 1776–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Sollors, Werner, ed. *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature.* New York: New York University Press, 1998.

*Edward G. Gray*

**LATIN AMERICAN INFLUENCES**   During the eighteenth century, North American trade with Latin America, most notably with the Spanish Caribbean, grew to considerable proportions. Sugar, molasses, cocoa, and coffee were imported through New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. In exchange, North American merchants supplied the Spanish colonies with foodstuffs, lumber, and manufactured goods despite Spanish officials' efforts to enforce decrees to restrict this commerce. Trading was accompanied by the keen interest of a small group of scientific men— many from the American Philosophical Society—in Latin American civilization. Philadelphia became the capital of Hispanic studies in the United States. Prominent Philadelphia publishers helped publicize the writings of Spanish American exiles living in the city. These publications, mostly of a revolutionary nature, provided a utopian picture of American democracy and highlighted Spanish Americans' capability for establishing reliable, democratic governments. Yet the general public in the United States remained skeptical, for it considered its neighbors politically inept and culturally backward.

From 1810, the revolutions in the Spanish American colonies generated broad sympathy and interest among American political leaders and pro-revolutionary enthusiasts for the cause of liberty on the continent. Their interest was mainly focused on Spanish America, as in Brazil the revolution began later and ended with the establishment of a monarchy under strong British influence. The *Philadelphia Aurora* and the *Richmond Enquirer* promoted the independence of the colonies and the *Weekly Register* regularly published news from Spanish America.

In Washington there was much discussion about the economic benefits the United States would reap from the disruption of the Spanish commercial monopoly. Until then, most North American merchandise got to Spanish America either as contraband, or was allowed in by the occasional trade treaty with Spain. Consuls were sent to the main South American seaports to collect information on the new trading possibilities. Yet reports that Spanish America could offer more markets for U.S. agricultural produce and more supply of specie (Spanish American gold and silver) and facilities (the use of Spanish American ports on the Pacific coast by American vessels trading with the East Indies) for trade with the East Indies did not convince all Americans. Eastern merchants were more concerned about protecting their well-established trade with Cuba, which was firmly under Spanish control. Southern planters were worried that their crops would face strong competition from Spanish American produce. On the other hand, western farmers were enthusiastic about

trading with the southern continent via the Mississippi River and New Orleans.

From 1817 to 1825, the revolutions in Spanish America had a considerable effect on the debate over foreign policy. First, the U.S. policy of strict neutrality regarding all foreign conflicts was challenged. From Congress, Henry Clay—a fervent supporter of the revolutionists—claimed that neutrality was consistent with immediate recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams opposed recognition on the grounds that it would be dangerous to back up unstable governments. Second, the role of the United States in the Western Hemisphere was discussed extensively. The United States was either to take up a leading position in the continent, as Clay hoped, or remain aloof from hemispherical affairs, as Adams favored. The section of President James Monroe's message to Congress in 1823 known as the Monroe Doctrine cast the United States as defender of the Western Hemisphere against European intervention. Yet the debates on U.S. participation in the Panama Congress of 1826, organized by the Latin American countries, clearly show that Americans were unenthusiastic about involvement in the hemisphere.

*See also* **Latin American Revolutions, American Response to; Monroe Doctrine; Panama Congress; Presidency**, The: James Monroe.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bernstein, Harry. *Origins of Inter–American Interest, 1700–1812.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945.

Griffin, Charles Carroll. *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810–1822: A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and the Rebel Spanish Colonies.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.

Johnson, John J. *A Hemisphere Apart: The Foundations of the United States Policy toward Latin America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Simmons, Merle. *La revolución norteamericana en la independencia de Hispanoamérica.* Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992.

Weeks, William E. *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.

Whitaker, Arthur P. *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830.* New York: Russell & Russell, 1941.

*Monica Henry*

## LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS, AMERICAN RESPONSE TO

The centuries-old Spanish and Portuguese Empires in the New World had experienced upheaval long before the French emperor Napoleon I tried to extend his sway over the Iberian Peninsula in 1807. But it was his decision to replace the Spanish king with his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, that sparked the events that resulted, fifteen years later, in the independence of Portuguese Brazil and all of Spain's mainland colonies in the Western Hemisphere.

In late 1807, with French troops poised to enter Spain, the Portuguese royal family decamped to its largest American colony, Brazil. The following June, Napoleon installed his brother on the Spanish throne. Very quickly, a revolution broke out in Spain in support of the king (Ferdinand VII) and the Junta Central (later, the Cortes) that ruled on his behalf. In most of Spain's colonies, the local authorities initially declared their loyalty to the Junta. But by 1810 true independence movements had begun to emerge across the Spanish colonial mainland. Neither Joseph nor the Cortes were in a position to address the colonial crisis. Some of these revolutions were suppressed by local authorities; others managed to establish independent governments.

With the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814, most of the early independence movements collapsed. But the seeds of instability remained. The Portuguese king (João VI) stayed in Brazil, which he elevated to the status of a kingdom within his empire (the equivalent of Portugal itself) in 1815. And a new group of revolutionaries, including Simon Bolívar and José de San Martín, organized forces and made plans for renewed action. In July 1816 Buenos Aires declared its independence. In 1817, Bolívar in the south and San Martín in the north won major victories. Over the next few years, they proceeded to establish military and political control over most of Spanish South America.

During the early 1820s Latin America was transformed. In April 1821 the Portuguese king returned to Lisbon, leaving a prince regent (Pedro I) to rule in Rio de Janeiro. Eighteen months later he declared Brazil independent. In the summer of 1821, major revolutionary victories in Peru and Mexico finally broke Spain's hold over its mainland colonies. By early 1822 six independent nations—Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires (the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata)—had replaced the old Spanish colonies.

### EARLY RESPONSE TO REVOLUTION

From the beginning, American public opinion tended toward enthusiastic support for the revolutionary movements to the south. While there were always skeptics, the signs of support were everywhere. Letters and essays in newspapers and journals championed revolutionaries who often claimed the Americans' own anticolonial and republican revolution as their model. Private citizens showed their views, illegally, by joining filibustering incursions into neighboring Spanish colonies or outfitting privateering expeditions against Spanish shipping. Following the War of 1812, this popular interest fueled frequent efforts on behalf of the revolutions in Congress, led by Speaker of the House Henry Clay.

Until early 1822, however, administration opinion generally lagged behind that of the public and Congress. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison had initially viewed the turmoil in Spain and the Spanish Empire with a combination of hope and fear. If it resulted in republican governments that were independent of all of Europe (not just Spain), it would certainly advance American economic and strategic interests. But if it instead ended with a powerful France or, even worse, Great Britain replacing a weak Spain throughout the hemisphere, American interests would clearly suffer. Between 1808 and 1812, Jefferson and Madison had offered some encouragement to the revolutionaries, particularly in Mexico and South America. At the same time, they had tried to guard against the spread of British influence in the region, especially in the neighboring colonies of East and West Florida, Mexico, and Cuba. With the start of the Anglo-American War of 1812, American policymakers received little information from, and devoted little attention to, the Spanish Empire beyond their immediate borders.

With the end of the war in early 1815, President Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe labored to shape policies toward the region that balanced threats and opportunities. They crafted a neutrality policy that they hoped would prevent a conflict with Spain and, thus, with Spain's Native American and British allies, while still opening American markets to the revolutionaries. Their definition of neutrality fully satisfied no one—not Spain, which complained about lax enforcement of the existing laws, and not the patriots or the American public, which expected more encouragement for revolutions that seemed so like the American Revolution. The War of 1812, however, had convinced the administration not to risk another war until its wide-ranging preparedness efforts had been completed.

### DECIDING ON RECOGNITION

After the spring of 1817, the principal issue confronting the new Monroe administration was whether to extend formal diplomatic recognition to Buenos Aires, which had declared its independence the previous year. Both supporters and opponents of recognition squared their position with American neutrality. Supporters argued that the United States was not neutral if it failed to recognize states that had secured their independence because recognition would confer rights Spain already enjoyed. Opponents insisted that the government would abandon neutrality if it recognized any of the rebellious states, since that would effectively announce that the revolutionaries had won. Speaker Clay led the congressional pressure for recognition. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams made the strongest counterargument. President Monroe sought ways to recognize the new states without risking war. Between late 1817 and early 1821, Clay tried at every session of Congress to introduce a resolution or bill in support of recognition. Adams worked quietly to defeat them or, at least, to water them down.

Then, in early 1822, the administration quickly reversed its position. Monroe and Adams continued to worry about the Spanish and European response. They continued to doubt that the United States was ready for war. And they continued to wonder whether the Spanish Americans could establish independent, republican governments. But the military successes of the preceding summer had left no doubt that the revolutions had succeeded throughout the Spanish mainland colonies. Any further delays, they worried, would only poison their relations with the new governments. By recognizing the governments and exchanging ministers with them, moreover, Monroe and Adams hoped to encourage the emergence of truly republican governments, the adoption of nondiscriminatory trade policies, and the rejection of close political or diplomatic ties to Europe. In early 1822 the New World seemed to have reached a decisive moment. It would either replicate—or extend—the European political, economic, and diplomatic system or reproduce the very different U.S. system. The former would seriously threaten American economic and strategic interests; the latter would probably promote them. Recognition might help decide in favor of the latter.

### MONROE DOCTRINE

Having recognized five Spanish American nations in March 1822, Monroe and Adams found themselves in a difficult position eighteen months later, when European developments threatened a new effort by

Spain, aided by the anti-republican Holy Alliance, to reconquer the rebellious colonies. The British foreign minister proposed a joint Anglo-American statement to discourage such a multipower enterprise and to disavow any interest in acquiring Spanish colonies for themselves. The cabinet discussed the new European threat and the surprising British proposal at length in the fall of 1823 (while the British dispelled the danger through quiet negotiations with the French). The result of these deliberations was a public statement of American concern in the president's annual message to Congress in December 1823 and new instructions for the American ministers in Great Britain, France, and Chile. In time, three crucial paragraphs in Monroe's message would be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Taken together, they asserted that the New World was closed to new colonization, that the European powers should not intervene in New World affairs, and that the United States would not interfere in European affairs. This bold stance was undercut by the reserve expressed in the instructions and other contemporary documents. Largely ignored in Europe, the message was well received within the United States and by the new Spanish American governments, some of whom hoped that it embodied the commitment to the success of their revolutions that they had expected from the United States years earlier. Monroe and Adams were quick to dispel this misconception.

### RELATIONS WITH THE NEW NATIONS

In 1825 President Adams and Secretary of State Clay seized a new opportunity to shape Latin America in the United States' image by accepting an invitation to the Panama Congress. First proposed by Bolívar, the Panama Congress would bring together all of the independent American governments in the summer of 1826. Adams and Clay hoped to secure multilateral agreements at Panama that would solidify republican government, liberal commerce, and diplomatic isolation throughout the hemisphere. Fierce domestic opposition to attendance at Panama foiled these hopes. Delayed by congressional attacks, the U.S. delegates missed the Congress, which accomplished very little in any case.

By the end of the 1820s, developments in Latin America—the emergence of military governments and the descent into recurrent warfare, in particular—had left American policymakers untroubled by and uninterested in the new states. Only the United States' immediate neighbors, Mexico and Cuba (which remained a Spanish colony), still captured its attention.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule; Latin American Influences; Monroe, James; Monroe Doctrine.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anna, Timothy E. *Spain and the Loss of America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Griffin, Charles Carroll. *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810–1822: A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and with the Rebel Spanish Colonies.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.

Johnson, John J. *A Hemisphere Apart: The Foundations of United States Policy toward Latin America.* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Lynch, John. *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826.* New York: Norton, 1973.

Whitaker, Arthur Preston. *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830.* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941.

*James E. Lewis Jr.*

# LAW

This entry consists of four separate articles: *Federal Law*, *Slavery Law*, *State Law and Common Law*, and *Women and the Law.*

## *Federal Law*

Federal law in the early national period was limited by both the U.S. Constitution and the perceptions of what politicians in the founding era thought should be federal law. At the time of the ratification of the Constitution, most Americans understood that the Constitution created a government of limited powers. Anti-Federalists feared the powers were not limited enough, while Federalists argued the government was properly limited. Shortly after the new government went into effect, James Madison proposed a series of constitutional amendments that became the Bill of Rights. These amendments further limited the power of the national government. Thus, in the early national period most congressional legislation was limited to the business of running the government. Rarely did Congress pass legislation that would today be seen as of a social nature. No one at the time envisioned an activist federal government

that could regulate vast aspects of American life. Economic policy was mostly limited to tariffs and expenditures, although some economic matters, such as protective tariffs, internal improvements, and the Bank of the United States, went beyond the simple business of government.

## THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT

With the Constitution ratified, the new government needed laws under which to operate. Most of the laws passed by Congress from 1789 until 1800 were about the business of government.

The first law Congress passed regulated "the time and manner of administering certain oaths." If the national government was to have officers and officials, they had to be properly sworn into their office. Three of the next four acts Congress passed involved collecting duties on imported goods and other forms of revenue collection. The government could not be run without money—and at last, for the first time since the Revolution began, the national government had the power to tax. Congress then set about creating a government, passing laws to establish the State Department, the War Department, the Treasury Department, and the courts. All together, during its first session in 1789, Congress passed twenty-five laws. All were housekeeping measures, tax laws, or acts to create government institutions. The most creative was the Judiciary Act of 1789, which set up an elaborate court system. The least innovative was the law that reenacted the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, making it applicable under the new Constitution and the new government.

Statutes passed in 1790 were similarly mundane, but also vital to the new nation. Congress passed a law to take the national census, "create a uniform rule of naturalization," establish a patent office, institute copyright regulation, regulate the army, and buy land to establish a fort at West Point. That year Congress also passed various laws to pay salaries of government officials. In addition, it adopted a rudimentary criminal code for those few areas where Congress could punish crimes. Most criminal law remained with the states at this time, but piracy, other crimes on the high seas, treason, counterfeiting, and forgery, as well as more mundane crimes committed on federal land, could be punished by the national government.

In 1791 Congress, at the request of the Washington administration, passed legislation to charter the first Bank of the United States. Representative James Madison believed the law was unconstitutional because Congress did not have authority, under the enumerated powers listed in Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, to charter a bank or any other company. A majority of Congress, however, accepted the rationale, set out by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, that Congress had implied powers to pass laws under the necessary and proper clause of Article I, section 8. This was the first important statute that did not deal with the mechanics and business of government, foreign policy, or trade. It represented an activist and creative use of the law by the federal government. It was also the most controversial act passed by the early Congress. Also controversial were laws to fund the debt and pay off all remaining state debts from the Revolution. In 1793 Congress passed a law to regulate fugitives from justice" and "fugitives from labour." Although not controversial at the time, the second part of this law, dealing with fugitive slaves, would ultimately become quite controversial. More controversial would be the Alien and Sedition Acts, passed in 1798, which attempted to suppress criticism of President John Adams. While clearly unconstitutional by modern standards, their unconstitutionality was less clear at the time. Politically, however, the Sedition Act was a mistake. When it expired in 1801, no one suggested renewing it.

Throughout the first decade under the Constitution, Congress was generally circumspect and cautious in its legislation. Most of the controversial legislation, such as the bill to create the Bank of the United States, was initiated by the executive branch. Federal law thus developed in response to political initiatives by the president.

## FEDERAL COMMON LAW

Beyond statutory law, however, was the question of common law. The United States had inherited its legal structures from Britain. While the Constitution limited the kinds of laws Congress could pass, it did not say anything about common law. Did the United States inherit the common law of England? If so, then federal law would include a huge body of private and public law that was not codified. Most of the state constitutions of this period declared that English common law, as it existed on 4 July 1776, was part of their law, except as modified by the state constitutions and statutes. The U.S. Constitution did not have such a provision. Did that mean that English common law was not part of federal law? There was no clear answer to this question at the founding.

Some Federalists, including Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and Associate Justices Bushrod Washington, James Iredell, and James Wilson, believed that

English common law was part of federal law. In the 1790s there were a number of federal prosecutions under common law. These included the prosecution of Gideon Henfield in 1793 for helping a French ship to capture a British vessel on the high seas, a prosecution of a diplomat from Genoa for extortion, a prosecution for an attempt to bribe a public official, prosecutions for counterfeiting currency issued by the Bank of the United States, and charges of sedition against publishers who criticized the U.S. government. Congress had not passed any statutes criminalizing these acts when they were committed, and thus the U.S. government brought these prosecutions under common law.

Jeffersonians opposed the idea of a common law of crimes. They believed that the Constitution did not merely limit the power to Congress to legislate, but also limited the power of the federal government to those laws that Congress could, and did, pass. As St. George Tucker noted in his American edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries* (5 vols., 1803), if the common law applied to the federal government, then the power of the national government would be "unlimited."

Despite this position, when Jefferson became president he had a new appreciation for using the common law as a political and legal tool. In 1798 Congress had passed the Sedition Act, which eliminated the need for common law prosecutions for the crime of criticizing the government. The law had been very unpopular, as the Adams administration used it to persecute the president's critics, who were Jefferson's supporters. The law expired by its own terms on 3 March 1801, the day before the new president took office. Shortly after his inauguration Jefferson pardoned all those convicted under the law, and Congress ultimately passed a law to remit their fines. Jefferson, however, soon discovered that he too did not like criticism. In 1806 the U.S. attorney in Connecticut instituted a common law sedition prosecution against various critics of the president, including two editors of the Connecticut *Courant*. The cases were delayed for a variety of reasons and did not reach the Supreme Court for six years. In *United States v. Hudson and Goodwin* (1812), the Court ruled that there was no federal common law and that all criminal prosecutions by the national government had to be under an existing statute.

### THE ECONOMY

The charter for the first Bank of the United States expired in 1811, and neither Congress nor the executive branch had any interest in extending it. James Madi-

son had opposed the bank in Congress in 1791, and as president he had no interest in continuing it. But the War of 1812 (1812–1815) changed Madison's mind, because during that conflict the government lacked a sound financial institution to help pay for it. In 1816 Congress, at Madison's urging, passed legislation to charter the Second Bank of the United States. Congress also passed a law, known as the Bonus Bill, to use excess federal revenues, including money that the United States received from profits of the Bank of the United States, to build roads and canals and to support other internal improvements. Madison vetoed this bill in 1817 on the grounds that it violated the Constitution. He urged that Congress propose a constitutional amendment allowing it to pass laws to fund internal improvements that were not directly related to lighthouses, post roads, and military fortifications.

Congress regulated foreign trade with tariffs and embargoes, but these had a direct effect only on coastal towns and shippers. An act of 1801 banned the African slave trade as of 1 January 1808, and laws of 1818 and 1819 further enforced the ban. This was both an economic act and a rare example of social legislation. So too was the Missouri Compromise (1820), which banned slavery in the territories north and west of the new slave state of Missouri. But social legislation was rare. Most legislation dealt with more mundane aspects of the government or the economy. In 1828 Congress passed a new tariff, which was soon called the Tariff of Abominations because it greatly increased import duties. This, along with the bank charters, was the most conspicuous example of federal activism in the early national period. The tariff led to the nullification crisis a few years later and was ultimately replaced with a less extreme tariff.

### DAILY LIFE

For most Americans in the early national period, the federal government was a distant entity and federal law had little impact on their lives. It was possible to spend an entire lifetime never encountering any federal official except the local postmaster. Federal law regulated some aspects of trade and commerce. Ship captains obtained coasting licenses, cleared ports, and entered them under the watchful eyes of federal customs officials, and they depended on federally funded lighthouses and other coastal installations and landmarks when they traveled. Merchants paid tariffs on imported goods and passed those costs on to consumers. Western settlers depended on federal law to organize the territories, create the first rudimentary

governments, and supervise the sale of federal land. Indeed, it was possible that western settlers would go years without encountering any representative of the federal government except the federal land agent. These settlers also expected the army to protect them from Indians, the British, and the Spanish. But these settlers rarely had to think much about the content of the laws that created the army, established forts, or paid the salaries of Indian agents. Rather, they were the beneficiaries of laws appropriating money to create and pay the army, but the settlers were not usually directly involved in the implementation of these laws. Even in wartime, as during the War of 1812, most soldiers served in their state militias, not the national army. War veterans and their widows depended on federal laws to fund their pensions, and special acts to grant pensions where records were uncertain or missing can be seen as one of the few forms of social legislation of the period. Federal law was so unimportant to the lives of most Americans that even residents of federal jurisdictions might be only marginally governed by federal law. The governments of the federal territories adopted laws from the existing states to regulate their young societies. The federal territories were not governed, on a day-to-day basis, by federal law. Similarly, the District of Columbia, created by Congress as the national capital, was not directly governed by acts of Congress. For the most part, Washington, D.C., merely adopted the laws of Maryland and Virginia.

A majority of Americans of the time probably agreed that it was best to leave most law making to local governments, which reflected the goals, desires, fears, prejudices, and even hatreds of themselves and their neighbors. A generation later a civil war and three constitutional amendments began to change the nature of federal law.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Bank of the United States; Constitutional Law; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Judiciary Act of 1789; Missouri Compromise; Patents and Copyrights; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Tariff Politics.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crosskey, William W. *Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States.* 3 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953–1980.

Levy, Leonard W. *Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Urofsky, Mel, and Paul Finkelman. *A March of Liberty: A Constitutional History of the United States.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

*Paul Finkelman*

## *Slavery Law*

Slavery was not recognized in English common law, but by the mid-eighteenth century, systems of slave law had been established through legislation and adjudication in each of Britain's North American colonies. Slave laws varied in each colony, but everywhere they supported slaveholders' property interests and the racial basis of slave society by denying the legal personality of the slave in civil cases and providing minimal protection for the humanity and due process rights not only of slaves but also free blacks.

In response to the great political, cultural, social, and ideological upheavals of the time, the law of slavery evolved throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The most important changes were in criminal law, manumission, the regulation of free blacks, and the determination of racial identity. Despite the Revolutionary rhetoric of liberty and equality, changes to the law did nothing to undermine slavery in the southern states, and even in the North, where gradual abolition commenced in the 1780s, the law continued to deprive free blacks of basic civil rights.

### CRIMINAL LAW

When slaves charged with felonies against person and property appeared before legal authorities, they were treated very differently from whites by a justice system that was swift, severe, and paid scant regard to legal due process. In Virginia, slaves were not entitled to trial by jury like whites, but instead were examined, judged, and sentenced by a panel of justices of the peace in what were termed courts of oyer and terminer. There were few checks on the magistrates' discretionary decision-making power and no provision for verdicts to be appealed to a higher court. Yet during the colonial period, similar trial systems in which slaves were tried by magistrates and freeholders were established in other colonies, including South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Pennsylvania.

Virginia retained its oyer and terminer system until 1865, and South Carolina and Louisiana did not abolish their slave courts until the late antebellum era. However, in other states, particularly in the

North and the Border South, there was a trend toward greater formalism in slave trials after the Revolution. Pennsylvania abolished special courts for slaves in 1780, and in the following decades Delaware, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky also provided for slaves charged with felonies to be tried by a jury and in the same courts as whites. Other states did not go so far in providing equal trial procedures for black and white felony defendants. Trial by jury was extended to slaves in Georgia in 1811; however, in contrast to white defendants who were tried in superior courts, slave trials took place in inferior courts until the 1850s. Meanwhile, a variation of the oyer and terminer system was established in Mississippi in the 1820s. In practice, the absence of common law due process in slave trials resulted in higher conviction rates for slaves than whites, although when slaves were tried in regular courts the proceedings were marked by a surprising degree of fairness, and appellate courts in particular often protected slaves' procedural rights.

The movement toward greater due process in slave trials was accompanied by changes in slave punishments. Although whipping and hanging remained commonplace, more extreme forms of physical punishment such as branding, maiming, castration, and burning at the stake gradually disappeared from the statute books in the early national period.

When slaves committed minor criminal offenses, they were usually punished informally and summarily by their owners, overseers, or slave patrols that policed slave conduct off the plantation. The functions of the patrols included searching for runaways and tracking stolen goods, and often they were empowered to enter both black and white properties without a warrant and to inflict summary punishment on slaves and free blacks. In southern cities, where many slaves lived and worked with a substantial degree of autonomy, the patrols were gradually replaced by municipal police forces in the nineteenth century. The specific content of municipal slave codes varied, but commonly urban slaves were prohibited from hiring themselves out, gathering together in groups, and moving about the city at night without a permit from their owner or employer. By the 1820s many cities held daily court sessions to ensure the rapid examination and punishment of slaves who flouted the municipal codes, but enforcement remained sporadic and did little to restrict slave autonomy. The public regulation of slaves also placed restrictions on whites who were required to serve on patrols and prohibited from selling liquor to slaves, aiding slave runaways, and marrying and engaging in sexual relationships with blacks, although this last prohibition was rarely enforced.

### CRIMINALIZING THE MURDER OF A SLAVE

In the colonial period, slaves had little legal protection from white violence, particularly when perpetrated by their owners. In Virginia and South Carolina, statutes protected slaveholders from prosecution for killing a slave through excessive punishment, and in the latter colony slave murder was not a capital offense when perpetrated by any free person. In other southern colonies the law regulating slave murder was uncertain or unclear. In practice, few slaveholders were ever prosecuted for slave homicide, although on rare occasions in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia, whites were executed for murdering another person's slave. In addition, slaveholders could sue for damages for nonfatal assaults perpetrated against their slaves.

From the late 1780s there was a gradual shift toward greater protection of slaves from white violence. In 1788 Virginia upgraded the killing of a slave during punishment from manslaughter to murder and most other southern states followed suit through legislation, constitutional provisions, or judge-made law by the early 1820s. However, in most states slaveholders remained exempt from prosecution if they killed a slave who had committed an act of resistance or insurrection, and it was rather nonslaveholding whites who were the primary target of the new legislation. Not only were nonslaveholders more often convicted for murdering slaves by the 1820s than they had been in the colonial era, they were also subject to criminal prosecution for nonfatal attacks on slaves. Rather than concern for slaves' humanity, therefore, these legal developments reflected the rising value of slave property and the growing threat to their slaves' life and labor that slaveholders perceived from nonslaveholding whites. Laws protecting slaves from murder or other harms, however, were limited by the fact that no slave or free black could ever testify against a white in the South.

### MANUMISSION

The law placed few restrictions on the master-slave relationship, but the right of private manumission was limited by legislation. In early-eighteenth-century Virginia and North Carolina, manumission could only occur as a reward for public service and had to be approved by the governor and council. Similarly, South Carolina only permitted manumission as a reward for slaves who killed or captured an

enemy "in time of alarms," and from 1722 slave-holders were required to provide means for freed slaves to leave the colony within twelve months of receiving their freedom. In 1735 the time allowed for departure from the colony was reduced to six months, and any former slave who returned within seven years could be reenslaved. Restrictions were also placed on manumission in some northern colonies. In Pennsylvania, for example, as in Virginia and Delaware, slaveholders had to post a bond for the good conduct of former slaves and to ensure that those who were unable or unwilling to work would not become a burden on the public purse. In Massachusetts, however, all blacks had the right to sue for their freedom.

After the Revolution, manumission laws were relaxed across the South. In Virginia, slaves under age forty-five could be granted their freedom by will or deed from 1782, and a similar policy was enacted in Delaware in 1787 and Maryland in 1790. However, as humanitarian and ideological concern with issues relating to African American liberty waned in the early nineteenth century, and as fear of the free black population increased at the same time, there was a renewed clampdown on manumission. In Virginia, for example, slaves freed after 1806 had to leave the state within twelve months on pain of reenslavement.

### EMANCIPATION IN THE NORTH

Laws were never passed specifically to establish slavery in the American colonies, but in the early national era the northern states used legal and constitutional means to bring about slavery's abolition. Vermont ended slavery by constitutional amendment in 1777, while in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, abolition proceeded gradually through judicial rulings and individual acts of manumission. In the mid-Atlantic states, legislation provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. In 1780 Pennsylvania passed an act for its gradual abolition, according to which all slaves born after 1 November 1780 would be freed on reaching the age of twenty-eight. Gradual emancipation laws were also introduced in Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, but in New York, where slavery was a more integral part of the economy, a similar law was not passed until 1799. The New York law stated that children born to slave parents had to serve their mother's owner until age twenty-five if female and twenty-eight if male. Children born under these conditions had to complete their period of service even after New York finally abolished slavery in 1827. The final northern state to legislate for gradual emancipation was New Jersey in 1804.

### LAWS REGULATING FREE BLACKS

In the colonial period, free blacks held an ambiguous legal status. In many cases they were treated as slaves, but at times they were entitled to the rights of white citizens, including in some colonies trial by jury and the right to vote. In the southern states, where slavery was most entrenched, the growth of the free black population after the Revolution led to even greater restrictions on free blacks' legal rights, civil liberties, and freedom of movement. By the 1790s, only in North Carolina and Tennessee were free blacks permitted to vote and hold public office, while free black felony convicts were subject to similar corporal punishments as slaves in all states except Virginia and Maryland, where they were imprisoned alongside whites in the penitentiary. Throughout the South, free blacks were required to register at the local courthouse and carry papers attesting to their liberty. Legislation also prohibited free blacks from entering the states of Virginia and South Carolina, and in many states free blacks could be sold into servitude for offenses including defaulting on their taxes, vagrancy, and harboring a runaway slave.

Another threat to free blacks' liberty was South Carolina's Negro Seaman's Act. Passed in 1822 in response to Denmark Vesey's rebellion, the act required free black seamen on board ships entering South Carolina's ports to be imprisoned until their vessel departed. If the ship's captain refused to pay the costs of imprisonment or to remove a seaman from the state, the seaman could be sold into slavery. Under pressure from Britain and the northern states, the provision for enslavement was replaced within a year with a requirement that black sailors leave the state, but this policy was reversed in 1835 and similar legislation regarding black seamen was enacted in other Deep South states in the 1830s and 1840s.

In the northern colonies, too, the legal rights of free blacks were less than those of whites. In Pennsylvania, free blacks were tried in the same special courts as slaves, could be sold into slavery for marrying a white person, and were subject to corporal punishment for a wider range of criminal offenses than whites. In addition, free black children born after 1726 could be bound out for service until age twenty-one for women and twenty-four for men. With the introduction of emancipation legislation in Pennsylvania in 1780, free African American defendants were accorded the same trial rights as whites, but they continued to be denied other legal privileges, including the right to vote. Free blacks' rights were more extensive in New England, where the black population was smaller and abolition was enacted more swiftly after the Revolution than in other

northern states. In Massachusetts, for example, the Declaration of Rights (1780) made all men eligible to vote and hold elective office irrespective of race.

### RACIAL IDENTITY

Although race was central to the law of slavery in all of the American colonies, there was little agreement on how race as a legal concept should be determined. In Virginia the law was vague and changed over time. In the colonial era, a person with one-eighth African ancestry was defined as a mulatto, a category legally indistinct from black. Subsequently, the degree of "black blood" that signified mulatto status was raised to one-quarter, implicitly expanding the definition of whiteness. Statutes defining race in terms of fractions of black blood were enacted in all southern states except Delaware, Georgia, and South Carolina, but nowhere was it made clear what evidence was required to prove an individual's racial identity. In practice, therefore, determining who was black and who was white was never a simple task, and although courts never failed to assign an individual to a particular racial category, the process by which they did so was often inconclusive and revealed the fallacy of a simple division between black and white on which the law of slavery was based. Since the laws on slavery and race overlapped imperfectly, and with slave status determined by the mother, a person could—at certain times and places—be both slave and white. As with all aspects of the law of slavery as they functioned in practice, therefore, the determination of race at the local level articulated tensions between slaveholders' interests and the law of slavery that were not evident in the law as it stood on the statute books.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Emancipation and Manumission; Slavery: Slave Patrols.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Finkelman, Paul. *The Law of Freedom and Bondage: A Casebook.* New York: Oceana, 1985.

Gross, Ariela J. "Litigating Whiteness: Trials of Racial Determination in the Nineteenth-Century South." *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1998): 109–188.

Higginbotham, A. Leon, Jr. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Morris, Thomas D. *Southern Slavery and the Law*, 1619–1860. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Schwarz, Philip J. *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia*, 1705–1865. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Waldrep, Christopher. *Roots of Disorder: Race and Criminal Justice in the American South*, 1817–1880. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

*James Campbell*

## *State Law and Common Law*

Americans of the Revolutionary generation approached the common law with the ambivalence inherent in the dual nature of the common law itself. In resisting British encroachments on their liberty, the colonists had claimed the common law as a source of liberties guaranteed to them as their birthright. The First Continental Congress had asserted Americans' entitlement to "the common law of England"; but when delegates met in Philadelphia thirteen years later to draft a federal constitution, they carefully avoided including the term in their final product. Those in 1774 had embraced the common law as a body of fundamental rights that existed above statute and royal prerogative, such as the right to a speedy trial and a trial by jury, to habeas corpus, or to be subject to no ex post facto laws. So understood, the common law allowed legal writers to import many "higher law" doctrines into practice and to oppose acts of the legislature or executive. Chancellor George Wythe of Virginia thus could declare void a state law discharging a private debt because the act was contrary to "unwritten or common law, that is, of the law of nature, called common law, because it is common to all mankind. . . . They are laws which men, who did not ordain them, have not power to abrogate." Indeed, states under the Articles of Confederation had set the common law against acts of the Confederation government, which they said were merely acts of an ordinary legislature.

At the same time, however, the common law was a body of unwritten law based on the steady accretion of procedures and definitions used by common law courts, and based on the ancient system of writs, commissions, and trial process. Such practices had developed over time in England, shaped by a discretionary judicial methodology that applied old principles to new cases and maintained the spirit of the common law by retaining its reasoning and rules. In this way, each colony's courts had developed and followed their own usages and their own ways of interpreting and applying age-old principles and procedures. Each colony thus had developed its own variant forms, creating its own common law alongside its particular statutory law.

The common law was a reliable source of law for new state courts at the crucial moment of rejection of British sovereignty. State legislatures knew that it would "take a considerable time to compile a body of laws suited to the circumstances of the country," declared the Virginia assembly in 1776 when it adopted the common law, "and it is necessary to provide some method of preserving peace and security in the mean time." To James Madison, the common law provided continuity and stood as a barrier against the idea "that the separation from G[reat] Britain threw us into a State of nature, and abolished all civil rights and obligations." Even so, as the newly independent states set about revising their legal systems, they recognized that the common law had to be purged of "what was inapplicable or unsuitable to us," as Thomas Jefferson described the process undertaken in Virginia in 1776. It was for this reason that the Constitutional Convention would not include the term "common law" in the new federal Constitution. As James Madison explained to George Washington, "if they had in general terms declared the Common law to be in force, they would have broken in upon the legal Code of every State in the most material points: they would have done more, they would have brought over from G[reat] B[ritain] a thousand heterogeneous and antirepublican doctrines, and even the *ecclesiastical Hierarchy itself*, for that is part of the common law." The states acted with the same caution.

Wary of the antirepublican influences in England's common law, therefore, only nine states expressly adopted the common law, either by statute or constitutional provision. The new states chose selectively from among the fundamental guarantees of the common law (such as criminal trial by jury) and from the writs, commissions, and procedures of its courts. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780, for example, avoided the term "common law" when it retained those "laws which have heretofore been adopted, used and approved in the province, Colony or State of Massachusetts Bay, and usually practiced on in the Courts of law." Others, such as New York and Pennsylvania, limited their reception of the common law to what had been adopted already. Virginia in 1776 included the common law among those laws declared to "be the rule of decision, and . . . in full force, until the same shall be altered by the legislative power," but all were to "consist with" rules, decisions, and resolutions already made by the Revolutionary convention.

As state law reformers undertook to revise their legal systems, they found in the common law many of the basic principles and procedures needed to make Americans a "people free, contented and united" under law and a terminology with settled meanings that would ensure consistency. How to separate these useful elements from their antirepublican features, and to make them "consist with" Revolutionary goals, was the reformers' challenge. Jefferson, who distrusted common law methods of adjudication that gave great authority to unelected judges in interpreting the law, was a member of a committee that considered a plan in 1776 to "reduce the common law, our own, and so much of the English statutes as we have adopted, to a text," or code. The group decided against the idea, recognizing that new terminology would only lead to more uncertainty and possibly the very ills they were trying to eradicate. A comprehensive new code, he wrote, would "have retained the same chaos of law lore from which we wished to be emancipated, added to the evils of the uncertainty which a new text and new phrases would have generated." Instead, the committee worked three years to produce a preliminary list of suggested bills, only a portion of which were enacted. Not until 1785, nine years after beginning its work, did it make a complete report, but only a third of its proposed laws were accepted. In doing so the legislature made some major revisions of particular common law rules (such as abolishing primogeniture and entail), but the force of tradition, the needs of continuity, and the association of the common law with fundamental rights had conferred on the common law a staying power there as in other states.

Despite the torrent of post-Revolutionary legislation and the absence of any uniformly explicit reception of the common law by the states, the common law remained a powerful force in state law. The system of common law adjudication, so distrusted by many, actually allowed judges to adapt the common law to the new needs of the new states. When Jesse Root of Connecticut wrote the introduction to his state's law reports in 1798, he pointed to judicial decision making as a way of "forming a system of jurisprudence congenial to the spirit of our own government." Root was referring to Connecticut's own government, just as the Virginia assembly in 1776 was referring to itself when it spoke of "the circumstances of the country" as the guide for lawmaking. Through case law made in state courts, the common law was reformed and given new meaning and legitimacy. The publication of such case law in law reports, moreover, made these decisions accessible to a wider public and diminished the sense of mystery once attached to the work of judges. Although state

judges were hesitant about citing English common law in their decisions, its presence was evident. Congress, in fact, recognized the legitimacy and utility of state common law in the Judiciary Act of 1789, which made the "laws of the several states"—including the common law—the rules for decision in civil cases.

State common law thus weathered its first challenges in the new nation, but new challenges appeared in the 1800s. The common law was criticized for its alleged obscurity, foreignness, technicality, and slowness, all protected by an elitist judicial establishment said to stand against popular change. Many legal reformers in the first decades of the nineteenth century thus revived the demand for a comprehensive system of codification. Despite—or because of—these calls, defenders of the common law absorbed these criticisms and adjusted to many of them through statutory revision, pleading reform, and decisional rule making, and made the common law accessible through treatises and law reports. As their predecessors had done in the past, common law judges were able to respond to opponents by recasting doctrines while maintaining that they were only finding and extracting principles from the past. The abolition of common law writs in pleading by many states before the Civil War did not change the substance of state common law, which survived to offer the states not only a guide for conducting their legal systems, but for protecting them against incursion by the federal government.

*See also* **Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Legal Culture; Liberty.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, Willi Paul. *The First American Constitutions: Republican Ideology and the Making of the State Constitutions in the Revolutionary Era.* Expanded ed. Translated by Rita Kimber and Robert Kimber. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Cook, Charles M. *The American Codification Movement: A Study of Antebellum Legal Reform.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981.

Finkelman, Paul, and Stephen E. Gottlieb, eds. *Toward a Usable Past: Liberty under State Constitutions.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991.

Marcus, Maeva, ed. *Origins of the Federal Judiciary: Essays on the Judiciary Act of 1789.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Miller, F. Thornton. *Juries and Judges versus the Law: Virginia's Provincial Legal Perspective, 1783–1828.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Miller, Perry. *The Life of the Mind in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1965.

*David Konig*

## Women and the Law

In the Revolutionary era, Americans prided themselves on their superiority to "barbaric" nations in which women were little better than slaves. "Matrimony, among savages," Americans told themselves, had "no object but propagation and slavery" and hence "is a very humbling state for the female sex" ("The Influence of the Female," pp. 153–154). Indeed, the enviable position of women in the new nation was one of the markers of the Revolution's triumphs, they believed, an indication of American moral and political superiority.

This admiration for women brought into question women's historic legal disabilities. Under English common law, when a man and woman married they became legally one person—the husband. Americans learned this formulation from the *Commentaries* of English jurist William Blackstone (1723–1780), the first American edition of which in 1771 sold out quickly and remained influential well into the nineteenth century. As Blackstone put it, "The very being of legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs everything; and is therefore called . . . a *feme covert.*" The principle of coverture, as it was called, shaped not only the law of marriage and domestic relations, but also that of property, business, and even criminal law. With few exceptions, a married woman had no legal existence apart from her husband's.

Such restrictions on female agency fit badly with Revolutionary notions of equality, not to mention sentimental ones of women's moral worth. Yet changes in the law came slowly, and the federal nature of the new government, which left all domestic law, as well as most property and criminal law, to the states, meant that change was piecemeal as well. Changes in one state were not binding on other states, nor did state laws fall into conformity. With a few exceptions, dramatic changes in women's legal status did not come until the middle of the nineteenth century, although their way was paved by more modest achievements—and retarded by other contradictions in both precept and practice—earlier in the century.

## WOMEN AND THE CONSTITUTION

Although the Constitution nowhere mentions women explicitly, records of the debates in the Constitutional Convention make it clear that women were to be included when congressional representatives were apportioned and hence that women, even though they could not vote or hold office, were to be represented by the new government. Likewise, the First Amendment rights, such as freedom of religion, assembly, speech, and trial by jury, all applied to (free) women. At the same time, as the scholar Linda K. Kerber has shown, women were not allowed to perform the duties of citizenship, not only (with the exception of New Jersey) voting and holding office, but also serving in the militia or on juries. Moreover, judicial pronouncements on female citizenship in this period, particularly for married women, were anything but consistent.

## COVERTURE AND CITIZENSHIP

The principle of coverture, which subsumed a married woman's legal identity in that of her husband, came into direct conflict with Revolutionary ideals of individual accountability in several cases in which questions of property were caught up in discussions about women's competing obligations to their husbands and the state. In the 1805 case of *Martin v. Massachusetts*, James Martin, the son of Loyalist parents who had fled the country after the Revolution, sued to recover the confiscated property of his deceased mother. The case turned on whether Anna Martin had had any choice but to follow her Loyalist husband. The states generally recognized that both women and men could commit both treason and misprision of treason (concealing an enemy plot), and Massachusetts law expressly mentioned males and females both. Applying the contract theory of government, the state argued that its confiscation statute implicitly included women, for "surely a *feme-covert* can be an inhabitant in every sense of the word. Who are the members of the body-politic? Are not all the *citizens*, members; infants, idiots, insane, or whatever may be their *relative* situations in society?" James Martin's lawyer countered that "a *feme covert* is not a member; has no *political* relation to the *state* any more than an alien." The court agreed, refusing to penalize Anna Martin (or her son) "because she did not, in violation of her marriage vows, rebel against the will of her husband." The principle of coverture remained intact, although it is perhaps as important that it faced a serious, if unsuccessful, challenge from a more liberal vision of women's relationship to the state.

Twenty-five years later, in *Shanks v. Dupont*, the Supreme Court backed off so confining a notion of coverture. Once again the issue was one of property, in this case, who was to inherit the property of Ann Scott Shanks, an American woman who had married a British officer during the Revolution and returned with him to England at the war's end. The logic of *Martin* would have suggested that as a married woman she could not choose her own national allegiance, but here the Supreme Court, on relatively narrow grounds, disagreed. It distinguished between the "incapacities" of married women that "apply to their civil rights, and are for their protection and interest" and married "political rights, [which] . . . stand upon the general principles of the laws of nations." This was a limited concession to women's citizenship, and one with little practical implication, but it was a concession nonetheless.

## MARRIAGE

It was in the area of marriage and divorce that liberal ideas about contract and sentimental ones about the family had the greatest impact on the law. Marriage became much easier to enter and somewhat easier to exit. Early modern law had placed a number of hurdles in front of couples who wanted to marry in order to prevent fraudulent marriages, for fraudulent marriages interfered with the orderly transmission of property within families—at the time, one of the chief purposes of marriage. The law increasingly defined marriage as a private contract between two consenting individuals and diminished the state's role in regulating who could marry and how. In order to make a marriage valid, "the consent of the parties is all that is required," wrote the influential legal commentator James Kent in 1826. States even recognized common law marriage; the key case was *Fenton v. Reed* in New York (1809). The sentiment was in favor of marriages, even those entered into irregularly or informally. As the historian Michael Grossberg has noted, the law increasingly set aside the family as a separate legal sphere, one outside the state and, ideally, free from the state's intervention. As a consequence, the law was reluctant to intrude into families.

Still, changing attitudes ran ahead of legal practices, and both the prescriptive literature and legal treatises began to criticize domestic violence. Blackstone had said that a man could legally chastise his wife (as well as other members of his household), although he criticized domestic violence as a practice only of "the lower rank of people." By the early nineteenth century, legal commentator Tapping Reeve

had doubts about the applicability of this doctrine in the United States; he thought that "the right of chastising a wife is not claimed by any man; neither is any such right recognized by law." Nonetheless, courts routinely ruled in favor of wife-beaters, and it was not until at least the middle of the century that the practice met with significant opposition.

One arguable exception to the law's laissez-faire approach to marriage concerns breach of promise, although, to be sure, it regulated only the entrance into the institution. In line with the contractual view of marriage, courts proved increasingly willing in the post-Revolutionary era to let jilted lovers sue for breach of promise. Almost without exception, however, this was a woman's action, for "a deserted female" would find "her prospects in life . . . materially altered by the treachery of the man to whom she had plighted her vows" (Grossberg, p. 36). Not until mid-century, however, were courts generally willing to award additional damages for seduction. Until then the law tended to treat men and women as relative equals when contracting to marry, the era's pervasive gender inequality notwithstanding.

### DIVORCE

Before the Revolution only the New England colonies granted divorce, with Connecticut granting one thousand divorce petitions before 1789, primarily for desertion or adultery. In the other colonies separations could be obtained through colonial courts but divorce only by petitioning Parliament. However, in 1773 the Privy Council determined that subsequently "Acts of Divorce in the Plantations" would be "either Improper or Unconstitutional." In the face of so restrictive a legal regime, countless men and women engaged in self-divorce and pseudo-remarriage, and when no property was at stake, the law looked the other way.

After the Revolution most states hurried to bring order to this messy situation. By 1800 divorce was legal in twelve states and the Northwest Territory. This rapid transformation in the law is all the more remarkable when compared to the slow pace of change in Britain, where between 1670 and 1857 only 325 divorces were granted, just four of which went to women. In the United States, federalism meant that each state established its own grounds, ranging from New York, which permitted it only for adultery, to Indiana, whose grounds were so expansive that it became the divorce mill of the day. Only South Carolina denied divorce altogether. With so much variety, there was a certain amount of migratory divorce—moving to another state temporarily

for more lenient grounds—and tailoring the "facts" to meet the grounds. Scholars debate the extent to which post-Revolutionary divorce was a woman's remedy. In the most common scenario, a woman went to court to bring closure to a marriage already effectively terminated by her husband's decampment. Rarely did she receive alimony. Yet divorce proceedings allowed women to enter court to assert their identity and to bring order to their lives.

### PROPERTY AND ESTATES

In the realm of property and estates, significant change would not occur until the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Following the principle of coverture and common-law practices adopted in the colonies, when a woman married she lost all control of her property. The principle of coverture dictated as well that a married woman could not enter into contracts or conduct any business except as her husband's agent. She could not sue or be sued, nor could she dispose of her realty without her husband's consent. Although there were some variations from colony to colony, in general there were only two major limitations on the husband's right to control his wife's property. The first, a reciprocal obligation on the husband insured that if he died first, his widow would inherit a life-interest in, typically, one-third of his estate (which, after her death, would pass to his heirs). This was the widow's "dower" right, and even during the marriage, her husband could not dispose of this property without her consent.

The other big exception was the wife's "separate estate." From the late sixteenth century on, English law had provisions for setting up a trust for a woman before, or even during, her marriage, which preserved the property for the woman and kept it out of the hands of her husband or his creditors. Such separate estates were typically created for wealthy women by their fathers, and they preserved a woman's connection to her family of origin. Perhaps only 1 or 2 percent of married couples made use of them, although there was some increase during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Legal change after the Revolution brought some limited gains for women. The abolition of primogeniture and the double-share of the inheritance for the eldest son worked to women's advantage. In some states married women gained expanded rights to enter into business, and in 1808 married women in Connecticut secured the right to bequeath real estate. But there were setbacks as well, making for a complex and contradictory picture. In 1804, in *Dibble v. Hutton*, a Connecticut court refused to recognize a

contract between a man and his wife. If husband and wife were "considered as one person in law . . . the . . . husband and wife cannot contract with each other." Although some scholars see an erosion of women's dower rights and hence their economic power in post–Revolutionary decades, others note that women's share of the national wealth remained essentially unchanged. In this period social and legal opinions about women's property rights were unsettled. Equity could seem either an aristocratic relic or a means to protect women and hence the family from dissolute husbands. Women's property rights might appear to set wife and husband against each other, by giving them separate interests, or they might seem a way to preserve part of the family's wealth in a tumultuous economy. Not until the middle of the century would law and society begin to sort these contradictory views out and craft out of them married women's property acts that were consistent with emerging patterns in the economy and family.

*See also* **Citizenship; Constitutional Law; Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Marriage; Property; Widowhood; Women: Overview; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Political Participation; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Basch, Norma. *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.

———. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Grossberg, Michael. *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

"The Influence of the Female Sex on the Enjoyments of Social Life." *The Columbian Magazine* (March 1790): 153–154.

Kerber, Linda K. *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.

Salmon, Marylynn. *Women and the Law of Property in Early America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Shammas, Carole. "Re-Assessing the Married Women's Property Acts." *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994): 9–30.

Siegel, Reva B. "'The Rule of Love': Wife Beating as Prerogative and Privacy." *Yale Law Journal* 105 (1996): 2117–2206.

VanBurkleo, Sandra F. *"Belonging to the World": Women's Rights and American Constitutional Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

*Norma Basch*
*Jan Ellen Lewis*

**LEATHER AND TANNING INDUSTRY** The leather and tanning industry began in the American colonies as a local industry for personal and local consumption. The tanners used local hides, local tanning bark, and hand techniques essentially the same as those used for centuries. Pioneer settlers tanned hides as just one of many tasks needed on the farms. As communities grew, a tanner who focused solely on tanning began to take farm goods in exchange for tanning or took half of the tanned leather from hides that a farmer brought to him.

Virtually every town in the colonies had a tannery. American settlements needed leather for shoes, boots, aprons, clothes, and more. Eventually, the demand for leather expanded beyond immediate local needs to include transportation (horse saddles and bridles, ships' rigging), communication (book bindings), and industry (cards for carding machines in the textile industry and belts for machinery). The leather and tanning industry developed rapidly in the middle and northern colonies, particularly Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The colonial legislatures promoted the industry through legislation. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many colonies passed laws forbidding the export of hides to promote local tanning and the production of finished products. Some colonies followed these prohibitions with export duties on raw hides.

The development of the U.S. industry benefited from the availability of large quantities of tanning bark and cattle hides. However, the abundant use of cattle hides may have also impeded further development. Cattle hides could take over a year to properly tan (unlike sheepskins and goatskins). This long time hindered development toward larger tanning establishments and mechanization.

As the industrial revolution and mechanization came to the United States in the early nineteenth century, the leather and tanning industry did not experience much change. Tanners, it turned out, were slower to use power-driven machinery than other artisans. However, the machines used in those other

industries often used leather as belting in the machines.

No radical change in tanning methods occurred in the early nineteenth century. Inventors patented machines and improvements in cleaning and treating hides, and a few large tanneries used machinery. However, the majority of tanners continued to use the age-old methods. Most of the proposed methods and machines were neither labor saving nor time saving for the average tanner. Part of the problem remained the lack of a scientific understanding of tanning on the part of local tanners.

In two areas, however, some of the industry adopted minimal mechanical improvements. Machines to "split" a hide divided a skin into two layers, grain and flesh. The grain is the outside skin with the hair follicles. The flesh is the inner layer with no grain marking. This process produced leather of a practically uniform thickness and of high quality. However, local tanneries could not afford these machines, and some began to sell their rough product to the few larger tanneries for finishing. Larger firms also began to use bark mills for grinding the tanning bark, although many of them remained horse-powered rather than steam-powered well into the nineteenth century. The number of small tanneries continued to grow and to far outnumber the large ones.

The few large tanneries appeared in the middle states, particularly New Jersey and New York, and this region became a center of the industry. New York City merchants devised new business strategies, such as contract tanning. The merchant provided financing to the tanner as well as negotiating services for the purchase of raw materials and the marketing of finished goods. The tanner paid fees, commissions, interest, and profits to the merchant. With this arrangement the merchants began to dominate the tanners, many of whom eventually became little more than skilled craftsmen or technicians in the employ of the merchants. The industry began a slow shift from sole proprietorships to partnerships and eventually corporations. The merchant provided financing to the tanner as well as negotiating services for the purchase of raw materials and the marketing of finished goods. The tanner paid fees, commissions, interest, and profits to the merchant. With this arrangement the merchants began to dominate the tanners, many of whom eventually became little more than skilled craftsmen or technicians in the employ of the merchants.

The involvement of the merchants also brought an international dimension to what had been a local and domestic industry. Around 1825 the larger tanneries shifted away from using domestic hides as the merchants contracted for shipments of hides from South America. The first half of the nineteenth century also brought efforts to improve the quality of U.S. leather, which became more competitive on international markets.

In 1830 the leather and tanning industry was one of the four leading industries in the United States. Cattle hides remained the major source of leather. Most towns continued to have a tannery, but larger establishments grew in number. Developments after the Civil War, including the discovery of ways to address the long time required for tanning, resulted in a permanent shift from many local tanneries to large centralized tanning companies by the 1890s. In 1860 the nation had about 7,500 leather and tanning firms. By 1914 the number had been reduced to 750.

*See also* **Industrial Revolution.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ellsworth, Lucius F. "Craft to National Industry in the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of the Transformation of the New York State Tanning Industry." *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 399–402.

Weiss, Harry B., and Grace M. Weiss. *Early Tanning and Currying in New Jersey.* Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1959.

Welsh, Peter C. *Tanning in the United States to 1850: A Brief History.* Washington, D.C.: Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, 1964.

*Linda Eikmeier Endersby*

**LEGAL CULTURE**   The transition from colonial to national status had, at least initially, little effect on American legal culture. The American bar at the time of the Revolution was relatively small and much dependent on its English brethren both for legal precedent and for legal texts. Although the Revolution brought about significant changes to the status of English precedent, it did little to change the intellectual life of the bar.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, American lawyers did not occupy a place in the intellectual hierarchy equal to that of the clergy. There were no domestic law schools until the second decade of the nineteenth century, and there were few lawyers in the United States who could claim to be "learned" in the same manner as their ecclesiastical

friends. American law publishing was very much in its infancy, and for the most part books that were published in the United States were published by local printers and tended to be practice manuals and the occasional text on local law. Even well into the first half of the nineteenth century, the American law book market was dominated by reprints of English legal texts as well as by imported English legal treatises. Most American states began early programs to publish state statutes, but few analytic treatises on these statutes were published to accompany them. Indeed, until the reformation of the U.S. postal system in the 1830s, lawyers outside major eastern or southern cities were hard pressed to obtain law books at reasonable prices.

Although native legal culture, narrowly defined, was not highly sophisticated in the new nation, it would be unfair to say that all lawyers themselves during this period were uncultured. Indeed, many lawyers, particularly in cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, were highly cultivated men who took part in the intellectual life of the day. Diaries of these lawyers show frequent entries for purchase of subscriptions to lecture series and concerts. Lawyers were among the most stalwart of public speakers on holidays and at civic events. A number of lawyers maintained substantial libraries of nonlegal materials. Indeed, by the early nineteenth century lawyers had made strides toward achieving their goal of being considered a learned class.

A few examples are helpful. Daniel Webster, of course, was one of the most noted—and erudite—public orators of his day. The printed versions of his lectures, speeches, and courtroom arguments are filled with references to classical literature. His library was large and its holdings of literary works substantial. Rufus Choate amassed one of the greatest classical libraries of his day, superior even to those owned by most American colleges. Theophilus Parsons, Sr., who became chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, was noted not only as a lawyer and judge but as a scientist. He contributed a section on the calculation of astronomical orbits to a standard work on celestial navigation and designed an improvement for cooking stoves.

In the literary realm many antebellum lawyers were renowned for their achievements. Justice Joseph Story wrote poetry throughout his life, as did a number of other prominent lawyers of his time. Indeed, a significant number of the poets whose works are excerpted in Rufus Griswold's *The Poets and Poetry of America* (1845), one of the first anthologies of American poetry, were lawyers by training or trade.

Indeed, legal prose was considered by many critics to be a literary genre, as witnessed by the inclusion of the legal writing of men such as Story in Griswold's *The Prose Writers of America* (1847).

Although a native American legal literature was slow to develop in the period immediately after the Revolution, by the beginning of the nineteenth century this had changed. A number of jurists of this generation began to emerge as legal treatise authors of a level equal to or exceeding that of the English. Chancellor James Kent of New York revolutionized American legal writing with the publication of his *Commentaries on American Law* (1826–1830). With its publication Kent earned the sobriquet "the American Blackstone." St. George Tucker, a Virginia jurist, became known as the "Virginia Blackstone" for his annotated edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries.* Justice Story not only served as a justice of the United States Supreme Court and, from 1829, as the Dane Professor of Law at Harvard, but also edited and authored a series of treatises on subjects such as constitutional law, equity, bailments, agency, and conflicts of law. These were admired not only in the United States but in Britain and throughout Europe both for their scholarship and their wide-ranging knowledge of common and civil law. Other less prominent authors also made major contributions to American legal literature. Nathan Dane's *General Abridgement and Digest of American Law* (1823) helped to rationalize American case law and produced enough profit to endow Story's chair.

Along with the growth of a native legal literature, American legal culture also benefited from the founding of several law schools. Although several eighteenth-century universities such as the College of William and Mary and the University of Pennsylvania had law departments or law professors, it was only in the early nineteenth century that fully developed, university-affiliated law schools were founded, beginning with the Dane Law College at Harvard in 1817. The establishment of these law schools meant that future lawyers could have a period of time in which to learn law systematically as a "science." They also provided an environment in which men like Story and Simon Greenleaf at Harvard and George Robertson and Daniel Mayes at Transylvania would have the time and resources to devote to treatise writing. The University of Virginia also had a strong law program at an early date. The Litchfield Law School, a judge-run law school in Connecticut also trained a number of prominent lawyers of the antebellum period.

As a result of these various early developments, American legal culture obtained a high degree of sophistication by the time of the Civil War. In effect, American law went from being a colonial backwater to an internationally recognized leader in legal thought within only three generations. By the early 1840s, when the British Parliament held an inquiry into the state of legal education and legal learning in Britain, American legal culture had come so far that Story and James Kent were asked to testify about American law schools so that they could serve as a model for British reform efforts.

*See also* **Law: Federal Law; Law: State Law and Common Law; Professions: Lawyers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cohen, Morris L. *Bibliography of Early American Law.* Buffalo, NY: W. S. Hein & Co., 1998.

Ferguson, Robert. *Law and Letters in American Culture.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Hoeflich, M. H. *Roman and Civil Law and the Development of Anglo-American Jurisprudence in the Nineteenth Century.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Miller, Perry. *The Life of the Mind in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1965.

*Michael Hoeflich*

**LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION**   On 18 January 1803, President Thomas Jefferson delivered a secret message to both houses of Congress. "As the continuance of the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes will be under the consideration of the Legislature," he advised, "I think it my duty to communicate the views which have guided me in the execution of that act." Jefferson complained that Indian tribes increasingly grew "uneasy at the constant dimunition of the territory they occupy" and that they refused "all further sale, on any conditions." To peaceably "counteract this policy of theirs," Jefferson wrote, "and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for, two measures are deemed expedient." First, he advised Congress to "encourage them [the Indians] to abandon hunting" and to take up the plow "and thereby prove to themselves that less land and labor will maintain them." Second, toward this end he urged Congress "to multiply trading houses among them, and place within their reach those things which will contribute more to their domestic comfort, than the possession of extensive, but uncultivated wilds." The government should operate these trading posts to "undersell private traders, foreign and domestic."

Later that year Jefferson revealed his full intentions when he instructed William Henry Harrison, territorial governor of Indiana, to "push our trading uses" upon the Indians, "because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals [Indians] can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands." In the secret message of January, Jefferson revealed even larger aims when he suggested this policy for "the river Missouri, and the Indians inhabiting it" since it afforded "a moderate climate, offering, according to the best accounts, a continued navigation from its source, and possibly with a single portage from the Western Ocean . . . to the Atlantic." He requested that twenty-five hundred dollars be appropriated "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States" by sending a military expedition to "explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders . . . agree on convenient deposits for the interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired, in the course of two summers." This was all part of Jefferson's plan to make the United States into an "Empire of Liberty." Indians would be acculturated to white ways and together with whites would secure the property necessary for republican citizenship. He planned imperialism through absorption rather than colonization, ending in citizenship instead of subjection.

Three months after the January message, Jefferson shocked Congress with the Louisiana Purchase from France, doubling the size of the nation with the acquisition of the entire Missouri River watershed for pennies an acre. Indians could now "lop off their debts" by selling land in the territories between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River; then they would move to Louisiana, where government traders and missionaries would have the time to inure the natives to white ways and ideas while facilitating America's international commerce via a transcontinental water route.

Meanwhile, Jefferson's plan for an exploration party called the Corps of Discovery was already well under way. He had chosen his personal secretary, a fellow Virginian and veteran soldier Meriwether Lewis, to lead the expedition. Captain Lewis chose William Clark as his "co-Captain," and together they led more than thirty soldiers, a French interpreter and his teenage Shoshone wife, Sacagawea (a guide),
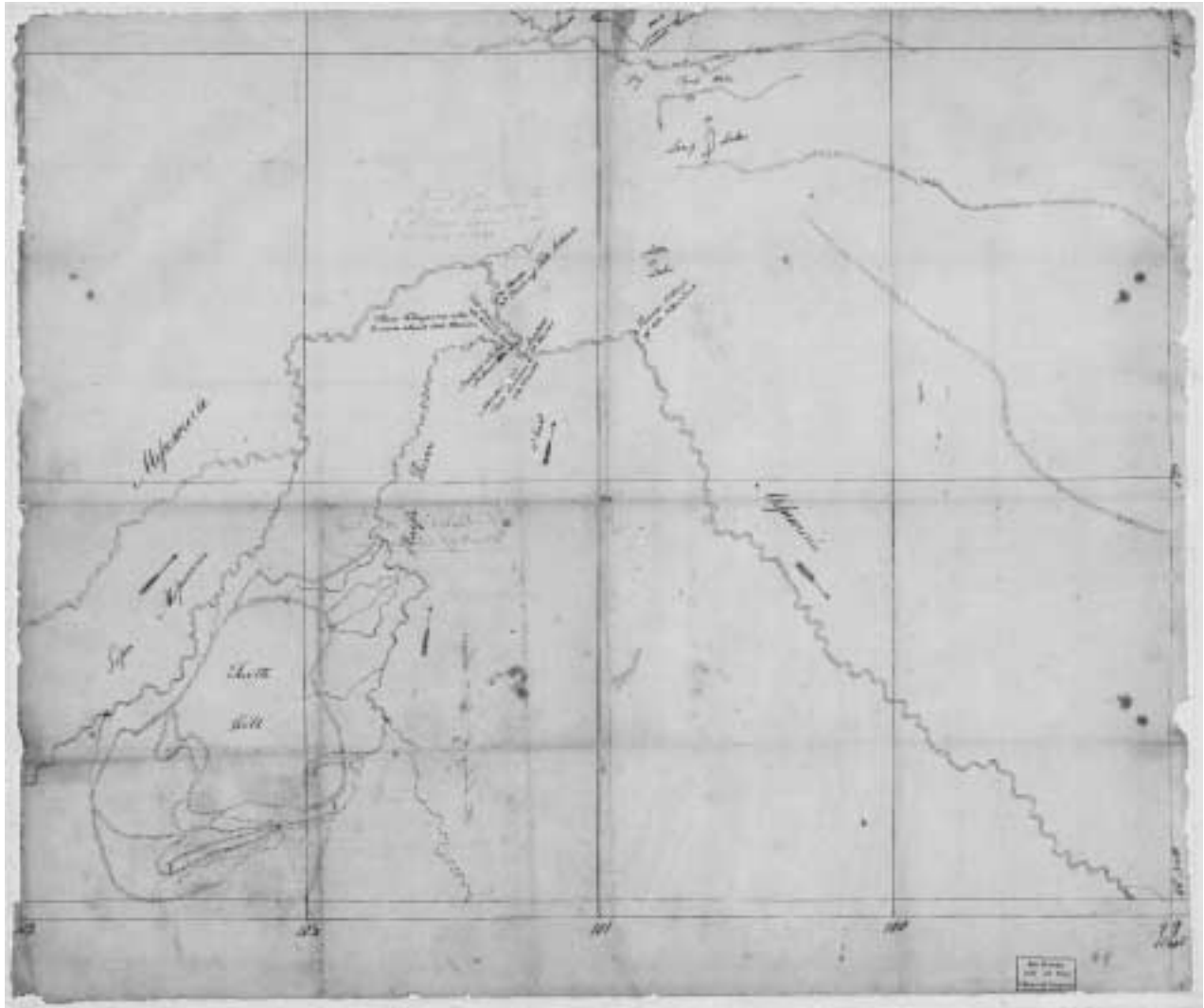
**The Missouri River.** Before embarking on their expedition, Lewis and Clark collected the best cartographical information available at the time. This map of the midsection of the Missouri River in North Dakota was transcribed by Lewis from a map drawn by Canadian cartographer and explorer David Thompson in 1798. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION.

and Clark's black slave, York, in an expedition along the Missouri and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific and back between 1803 and 1806. They pursued Jefferson's instructions of 20 June 1803 to "explore the Missouri . . . for the purposes of commerce" while taking "observations of latitude & longitude, at all remarkable points on the river." They were to gather knowledge of all the Indian tribes along the way, as "the commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue, renders a knowledge of those people important." Jefferson also instructed them to collect knowledge of the flora and fauna, to explore the Missouri's tributaries and the land they drained, to treat the natives "in the most friendly and conciliatory manner" to convince them to sign peace treaties with their enemies and with the

United States, and finally to report on the feasibility of the fur trade at the Pacific. The president charged Lewis with recording all of this information in a journal to be published at the mission's conclusion.

The Corps of Discovery failed to find an all-water route to the Pacific. The explorers also failed at conciliatory diplomacy among the Indians. The Lakota never made peace with their Mandan or Arikara neighbors, and the U.S. Army would war with them for the rest of the century, eventually subjugating and herding them onto reservations. The Corps did succeed in coming home alive, with only one exception. It also brought back valuable maps; discovered new species of animals and plants, such as prairie dogs, the white-rumped shrike, and "prickly-pears";

and obtained valuable information about the richness of the land and Indian ethnography. But here too it actually failed. Lewis never published his journals. He committed suicide a few years after returning, and the journals remained unpublished and in unusable form for almost a century. This failed expedition cost the nation's taxpayers $38,722.25, more than fifteen times the original congressional allocation. The Corps of Discovery did succeed in capturing the imagination of the American people, who eagerly read reports in newspapers and awaited the explorers' return. They feted Lewis and Clark with balls and toasts in 1806 as trappers, traders, and settlers rushed up the Missouri River, settling the territory, clashing with Indians, and gradually dispossessing them of their hunting grounds and homes. Instead of using absorption methods, the U.S. Army and state militias conquered and colonized the West. For the Indians, the Lewis and Clark Expedition foreshadowed old-fashioned imperialism, not an "Empire of Liberty."

*See also* **Louisiana Purchase; American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indian Removal; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Barth, Gunther, ed. *The Lewis and Clark Expedition: Selections from the Journals, Arranged by Topic.* Boston: Bedford, 1998.

DeVoto, Bernard, ed. *The Journals of Lewis and Clark.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

Ronda, James P. *Lewis and Clark among the Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

*Paul Douglas Newman*

**LEXINGTON**   Since its founding in 1779, Lexington has been one of Kentucky's major urban areas. Surveyors working along South Elkhorn Creek identified the site for a town in the spring of 1775. Tradition states that upon learning of the American victory in April of that year over the British at Lexington, Massachusetts, they vowed to return and establish a town named in honor of that historic battle of the American Revolution. Four years later Robert Patterson, who had been one of the surveyors, led a party of settlers from nearby Harrodsburg to the site and founded Lexington. Once the Revolutionary War and significant Indian hostilities came to an end, town leaders set about improving the town. Located in the heart of Kentucky's Bluegrass region and being its population center, Lexington thrived as a major intersection for roads through the state and was its fastest-growing town. When Fayette County was formed in 1780, Lexington was named its seat. Although Lexington was not selected as Kentucky's capital, the first state legislature assembled in the town during June 1792. By 1800 Lexington had become Kentucky's major urban center, boasting fine homes and estates, manufacturing and mercantile businesses, a university, a newspaper, and cultural attractions.

The combination of population, economic growth, and cultural and educational attainment resulted in town leaders proclaiming Lexington the "Athens of the West." In 1789 Transylvania Seminary (chartered in 1780 and originally opened in Danville, Kentucky) held its first classes in Lexington. In 1798 its name was changed to Transylvania University. It is the oldest university west of the Appalachians. The school struggled in its early years, but from 1818 to 1825 it thrived under the leadership of the Reverend Horace Holley. Its law and medical schools were among the best in the nation. Among its students during this period were future U.S. senator Henry Clay, future vice president John Breckinridge, and future associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Thomas Todd. Lexington also had the first mental hospital west of the Appalachians. Incorporated in 1816 as Fayette Hospital, eight years later it became the state-funded Eastern Lunatic Asylum (later Eastern State Hospital), the second state-funded mental institution in America.

This climate of learning and public works was supported by an active publishing business. On 11 August 1787, the first issue of the *Kentucky Gazette*, Kentucky's first newspaper, appeared. From the *Gazette* office a variety of books, pamphlets, and broadsides were published in addition to the newspaper, including the *Kentucky Almanac* and early editions of the *Acts* and the *Journals* of the state legislature.

Business also thrived in Lexington. Its central location made it a major marketing and supply source for both agricultural, livestock, and manufactured products. In 1802 it boasted printing houses, powder mills, ropewalks, factories, stores with fine goods from the East, skilled artisans, and bustling inns and taverns. Some of Kentucky's earliest livestock, agricultural, and mechanical fairs were held in Lexington. The wealth and education centered in the town,

together with its prosperity, fostered the establishment of a library, theater, dancing school, churches, and other institutions.

Lexington's importance was reflected in its rapid population growth. The ethnic composition of Lexington's population was primarily English, Scots-Irish, German, and Irish. African Americans also constituted a significant proportion of the population. The U.S. census for 1790 listed Lexington's population as 834. Ten years later it had increased to 1,795 (including 462 African Americans [439 of whom were enslaved], or 24 percent of the population), and in 1810 it was 4,326 (including 1,594 African Americans [of whom 1,509 were slaves], or 35 percent of the population). Growth continued, but albeit at a slower pace, over the next two decades to a reported 6,026 in 1830. This total included 2,286 African Americans (2,065 of whom were enslaved), or 34 percent of Lexington's population. The town's central Bluegrass location, in the heart of Kentucky's highest slave concentration, resulted in its becoming a major slave-trading center. The decades following 1830 witnessed Lexington's continued success and importance, although it lost its standing as Kentucky's preeminent town.

See also **Kentucky; Mental Illness.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Staples, Charles R. *The History of Pioneer Lexington, 1779–1806.* Lexington, Ky.: Transylvania Press, 1939. Reprint, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

Wright, John D., Jr. *Lexington: Heart of the Bluegrass.* Lexington, Ky.: Lexington-Fayette County Historic Commission, 1982.

*James J. Holmberg*

## LEXINGTON AND CONCORD, BATTLE OF

During the late evening hours of 18 April 1775, General Thomas Gage, commander in chief of all British forces in North America, ordered a raid to capture military stores then known to have been gathered by colonial forces in the town of Concord, Massachusetts. Gage selected a group of soldiers led by Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith and had them quietly rowed across the Charles River to begin their nearly twenty-mile march from Boston to Concord. However, the Patriot leader Paul Revere, spying a lantern warning hung in the steeple of Boston's Old North Church, rowed across the river ahead of the British landing force and quickly traveled by horseback,

along with other alarm riders, to warn the Middlesex countryside that the British regulars were out in force. Revere was ultimately captured and later released by British patrols but other alarm riders were able to warn the entire countryside within a few hours of the British beginning their march on the town of Concord.

Arriving at the village of Lexington near dawn, the van of Smith's force spotted the militia company of Captain John Parker in loose formation on Lexington Green. A British officer ordered Parker and his men to lay down their arms when a shot rang out. No one knows for sure which side fired the "shot heard round the world." The British responded by firing a volley into the ranks of Parker's militia, ultimately killing eight townsmen.

Continuing toward the village of Concord, Smith placed a company to guard the North Bridge while other components searched for military stores. About four hundred colonial militia then marched on the bridge and, in a sharp action in which several British soldiers were killed, routed the British company guarding the bridge. Sensing that the countryside was now in a full state of alarm, Smith quickly reformed his force and began a rapid retreat toward Boston. Ambushed at frequent locations on the long road back, Smith's command would have been nearly destroyed had it not been for the timely arrival of Lord Hugh Percy's relief column, which met Smith and his men near Lexington. Even so, the now united British force found itself in heavy combat with Massachusetts militia units for the rest of the day. Casualties were considered heavy on both sides, but the Patriot side claimed the day as a great victory for their cause. In all, 49 militiamen had been killed along with 39 wounded. British losses for the day were 73 redcoats killed and 174 wounded. With this battle, American resistance to British policies shifted from political protest to armed belligerence, and the Revolutionary War commenced.

See also **Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict; Revolution: Military History.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrews, Joseph L. *Revolutionary Boston, Lexington and Concord: The Shots Heard 'Round the World!* 3rd ed. Beverly, Mass.: Commonwealth Editions, 2002.

Brooks, Victor. *The Boston Campaign: April 1775–March 1776.* Conshohocken, Pa.: Combined Publishing, 1999.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Paul Revere's Ride.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Forbes, Esther. *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942.

Galvin, John R. *The Minute Men: The First Fight—Myths and Realities of the American Revolution.* 2nd rev. ed. Washington D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1989.

Gross, Robert. *The Minutemen and Their World.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1976, reprint 2001.

Martin, James Kirby, and Mark Edward Lender. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic, 1763–1789.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: H. Davidson, 1982.

Shattuck, Lemuel. *History of the Town of Concord: Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from Its Earliest Settlement to 1832.* Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Concord, Mass.: J. Stacy, 1835.

*Charles Patrick Neimeyer*

**LIBERIA**    The establishment of the American colony of Liberia in 1822 marked the culmination of five decades of argument about whether whites and blacks could live together in a free society. Debate had begun in 1773, when the Reverend Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, a vigorous opponent of slavery, proposed an ambitious plan to send freed slaves as missionaries to Africa. While he won the support of some New England African Americans keen to emigrate, Hopkins trained only two would-be Evangelicals before the Revolutionary War intervened and the plan had to be abandoned.

It was not until the 1810s, when the number of freed blacks topped 200,000, that many Americans, both black and white, again paused to consider the future of this problematic population in a slaveholding society. This time, many groups saw advantages in the emigration of these blacks to Africa. White missionaries and antislavery activists such as Samuel Mills and the Presbyterian minister Robert Finley, as well as free black New Englanders such as Paul Cuffee, saw black emigration as an opportunity to elevate an oppressed segment of the American population while also bringing Christianity and enlightenment to the "Dark Continent." Some southern slaveholders supported emigration schemes to remove the divisive influence of free black communities and thereby prevent slave rebellions.

Drawing on bipartisan support for the plan from political leaders including Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Henry Clay, and John Randolph, leaders from all three communities came together in 1816 to form the American Colonization Society (ACS). In 1819, after lobbying from the ACS, President James Monroe backed a law facilitating the resettlement of free blacks in West Africa. The following January the ship *Elizabeth* sailed from New York with eighty-six African American men, women, and children and several government agents on board. This first expedition ended in failure, with the colonists unable to find fresh water and soon being forced to evacuate to the nearest British settlement. A second and third group departed America for Africa in 1821 and 1822 to settle a permanent colony on land purchased from the local inhabitants of Cape Mesurado, west of Grand Bassa. The colonists named their first mainland settlement Monrovia in honor of their presidential patron.

Those early years were marked by incredible hardship and internal dissension as the colony struggled to organize and provide for itself. A ragged coast and dense inland vegetation made communication with sponsors and trade with neighbors difficult, and to make things even harder, malaria ravaged the population. Only half of the 4,571 black Americans who arrived in Liberia during the first twenty-three years of settlement were still alive by an 1843 census.

Open revolts over how to run the settlement, as well as frequent disputes between settlers and the native population, continued to hinder the colony's economic independence. Yet little support was forthcoming from the ACS at home. By the 1840s the society had been crippled by financial mismanagement and accusations of racism from radical abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison. With the society rendered impotent, the Liberian colonists were effectively stranded.

Direct control of the colony's administration thus passed from the floundering ACS to the settlers in 1847, marking the official birth of Liberia, Africa's oldest republic. Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a freedman from Virginia, was elected as the first president. Yet despite political independence, Liberia was battered by further financial insecurities and continued to rely on foreign aid until the 1950s.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Colonization Movement.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Clegg, Claude A., III. *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Miller, Floyd J. *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization, 1787–1863.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1975.

Shick, Tom W. *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

*Richard J. Bell*

**LIBERTY** In the eighteenth-century English and American political vernacular, no word or concept was as important as "liberty." Celebrated by political theorists, pamphleteers, politicians, and the clergy, English people and Americans often boasted that they possessed greater liberty than anyone else. For all the Anglo-American celebration of liberty, however, the concept was often ill defined.

## POLITICAL LITERATURE
Liberty was a common theme in many of the important English and American political treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By far the most common form of literature to discuss liberty was the pamphlet. As historian Bernard Bailyn has pointed out, pamphlets were cheap to produce, easy for publishers to turn out, and—since they normally ran from only five thousand to twenty-five thousand words—easy to finish quickly, which meant that the ideas contained within them could be rapidly disseminated throughout society. Some of the most important and influential political writings of the Revolutionary period were pamphlets, including John Dickinson's *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* (1767–1768), John Adams's *Novanglus* (1775), and the most famous of all, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776).

Beyond pamphlets of the Revolutionary era, British and American political actors and thinkers could rely on a host of book-length works that discussed liberty. Works from diverse authors such as Plato (c. 428–348 B.C.) and Cicero (106–43 B.C.) in the ancient world to Algernon Sidney (1622–1683), James Harrington (1611–1677), James Gordon (d. 1750), and John Trenchard (1622–1723) in the early modern era—to name only a few—lined the shelves of personal libraries. For colonial readers, at least, these works were a sine qua non of proper political thought, and it would be difficult for a well-educated American Revolutionary to be considered a true republican without familiarity with some, if not all, of these works.

## POLITICAL THEORY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION
Despite the apparent vagueness of the concept of liberty, historians have established what it meant in the eighteenth century. Considering the various writings of political philosophers such as Harrington, Sidney, Gordon, Trenchard, John Locke (1632–1704), Robert Molesworth (1656–1725), Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), and James Burgh (1714–1755) as well as political pamphlets, personal letters, state documents, and sermons, liberty by eighteenth-century standards can be said to have had two distinct definitions. According to the first, which has been largely forgotten, liberty, or public liberty, was the right of the people to establish and maintain some form of self-government. Many English and American political theorists believed that if the people created and served in government, liberty could not be usurped. As a result, public liberty was the most important form of liberty during the eighteenth century. The second definition of liberty concerned the rights of individual citizens, with the most common being property rights and religious freedom. It is this second definition of liberty, the one concerned with individual freedom, or personal liberty, which is more familiar.

Because the two definitions of liberty were distinct, a natural tension existed between them. Unfortunately, historians have compounded this natural tension by separating the two concepts into divergent and exclusive intellectual traditions. The creation of self-government is defined as the "republican," or "civic-humanist," concept of liberty. This republican concept required not only citizen participation in government, but also a citizenry possessed of virtue and disinterestedness. On the other hand, historians have often labeled the concern for individual freedom as the "liberal," or "Lockean liberal," concept of liberty.

However, eighteenth-century Americans were able to easily reconcile the duality and tension of liberty. Neither English people nor Americans defined personal liberty as it later became known, namely personal autonomy or the restraint of government upon civil liberties such as freedom of speech or the press, or freedom from illegal search and seizure. Personal liberty in the eighteenth century had to conform to the norms of society and, more important, to the rule of law. Thus, to most eighteenth-century English people, liberty was the law. This negative form of liberty was often characterized not as the freedom to act, but as freedom from arbitrary government actions. Furthermore, private liberty had to work in tandem with public liberty; one could not be paramount over the other. As long as a proper balance remained between governmental authority and private rights, English and Americans argued, liberty

***Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*** **(1792).** In this painting by Samuel Jennings, liberty is personified as a white woman surrounded by symbols of knowledge. She presents books to African Americans, while a group of freed slaves dances in the background. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

could exist. Making the natural tension of both concepts of liberty easier to accommodate was the belief that both types of liberty derived from the same source, nature itself. Because humans were endowed with free will, they were afforded certain freedoms naturally. It is important to note, however, that most theorists did not fully explain which liberties were taken from nature. This theory held that once people entered into a contract to create a government, only those liberties surrendered for the creation of the society were lost; all other freedoms remained.

Often, in the works on the political philosophy or other political writings, liberty was juxtaposed to two other concepts, tyranny and licentiousness. Since tyranny or arbitrary power was defined as the unlimited power of the executive and licentiousness

as the absence of order, liberty was seen not as the average of the extremes but as the perfect, if somewhat fragile, balance between the two. For the English to possess liberty, freedom and order had to peacefully coincide. English and colonial writers warned that when either tyranny or licentiousness became too dominant in politics and society, liberty ended and political slavery began. This need for constitutional balance was also found in ideas about English and colonial society. Theorists argued that society was divided into monarchy, aristocracy, and commons—or the one, the few, and the many—and that so should be government. With the monarch stationed in the executive, the aristocracy in the House of Lords, and the commoners in the House of Commons, they would balance each other and ensure that one branch did not obtain too much au-

thority. Theorists further maintained that each branch was responsible for certain functions of government. The monarch was responsible for the energy and dispatch of government, the House of Lords was responsible for deliberating on important issues and applying wisdom to its decisions, and the House of Commons was responsible for maintaining through legislation the protection of liberty and the public good.

Closely related to the need for a balance in the creation of liberty was the need to defend liberty from its antagonist, power. When discussing the dichotomy of liberty and power, liberty was portrayed as a hapless victim, vulnerable to the assaults of an aggressive, self-aggrandizing foe: arbitrary power. Whenever governmental power increased, usually in the form of a power-lusting executive, theorists held that the natural outcome was a decline of the people's liberty. This outcome could be staved off, theorists argued, only if the people remained ever-vigilant against and jealous towards encroachments upon their liberty.

Another term closely linked to liberty in the pre-Revolutionary era was property. As with so many terms in English and American political theory of the eighteenth century, property held several meanings. The most common definition was material goods, but in connection with the concept of liberty, property moved beyond mere materialism. In the eighteenth century, property in the form of land brought personal independence.

## POLITICAL THEORY IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Although, broadly speaking, English concepts of liberty continued to carry tremendous significance in the early American Republic, during the era of the American Revolution, and especially during the adoption and early implementation of the Constitution (ratified 1788) and the Bill of Rights (ratified 1791), subtle changes in the concept of liberty began to develop in America. The first of these shifts in the concept of liberty was in connection with the need for representation in government. Beginning with the famous phrase "no taxation without representation," American theorists argued that only when the people were represented in Parliament, and later in state and national governments, could liberty flourish. The people's representatives, this argument ran, would insure the protection and security of liberty through their power to accept or reject proposed laws and taxes. To be sure, the English House of Commons, the body of the English government most accountable to its subjects, did possess the ability to

consent to or reject legislation. American theorists argued, however, that having direct representation instead of the English system of virtual representation (the belief that Parliament represented all the English people whether or not they actually elected a member) meant that liberty would be more secure because the government would be more accountable to the citizenry.

Another subtle change in the concept of liberty occurred with the creation of the state and federal constitutions and the various federal and state bills of rights. Since these documents were the fundamental law of the states and the nation, governmental authority was formally defined and, in most cases, curbed. Thus, for the first time governments would have clear, distinct outlines of their responsibilities. Furthermore, most of these constitutions, including the federal Constitution along with its Bill of Rights, protected many of the rights associated with traditional definitions of liberty: the right to trial by jury; the right to be free of standing armies; the right of habeas corpus; the right to be protected against arbitrary search and seizure. With this constitutional protection of rights and limitation of power, what began to take shape was a more modern definition of liberty wherein government is forbidden to violate particular, specified liberties. Just as important as the establishment of governmental authority was the creation of the constitutions themselves. In creating these documents, the people were exercising public liberty.

Closely linked with the development of constitutions was another shift in the American concept of liberty. With experimentation in public liberty and the crises of the 1780s came the realization that virtue and disinterestedness, which English and European theorists had argued were needed to sustain republican governments, could be achieved only with difficulty, if at all. From this awareness came the redefining of tyranny, which, in turn, meant the redefining of liberty. Tyranny now, unlike before, could come from any branch of government, including the populace itself. Efforts were made to curb this new tyranny, as well as the excesses of liberty that, as a result of events such as Shays's Rebellion, many thought were occurring in the 1780s. These efforts took the form of the federal Constitution of 1787, ratified the following year, and the Bill of Rights, ratified as constitutional amendments in 1791. Through this redefining and tempering of tyranny, the emphasis upon public liberty began to wane. Evidence of this changing understanding of the sources of tyranny, and along with it the changing concept

of liberty, can be found in the Constitution's sanctioning of the separation of powers. Before, European and English political theorists had surmised that the people could not threaten liberty and therefore could be trusted with governmental authority. However, the events of the 1780s caused many American political thinkers to reexamine that belief and conclude that only by constitutionally separating governmental power into distinct branches could liberty be safeguarded.

The crises of the 1780s also demonstrated that the traditional arguments regarding the clash of power and liberty needed recasting. No longer did American theorists view power as the automatic antithesis of liberty. Instead, they developed a new theory which argued that governmental power does not necessarily translate into a loss of liberty. As long as laws were enacted by a government of the people, the people themselves remained ever vigilant towards their liberty, and the people sanctioned a constitution that officially limited government responsibilities and authority, power could be entrusted to the government. This new political theory received its greatest confirmation in the federal Constitution of 1787.

Even more important than the addition of representation, constitutionalism, and the separation of powers to the concept of liberty was the intertwining of liberty and equality. Before the American Revolution, equality and liberty were seldom, if ever, linked, but by the time the American Republic was established, the two concepts were becoming inseparable. The enslavement of hundreds of thousands of blacks during this period makes this linkage appear hypocritical, but when the revolutionaries referred to equality as liberty, they did not mean that the law should force the equality of people. Instead, they desired the equal application of the law. Although modern Americans have become accustomed to a government that legally enforces the equality of people, to eighteenth-century American political theorists, who harbored a deep distrust of governmental power, government could not be trusted to create or enforce such equality. To be sure, associating liberty with the equality of people was becoming part of the American concept of liberty, but this change did not fully emerge until well into the nineteenth and then the twentieth century.

### POLITICS, 1765–1820

The concept of liberty played an important role in the politics of the Revolutionary period. Beginning with the Stamp Act of 1765 and ending with the Declaration of Independence of 1776, the colonies justified their resistance to parliamentary measures by claiming to defend their liberty. Although the colonies made continual attempts to reconcile with Britain, each rejection only reinforced the colonists' belief that their liberty was threatened. Seeing no alternative method of securing their liberty, they formally declared independence.

After the Revolution, liberty continued to play an important role in the politics of the new nation. The decade after the Revolution was filled with a series of crises that threatened to overtake the fragile country. In each crisis, whether concerning the financial situation of the states and the nation or the growing power of the states, the concept of liberty played some role. That was particularly so in regard to Shays's Rebellion of 1786–1787 and the Constitutional Convention along with the ratification debates. When disgruntled debtor farmers from western Massachusetts revolted against heavy taxation, among other things, they claimed they were defending their liberty from tyrannical actions of the state legislature. Most political figures disagreed, however, and the rebellion was quickly suppressed. At the Constitutional Convention and the ratification debates, securing liberty was a great concern of every participant. Although concepts of liberty were undergoing change at that very time, the older conceptions remained and were an important element in both the defense of and attacks on the Constitution.

During the Federalist period from 1789 to 1801, and then the Jeffersonian revolution of 1800, liberty was the dominant feature of the political landscape. Nearly every controversial measure during this period, including Alexander Hamilton's financial program, the Jay Treaty (1794), the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the Embargo Act (1807), the War of 1812, and even the Missouri Compromise (1820), were all judged by whether or not they threatened liberty. Even the rise of political parties in the 1790s is due in large measure to the fact that both Federalists and Republicans believed that the other side threatened liberty and that only their side could defend and protect it.

### CULTURE AND SOCIETY

American society remained deferential during the eighteenth century in the sense that those with better social and economic standing were expected to lead government and society. However, there were increasing strains upon this traditional order of things. Because of the ideas of liberty promulgated during the imperial crisis and the termination of monarchical and aristocratic government with victory in the

American Revolution, the idea of equality under the law began to take root. Taking the place of hierarchical arrangements was a culture that began to celebrate the natural equality of people with the argument that liberty should create a level playing field for all individuals and allow those with natural talent to rise to the top levels of their fields of endeavor. This new meaning of liberty was in its embryonic form in the early Republic and excluded both slaves and women, but later events greatly furthered the cause of equality.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Bill of Rights; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism; Democratic Republicans; Federalists; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Politics: Political Thought; Shays's Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Appleby, Joyce. "Republicanism in Old and New Contexts." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 43 (1986): 20–34.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

———. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Kammen, Michael G. *Spheres of Liberty: Changing Perceptions of Liberty in American Culture.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.

Maier, Pauline. *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Resistance to Britain, 1765–1776.* New York: Knopf, 1972.

McDonald, Forrest. *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the American Constitution.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985.

Read, James H. *Power Versus Liberty: Madison, Hamilton, Wilson, and Jefferson.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Reid, John Phillip. *The Concept of Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Robbins, Caroline. *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. Reprint, Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Rossiter, Clinton. *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

———. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Vintage, 1991.

*Aaron N. Coleman*

**LITERATURE** *See* **African Americans: African American Literature; Children's Literature; Fiction; Nonfiction Prose; Poetry; Religious Publishing; Theater and Drama; Women: Literature.**

**LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION** Most colonial American livestock was raised for home consumption. After 1754, cattle remained the most important farm animal, providing meat and hides, tractive power in the form of a yoke of oxen (the preferred team for plowing in New England), and dairy products. With the elimination of predators, hogs freely grubbed roots and browsed on acorns and beechnuts in woodlands in the North and South. Most colonial farmers also kept a small flock of sheep for mutton and wool. Various poultry, including chicken, geese, ducks, and turkeys, were also found on eighteenth-century farms and plantations, providing fresh meat, eggs, feathers, and entertainment in the form of cockfighting, especially in the South.

Colonists in Rhode Island and Connecticut had raised horses and mules for the West Indies trade long before 1754. Horses were key to colonial land transportation. Three northern breeds are particularly noteworthy: the Narragansett pacers of Rhode Island; the Conestoga horses of Pennsylvania; and the Morgan horses, which originated in Vermont in the 1790s. Mules became important draft animals in the South only in the nineteenth century, despite George Washington's early efforts to popularize them. Henry Clay imported a jenny and jackass into Kentucky from Spain in 1827 and 1832. The South led the nation in horse raising before the mid-nineteenth century, and Kentucky became the center of horse breeding and mule raising.

Market-oriented cattle raising had also existed in America before 1754. Backcountry farmers in Pennsylvania and the uplands of Virginia and North Carolina drove range cattle to the Philadelphia market. Shenandoah Valley farmers sold their cattle in Fredericksburg and Petersburg, Virginia. Charleston, South Carolina, served as a market for the significant West Indies meatpacking trade. Eastern New Jersey

farmers raised cattle on bog meadows and marshes for sale in New York City, a market that was also served by stock driven from the northern New England hill country. Farmers in the Connecticut River valley of Massachusetts, the first region to specialize in cattle raising, early perfected stall-feeding animals for the Boston market. Windham and Litchfield Counties in Connecticut produced cheese in large quantities for export to the South and to the West Indies. The Narragansett country in Rhode Island developed as a specialized grazing region.

Military provisioning and wartime shortages during the American Revolution (1775–1783) created high prices for meat that spurred livestock production, and the postwar period saw the beginning of an age of improvement. Earlier, communal pasturing of animals on New England commons, with private ownership identified by a system of brands and earmarks, had prevented selective breeding and other progressive practices. Poor whites in the piney woods and the southern backcountry made a living from grazing livestock on poorer lands unclaimed by rich planters, who also practiced a system of woods ranching. Their slaves built cow pens near savannas or other good grazing and forage land and managed the herds far from their home plantation, driving the stock into the forest and rounding it up at selling time. Free-range stock raising was inefficient and unsustainable, however. By the mid-1700s, some farmers in New England and Pennsylvania were creating artificial meadows by seeding tilled uplands with English grasses, but the practice, which provided rich pasturage and dependable winter fodder, did not spread until after the Revolutionary War, when improved European animals were increasingly imported by gentlemen farmers. English Shorthorns became the most popular breed of beef cattle in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

An important development in American animal husbandry in the early 1800s was the rise of the sheep industry. Wolves, hard winters, the poor quality of native stock, mercantilist bans on wool exports, and lack of domestic markets all prevented colonial sheep husbandry from expanding beyond household production. But patriotic promoters like Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, David Humphreys of Connecticut, and Elkanah Watson of Massachusetts began building woolen manufactories and importing and promoting fine-fleeced Spanish merino sheep in 1802. American factories created a market for wool that survived the failure of the merino speculation in the late 1810s. The crossbreeding of merinos with common sheep greatly improved the quality of fleeces, as did the importation in the 1820s and 1830s of Saxonies, New Leicesters, Cheviots, and Cotswolds. The center of American sheep husbandry would later move westward, but in the late 1820s it was still located in western Massachusetts and Vermont. Protective tariffs on woolens, passed in 1812, 1824, 1828, and 1832, made possible the expansion of the sheep industry.

The growing population of eastern cities created a greater demand for beef and pork than could profitably be supplied by regional farmers with increasing production costs. Many converted their operations to dairy production, providing milk, cheese, and butter to the growing urban centers. Increasingly unable to compete against western wheat production, the Mohawk Valley of New York shifted from a wheat-growing region after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, and New York became America's first dairy state. As early as the 1810s, cattle and swine were being driven to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York from the Ohio Valley. The Bluegrass country of Kentucky and the Scioto Valley of Ohio were two of the earliest important feeder areas (to be superseded in the 1850s by the prairies of Illinois and Indiana). The advent of railroads only facilitated western dominance of American cattle raising by the mid–nineteenth century; it did not create that ascendancy. For example, the stock business in New York State peaked about 1825, a quarter of a century before the New York and Erie Railroad and then the New York Central Railroad first brought livestock to eastern stockyards and later flooded the market with cheaper western meat packed in Cincinnati and Chicago.

*See also* **Agriculture; Dairy Industry; Food.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Virginia DeJohn. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Connor, L. G. "A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States." Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1918. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921.

Skaggs, Jimmy M. *Prime Cut: Livestock Raising and Meatpacking in the United States, 1607–1983.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986.

Thompson, James Westfall. *History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607–1860.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942.

*Mark A. Mastromarino*

**LONDON** The colonial period was the only time in American history when America looked to Europe for its principal city. But London was America's capital city in a far broader sense than as the seat of imperial government. Georgian London was the center of the English-speaking world for trade, finance, and banking; the empire's biggest port; the fountain of art and literature; the center of scientific endeavor; the chief nursery of music and theatre; the leader in journalism and print culture; the model of fashion and good taste. It was also the biggest shopping center in the British Atlantic Empire, with shops whose numbers and goods outrivaled even those of Paris. The sheer size of London added weight to its influence. In the eighteenth century, it was one of the largest cities (with a population of approximately 700,000) in the world. London towered above the provincial cities of Britain and America. It was more than twenty times the size of America's largest, Philadelphia. It was the model for provincial cities throughout the British Empire as they aspired to acquire the new leisured urban culture of Georgian England.

What all the American colonies had most in common was their British heritage, but by the late colonial period it was really London, as opposed to England or Britain, that most colonists knew something about. Americans in the colonial period knew from afar London's best-known features and its most famous citizens. Colonial newspapers fed a continuous American appetite for London news, including not only politics and trade, but also court functions, stage gossip, London crime, and other everyday events in the Great City. Essays from *The Spectator*, with their colorful descriptions of the life of London town, were frequently reprinted in the colonial papers of the day. Material evidence of London's cultural preeminence could be encountered everywhere in the colonies. The works of the galaxy of authors who formed Dr. Samuel Johnson's famous Literary Club (1764) were widely read. The trinity of George Handel, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and David Garrick were held up as the standards in music, painting, and theatre, respectively. The productions of the London stage were easily the most popular shows in the infant theatres of the colonies. London fashions were eagerly copied, even in the American countryside. The vast majority of colonists who traveled to Britain were either destined for London or passed through it.

## CENTER FOR THE PROFESSIONS

With its unrivalled concentration of talent and ability, London was the center of creative excellence within the English-speaking world. Therefore, it drew ambitious colonists from all walks of life: newspapermen, artists, scientists, botanists, poets, novelists, anyone who aspired to reach the top of their profession. Exposure to London standards could have more value than any provincial training. Benjamin Franklin's first trip to London (1724–1726) was as a printer's apprentice. Colonial artists came to London to study under Pennsylvanian Benjamin West (1738–1820). West helped to found Britain's Royal Academy of Arts in 1768 and became historical painter to the king in 1772.

Throughout his career, West offered support to aspiring American artists in London. For this he came to be seen as the father of American art. Britain's foremost scientific institution, the Royal Society of London (1660), was the most important clearinghouse for the collection and dissemination of scientific knowledge in the English-speaking world, facilitating the exchange of knowledge throughout the British Empire and between British, American, and European scientists. It was the inspiration for the American Philosophical Society (1744). Its news and publications were followed in the colonies. In the two decades preceding American independence, American memberships in the society increased under the patronage of Benjamin Franklin (resident in London in 1757–1762, 1764–1775) and Dr. John Fothergill. Although Edinburgh was the foremost university for medical studies in eighteenth-century Britain, London's hospitals were still considered as an integral part of a thorough medical training. The first medical school in America, at the University of Pennsylvania, was established in 1765 with the assistance of Dr. Fothergill, a London philanthropist.

Throughout the colonial period, the bishop of London was the Head of the Church of England for America. There were no American bishops until after the War of Independence. All Anglican clergymen from the colonies had therefore to go to London for ordination.

## CENTER FOR EDUCATION

Even with the approach of the American Revolution, an English education was considered to be the best apprenticeship for genteel colonial society. An indeterminate number of children of wealthy colonists—mostly boys—were sent to English schools. Many of these schools were in or near London. Colonial youths who attended Oxford or Cambridge came to

London to visit, tour, and get into trouble. Wealthy colonists sent their sons to study law at London's Inns of Court. Between 1755 and 1775, over one hundred mainland Americans registered to study at the Inns, a substantial increase over the earlier colonial period. Most of these were from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina. An equal number of West Indian youths (still counted as Americans prior to American independence) also attended. Absentee planters and their families from the southern mainland colonies and the West Indies were a conspicuous presence in London by the late colonial period. At any one time from 1763 to 1775, at least one thousand resided there. This made London the foremost meeting place in the empire for the rich and powerful from Britain's many American colonies.

### THE SORDID SIDE

But London also represented the worst of the Old World to American visitors. Its slums (almost nonexistent in the largely rural colonies), its conspicuous extremes of rich and poor, empty consumerism, and appalling death rates suggested to some that Britain's greatness was on the verge of decline. This was hardly an exclusively American insight, but particularly with the approach of the Revolution, Americans contrasted London's sordid side with their own supposedly purer provincial lifestyles. The political career of John Wilkes in the city during the 1760s also brought into focus American fears of corruption in metropolitan politics. When Wilkes was denied his seat in Parliament after his election by Middlesex County in 1769, the disaffected in the colonies drew parallels between Parliament's infringement of voters' rights in England and its attempt to deny the colonies the right to be taxed by their own representatives.

In the thirty years following American independence, London in many respects remained America's financial and cultural capital. The United States was never to have a single dominant metropolis like London or Paris, but by the latter half of the nineteenth century, New York, Boston, and Washington had overtaken London's place as America's financial, cultural, and political centers.

*See also* **Americans in Europe.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Flavell, Julie M. "The 'School for Modesty and Humility': Colonial American Youth in London and their Parents, 1755–1775," *Historical Journal* 42 (1999): 377–403.

———. *Benjamin Franklin's London.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2005.

Silverman, Kenneth. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre in the Colonies and the United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington, 1763–1789.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1987

Temperley, Howard. *Britain and America since Independence.* New York: Palgrave, 2002.

*Julie Flavell*

**LOUISIANA**  During the period 1754 to 1829, ownership of Louisiana was transferred from the French to the Spanish in the Treaty of Paris (1763), ceded back to the French in the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800), and then sold to the United States in 1803. Not only did Louisiana's ownership change but also its boundaries. They ranged from the vast area of the Louisiana Purchase (stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border and the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains) to the smaller area of the Territory of Orleans (1804 to 1811), which did not include the Florida Parishes (the section of Louisiana between the Mississippi and the Pearl River) and which had an unresolved border with Spanish Texas. The addition of the Florida Parishes, after the 1810 West Florida rebellion severed this region from Spain, and the passage of the 1819 Transcontinental Treaty, which established the Sabine River as the state's western boundary, determined Louisiana's modern-day borders.

### POPULATION

Although the region's borders fluctuated, its population steadily increased from an estimated 11,000 people in 1771 to 76,556 in 1810, 152,923 in 1820, and 215,739 in 1830. During the period of Spanish control, between 2,600 and 3,000 Acadian refugees, who had earlier been expelled from Maine and eastern Canada by the British, arrived in the region; their descendants are often called Cajuns. Additionally, approximately 10,000 people (including 3,000 slaves) emigrated from Saint Domingue (Haiti) after a successful slave revolt there. Most of these refugees came to Louisiana in 1809 and 1810, following their expulsion from Cuba. Finally, after the Louisiana Purchase and especially after 1820, settlers from elsewhere in the United States helped further increase the population. Much of this growth occurred in New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana and the South's foremost commercial center. With a population of 46,082 in 1830, it ranked as the nation's fifth-largest city.

## LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Aware of the economic importance of having access to the mouth of the Mississippi River, President Thomas Jefferson offered to purchase New Orleans and its surrounding area from France. Initially, the French leader Napoleon Bonaparte ignored Jefferson's negotiators. In 1803, however, Napoleon, fearing that he could not protect Louisiana, needing money for his European military campaigns, and having already suffered defeat in Saint Domingue, suddenly changed his mind and sold all of Louisiana (approximately 830,000 square miles, comprising territory which became all or part of thirteen states) for $15 million ($11.5 million payment plus the assumption of $3.5 million in French debts). In 1804 Congress established the Territory of Orleans and appointed William C. C. Claiborne as governor. The region remained a territory under Claiborne's jurisdiction until 30 April 1812, when Louisiana became the eighteenth state.

In 1806 former Vice President Aaron Burr, apparently hoping to capitalize on Louisianans' discontent with the United States government, traveled to the region with clandestine designs. His goals remain unclear, but some speculate that he was organizing a separatist movement. Whatever its aims, the Burr conspiracy quickly collapsed, in part because Louisianans refused to participate in it.

## CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

The development of Louisiana during this period is often portrayed as a conflict between people of different cultures, languages, religions, and legal traditions. In this view, Americans saw the people of Spanish and French origin as incapable of participating in a democracy because of their monarchical and Catholic heritage. (Some historians describe these Louisiana-born Europeans as Creoles, but *Creole* can also be used to describe people of mixed race, anyone born in Louisiana, or to distinguish between European and Louisiana-born French or Spanish citizens. Thus, the term often confuses more than illuminates an understanding of Louisiana history.) According to this conflict argument, Spanish and French residents considered the Americans to be money-grubbing, uncultured invaders. Law provided one of the most important arenas of disagreement. The Americans promoted common law, with its emphasis on jury trials and precedent, whereas the Spanish and French advocated civil law, with its emphasis on educated judges rendering decisions based on a strict reading of the law. Generally, common law triumphed in the criminal code, while civil law remained the standard in the civil code. Other historians see cooperation among Louisianans rather than conflict. In their view, all residents, in the wake of the Louisiana Purchase, sought to ensure their incorporation into the United States as equal citizens as well as the prosperity of the region. Toward those ends, they downplayed ethnic tension and took part in a growing network of cross-cultural kinship, while maintaining a shared commitment to white supremacy.

## SLAVERY AND PEOPLE OF COLOR

Because of its French and Spanish heritage, Louisiana was less rigidly divided along racial lines than other sections of the United States. Under Spanish law slaves could purchase their freedom with or without their owner's consent, interracial liaisons were greeted with greater tolerance, and the offspring of these relationships were often freed. Additionally, among the refugees from Saint Domingue were more than three thousand free people of color. After the Louisiana Purchase this population struggled to maintain its unique position in society. Although never able to achieve equality, these men and women had greater rights than free African Americans elsewhere. Concentrated primarily in New Orleans, they numbered 16,710 in 1830.

In addition to its free people of color, Louisiana had a significant slave population, which increased from 34,660 in 1810, to 69,064 in 1820, to 109,588 in 1830. Because of improvements in agriculture, including the invention of the cotton gin and an improved process for refining sugar, Louisiana had an almost insatiable desire for slaves. The alluvial lands along the Mississippi River were among the best cotton lands in the nation, and south-central Louisiana had the only land in the United States where sugarcane could be grown profitably (with the help of a tariff on imported sugar). The growth of the slave population outpaced the growth of white Louisiana. In 1830 slaves comprised 50.8 percent of the population, whites 41.5 percent, and free blacks 7.7 percent. This slave majority, particularly when combined with the belief that slaves from Saint Domingue had brought rebellious ideas with them, fueled fears of slave revolts. A major conspiracy was uncovered at Pointe Coupee in 1795. Although historians disagree on its extent and on the involvement of free blacks and poor whites, they concur that the government acted swiftly and forcefully, executing twenty-three slaves and sentencing thirty-four more to jail terms. In 1811 a revolt led by a slave on the Deslondes plantation began near Laplace, in St. John the Baptist Parish. In what is considered the largest slave revolt in United States history, between two hundred and five

hundred slaves marched downriver toward New Orleans; despite their numbers, they were quickly defeated, with as many as sixty-six slaves slain in battle and twenty-one later executed.

### THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

Only a few months after Louisiana achieved statehood, the United States declared war on Great Britain in the War of 1812. Landing on the state's coast in 1814, the British army expected to meet a fractured society eager to throw off the yoke of American rule. Instead, they faced General Andrew Jackson and an army comprised of regular troops, militia from several states including Louisiana, Native Americans, free people of color, and Baratarian pirates. Jackson and his men, with a strong defensive position and superior artillery, inflicted a tremendous defeat on the British at the Battle of New Orleans on 8 January 1815. This victory made Jackson a national hero and helped solidify Louisiana's place in the Union. Although the state remained unique in terms of its demographic composition, its legal code, and its cultural traditions, by 1830 Louisiana had much in common with its fellow states, particularly those in the slaveholding South.

*See also* **Acadians; British Army in North America; Burr Conspiracy; French; Haitian Revolution; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Mississippi River; New Orleans; New Orleans, Battle of; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; South; Spanish Empire; Transcontinental Treaty; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brasseaux, Carl A. *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765–1803.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.

Dargo, George. *Jefferson's Louisiana: Politics and the Clash of Legal Traditions.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Din, Gilbert C. *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763–1803.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999.

Kastor, Peter J. *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Tregle, Joseph G., Jr. *Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Clash of Cultures and Personalities.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999.

*John M. Sacher*

**LOUISIANA PURCHASE**   On 30 April 1803, French and American negotiators completed work on the Louisiana Purchase. For a pricetag of close to $15 million, the United States acquired territory totaling 828,000 square miles. Eventually, fifteen states— Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Oklahoma, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, Wyoming—joined the United States, either in whole or in part, through the Louisiana Purchase. It was, ironically, exactly the sort of deal that the United States had *not* sought in 1803, but which became an event that Americans eventually described as a godsend for reasons very different from the motivations that initially drove federal policymakers to pursue the Purchase.

### DIPLOMACY OF THE PURCHASE

The French had established a vaguely defined colony called Louisiana before ceding that territory to Spain following the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). By the time the United States secured its own independence, however, the extent of European control remained limited to the Mississippi Valley itself, with Spanish officials governing a predominantly Francophone population. Meanwhile, Indians continued to wield power further west.

Foreign control of the Mississippi made policymakers in the United States worry about their own ability to secure trade down the river. This concern transcended region or party. Americans were therefore uniformly dismayed to learn that a secret agreement in 1800 had transferred Louisiana from Spain to France, followed soon after by news that the Spanish intendant in New Orleans had imposed restrictions on American trade and that Napoleon had dispatched a vast army to the Americas. In response to a situation that Americans began discussing as the Mississippi Crisis, the Jefferson administration and its allies in Congress sought to acquire New Orleans and the Gulf Coast. Their goal remained simple: to consolidate federal sovereignty east of the Mississippi River, not to expand further west.

The Americans proved unsuccessful in negotiating a resolution of the crisis in Paris because the French regime had other concerns. When Napoleon was not attempting to secure dominance in Europe, he was focusing on efforts to reestablish white power in the Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue, the site of an increasingly successful revolt of slaves and free people of color. The army that American observers worried would go to Louisiana was in fact

**Louisiana Purchase**
- Louisiana Purchase
- United States, 1803
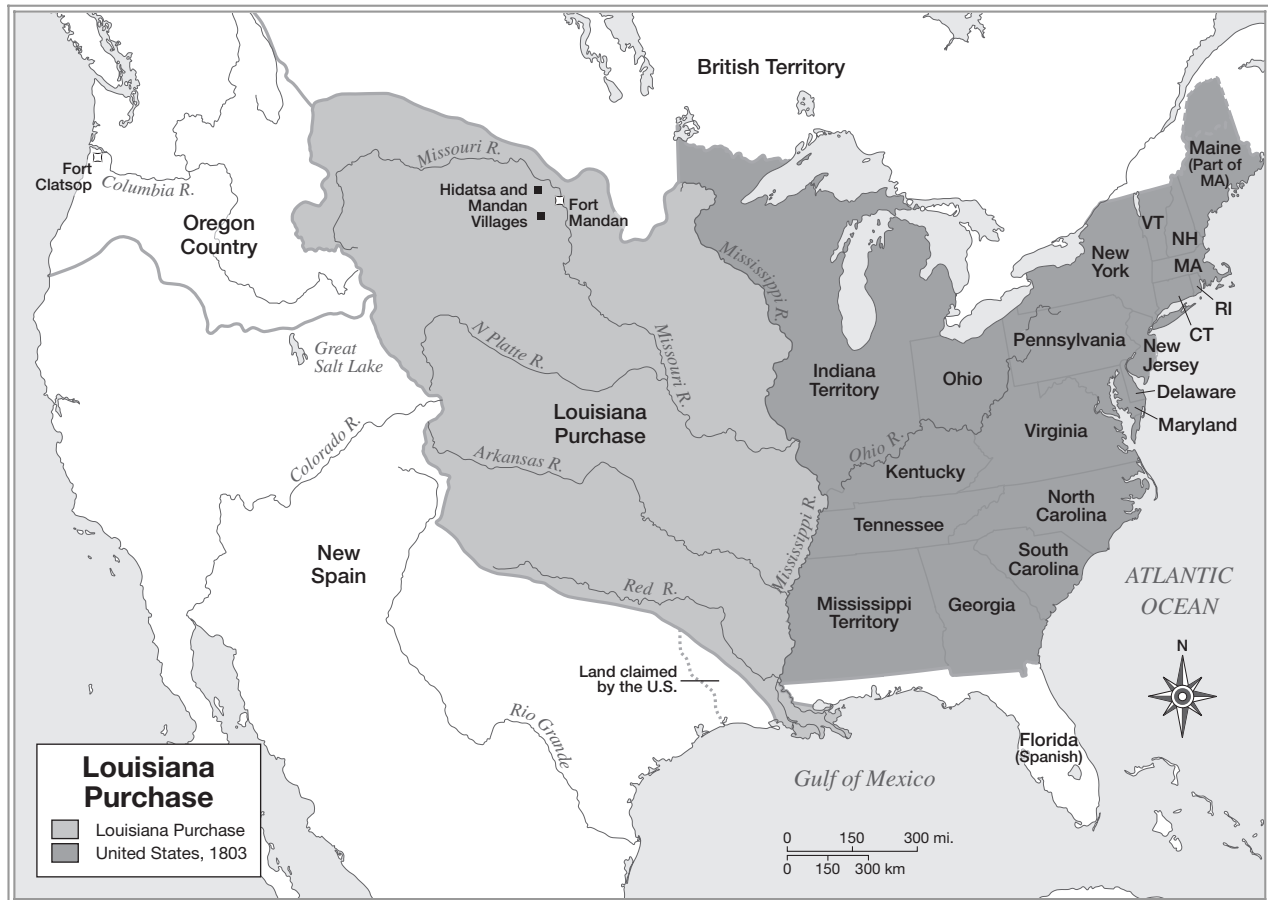
bound for Saint Domingue. When the French military expedition collapsed through disease and military defeat, Napoleon abandoned his hopes for Saint Domingue (in 1804 leaders of the revolt declared independence for the Republic of Haiti). Louisiana, which Napoleon had acquired to provide supplies and security for Saint Domingue, immediately lost its value to France. Well aware of the Americans' eagerness for a resolution to the Mississippi Crisis, Napoleon ordered his own diplomats to negotiate the sale of Louisiana in its entirety. Although much of the wording of the subsequent treaty followed a template developed by President Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of State James Madison, the scope and timing of the treaty reflected Napoleon's decisions. The agreement itself required the United States to pay $11.5 million and to forgive $3.5 million in French debts.

**RESULTS OF THE PURCHASE**

The reaction in the United States was one of relief, not because the new nation had acquired additional territory, but rather because the Purchase had achieved a peaceful settlement of the Mississippi Cri-

sis. Nonetheless, Americans worried about what they should make of the treaty and its ramifications. The absence of clearly defined boundaries immediately created intense disputes between the United States and Spain. Some members of Congress expressed ongoing doubts that the president had the constitutional power to negotiate a treaty that redefined national boundaries. Although the treaty itself was quickly ratified by the Senate, debates over how best to govern the territory continued for months. Many in Congress questioned whether the United States possessed the resources to govern such a vast terrain, and those concerns crossed party lines.

Establishing federal sovereignty west of the Mississippi would be among the greatest challenges in both foreign and domestic policy during the decades that followed. The United States and Spain repeatedly came close to war over the boundaries of Louisiana. It was not until 1821 that the United States and Spain ratified the Transcontinental Treaty, which finally established boundaries acceptable to both nations. Meanwhile, the federal government devoted unprecedented resources to securing the loyalty of

white residents and preserving racial supremacy over Indians, slaves, and free people of color.

Settling these foreign and domestic affairs was a prerequisite for creating states from the Louisiana Purchase. The first of those states, Louisiana, entered the Union in 1812 after a brief congressional debate. But less than a decade later the second state, Missouri, unleashed disagreements that brought the expansion of slavery to the center of national politics. And the Purchase guaranteed the issue would not go away, for as Purchase territories petitioned for statehood in the decades that followed, Americans were repeatedly forced to reargue the issue. Nonetheless, the successful integration of new states and territories also led Americans to conclude that territorial expansion was possible, and by the antebellum era those successes were contributing to the spirit of Manifest Destiny, which argued that expansion was not only viable but essential.

The new territories carved from the Purchase were uniformly Jeffersonian in their national politics, but each one became home to unique local political systems. With the collapse of the Jeffersonian coalition, the states and territories of the Louisiana Purchase became the site of bitter disputes between Whigs and Democrats. But the primary political division was sectional. Northern states and territories became both antislavery and, in 1861, strongly pro-Union. The southern states of Louisiana and Arkansas became strongly proslavery before joining the Confederacy. States and territories in the middle—most notably Missouri and Kansas—became the sites of their own internal civil wars.

Although creating states from the Louisiana Purchase fueled the disputes causing secession, the Civil War ironically helped complete the Purchase. Only the creation of a large modern army in the Civil War provided the means for the United States to complete its conquest of the Northern Plains. It was over a half a century after negotiators signed the Louisiana Purchase before the United States could claim that it truly controlled the territory.

*See also* **Haitian Revolution; Jefferson, Thomas; Mississippi River; Missouri Compromise; Spanish Empire; Transcontinental Treaty.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brugger, Robert J., et al., eds. *The Papers of James Madison: Secretary of State Series.* Vols. 3–5. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995–2000.

DeConde, Alexander. *This Affair of Louisiana.* New York: Scribners, 1976.

Kastor, Peter J. *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Kukla, John. *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America.* New York: Knopf, 2003.

*Peter J. Kastor*

**LOUISVILLE**   Louisville was founded in 1778 at the Falls of the Ohio River. The falls (actually a series of usually navigable rapids extending for about two and one-half miles) are the only serious obstacle to navigation on the almost one-thousand-mile length of the Ohio. Virginia surveyors working in Kentucky had identified the site as an ideal location for a town as early as 1773. On 27 May 1778, Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark landed on an island at the falls with a force of approximately 175 Virginia militiamen and 50 settlers. Crude cabins and a fortification were constructed, a corn crop planted, and the militia trained on what was named Corn Island. In late June, Clark launched his Illinois Campaign, the successful completion of which helped secure the Old Northwest Territory for the United States at the conclusion of the American Revolution. The settlers remained behind, moving to the south bank that autumn, where they built cabins and a fort. In 1779 the settlement was named Louisville in honor of King Louis XVI of France and the Franco–American alliance against Britain. It received its town charter in 1780.

Louisville's early growth was slow. As the most westerly American settlement, it was exposed to Indian attack and the threat did not end until the conclusion of the area's Indian wars in the mid–1790s. Because of its strategic location at the falls, Louisville's future success depended on the burgeoning river traffic and trade. It became a major jumping-off place for those going farther west (and often north and south). Explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark met in Louisville in October 1803 to form their historic partnership, and the first permanent members of their Corps of Discovery were enlisted at the falls, thus forming the all-important foundation of the historic trek to the Pacific. The acquisition of New Orleans and the securing of free navigation of the Mississippi River in 1803 provided a significant boost to Louisville's fortunes. By the early 1800s thousands of flatboats and other river craft were landing at Louisville loaded with immigrants and goods. In 1811 the *New Orleans*, the first steamboat to ply the western waters, landed at Louisville. In 1815 the *En-*

*terprize*, moving upstream, arrived from New Orleans. With significant upriver steamboat traffic now added to the well–established downriver trade, Louisville boomed. In 1830 the Louisville and Portland Canal opened, thus bypassing the obstacle of the falls and assuring an easier and more reliable transit time for river craft.

This economic activity reflected the growth of Louisville's population. From recorded totals of 200 in 1790 and 359 in 1800, Louisville's population almost quadrupled in the next decade to 1,357. By 1820 its population had almost tripled to 4,012, and in 1830 it was 10,341, making Louisville the largest city in Kentucky and the fourteenth largest in the nation. The ethnic composition of Louisville in its early years was primarily English, Scots-Irish, and German, with a small but prominent French community. By 1830 an increasing number of native-born Germans and Irish began arriving. Also among Louisville's earliest settlers were African Americans, the vast majority of them enslaved. Their numbers increased as Louisville's population grew. In 1800 there were 77 African Americans, only one of whom was reported as being free. In 1810 there were a reported 495 African Americans (36 percent of the population) living in Louisville, only 11 of whom were free. The 1820 federal census reported 1,124 African Americans (28 percent of the population, of whom only 93 were free) living in Louisville. By 1830 there were 2,638 African Americans (232 of whom were free) living in Louisville, 25 percent of the population. Although never the major slave market that Lexington was, Louisville was an active slave-trading center. It also was increasingly a magnet throughout the antebellum period for runaway slaves hoping to lose themselves in the city and eventually make their way across the Ohio River to freedom.

Louisville's bustling river trade was supplemented by surrounding farms that raised livestock and a variety of crops. Stores, taverns, inns, warehouses, factories, mills, shipyards, distilleries, and other businesses all proliferated. The growth of population and of business activity encouraged the establishment of newspapers, churches, schools, a library, and a theater. The numerous ponds in and around Louisville that were a breeding ground for mosquitoes and disease were largely filled in during the 1820s, thus improving the health of the area and removing a factor prohibitive to future growth. In 1828 Louisville was granted city status, the first community to be granted that designation, with its greater level of independence, by the Kentucky legis-

lature. As the fourth decade of the nineteenth century began, Louisville was a major western city poised for even greater growth.

*See also* **Kentucky; Lexington; Mississippi River; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kleber, John E., ed. *The Encyclopedia of Louisville.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Thomas, Samuel W., ed. *Views of Louisville since 1766.* Louisville: *Courier-Journal Lithographing Co.*, 1971.

Yater, George H. *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County.* Louisville, Ky.: The Heritage Corporation, 1979.

*James J. Holmberg*

**LOYALISTS**   The old cliché that winners write the history is applicable when discussing the domestic losers of the American Revolution, the Loyalists. Found in every colony, Loyalists were those American colonists who sided with the British throughout the entire imperial crisis, including the Revolutionary War. Too often, Loyalists are classified as those Americans who supported Britain during the Revolutionary War; actually, however, Loyalists were those who supported Britain from the Stamp Act of 1765 through the Revolution. Historians are unsure of the actual percentage of colonists who considered themselves Loyalists, but the fact that approximately eighty thousand people fled the country after the American victory in 1783 suggests that a large number of people remained loyal to the crown during the entire conflict.

### LOCATION AND STRENGTH OF LOYALISTS

John Adams once remarked that the American people could be broken into thirds regarding their feelings on the Revolution, with one-third in support, one-third against, and the other third neutral. An educated guess at best, historians view Adams's remarks with some skepticism. In all likelihood, but with no certainty, there were greater numbers who either opposed the Revolution or remained neutral. What is known is that the Loyalists were most numerous and politically powerful in New York and South Carolina. This concentration of Loyalists in New York is attributed to the diverse ethnicities of its inhabitants, many of whom believed that Britain and its empire offered a greater degree of liberty and religious toleration than an American republic likely

would, while those in South Carolina embraced and supported the empire for the commercial success that it made possible. Loyalism also persisted in the frontier regions of the colonies, especially the frontiers of the southern colonies from Georgia to North Carolina. In part, loyalism there, as in New York, can be attributed to the ethnic and religious diversity of the frontier and the protection from a dominant Anglo-American culture they thought the empire could provide. Finally, the Iroquois nation can be labeled as Loyalist, for it too supported the British cause.

## REASONS FOR SUPPORTING BRITAIN

Loyalists could be found among all socioeconomic classes, but the best-known and most vocal opponents of the Revolution came from the elites of the respective colonies. Indeed, if the American colonies can be said to have had any form of aristocracy, it consisted primarily of persons who became Loyalists. Most of the elites owed their political position to royal appointments to office, although many of the elite Loyalists were also lawyers or merchants. For example, perhaps the most famous Loyalist, Thomas Hutchinson (1711–1780) of Massachusetts, was not only a wealthy merchant, but was also the crown-appointed governor of his colony. Hutchinson's attorney general, Samuel Sewall, owed his position to not just his ability but also to connections within the British government. Even William Franklin (1731–1813), governor of New Jersey, owed his appointment to his famous father, Benjamin, who used his political connections to secure the post for his son. Thus, many of the Loyalists in the colonial political elite owed their social standing to the British monarchy. The many colonial leaders who received support from the British government were reluctant to address colonial grievances, which only further angered the colonists. Ironically, however, the Loyalists never formed an organized, cohesive body of opposition to the revolutionaries. One of the consequences of the Revolution was the crumbling of the Loyalists' political power, which created a power vacuum that the revolutionaries filled.

Along with the political connections that tied the Loyalists to Britain, those Loyalists outside of politics, namely merchants, remained loyal because, in their estimation, the empire provided the best protection of their livelihoods. The mercantile system of the empire, as well as the strength of the British navy, afforded merchants opportunity for wealth and protection of their wares. Even those Loyalists who were neither politicians nor merchants remained loyal to England, in part because of the protection the British army provided on the frontier. In other cases, Loyalists did not embrace the republicanism of the revolutionaries or simply wished to remain British subjects.

Support for the British came from places and people beyond the cities and the elites. In the frontier regions of the colonies, support for Britain ran high. It is important to note that frontiersmen did not necessary disagree with the arguments of the Patriots. Rather, they supported the British for two simple and self-interested reasons. First, they feared the further encroachment of settlers into the frontier regions. Only the British, they believed, would be able to halt westward expansion past the Appalachian Mountains. Second, they believed that only British troops could protect them from the various Indian tribes on the frontier.

A final reason for supporting Britain lies in ethnicity. Too often, the natural assumption of both historians and laity is that Loyalists were either English born or of English heritage. Such an assumption, however, is incorrect, as a very large number—the exact percentage is unknown—of Loyalists belonged to non-English ethnic groups. Among the more prominent groups that for the most part supported Britain in the Revolution were the Dutch, Germans, and Scots. To find precise motives for their loyalty is difficult, yet it is not unreasonable to assume that they sought British protection from what would be an Anglo-American cultural majority in an American nation. They may have also understood that minorities were more likely to be protected in a larger empire than in a smaller nation controlled by local majorities.

## LOYALIST IDEOLOGY

Along with the socioeconomic and political reasons, ideological reasons guided loyalism. Generally, and in part because they never formed an organized resistance, Loyalists did not have the same overarching ideology that guided the revolutionaries. There were, however, common threads of thought. The most common characteristic of Loyalist thought was its conservatism. Nearly all Loyalists of any consequence believed in the political status quo. Undoubtedly, this conservatism stemmed in part from a desire to preserve political power, but Loyalists also believed that any disruption of the traditional political arrangement was hazardous to the body politic. Furthermore, Loyalists tied their commitment to the status quo to their belief in aristocracy and deference. Many Loyalists believed that society could function only with an established and ruling aristocracy—not

one that was necessarily hereditary or titled but elite nonetheless—with each level of society deferential to those above it.

Further evidence of Loyalists' conservative ideology was their use of history in arguments over politics, society, and human nature. Whereas many revolutionaries relied on the theories of philosophers such as David Hume (1711–1776) or John Locke (1632–1704) to justify not only rebellion but also human nature, Loyalists ignored theorists, relying instead on historical precedents or incidents to argue against revolution and to demonstrate an innately corrupt human nature. From their use of history and beliefs about human nature, the Loyalists argued that the revolutionaries were a self-seeking political faction bent on disrupting the status quo by attempting to establish a democratic or mob government based on a majoritarian tyranny.

Much like their Revolutionary counterparts, the Loyalists embraced the traditional view of liberty as being freedom from arbitrary power. Where the two camps separated was on the degree of order needed to maintain liberty. Many revolutionaries believed that order, while necessary for liberty to flourish, must be kept to a minimum; otherwise, it would result in tyranny. Loyalists, again exhibiting their conservative ideology, argued that order was the fundamental ingredient needed for liberty to thrive. Loyalists did not embrace absolutism; far from it, they insisted that political society must first acknowledge and then follow a clearly defined rule of order before liberty could exist. This belief in order explains why so many Loyalists were shocked and terrified at the numerous instances of mob action during the imperial crisis leading up to the Revolution, labeling such action as lawlessness or licentiousness. Ironically, many Loyalists believed that the colonists had genuine grievances, especially regarding the Stamp Act and other revenue-garnishing measures. Yet because Loyalists also believed in the enforcement of law and order, they risked their social and political standing by supporting the enforcement of such measures. Thomas Hutchinson is perhaps the best example of the risk many Loyalists placed themselves under. Although Hutchinson, the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts at the time, opposed the Stamp Act, he nonetheless believed in the enforcement of the act. Although he was not a tax collector and played no enforcement role, protesters stormed his family home and then ransacked and set fire to it.

## AMERICAN TREATMENT OF LOYALISTS

The destruction of Hutchinson's house is perhaps the most extreme example of what some Loyalists underwent during the imperial crisis. Yet during the Revolutionary War, many of them suffered persecution at the hands of the revolutionaries. Each state governments passed a Test Act requiring persons to take an oath forswearing allegiance to King George III. Anyone who refused the oath could face several penalties, including imprisonment, disenfranchisement, additional taxes, land confiscation, and banishment. In November 1777, the Continental Congress recommended that the states confiscate Loyalists' property. The recommendation came somewhat late, as most of the states had already confiscated large amounts of Loyalists' land. Also, by 1777 most states had passed legislation that declared loyalism a treasonous act. Pennsylvania, for example, drew up a list, known as the "black list," containing the names of 490 Loyalists who were convicted of treason for supporting the British. Although the Pennsylvanian governor pardoned a number of these Loyalists, some executions occurred. Not surprisingly, those states where Loyalists were the strongest, such as New York and South Carolina, had the most stringent anti-Loyalist legislation, as well as the heaviest level of enforcement.

The confiscation of land and other legislative measures were not the only methods by which the Patriots made the Loyalists suffer. More often than facing formal, legal punishments, Loyalists had to bear informal consequences such as becoming social outcasts in their own neighborhoods or being forced to leave their communities by extralegal committees. Other such consequences were losing servants, being denied services, or losing customers. Violent extralegal punishments included tarring and feathering, often followed by forced "rides" on a rail—a painful punishment in which the victim, always male, had a ragged and often splintered rail scooted between his legs.

Perhaps the harshest punishment many Loyalists (along with revolutionaries) underwent was the splitting of their families over the war. As in every conflict with a civil war dimension, families were sometimes torn asunder, with family members taking opposite sides. The American Revolution was no different. The most notable example is Benjamin Franklin and his son William. A fervent revolutionary, Benjamin suffered humiliation over the fact that his son, the last royal governor of New Jersey, remained a strong Loyalist. So angry was Benjamin at his son's refusal to become a revolutionary that Franklin disowned William. Despite several attempts

by William after the war to reunite with his father, the two never reconciled.

Because of all their ill treatment at the hands of the Americans during the war as well as their fidelity to the crown, approximately eighty thousand Loyalists fled America. While a number of states forced the exile of some Loyalists, the overwhelming majority fled on their own accord. Some traveled to London and other parts of England in hopes of either settling down or influencing the government in its conduct of the war. Others traveled to Jamaica or elsewhere in the British Caribbean seeking a new life under British rule. A large number of Loyalists sojourned to Upper Canada, where they settled in areas such as southern Ontario. The overwhelming majority of exiled Loyalists, however, traveled to Nova Scotia, where they lived the rest of their lives in settled communities. During the 1780s, some exiled Loyalists returned to America, where they were reintegrated into society.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783 concerned itself with American treatment of Loyalists in three of its ten sections. Article 4 allowed the Loyalists' American creditors to attempt recovery of any contracted debt owed to them. Article 5, among the longest sections of the document, required the Continental Congress to recommend to the states that all confiscated land and other property of Loyalists be returned to them and that any law that targeted Loyalists be reconsidered and revised. The article also ensured the physical protection of Loyalists who returned to the country to retrieve any confiscated property. Article 6 of the treaty was the last to deal with the Loyalists. It prohibited any further confiscation of Loyalist property and called for the release of any Loyalists imprisoned because of their loyalism.

During the 1780s, a large number of Loyalists, including those who returned to their homeland as well as a smaller number who remained abroad, attempted to regain their confiscated property as provided for by the treaty. Not surprisingly, these attempts led to a great deal of litigation in the states. Much of it went on well into the nineteenth century, with the Loyalists most often meeting with some success. Perhaps the most well-known court cases concerning the recovering of property were the those of *Fairfax's Devisee v. Hunter's Lessee* (1812) and *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816). These related cases, decided during the tenure of Chief Justice John Marshall, originated in Virginia within five years of the treaty and were decided in favor of the Loyalist, Lord Fairfax.

## BRITISH TREATMENT OF THE LOYALISTS

In those areas controlled by the British army, the Loyalists obviously did not suffer the violence that beset those in Patriot-held territory. But while the British army afforded protection, the Loyalists often complained that it ignored them, either by not listening to their advice or by not trusting them enough to allow them to join the army. Although there is some indication that the British intended to organize Loyalists, such plans were never more than plans, as the British made no serious attempt to form them into a fighting force. Loyalists were also quick to criticize the inept campaigning of some British generals and the failure of the British to restore civil government in areas under their control. In sum, while the British in North America did not treat the Loyalists with violence, as the Patriot side often did, their conduct was, nevertheless, inept.

Those Loyalists who fled to London were at first welcome guests of the British government. Many of the more prominent Loyalists received audiences with high-ranking members of the British government. Thomas Hutchinson, for example, met with King George III. Soon, however, as the number of exiles increased, their novelty wore off. Many American Loyalists, even those of high standing in the colonies, were treated with disdain and were often cheated out of money and other possessions. A good number of Loyalists who fled to England were disgusted with what they believed to be the decadence and luxury of London. This shock at London's size and perceived decadence, coupled with homesickness, caused many English exiles to attempt to return to their homes in America.

*See also* **Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Brown, Wallace. *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution.* New York: Morrow, 1969.

Calhoon, Robert M. *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America*, *1760–1781.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973.

———, ed. *The Loyalist Perception and Other Essays.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Calhoon, Robert M., Timothy M. Barnes, and George W. Rawlyk, eds. *Loyalists and Community in North America.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Nelson, William H. *The American Tory.* Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1961.

Norton, Mary Beth. *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England*, *1774–1789.* London: Constable, 1974.

Potter-MacKinnon, Janice. *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.

*Aaron N. Coleman*

**LUMBER AND TIMBER INDUSTRY** America's vast forests were the most distinctive and impressive feature confronting settlers in the New World. The ubiquity of timbered lands greatly influenced the cultural and economic development of the American landscape. Whether providing fuel for frontier homes or masts for navy ships, the Eastern Woodlands of North America shaped the course of settlement and were central to the creation of a uniquely American identity. The numbers of products dependent on lumber production were many and varied, and the seemingly inexhaustible supply of timber quickly inspired the erection of mills, kilns, and other facilities to process cut timber into various products for domestic use and export to Europe and the Caribbean. In this latter respect, British attempts to maintain control over the "king's forests" in America through taxes and harvest restrictions played a crucial role in fomenting Revolutionary discontent in the 1760s and 1770s.

The ever-present forest was generally considered a bane more than a boon to most Americans, who viewed it with disdain as an impediment to progress and with fear as a haven for evil spirits. Prior to 1830, these attitudes in many ways kept the timber industry driven by a patchwork of full-time farmers and part-time loggers. For Americans in this period, clearing away the forests was requisite for the establishment of "civilization" in the New World—a sentiment that remained salient over commercial designs until the mid-nineteenth century. The arduous process of clearing the land, however, did provide settlers the materials to build their homes in addition to preparing agricultural lands. Dwellings and fencing, particularly the uniquely American zigzag fences, used tremendous amounts of lumber and could be easily constructed with roughly hewn unprocessed timber. Trees used for these purposes were either chopped down or girdled, a common method of killing trees by gouging out a band around their base that inhibits the flow of sap. Girdling was far less labor intensive, but rotting trees proved hazardous as they fell and produced far less timber for construction and fencing.

## POTASH AND CORDWOOD

The clearing of land for agriculture created the two most prevalent commercial timber by-products in early America: potash and fuelwood. The number of trees cut in the process of clearing the land far surpassed local needs and excess timber was usually burned off. For the frontier settler, the resulting ashes provided an important source of cash that helped to defray the costs of clearing the land. Potash and the more refined pearl ash were valuable components in many industrial processes. Also, lye—the liquid form of potash—was widely used in the production of soap, glass, and gunpowder and in various cleaning and tanning processes. Because the soft and resinous forests of the South produced inferior ashes, potash and lye production was primarily limited to the hardwood forests of the Northeast. There, ashes of oak, maple, and other hardwood trees were processed at local asheries, which were frequently the first commercial establishments built on the frontier north of the Chesapeake.

Fuelwood, meanwhile, was another essential by-product, particularly in the colder climes of New England. A household in early America required from twenty to thirty cords (1 cord equaling a 4-by-4-by-8 foot pile, or 128 cubic feet) of wood per winter, an amount easily harvested by rural homeowners. For the growing cities along the eastern seaboard, however, supplies had to be hauled in from the hinterlands, creating another source of income for frontier settlers. Brought in by boats or sleds, the consumption of cordwood was impressive. Between 1770 and 1810, American households warmed themselves with approximately 650 million cords of wood.

In the realm of industry, the advent of the steam engine along with the commercialization of iron and textile production led to increasing demands on cordwood supplies. Charcoal furnaces dominated the industrial landscape of early America, surviving there long after European factories had turned to coal. It required four tons of wood to produce one ton of charcoal, but Americans preferred the stronger iron produced from charcoal-fired blast furnaces, while the sheer magnitude of available timber rendered a turn to coke and anthracite impractical. It was not until the eve of the Civil War, when local resources had been exhausted and transport costs had become a significant consideration, that coal began to supplant charcoal as the predominant industrial fuel.

## SAWMILLS

An early accompaniment to most settlements, sawmills produced a variety of products for domestic use

and export. Nearly all mills were located on rivers, which provided both a source of power and avenues of transportation for logs. These enterprises existed primarily to provide materials for local use, though some surpluses were exported to larger settlements downriver. Unfinished timber for furniture, construction, farming implements, and any number of other products comprised the greatest output of the lumber industry. In the South, many mills concentrated on the production of shingles and staves out of the cypress and cedar forests that predominated there. Staves were an important export commodity, often returning from the Caribbean via barrels filled with molasses, sugar, and rum. They also served the maritime industries by providing containers for fish and brine production.

The difficulty of overland transport meant that mills rarely extended their harvests more than five miles from the mill site. By the late eighteenth century, however, the practice of rafting huge numbers of logs tied together down major waterways was commonplace. Larger mills along these watercourses, particularly the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers above Philadelphia and Baltimore, processed the raw timber of the interior for burgeoning metropolitan markets. By the 1830s these operations began to supplant the more locally focused farmer-logger as the dominant producer of commercial timber products.

### NAVAL STORES

The British very early placed a premium on the production of masts, planking, turpentine, pitch, and tar sealants used in shipbuilding, which were known collectively as naval stores. The forests of the Baltic region had long been the source of these materials (and indeed, of most other timber products as well), in large part because they were much closer than those of America and therefore cheaper to transport.

By the mid-eighteenth century, however, frequent warfare and periodic scarcity made the Baltic supplies an untenable commodity, rendering American production a necessity for the British navy. In the Caribbean, the economics of transportation were far more balanced than with the precarious Baltic sources, and a robust exchange between American ports, Cuba, and the West Indies continued well into the nineteenth century. In economic terms, the production of naval stores constituted a mere fraction of commercial forest exploitation compared to fuelwood and general lumbering operations. Nevertheless, the strategic and political importance of shipbuilding materials was paramount in the timber industry. The center of pitch, tar, and turpentine production was located amongst the longleaf pines of the Carolinas, while the larger trees and more developed network of mills in New England provided the majority of American masts and planking. Production and export of naval stores under the control of the crown peaked on the eve of the American Revolution (1775–1783). Following a nadir during that conflict, American production was quickly reestablished and rose steadily throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

*See also* **Construction and Home Building; Nature, Attitudes Toward.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cox, Thomas R., et al. *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Foster, Charles H. W., ed. *Stepping Back to Look Forward: A History of the Massachusetts Forest.* Petersham, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Williams, Michael. *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

*Bradley J. Gills*

# M

**MADISON, JAMES**   James Madison was born 16 March 1751 in Port Conway, Virginia, the first child of James and Nelly Conway Madison. His father owned a large plantation in Orange County, Virginia, and it was there at Montpelier that Madison grew up. At the age of eleven he went to boarding school and at sixteen returned home to continue his studies with a tutor. Madison entered the College of New Jersey at Princeton in 1769. He completed the four-year course in two years, graduating in 1771, and spent the following year in graduate studies in the classics, reading Greek and Latin writers, and in natural and moral philosophy, in which modern thinkers like Michel de Montaigne, John Locke, and David Hume figured prominently.

Back home at Montpelier, Madison passed through a period of career indecision that coincided with the political turmoil leading up to the American Revolution. He played a prominent role in local politics as a member of the Orange County Committee of Safety (1774) and as colonel of the county militia (1775) and was elected a member of the Virginia Convention of 1776. At the convention Madison made a significant contribution by inserting language in the state constitution that upheld the free exercise of religion as a right and not a privilege. Defeated for election to the newly created General As-

sembly in 1777, Madison was selected as a member of the Council of State, an executive body that advised the governor. Madison served through 1779 under the governorships of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson.

In December 1779 Madison was elected to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress, where he served until 1783. Madison took his duties seriously, participating vigorously in debates, immersing himself in committee work, and taking copious notes of the proceedings. These notes, published in the modern edition of the *Papers of James Madison*, are a valuable source for the proceedings of Congress. Madison, while upholding the interests of Virginia, was among those members who fought for expanded powers for the Confederation Congress to support the Continental Army, including a federal government tax on imports. Although this measure failed, Madison left Congress with a reputation for intelligence, hard work, and integrity.

From 1784 to 1786 Madison served in the Virginia House of Delegates, where he was instrumental in gaining passage of a portion of Jefferson's law reform measures, including the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. He also helped defeat an attempt by Henry to provide for state support of religious teachers, in the process formulating a Memorial and Remonstrance (1785) that remains a ringing state-

of a system of government that was adopted by the Virginia delegation to the Constitutional Convention as the Virginia Plan. The plan scrapped the Articles of Confederation and proposed a national government that operated directly on its citizens.

In May 1787 the Philadelphia Convention quickly adopted the Virginia Plan as the framework for discussion. Madison took a central role in the debates that followed and took detailed notes of the proceedings. Despite the defeat of two important parts of his plan—proportional representation in both houses of Congress and a federal veto over state laws—Madison's contribution to the U.S. Constitution was such as to earn him the title "Father of the Constitution."

Once more in Congress, Madison made sure the drafted constitution was sent to the states for ratification. He joined forces with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to write a series of essays for a New York newspaper explaining and defending the new constitution. These eighty-five essays, of which Madison wrote twenty-nine, were subsequently published as *The Federalist* and have ever since been read as a guide to the constitutional thought of the founding generation.

In 1788 Madison returned home to attend the Virginia Ratifying Convention, where he successfully defended the draft constitution against the anti-Federalists led by Patrick Henry. Virginia became the tenth state to ratify. Blocked by Governor Henry from a seat in the U.S. Senate, Madison ran against James Monroe and won a seat in the House of Representatives.

In the First Federal Congress, Madison took a leading part as legislators created a revenue system, executive departments, and a federal court system. Madison also advised President Washington on matters of protocol and procedure and drafted a number of the president's speeches. Madison's most important contribution in this period was the drafting of a series of nineteen amendments to the Constitution, culled from more than two hundred suggested by the states, answering the most vociferous criticisms of the document. Madison insisted that Congress take up this issue, ensuring the debate that sent twelve amendments to the states for ratification. Ten were finally adopted to become the Bill of Rights.

Madison lost influence with the president as Washington turned to his newly appointed cabinet for advice. Perhaps the most powerful voice in the new administration belonged to Hamilton, the secretary of the Treasury, whose financial plans for the new Republic were distinctly at odds with those of



**James Madison.** The fourth president of the United States, in a miniature watercolor by Charles Willson Peale. Peale painted this portrait in Philadelphia in 1783 when Madison was in his early thirties. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

ment of the essential value of the separation of church and state.

In 1786 Madison attended a convention at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss interstate trade issues. The convention called for a general convention of delegates from all the states to discuss measures to enhance the powers of the federal government. At home in Virginia Madison lobbied heavily for such a meeting and to compose a slate of distinguished Virginians to attend. He was instrumental in convincing George Washington that his presence was essential for the success of such a convention.

In the meantime, Madison undertook two research projects. The first involved reading widely in the history of ancient republics and confederacies and studying the reasons for their collapse. The second was an examination of the "Vices of the Political System of the U.S." Both projects yielded notes and memoranda that formed the basis for Madison's contributions to the Constitutional Convention.

In February 1787 Madison took his seat as a delegate in the Confederation Congress at New York. During the spring session Madison drafted the plan

Madison. The Virginian opposed Hamilton's policies on assumption of the states' Revolutionary War debt, on his plans to fully fund U.S. securities despite rampant speculation, and on Hamilton's pro-British trade slant. The divide between the two men only grew larger in subsequent Congresses as the full extent of Hamilton's financial system became apparent. Madison, along with Secretary of State Jefferson, considered the system, modeled on that of Great Britain, a betrayal of the original principles of the American Revolution and an attempt to subvert the intent of the framers of the Constitution. Their opposition laid the foundation for the first party system and divided the country into Jeffersonian-Republicans and Federalists.

The divide was further embittered by the European conflict that arose in the wake of the French Revolution. Madison and the Republicans expressed sympathy for France, which they felt was the legitimate heir of their own revolution, whereas Federalists recoiled at the violence and excesses there. Despite treaty ties with France, Washington issued a neutrality proclamation in 1793, which Madison considered unconstitutional. He attacked the proclamation in a series of essays signed "Helvidius," but to no avail. The tilt toward Great Britain continued with the negotiation and ratification of Jay's Treaty in 1794–1795, which brought an end to a number of conflicts at the price of significant concessions. Madison considered these concessions to be so humiliating that he tried to block House appropriations to implement the treaty. Once again his efforts failed. With the election of Federalist John Adams in 1796, Madison took his leave of the House of Representatives in March 1797.

In his Montpelier retirement, Madison responded to the Quasi-War with France and Adams's domestic policies. In 1798 the Virginia legislature accepted a number of his resolutions, with his authorship concealed, in response to the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Virginia Resolutions called for the states to protest federal infringements on personal liberties. In 1799 he wrote two essays, also anonymous, for the newspapers: "Foreign Influence" examined British influence on the United States, and "Political Reflections" discussed France and the nature of republican government. In that same year he sought and won a seat in the state legislature, determined to defend the Virginia Resolutions from attacks by other states. His *Report of 1800*, adopted by the Virginia assembly, set forth the case for the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Acts and eloquently defended the right of free speech.

With Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800, Madison became secretary of state, serving from 1801 to 1809. Madison's tenure was distinguished by the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France, which effectively doubled the size of the United States. Madison's greatest trial was maintaining U.S. neutrality in the face of British and French depredations on American commerce. His meticulously researched book, *An Examination of the British Doctrine, which Subjects to Capture a Neutral Trade, Not Open in Time of Peace* (1806), demonstrating how Great Britain's maritime practice contravened international law, proved to no avail. The embargo enacted in 1807, employing Madison's favorite weapon, economic coercion, was an equal failure.

Elected president in 1808, Madison tried other economic measures to stop European depredations on U.S. commerce and seamen. None proved successful, and Madison undertook measures to prepare the country for war. In June 1812 he laid out the rationale for hostilities with Great Britain, and a declaration of war by Congress followed.

Madison was the first president to serve as commander in chief under the U.S. Constitution. The war effort was hampered by poor leadership at every level—national, state, and in the armed forces—and political opposition from the New England states. The administration's Canada strategy was a fiasco, and the British campaign in the Chesapeake, including the burning of Washington, D.C., was a humiliation. Only the single ship combats on the high seas and the naval victory at Lake Erie provided a modicum of success. The skill of the U.S. negotiators at Ghent and the victory at New Orleans provided a happy ending to what might have been a political disaster.

Upon leaving office, Madison returned to his Montpelier plantation, where he edited his public papers for posthumous publication and assisted Jefferson in the creation of the University of Virginia. He served as the university's second rector from 1826 to 1833. His last public appearance was at the 1829 Virginia Constitutional Convention.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Continental Congresses; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Embargo; European Influences: The French Revolution; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Ghent, Treaty of; Hamilton, Alexander; Jay's Treaty;**

Jefferson, Thomas; Lake Erie, Battle of; Louisiana Purchase; New Orleans, Battle of; Presidency, The: James Madison; Quasi-War with France; States' Rights; Virginia; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom; War of 1812; Washington, George.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Banning, Lance. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Brugger, Robert J., Mary A. Hackett, and David B. Mattern et al., eds. *The Papers of James Madison, Secretary of State Series.* 6 vols. to date. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986–.

Hutchinson, William T., and William M. E. Rachal et al., eds. *The Papers of James Madison.* Vols. 11–17, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977–91.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison: A Biography.* New York: Macmillan, 1971; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Rakove, Jack. *James Madison and the Creation of the American Republic.* Edited by Oscar Handlin. New York: Longman, 2002.

Rutland, Robert A., and J. C. A. Stagg et al., eds. *The Papers of James Madison, Presidential Series.* 5 vols. to date. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1984–.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

*David B. Mattern*

**MAGAZINES**   Magazines in the colonial era faced significant challenges. Paper and printing presses were in short supply and expensive, and the existing transportation and postal systems did not facilitate widespread distribution of periodicals. Also in short supply were readers with enough leisure time and surplus money to support magazine ventures. Nor were there enough authors available to craft the stories, essays, sketches, and poems required by periodical publishers. By 1829 none of these obstacles had been completely overcome, but the industry was poised on the brink of an era in which the number, variety, and readership of magazines grew exponentially and authors could make a living by their pens. Thus the periodical made only intermittent contributions to the political, economic, and cultural fabric of the colonial and early national periods; the story is rather one of gradual growth and laying the groundwork for a periodical boom in the antebellum years.

The birth of the American magazine can accurately be traced to February 1741, when rival Philadelphia printers Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin introduced the *American Magazine* and the *General Magazine*, respectively. Both were monthlies that took as their models the English *Gentleman's Magazine* and *London Magazine*. They attempted to fill a publishing niche between two already popular formats, the newspaper and the almanac. Though neither lasted more than six months, Bradford and Franklin provided the organizational model for the colonial magazine: print shop proprietors founded the majority of the approximately seventeen magazines attempted between 1741 and 1776. Articles in early magazines tended toward sober essays on subjects such as government legislation, economics, and European military campaigns. Often, little distinguished magazines from early newspapers other than their greater length (the *General Magazine* averaged seventy-five pages) and less frequent issue. However, newspaper, pamphlet, and broadside publishing thrived during the era, whereas no American magazine lasted more than three years and most folded within a year. Conditions were not yet right for longer, more expensive periodical experiments.

The magazine also played only a small role in the Revolutionary era, when material constraints were, if anything, more pronounced than in colonial years. The Boston-based *Royal American Magazine* (1774–1775) was founded by the most successful printer in early America, Isaiah Thomas, and featured copper engravings by Paul Revere. It combined Patriot politics with a miscellany of original and reprinted fiction, advice columns, and essays on history, agriculture, literature, and religion. In Philadelphia, Thomas Paine served as editor and primary contributor to printer-bookseller Robert Aitken's *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1775–1776). Though Paine's Revolutionary ardor was prominently featured, so too were articles on love, marriage, and the rights of women. That the *Pennsylvania Magazine* attained some fifteen hundred subscribers—large for its time—suggests that its domestic leanings were a sign of things to come.

Two important early American magazines were the *Columbian Magazine* and the *American Museum*, both published in Philadelphia. Mathew Carey, the prominent printer, helped found the *Columbian Magazine* with three others in 1786. In 1787, Carey, upset by the frustrations of co-ownership, began the *American Museum.* Both magazines lasted until 1792
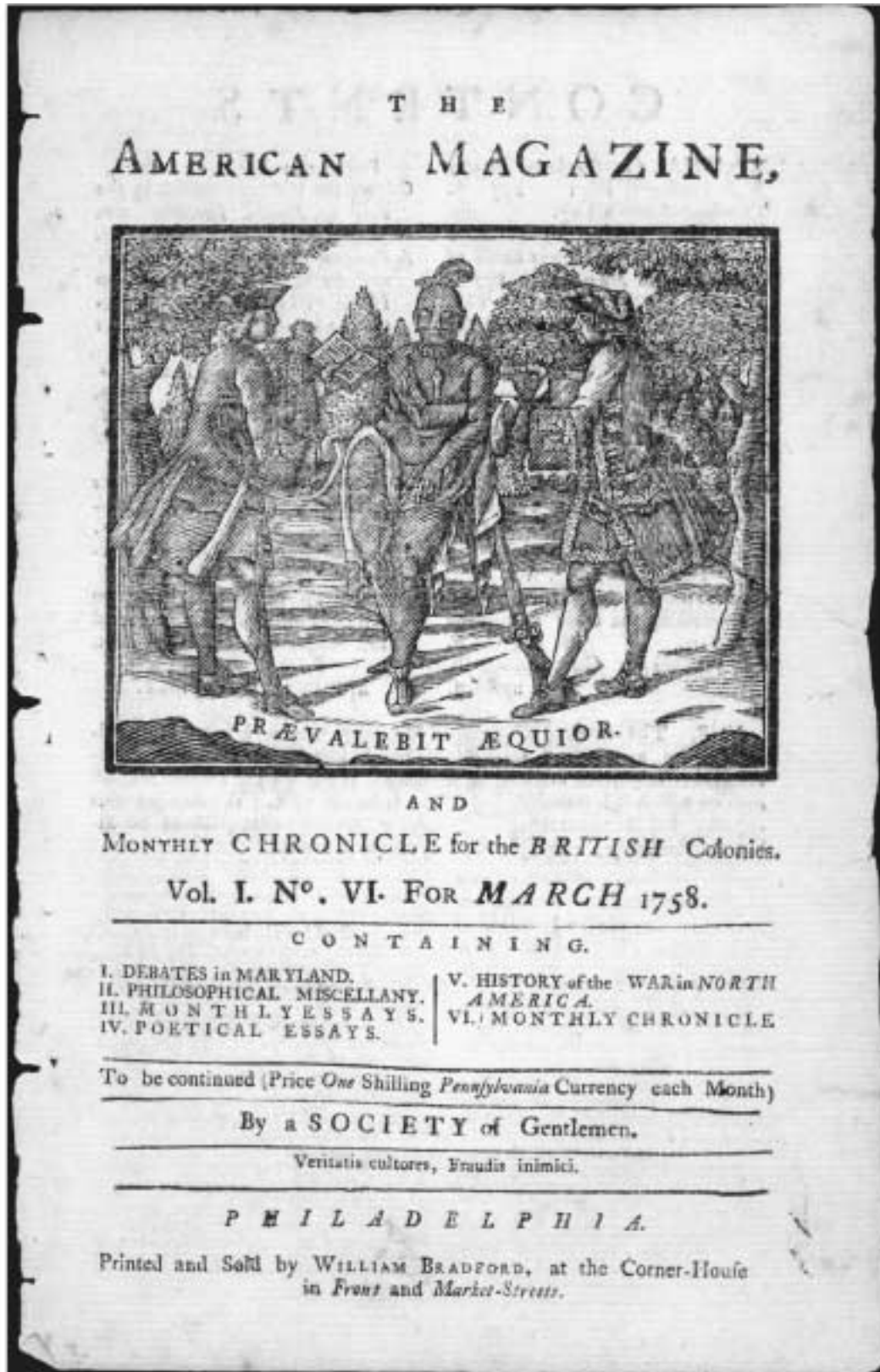
**The American Magazine.** The cover woodcut from the March 1758 issue of *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies* was printed and sold in Philadelphia by William Bradford (nephew of Andrew Bradford). LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

and thus constitute the first successful American periodicals. They featured topical and historical essays, short narratives, poetry, and one or two engravings per issue. Much of the material was reprinted from other newspapers and magazines, from America and abroad, but they also included original texts when possible. Charles Brockden Brown and William Byrd contributed articles to the *Columbian Magazine*, while Benjamin Franklin and the poets known as "the Connecticut Wits" appeared in the *American Museum*.

Two other influential periodicals prior to 1800 were Noah Webster's *American Magazine* (1787–1788) and the *New York Magazine* (1790–1797). Both contributed to a characteristic magazine ethos—that of a cultivated forum in which an educated aristocracy adjudicated republican virtue and taste. The elite tone persisted through the first quarter of the nineteenth century in magazines such as Joseph Dennie's *Port Folio* (1801–1827), the longest-lived periodical of the era. The *Port Folio* began as a staunch advocate of conservative Federalist politics, but by 1809 eschewed politics for a literary agenda of short fiction, poetry, book reviews, and author biographies to assert its claim to cultural stewardship.

The *Port Folio* was never financially prosperous, a fate it shared with most of its peers. However, several developments during the early national period boded well for the growth of the industry. The practice of unsigned or pseudonymous publishing began to wane, which allowed authors to establish their names as recognizable commodities. Authors began to be paid for their efforts, and Washington Irving (1783–1859) built on his periodical experience to become the first American to earn a living as a writer. Magazines devoted to single subjects—such as medicine, agriculture, or humor—appeared as the industry took tentative steps to market specific products to segmented reading audiences.

Women played only a small role during this era as owners, editors, or writers, but they began to make their presence felt as readers. Much of the material provided for their consumption consisted of fashion, domestic advice, and sentimental fiction, but some articles did cover larger issues such as suffrage, the need for equitable education, and the right to enhanced legal stature.

*See also* **Book Trade; Fiction; Newspapers; Nonfiction Prose.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Clark, Charles E. "News and Opinion in the Popular Press." In *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World.* Edited by Hugh Amory and David D. Hall. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press; Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 2000.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines.* Vol. 1: *1741–1850.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Nord, David Paul. "A Republican Literature: Magazine Reading and Readers in Late-Eighteenth-Century New York." In *Reading in America: Literature and Social History.* Edited by Cathy N. Davidson. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

*Peter Molin*

**MAINE**    For most of the eighteenth century, Maine was a sparsely settled frontier appendage of Massachusetts. The French and Indian War removed threats to settlers and helped to spur migration to Maine. From a total of roughly 10,000 white inhabitants in 1750, Maine's population grew to 42,241 by 1777, numbered 96,540 in the first census of 1790, and 151,719 in 1800. The American Revolution marked a turning point in Maine's early history. The burning of Falmouth (Portland) early in the war and the 1779 occupation of Castine at the mouth of the Penobscot River convinced many that Maine should seek independence from Massachusetts. The supporters of separation were often yeomen farmers in the district's interior, many of whom lacked title to their land. Coastal merchants and creditors generally opposed statehood. Conflict over these issues dominated the political landscape until after the War of 1812.

The British conquest of eastern Maine in 1814 during the War of 1812 was the catalyst for Maine statehood. Mainers overwhelmingly voted in favor of separation in the spring of 1819. The ensuing Maine Constitution would be one of the most democratic in the nation, embracing freedom of religion, extending both the franchise and the right to hold state offices to all adult males regardless of race or property ownership, and instituting annual elections of state representatives. Maine's entry into the Union was delayed by the Missouri controversy. When Northern legislators sought to prevent Missouri from entering the Union as a slave state, Southerners held Maine's application for admission hostage to prevent an imbalance between free and slave states. Many Mainers were willing to forgo statehood to prevent the expansion of slavery, but ultimately the pro-statehood arguments overwhelmed antislavery principles, and Maine was admitted as the twenty-third state on 15 March 1820.

Maine had 298,335 inhabitants in 1820, an increase from the 1810 figure of 228,705. Most of the newcomers to this overwhelmingly rural state were farmers who had come from other parts of New England. The great majority of Maine residents were white: only 929 Mainers were nonwhites (Native Americans were not included in the census), and only 1,680 were unnaturalized immigrants. Over 90 percent of the population was either Congregationalist or Baptist. Lumber, shipbuilding, and commerce were important in Maine's few towns, the largest of which was Portland, with just 8,581 inhabitants. During the 1820s the population grew by roughly 10,000 a year, increasing from 298,335 in 1820 to 399,455 in 1830. Much of the growth resulted from migration into the interior. Although Maine's economy did not dramatically change during this period, lumber and land sales became increasingly prominent facets of the local economy.

After Maine achieved statehood, several details of the separation remained unresolved. The most pressing issue was the status of Maine's northern border. The Treaty of Paris following the American Revolution offered an imprecise description of the U.S.–Canada border. Initial efforts to resolve this issue failed, and the resulting boundary dispute would dominate state politics for a generation.

*See also* **Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Lumber and Timber Industry; Massachusetts; Missouri Compromise.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Banks, Ronald F. *Maine Becomes a State: The Movement to Separate Maine from Massachusetts, 1785–1820.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970.

Greenleaf, Moses. *A Survey of the State of Maine in Reference to Its Geographical Features, Statistics and Political Economy.* 1829. Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1970.

Hatch, Louis C., ed. *Maine: A History.* 4 vols. New York: American Historical Society, 1919.

Judd, Richard W., Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman, eds. *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to Present.* Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995.

Leamon, James S. *Revolution Downeast: The War for American Independence in Maine.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.

Taylor, Alan. *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

*J. Chris Arndt*

**MALARIA** Both European and African immigrants introduced malaria, a mosquito-borne parasitical illness that produces alternating cycles of fevers and chills, to North America. From the British Isles, the early colonists brought vivax malaria, the great debilitator, that was known as "the ague." It became established in the British North American colonies, although outbreaks were only sporadic in the more northern territories, where human populations were low and adult mosquitoes died during the winter. The African captives brought falciparum malaria, the great killer. Falciparum became established in regions of the southern and middle colonies, alongside vivax malaria.

Both forms of malaria were prevalent in tidewater, marshy, riverine, and low-lying regions of the British North American colonies and are best considered as endemic. In the middle colonies, most malarial infections seem to have been vivax, with its low (characteristically, 1 to 2 percent) rate of mortality. In the southern colonies, both falciparum and vivax infections were common, particularly during the summer months.

The patterns of infection varied greatly, however, between Africans and Europeans. Almost all Africans were unable to contract vivax malaria, owing to a genetic mutation of a hemoglobin antigen known as red blood cell Duffy negativity. Europeans, on the other hand, were fully susceptible to vivax malaria, and because the vivax parasite could lie dormant in the liver, Europeans were subject to malarial relapses even without additional infection. Africans and Europeans also had differential responses to falciparum infections. Many Africans carried a genetic hemoglobin mutation known as hemoglobin S or sickle-cell that afforded considerable protection against the great killer. Europeans had no such genetic defense, and mortality during the first year of falciparum infections could run as high as 50 percent. The differential response to both vivax and falciparum underwrote European American convictions that the European and African "races" were biologically different and thus helped to rationalize the institution of racial slavery.

Malaria was, however, not only a disease of the eastern seaboard. As European American migrants opened up new territories beyond the Appalachian Mountains and began the great deforestations of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, malaria insinuated itself into the newly converted biomes. On soils broken by the plow, hoof, and wheel, rainfall puddled and produced ideal conditions for mosquito breeding. A

frontier of malaria moved with the migrants, pushing westward a zone of endemic malarial infection.

The only effective cure during the eighteenth century was to ingest powdered bark from the cinchona tree, which grew high in the Andes. In 1820 pharmacists in France succeeded in isolating the antimalarial alkaloids from cinchona bark, and within a few years their techniques became known in the United States. In the early 1820s a new quinine industry took root in Philadelphia, and a national market developed. Quinine relieved suffering, but until the late nineteenth century the alkaloid remained expensive and its use was never sufficiently universal to break the chains of infection. Malaria continued to plague the nation into the late nineteenth century and, in some southern regions, the first half of the twentieth century.

See also **Epidemics; Health and Disease; Medicine.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ackerknecht, Erwin H. *Malaria in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1760–1900.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1977.

Kiple, Kenneth F., and Virginia H. King. *Another Dimension to the Black Diaspora: Diet, Disease, and Racism.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

*James L. A. Webb Jr.*

**MALE FRIENDSHIP** Male friendships during the early Republic played an important role in its politics. The bonds between the Lees of Virginia and the Adamses of Massachusetts, between George Washington and James Madison, between James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, and between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams are often noted even in brief biographical sketches. On the other hand, intimate male friendship—enshrined in Western myth and honored in Western history as ennobling and virtuous since classical times—has generally been ignored in studies of the politics and culture of the period. Until its last decade, twentieth-century historians confronted by the devotion and anguish of the love letters that such friends wrote each other have veiled their meaning with a dismissive remark about the flowery language of the times. In fact, intimate male friendship seems to have flowered in the early Republic, fueled in part by the cultural role of the Continental Army and the male bonding inherent in war, but also perhaps by the need to define republican citizenship differently than colonial citizenship. Consequently, it was not shocking in 1826 that George Washington Parke Custis published newspaper articles identifying Robert Morris as the man whom George Washington really loved and who "had the privilege of his heart," or comparing the relationship between his step-grandfather and General Nathanial Greene to that of Alexander the Great and Hephaestion.

These intimate male friendships did not generally occur in the absence of women; indeed many of the men married or had sexual relations with women. Nevertheless, the question of whether there was a genital sexual component to any of these relationships is raised by the passionate and—to modern ears—homoerotic language of the letters and diaries, as well as by the argument that intimate male friendship was one of the roots that gave rise to homosexual culture in the twentieth century. We may never know the answer because in the early Republic sexuality was seldom the subject of the written discourses on which historians rely, the exception being political attacks such as those suffered by Jefferson and Hamilton.

**NOTABLE EARLY AMERICAN INTIMATE MALE FRIENDSHIPS**
While early American historians have only begun to discover and study these friendships in and of themselves or within the social context in which they existed, the source materials are rich.

Peter Charles L'Enfant and Swedish Consul Richard Soderstrom began living together in Philadelphia in 1794 when the planner of Washington, D.C., moved to the city to build a mansion for Robert Morris. Ten years later the relationship ended in federal district court. The emotionally charged self-defense that the French-born American put on paper, and kept all of his life, indicates that the lawsuit is better described as palimony rather than settlement of accounts.

Two hours before being blown up in Tripoli harbor, United States Navy Captain Richard Somers gave fellow naval hero and soon-to-be-inconsolable Captain Stephen Decatur a gold ring engraved "Tripoli 1804" on the outside and "R.S. to S.D. 1804" on the inside. A better documented though unexplored military friendship was that between William Clark and Meriwether Lewis. Built on mutual respect and trust, the relationship was strong enough to support a voluntarily shared command over a United States Army unit that explored the North American conti-

nent from the mouth of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Columbia River from 1804 to 1806.

Another well documented intimate friendship was that among former Continental Army General Frederick Steuben and his two aides, Colonels William North and Benjamin Walker. Steuben had come to manhood in a Germanic culture that, as Stephen Jaeger notes, was experiencing the revival of passionate male friendships rooted in admiration of the male physique. North, who believed that the three veterans should live together and that his and Walker's wife should submit to the situation, stood at the center of the triad, comfortably expressing love to both men while at the same time struggling to understand the meaning of the friendship.

Other examples of intimate male friendships include Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens, George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette, Robert Fulton and Joel Barlow, William Wirt and Dabney Carr, Rep. George Thatcher and Thomas B. Wait of Maine, the abolitionists Theodore Dwight Weld and Charles Stuart, the South Carolinians Jeffrey Withers and James Hammond, the Brown University students Virgil Maxy and William Blanding, and, in fiction, Natty Bumppo and Chingachook.

### INTERPRETATION

E. Anthony Rotundo, who finds little evidence of male friendship in the late eighteenth century outside of the Continental Army, sees the phenomenon throughout the nineteenth century as a rather commonplace bonding between young adult males during the transition between their childhood and marriage. He discusses several such intimate relationships, concluding that most resembled a marriage in which genital sexual activity was not allowed but caressing, kissing and other forms of physical affection in and out of bed was.

Donald Yacovone argues that American fraternal love was modeled on classical tradition and particularly on *agape*, the love of the early Christian Church inspired by Christ's love for humanity and the twelve disciples' love for Christ. Thus, a man's character was measured by his ability to be gentle and affectionate as well as strong. Fraternal love was, according to Yacovone, a remarkably constant and pervasive cultural ideal from the Puritan settlement until the second decade of the twentieth century.

In the most sophisticated study of the subject to date, Caleb Crain mentions or explores several intimate friendships, including those of Daniel Webster and James Bingham and Charles Brockden Brown and various men. John Mifflin and James Gibson re-

corded their relationship in shared diaries in 1786 and 1787, the sources from which Crain so ably, and in such detail, reconstructs their intimacy. That Mifflin's mother and her neighbor Mary Norris both welcomed the older Gibson into their sons' beds is shown to be quite ordinary. Crain suggests the thesis that male romantic friendship was better suited as a metaphor and model for republican citizenship than the filial parent-child metaphor that had defined the relationship between the American colonies and England, or even a marital metaphor because women were not full citizens in the early Republic.

While some attempt has been made to categorize these friendships as egalitarian or dependent, all such categories—other than older/younger—seem to fall apart. Was the Hamilton–Laurens relationship egalitarian given the class distinctions? Was the French aristocrat Lafayette, whose support Washington desperately needed, really the dependent partner? How long, if ever, was the L'Enfant–Soderstrom relationship egalitarian?

Crain argues that democracy's assault on the culture of sympathy and sensibility at the close of the early Republic wounded intimate male friendship, citing Tocqueville's observation that the direct expression of love between men was becoming stigmatized in the United States by 1831. That the wound was not mortal can be seen in the relationship between Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed, and, most strikingly, in the many surviving photographs of male friends. The gradual adoption of the concept of homosexuality in the United States after World War I (the word entered the English Language in 1892), and the resulting concern of males that they not be so targeted finally struck the death blow.

*See also* **Manliness and Masculinity.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bowling, Kenneth R. *Peter Charles L'Enfant: Vision, Honor and Male Friendship in the Early American Republic.* Washington, D.C.: The Friends of The George Washington University Libraries, 2002.

Crain, Caleb. *American Sympathy: Men, Friendship and Literature in the New Nation.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001.

Dietcher, David. *Dear Friends: American Photographs of Men Together, 1840–1918.* New York: Abrams, 2001.

Halperin, David M. *How to Do the History of Homosexuality.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002.

Jaeger, C. Stephen. *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Yacovone, Donald, "Surpassing the Love of Women." In *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender.* Laura McCall and Donald Yacovone, eds. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

*Kenneth R. Bowling*

**MANLINESS AND MASCULINITY** Concepts of manliness in the dominant culture of eighteenth-century British North America came largely from England. Independence and honor were vital components of manliness in all the colonies of British North America. Independence was probably the more important of the two in the northern colonies, while honor was generally more significant in the southern colonies. "Manly independence" referred to the economic autonomy that came with the ownership of property, generally land. Independence also referred to candor ("manly frankness"); in this era of hierarchy and deference, speaking honestly to one's superiors was a brave act worthy of a man. "Honor" referred to reputation in a face-to-face society, a reputation that had to be maintained in the view of one's (usually male) peers. A man's good name had to be preserved at all costs ("saving face").

A third component of manliness, reason, was considered a defining difference between men and women. "Manly reason," it was thought, enabled men to control their feelings in a way that women could not. This fundamental difference had roots both in the Bible (Adam and Eve) and science (the theory of the humors). From both of those perspectives, men and women were seen as having the same fundamental nature, with men being a superior version of that nature. The idea of superiority provided justification for men's power over women in the eighteenth century.

Age also played a crucial role in the understanding of manliness. A man could control his passions, the thinking went, whereas a boy could not. A boy—and a man lacking self-control—were considered effeminate. Both within the colonial apprenticeship system and in the farming society of early New England, it was important for a teenage boy to live with a man (his father, or his master within the apprenticeship system) from whom he could learn the self-restraint of a man. At the same time, the youth would learn occupational skills from the adult male that in the future would enable him to achieve "a

competence"—a reference both to a set of skills and to an ability to support a family competently.

In the mid- to late 1700s, republican ideals became a part of the period's essential understanding of manliness. In many ways, the ideology of the Revolution gave preexisting ideas about manhood a new language and a vital political framework. When republican theory defined "virtue" as a readiness to put the general interest above self-interest, it echoed the concern with "social usefulness" that was already a manly ideal in the face-to-face communities of British North America. The republican concept of "effeminacy" as luxury and self-indulgence was a short step away from the existing idea of effeminacy as a boyish lack of self-control.

A transformation took place in concepts of manliness in the decades surrounding 1800. One fundamental change was in the understanding of how maleness and femaleness differed. No longer seen as better and worse versions of the same substance, men and women were now viewed as fundamentally different in nature. To be manly was to be active, ambitious, rational, and independent. To be womanly was to have keen moral, spiritual, and emotional sensibilities and a strong sense of interdependence. The traditional understanding that men should have power over women remained; however, that power was justified on new grounds. Common wisdom now held that women were naturally domestic and submissive, whereas men—strong, rational, energetic—were naturally dominant.

At the same time, regional differences that already existed in concepts of manliness sharpened. The North during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was emerging as a commercial region in which farmers and artisans produced increasingly for broader markets. The South remained wedded to a semifeudal, single-crop economy based on plantation slavery. In the new commercial milieu of the North, (white) manliness was understood in the context of open competition for wealth, status, and power—indeed, popular belief held that men were "self-made." The ideal man was someone who possessed the aggressive, self-advancing qualities to succeed in the competition for power and reward. This competition meant that the regard for the social good built into colonial concepts of manhood declined. In its place came a new gender-based model for maintaining the social good. According to this doctrine of "separate spheres," men sought their personal good in the harsh, amoral public arena ("the world"), while women maintained the domestic arena ("the home") as a nurturing place where

women revived the moral and spiritual sensibilities of their husbands and instilled them in their children. Aiding women in their role as moral exemplars and teachers were the values of the Second Great Awakening, which impressed many northern men with demanding notions of piety and restraint (notions that would become secularized later in the century as "character").

The solidification of the southern planter class and of race-based slavery led to notions of manhood that reflected imaginings of chivalry and feudal social structure. Where northern men imputed sexual purity to women and saw it as a force that could save men from "natural" lust, southern men imagined women's sexual purity not as something that would protect them but as something that they as men should protect. While early modern notions of honor faded in the North, they flourished in the South. A man's reputation and those of his family and his wife were central to manly notions of honor that were invigorated in this period among all classes of white men. But there were significant class differences. For the planter class, the ultimate proof of honor lay in the duel, which wrapped anger and violence in elaborate, formal ritual. Yeomen farmers and poor backwoodsmen proved their honor in a different fashion, ritualized but far less formal and restrained. They engaged in eye-gouging and no-holds-barred wrestling as customary practices that proved manly honor.

White southern men were held together across class lines by a common sense of superiority and fear in relation to African American men. White men cast them as ignorant, uncivilized, and sexually dangerous, and these qualities provided a convenient rationale for the system of bondage. Because African Americans were scarce in the rural North, they played little role in notions of ideal manhood there. Nevertheless, many white workingmen in the burgeoning cities of the North imagined African American men as libidinous and uncivilized. These notions arose in the context of economic friction stemming from competition for work between white and African American artisans and laborers in the early nineteenth century.

Although our knowledge of African American manliness as a category of "otherness" is extensive, we know little about African Americans' own concepts of manliness in this era. To the extent that African Americans absorbed or adapted to white concepts of manliness (such as independence and "competence" as economic providers), they were dealing with a standard that they were denied resources to attain. During the early nineteenth century, freedom (and the act of standing up for it) became known as "the manhood of the race," a term that applied to the behavior of both men and women in pursuit of freedom. But in general we know less about concepts of manliness in this era than we do about many other aspects of African American culture.

*See also* **Courtship; Domestic Violence; Dueling; Male Friendship; Marriage; Parenthood; Rape; Seduction; Sexual Morality.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gorn, Elliott. "'Good-Bye Boys, I Die a True American': Homicide, Nativism, and Working-Class Culture in Antebellum New York City." *Journal of American History* 74 (1987): 388–410.

Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Lombard, Anne S. *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transitions in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

*E. Anthony Rotundo*

**MANNERS**   The story of manners in the new nation is one of increasing opportunities for social equality for some, but not all, Americans. Manners, like many revolutions that mark the era, underwent an unfinished or partial revolution. Trends in behavior codes were transatlantic, and American independence did not greatly influence the pace or substance of change. Yet changing expectations for face-to-face behavior do suggest how the larger political and economic revolutions reverberating through Western civilization were enacted in daily encounters.

Diaries and letters provide glimpses of early American manners, but we discover a broader picture of contemporary expectations in the advice literature written by elites to teach certain behaviors to the middling and lower classes. Conduct literature in colonial America consisted mostly of imported English translations and imitations of Renaissance courtesy works and, especially in New England, local sermons. The courtesy works were nearly all intended for elite men, whereas the sermons were elite efforts to teach the lower sort how to defer.

The mix of advice books, sermons, treatises on family government and other published discussions of proper behavior began to change in the Revolutionary era. New works, generally of British authorship, were written by and for the rising middling sort. In addition, whereas most of the earlier literature had been intended for gentlemen, after 1750, and especially at the end of the century, there was a great deal of discussion of proper behavior for women. Notions of proper behavior in youth also underwent change. In all three cases—the middling, women, and youth—these groups whose status was rising in Anglo-America were given advice similar to that previously reserved for elite adult men. This advice generally consisted of how and when to exercise bodily self-control. To a greater extent than ever before, the concern was with proper behavior in encounters with equals. The lower sort and children were still asked to defer to their superiors.

The era's most popular and influential book of manners was Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son.* Widely castigated for the worldliness of some of his advice—he told his son that the best shortcut to polished behavior was to take up with Parisian ladies of fashion—his work was nevertheless a runaway best seller after its posthumous publication in 1776. Although he was an aristocrat, Lord Chesterfield wrote advice that reflected the rapidly changing social scene of mid-eighteenth-century Britain. He told his son not to make the mistake of looking down on the rising middling sort. More important, his advice revived for an English audience the continental tradition of exacting particulars for deportment—"Remember the Graces!" was his constant plea. The specifics of how to stand, sit, and enter a room provided a ticket of entry into the newly empowered but self-conscious bourgeoisie. His work and that of many imitators formed the core of Anglo-American etiquette for nearly a century.

Chesterfield began to compose advice to his son when the latter was in his mid-teens and entering society while making a tour of the Continent. He was entering the world of adults and was expected to behave like one. Chesterfield and other authors whose work circulated in Anglo-America between 1750 and 1820 adopted a new stance toward standards of behavior for youth. Previously, youth had been taught an only slightly watered-down version of the deference repertoires children were taught to perform in the presence of their elders (or an even stricter repertoire should they happen to be positioned as servants). After 1750 youths were treated more as young adults than as older children. Expectations for

children's behavior remained the same except for the recommendations of the philosopher John Locke, who urged parents to rule a bit more gently than in the past. But even Locke made clear distinctions between the handling of youth and the handling of young children.

Much of the advice to women in the era was a simple extension of the bodily self-control taught to youth and the middling sort. As the culture began to grapple with the meaning of equality in the case of relations between men and women, arbiters of behavior were no longer comfortable lumping women with other inferiors. But nor were they comfortable with sameness in expectations for male and female behavior. Thus began their first tentative steps toward the "ladies first" system of etiquette that would flourish in the nineteenth century. Rather than continue to call women men's inferiors, the new system would turn the world upside down and call them men's superiors—in the social realm. Chesterfield's disparaging of women while urging his son to cater to their needs hints at the reality behind this new kind of deference. It was not the old deference to the strong, but a new compensatory form accorded women who were increasingly deprived of power in the political and economic realms. After 1820, however, these realities were increasingly disguised in such a way as to make "ladies first" an axiom of modern manners until the late twentieth century.

Because manners are first and foremost the stuff of urban culture, these new expectations appeared first in the cities of the eastern seaboard. The books that codified these expectations gradually made their way to the countryside and went west with the ambitious. Many dissenters from the new behavior codes sprang up. Southern planters, for example, clung to the older exclusive aristocratic code longer than did their Yankee and British counterparts; it bolstered their claims to all forms of leadership through the early national period. But the power and utility of the bourgeois code for creating and maintaining a fictional theater of equals served the American Republic at least until the late nineteenth century, when great fortunes and great inequality could no longer be denied.

*See also* **Childhood and Adolescence; Class: Rise of the Middle Class; Dueling; Equality; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Richard. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

Hemphill, C. Dallett. *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Rozbicki, Michal. *The Complete Colonial Gentleman: Cultural Legitimacy in Plantation America.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books.* New York: Cooper Square, 1968.

*C. Dallett Hemphill*

## MANUFACTURING

The turn toward manufacturing was one of the most notable economic developments of the early national period. From a series of agricultural and mercantile colonies in the 1750s, the United States had begun to evolve into an important manufacturing power by the 1820s.

### BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION

The growth of manufacturing would have been very difficult to predict in the years before the Revolution. Although Benjamin Franklin half-jokingly wrote an English correspondent in 1764, "As to our being always supplied by you, 'tis a folly to expect it," the reality was that during the colonial era the colonists' manufactured goods were supplied primarily from overseas. British mercantilist legislation such as the Wool Act (1699), Hat Act (1732), and Iron Act (1750) was intended to prevent large-scale colonial manufacturing. Colonists for the most part were satisfied with this situation, provided that British merchants continued to pay good prices for American raw materials such as rice, tobacco, wheat, naval stores, and fish. Although some types of commercial manufacturing—such as iron forges—flourished, and some regions, particularly New England, developed a number of manufacturing establishments, the vast majority of Americans were content to stick to agricultural or mercantile pursuits throughout the colonial period. The dearth of manufacturing did not by any means signify a lack of goods; in fact, Americans participated in a consumer revolution during the eighteenth century as the number, types, and quality of imported manufactures grew exponentially.

The American Revolution brought an end to this colonial economic configuration. Most obviously, it destroyed the legal basis of British mercantilism. But several other related developments proved to be at least as significant. During the years of conflict in the 1760s and 1770s, the colonists turned toward economic protest as a means to coerce the British government into repealing obnoxious legislation such as the Stamp Act (1765) and Townshend Duties (1767). The most important weapon in their arsenal was the boycott used against British manufactures. Consequently, nonconsumption of British manufactures and production of domestically made articles became patriotic and profitable, spurring many Americans to begin manufacturing projects of their own. Some of these manufactories were built by individual entrepreneurs, while others, such as Philadelphia's so-called American Manufactory, were the products of patriotic civic committees. The boycotts also politicized for the first time America's artisans, who became very active in urban committees, such as the Sons of Liberty, that took it upon themselves to enforce the boycotts. Finally, the war itself impelled a certain level of economic independence as the British army and navy impeded Americans from importing goods as readily as they had during times of peace.

### POST-REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS

Enthusiasm for domestic manufactures and economic independence continued to grow after the war, and many sorts of people lobbied the national and state governments to encourage manufacturing. The newly politicized artisans initially led the movement. In most of the major cities they formed umbrella organizations that pushed the states to implement protective legislation. They were most successful in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, all of which enacted significant tariffs on foreign manufactures in the years before the ratification of the Constitution. Some merchants also saw the potential profits from manufacturing. In many cities they formed manufacturing societies that sponsored fairly large-scale textile factories to raise interest in the potential possibilities for domestic manufactures. Some, such as the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, were briefly profitable. Merchant members of these societies also joined with mechanics to lobby for government encouragement of manufacturing. Finally, a number of agricultural societies also publicized home manufacturing and larger-scale textile manufacturing as a means of stimulating new markets for agricultural products.

The most famous attempt to promote manufacturing during these years, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures* (1791), owed much to these efforts. Co-written with Tench Coxe, assistant treasurer of the United States and founder of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encour-

agement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, the report urged greater investment in factory production and more government encouragement to manufactures, especially in the form of bounties. Although the report died in Congress, it did spawn the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, a multifactory corporation in Paterson, New Jersey, that resembled a larger version of the earlier manufacturing societies, attracted many of the same wealthy investors, and which benefited from a valuable package of incentives from the state of New Jersey.

Technological change and new legal developments were two other factors stimulating manufactures in the early Republic. The industrial revolution was already well under way in England, where factory technologies were zealously guarded. However, new technologies seeped into the United States along with heavy immigration of skilled Europeans—both free men and servants. Samuel Slater, alerted to America's need for industrial technology by the propaganda of one of the manufacturing societies, is perhaps the most famous example of an immigrant who smuggled detailed information into the United States. Slater, credited with establishing modern textile-producing technology in American mills, was not an isolated example; in fact, it was often government policy during the early Republic to encourage such technology piracy. The most important indigenous technological development was Eli Whitney's system of interchangeable parts, which came to be known as the "American System" of manufacturing and which made possible the widespread development of mass production. Additionally, the early national legal system increasingly encouraged manufacturing. Many states offered various forms of pecuniary inducements to manufacturers. Although their exact role is now debated, corporate charters issued by state legislatures encouraged manufacturing companies by providing them a solid legal foundation and, in some cases, state subsidies. Finally, the emerging doctrine of "creative destruction," most famously elaborated in the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge* (1837), made it easier for industrial projects to proceed, despite claims from local landowners (often farmers whose lands were flooded by mill dams) that such development impinged on their right to enjoy their own property.

By 1808 a new set of concerns further encouraged manufacturing. The immediate catalyst was the challenge to American shipping by the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815). President Jefferson's Embargo of 1808 was intended to coerce Britain and France to respect American neutrality at sea. It ultimately failed, but by cutting off all foreign imports it had the largely unintended effect of further encouraging American manufacturing. The War of 1812, which ensued when economic coercion failed, also acted as a continuing incentive for domestic manufacturing by further isolating America from European imports. With the end of the war, many American manufacturers and their political allies forcefully argued for the need to pass new legislation to protect America's emerging factories, resulting in the tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828. The last of these acts, sometimes derided as the Tariff of Abominations, proposed to raise many tariffs well above the 25 percent mark and nearly precipitated civil war during the Nullification Crisis of 1832.

## THE TRANSFORMATION

All of these factors led to a significant rise in manufacturing by 1830. The most notable sector was textiles. Cotton production capacity, for example, increased from 8,000 spindles in 1808, to 80,000 by 1811, an estimated 350,000 by 1820, and 1.2 million by 1830. The most famous of all the textile projects was the large, vertically integrated factories created in Waltham and Lowell, Massachusetts, by corporations founded by wealthy merchants retrospectively known as the Boston Associates. The Waltham-Lowell factories were typical insofar as they relied on pirated technology and were begun when the War of 1812 offered protection from competing imports. They initially employed large numbers of young farm women from the surrounding rural areas, many of whom lived in company boardinghouses. By 1836 Lowell alone could boast of twenty textile mills employing nearly 7,000 workers, for an average of 350 workers per mill.

Further to the south, Philadelphia also was a major manufacturing center by 1830, but without large, vertically integrated factories. Instead, manufacturing there was characterized by proprietary capitalism, a flexible mixture of small, highly specialized, generally privately owned firms. Well over one thousand workers labored in the thirty-nine Philadelphia textile firms that responded to the census of 1820, for an average of fewer than thirty workers per manufactory. Factories also flourished in the countryside, usually near likely sources of waterpower. For example, Oneida County, New York, lightly settled and almost entirely agricultural in the 1790s, supported twenty-one textile factories producing a total of half a million dollars worth of goods by 1832.

But textile factories, while having a high profile, were only one aspect of the rise of manufactures. The years just after the Revolution witnessed the growth of many sorts of nonmechanized manufacturing establishments such as sugar refineries, ropewalks, and small shoe manufactories. New York City was moving toward "metropolitan industrialization," characterized by growing numbers of nonmechanized manufactories using traditional technologies but often employing wage laborers rather than the traditional configuration of master, journeyman, and apprentice. Home manufacturing grew, too. One contemporary estimated that New England farm families manufactured twice as much in 1790 as they had twenty years earlier. However, by 1820 factory production was beginning to be accepted as the new standard. While the 1810 census of manufactures had included all sorts of manufacturers—nonmechanized, factory, and household—the 1820 census generally assumed that manufacturing would be performed outside the home by wage workers rather than by apprentices or family members.

By the time of the Civil War, the United States would be on the verge of becoming one of the world's largest manufacturing economies. It was not quite there by 1830, but it had advanced a very long way from the dependent, agricultural, colonial economy of sixty years earlier.

*See also* **British Empire and the Atlantic World; Hamilton, Alexander; Manufacturing, in the Home; Textiles Manufacturing; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop; Work: Factory Labor.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ben-Atar, Doron S. *Trade Secrets: Intellectual Piracy and the Origins of American Industrial Power.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Bezís-Selfa, John. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Dublin, Thomas. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Jeremy, David J. *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790–1830s.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981.

Licht, Walter. *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Peskin, Lawrence A. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Scranton, Philip. *Proprietary Capitalism The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

*Lawrence A. Peskin*

## MANUFACTURING, IN THE HOME

Historians once viewed home manufactures as part of a golden age of rural economic isolation and self-sufficiency. More recently, they have viewed home manufacturing as a vital link in the economy of early America. It connected the rural economy to the urban economy at the same time that it tied the private world of the household to the public world of the marketplace.

Home manufacturing became increasingly important during the late colonial era and much of the early national period because of political and economic factors. Politically, home manufacturing played a central role in the protests leading up to the Revolution. Most famously, the Daughters of Liberty held highly publicized "spinning bees" at which they demonstrated their support for a nonimportation movement that, in calling for a boycott of British textiles, temporarily bolstered the symbolic and economic importance of homespun products. Others, such as volunteer firefighters, the graduating classes of both Harvard and Yale, and elite politicians such as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington also patriotically supported homespun.

As the colonies moved to separate themselves from the British Empire, economic circumstances again thrust home manufacturing into the limelight. Throughout the colonial period, home manufacturing processes such as cabinetmaking, leather tanning, and potash making held important places in regional economies. But after the colonies declared independence and the British navy blockaded their harbors, colonists increasingly were also forced to manufacture war materiel, ranging from gunpowder to textiles, within their households.

After the war, home manufacturing continued to prosper. By one estimate, New England farm families doubled their manufacturing output between 1770 and 1790, and as late as 1810, census figures showed "blended and unnamed cloths and stuffs," primarily home manufactures, as America's leading manufactured goods. Some entrepreneurs attempted

to promote new home manufactures on a broader scale; for example, William Cooper and Henry Drinker tried to convince upstate New York farm families to produce maple sugar as a substitute for imported West Indian sugar in the early 1790s. To the south, enslaved African Americans continued to manufacture many necessities for their owners' plantations and surrounding farms. For a time in the 1790s, for example, Thomas Jefferson turned a tidy profit from a slave-run nailery at Monticello. Other farm families continued to make finished items, such as candles, and processed foodstuffs, such as cider and cheese. But textiles, ranging from simple thread to high-quality woven products, remained the most important home manufactures. Agricultural societies promoted them by offering prize medals and publicizing them at country fairs. New York's state legislature even offered fifteen thousand dollars in prizes for homespun cloth made from domestic wool between 1809 and 1814.

Home textile manufacturing followed different patterns in different regions. In seventeenth-century New England and Maryland, male artisans had performed many cloth-making functions, but by the late colonial period all aspects of the process—from spinning to weaving—were generally performed by women in the New England household. By contrast, in early national Pennsylvania, women usually were responsible for spinning, but male weavers, some trained in Europe, still generally performed the final stages of manufacture on their looms. Far from destroying home manufacturing, early industrialization initially stimulated it in both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, beginning in the 1790s. Because this early factory production of textiles was only partly mechanized, women outworkers became a crucial aspect of the new factory system. As a result, women's work was increasingly brought into the marketplace.

This situation did not last long, however. Just as women's work became more profitable, home manufacturing began to decline. One can see the beginnings of this shift as early as the War of 1812, when patriotic literature was more inclined to laud new factories than to praise the female spinners who followed in the footsteps of the Daughters of Liberty. The industrial revolution played an important role in this decline. As more fully automated factories such as those in Lowell, Massachusetts, became more common by the 1820s, there was less demand for women to do outwork at home. Additionally, the concomitant market revolution led to a greater supply of all sorts of inexpensive goods to replace many of the products previously made at home. Thus, by 1830 or so, home manufacturing had begun a precipitous decline from which it never recovered. This decline altered family structures in important ways. In some rural families, women who might once have spun thread or woven cloth on the farm were now employed outside the home in new mechanized factories rising up along rural and urban waterways. Other rural women found new opportunities to sell processed agricultural goods such as butter to workers in nearby factories. Many middle-class women increasingly shifted their labor away from production and toward consumption and the more intensive child rearing characteristic of the Victorian era, reversing the earlier trend toward female market participation through home manufacturing.

*See also* **Home; Manufacturing; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hood, Adrienne D. *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Tryon, Rolla Milton. *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640–1860: A Study in Industrial History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth.* New York: Knopf, 2001.

*Lawrence A. Peskin*

**MARBURY V. MADISON**   On Friday, 27 February 1801, John Adams signed the bill for the governance of the District of Columbia. He had but five days left in his administration to appoint a series of judicial officers, including justices of the peace for five-year terms for the District's two counties. Over the weekend, the nominations for justices of the peace were completed and on Monday, 2 March, the president dispatched to the U.S. Senate nominations for twenty-three justices of the peace for Washington County and nineteen for Alexandria County. The Senate approved the nominations the following day, the last in Adams's administration. That night, after the president had signed the commissions and returned them to the Department of State, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, affixed the seal of the United States to the commissions and left it to his chief clerk to deliver and have them recorded in the department's record book of appointments.

The next day, while Thomas Jefferson was being inaugurated as the country's third president, James Marshall, brother of John and circuit court judge of the District of Columbia, delivered some of the commissions to justices of the peace in Alexandria County. But William Marbury's commission for Washington County was not among them. Other appointees, too, did not receive their commissions. The following day, Thomas Jefferson visited the State Department, almost certainly having inside information of what had happened, and "discovered" the undelivered commissions. He ordered them to be withheld and later issued his own appointments.

Later in the year, Marbury and some others appointees brought suit, asking the Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus to Secretary of State James Madison to compel the delivery of the commissions. Marbury brought his suit directly to the Supreme Court under section 13 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which gave the Supreme Court "original" jurisdiction in cases where a writ of mandamus (an order to perform a function) was requested against an executive official. The suit was part of a Federalist Party counterattack against the Jefferson administration. When the case finally came to trial before the Court in early 1803, John Marshall as chief justice, refused to be drawn into the political contest on the side of his Federalist Party compatriots. Instead, in a unanimous opinion, Marshall established the moral basis for the judicial review of unconstitutional legislation and removed the Court from partisan politics.

Marshall held that, as a matter of law, Marbury was entitled to his commission because his appointment as justice of the peace had been completed when President Adams signed the commission; delivery of the commission was not necessary for Marbury's assumption of office. The commission was merely evidence that Marbury had been appointed, as would a record of his appointment in the record book of the Secretary of State. But because he was validly appointed, Marbury was entitled to the evidence of his appointment. It followed logically from Marshall's opinion that President Jefferson could appoint new justices of the peace (there was no limit to the number under the law) but could not deny the position to those already appointed.

Marshall took pains to point out that he was acting solely as a judge in a court of law, and that the Supreme Court had no business interfering in the president's political or discretionary powers. But since the appointment had been completed, the secretary of state was legally bound to deliver the evidence of that appointment. Even at the trial, Marshall went out of his way not to embarrass Jefferson. He allowed Attorney General Levi Lincoln to refuse to answer the question, "What had been done with the Commission?" The answer, as everyone knew, would have been, "The president ordered me to destroy it," an act that would have been illegal. Marshall in effect was telling the president that the Supreme Court would no longer be involved in partisan politics (as it had been), and by implication was telling the president not to interfere with the judiciary. For his part, Jefferson did not accept the offer and continued, through intermediaries, to attack the Federalist judiciary for years to come.

Yet Marshall did not issue the writ of mandamus to Madison. The chief justice found that the Constitution had already defined the extent of the Supreme Court's original jurisdiction and that Congress could not expand it. The Court could only hear such cases on appeal. Marbury had brought his suit to the wrong court and Marshall dismissed it.

In this first instance of declaring part of an act of Congress unconstitutional, Chief Justice Marshall was careful to avoid saying that the Court could overrule Congress. Rather, Marshall pointed to his moral obligation under his oath of office as justice to enforce only that which was truly law. The Constitution was the superior law to this particular act of Congress, and Marshall, in order to fulfill his office under the Constitution, could not enforce what was not, in fact, valid law. He thus grounded the separation of powers in the different functions each branch performs and the moral obligation of members of each branch to perform their assigned functions and no others.

*See also* **Adams, John; Judicial Review; Marshall, John; Supreme Court; Supreme Court Justices.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Clinton, Robert Lowry. *Marbury v. Madison and Judicial Review.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.

Forte, David F. "Marbury's Travail: Federalist Politics and William Marbury's Appointment as Justice of the Peace." *Catholic University Law Review* 45 (1996): 349–402.

Nelson, William E. *Marbury v. Madison: The Origins and Legacy of Judicial Review.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000.

*David F. Forte*

**MARINES, U.S.** Created by Congress in 1798, the United States Marine Corps is one of the two services of the Department of the Navy and one of the four American military services. Its legislative legitimacy as a separate service was made clear in the Marine Corps Act of 1834.

The Marine Corps measures it unofficial historic existence from the American Revolution (1775–1783). The marines copied from their British Royal Marine counterparts, serving aboard U.S. Navy vessels for several reasons: intimidate the sailors into obedience; serve as bodyguards for U.S. naval officers; become naval gun crews in desperate gunnery engagements; serve as on-board snipers and grenadiers; and spearhead boarding and landing parties. Ashore, marines lived in barracks in navy yards in east coast port cities. "Marine Corps towns" were Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Norfolk, Charleston, and New Orleans. The marine enlisted force came from uneducated rural and urban British Americans and Irish and German immigrants. Nonwhites were banned from the Marine Corps by law to avoid fraternization with multiracial sailors the marines policed. Marine officers tended to be West Point and Annapolis dropouts, ambitious Celtic and German immigrants with some education, displaced southern gentry, and educated and unemployed youths influenced by bright uniforms and tales of exotic foreign adventures.

The U.S. Marine Corps had two predecessor organizations, four regiments of three thousand colonials recruited for a Royal Navy expedition to Cartagena (in contemporary Colombia) in 1741 and the Continental marines of the Revolution. The first unit, known as "Gooch's Marines" since it was raised by William Gooch, royal governor of Virginia, became too sick to play any role in Admiral Edward Vernon's failed campaign. Only three hundred of these marines returned to the colonies; the rest deserted or died of tropical fevers. The Continental marines, raised directly by Congress for shipboard service, may have numbered two thousand officers and men over the course of the Revolution. Other groups of seagoing soldiers served as state troops; these marines served on coastal and inland waters as widely separated as the Ohio River, Lake Champlain, Chesapeake Bay, and along the Atlantic seaboard.

The Continental marines, like the Continental navy, never grew large enough to challenge the British forces but performed well enough in isolated sea battles and limited raids ashore. The most memorable successful Continental marine operations were a raid on New Providence in the Bahamas in 1776 and two single-ship victories in 1776 and 1778. Marines also fought well in several ship-to-ship defeats and participated in the failed Penobscot Bay expedition in Maine during 1779. By war's end only five Continental navy ships had marine detachments, and the corps dissolved in 1783.

Reborn to man the six frigates authorized by the Naval Act of 1794, the U.S. Marine Corps served principally in sea battles as marksmen in the rigging and tops and as boarding parties. The ships guards, no more than one or two officers and fifty enlisted men, also participated in raids from the sea. The marines of the 1798–1812 era fought French privateers and warships in the Caribbean, pirates in the same area, and the Barbary corsairs of the Mediterranean and in 1805 spearheaded a mercenary force led by the American William H. Eaton that captured Derna (in contemporary Libya) and displaced the bashaw of Tripoli, a corsair sponsor. This action is commemorated in the Marine's hymn with the words "to the shores of Tripoli."

The War of 1812 provided the marines with more opportunities for distinguished service that, however, had little effect on the war with Great Britain or even on the engagements in which they participated. In a war marked by repeated American strategic and tactical errors and lack of ardor, the marines made a commendable impression as steadfast fighters. Marines fought aboard the frigates *Constitution*, *United States*, *Essex*, *Chesapeake*, and *Lawrence* and other warships in sixteen sea battles. In battle ashore, marine companies from the naval stations at Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans joined extemporized American armies that failed to save the capital but repulsed major British expeditions sent to seize two of the most valuable ports of the United States.

The postwar Marine Corps of thirty-five officers and 1,200 enlisted men (compared to 2,700 authorized men during wartime) continued to serve primarily as "soldiers at sea." In 1820 President James Monroe appointed Archibald Henderson, a thirty-seven-year-old Virginian, as the corps's colonel commandant; he went on to serve for thirty-eight years. A combat veteran and driving commander, Henderson used his long tenure as commandant to set much stricter standards of dress, training, and discipline than were common in the army and navy of that era. He advocated a larger and better navy and created firm bonds between the Marine Corps and Congress. Essentially, Henderson created the foundation of the modern Marine Corps.

*See also* **Barbary Wars; Revolution: Naval War; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Heinl, Robert D., Jr. *Soldiers of the Sea.* 2nd ed. Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation Publishing, 1991.

Millett, Allan R. *Semper Fidelis: The United States Marine Corps.* Rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1991.

Millett, Allan R., and Jack Shulimson, eds. *Commandants of the Marine Corps.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2004.

Moskin, J. Robert. *The U.S. Marine Corps Story.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977.

Simmons, Edwin Howard. *The United States Marines: A History.* 4th ed. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2003.

*Allan R. Millett*

**MARITIME TECHNOLOGY** From the earliest period of settlement, colonial Americans took advantage of cheap, available timber resources to build ships for fishing, commerce, and trade. Shipbuilding was particularly strong in New England, where, by the time of the Revolution, one new vessel was being launched every day. For most of the eighteenth century, ships were built according to traditional English construction practices, with few innovations. Shipping was dominated by smaller, slow-sailing carriers differentiated only by the number of masts, rigging plan, and size of hull. During the Revolution, construction of privateers provided shipbuilders with experience in designing faster, sleeker vessels. The post-Revolutionary economic recovery and explosive growth in trade created a need for fast, reliable means of shipping goods. In the 1790s a "mania for speed" seized shipbuilders and triggered a wave of experimentation with sail plans and hull design.

Answering the need for speed, many builders modeled their ships after the "Baltimore clipper," a late-eighteenth-century Chesapeake design that maximized the amount of sail and cut through the waters with sharp ends and a deep keel. The deep keel proved problematic, as many ports had only shallow harbors. The solution was the centerboard, or "drop-keel," which could be moved up and down in a watertight case to give the vessel a deep keel for fast sailing or a shallow draft for navigating in port. The centerboard had been invented in the 1770s, but problems with the watertight case kept it from general usage until it was perfected in 1814. The War of 1812 again provided shipbuilders with opportunities to design fast ships for privateers. After the war, high-risk ventures such as slaving, opium smuggling, and coffee and fruit trading kept shipbuilders competing to build faster ships with greater cargo capacities. This competition kept the fast-ship building tradition alive and proved crucial in establishing the basic designs for the great clipper ships of the 1840s.

**AIDS TO NAVIGATION**

Beyond the ships themselves, several innovations helped support maritime enterprise in the early national period. The first lighthouse had been built in Boston Harbor in 1716, but by the time of the Revolution only fifteen lights had been built on the entire coast. In the following four decades, lighthouse construction efforts intensified, extending inland to the Great Lakes in 1819 and southward to the Gulf Coast in the 1820s. Experiments with wicks and lenses increasingly magnified the whale-oil lights, and eventually resulted in the 1840 invention of the powerful and effective fresnel lens.

In the 1750s Englishman John Harrison solved the problem of determining longitude by developing a marine chronometer capable of keeping precise time. The clocks, however, remained too expensive for most mariners, and a ship's position was most often determined by a complex set of calculations based on astronomical observations and published tables. The sextant, invented in 1757, was in popular use by 1800 and provided mariners with much more precise astronomical measurements than had been previously available. The tables used in computing longitude were published in British marine almanacs starting in the mid-eighteenth century but were filled with errors. In 1800 Nathaniel Bowditch, a Salem shipmaster, corrected the eight thousand errors in the British tables and published the results in 1802 as *The New American Practical Navigator.* Just six years earlier, another Massachusetts ship captain, Edmund Blunt, published *The American Coast Pilot*, which contained instructions for entering ports along the eastern seaboard. Both texts quickly became the essential technical works for American navigation; their publication, with annual updates, has continued to the present day.

**STEAM POWER**

The first commercially viable steamboat, the *Clermont*, was built by Robert Fulton in 1807 for use on the Hudson River. By 1815 Fulton had fifteen steamboats in operation, Nicholas Roosevelt had run his steamboat *New Orleans* from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and twenty steamboats were making regular

trips on the Ohio River. Steamboats burned an enormous amount of timber, which had to be stored onboard, thus adding to the boat's weight and using up valuable space. In 1817 the *Chancellor Livingston* was fitted to burn coal as fuel, and by the mid-1820s most steamboats were equipped to burn both wood and coal. Using the much more compact coal meant a savings in space and weight that allowed steamboat designers to add not only more passengers and cargo, but amenities like dining saloons and private cabins.

Steamboats were great commercial successes on the inland waters, but it was only after the move to coal that ocean steamers could provide services to compete successfully with sailing packets. In 1819 the sailing ship *Savannah* was retrofitted with a steam engine and paddle wheels and was the first ship to cross the Atlantic partly under steam. Later the same year the *Robert Fulton* became the first steam vessel built specifically for ocean travel. Steam was still unreliable, though, and most of the seaborne steamships retained masts and sails. The steamship *President*, built in 1829, was the first to abandon sails entirely, but most steamships combined sail and steam power through the 1880s.

### NAVAL VESSELS

The navy also experimented with steam, hiring Robert Fulton to build the *Demologos* in 1814. Prior to that time developments in naval technology had largely been limited to design improvements that balanced the weight of guns, structural integrity, and speed. One advance had been the invention of the carronade, a small cannon that could throw a full-size shot, but with limited range. The carronade was invented in the 1770s and quickly adopted by naval shipbuilders, as it allowed the clustering of firepower at the vulnerable bow and stern of the ship. Fulton's *Demologos* was a paddle-wheeler equipped with five-foot wooden sides for defense and twenty guns for offense, but was so heavy that it could only make five knots under full steam. Overweight, underpowered, and propelled by vulnerable above-water paddlewheels, the steamboat remained unviable as a naval craft until improvements in boiler technology and the replacement of paddle wheels with screw propellers in the 1840s cleared the way for the development of a steam-powered navy.

*See also* **Naval Technology; New England; Revolution: Naval War; Shipbuilding Industry; Shipping Industry; Steamboat; Steam Power; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; War of 1812; Work: Sailors and Seamen.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chappelle, Howard I. *The History of American Sailing Ships.* 1935. New York: Bonanza Books, 1982.

Fowler, William M., Jr. *Jack Tars and Commodores: The American Navy, 1783–1815.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

Labaree, Benjamin W., et al. *America and the Sea: A Maritime History.* Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1998.

Post, Robert C. *Technology, Transport, and Travel in American History.* Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 2003.

Richter, William L. *The ABC-CLIO Companion to Transportation in America.* Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1995.

*David R. Byers*

**MARKET REVOLUTION**   In the decades following the American Revolution, the American economy underwent many changes. As the agricultural frontier expanded westward, farmers were more eager to participate in the market than ever before. They lobbied for greater availability of money both to facilitate trade and to invest in production. Legislatures controlled by Democratic Republicans chartered companies to build roads and dig canals to connect the seaport towns with the countryside. Manufactures, once an item solely of household production, began to move into mills where producers could divide labor among wageworkers and utilize machines to produce goods in greater quantity and at lower cost than before. These changes comprise what historians have called the market revolution.

The market revolution did not occur uniformly across the United States, nor did it equally engage all its people. It was acutely felt in the North and the trans-Appalachian West, and it specifically excluded Native Americans, many of whom had participated in localized exchange economies on the frontier. In the South, plantation owners increasingly invested capital and ideological energy in a slave labor force rather than in the transportation and credit networks developed in the North and the West, leaving penurious farmers at a comparative disadvantage to their counterparts in the North.

Still, there was a genuine change in the behavior and goals of a large number of Americans by 1829. The first and second generation of Americans born after the Revolution largely accepted the idea that agriculture should be produced for profit rather than

solely to guarantee the subsistence of their families. They were more likely to use their savings (or obtain loans) to buy land or improve their tools to increase their yield. They were more willing than their ancestors to buy goods manufactured outside the home. This transformation in their economic mindset, realized in the extensive economic changes in banking, transportation, and manufacturing in the early Republic, produced a market revolution.

### DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMY

Although the American Revolution was not fought principally on economic grounds, independence unleashed tremendous commercial-capitalist energy. Farmers and speculators had long wanted to settle the trans-Appalachian West, which the British Proclamation of 1763 had prohibited, at least by law. The Ohio Indians also resisted this settlement, but their defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794) cleared the path for concerted migration. Between 1800 and 1820 nearly two million European Americans crossed the Appalachians to settle in the Old Northwest.

Demographic expansion and migration cannot by themselves explain why agricultural output in the North and trans-Appalachian West increased in the early Republic. To achieve more output per capita, farmers had to undertake to change their economic practice from subsistence to market production. Several factors aided this change. There was a large demand in the West Indies for a variety of foodstuffs that American farms could easily produce. The consistently rising price of grain on the Atlantic market between 1772 and 1819 provided further incentive for farmers to adopt crop rotation to improve yield, and in some cases partially specialize in a cash crop to maximize profits.

Although marketing agricultural surpluses became more attractive, the lack of an adequate money supply made investment and marketing difficult, and the poor quality of the transportation network isolated much of the hinterland. Both these issues would become intertwined with democratic politics in the early Republic. In the 1790s Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson articulated two very different economic visions for the future. Hamilton sought to develop manufacture in the seaport towns and prevent capital from dispersing across the western frontier. His plan for the first Bank of the United States fulfilled these goals by creating an attractive and secure investment opportunity that would make capital available only to large industrial projects.

Jefferson and the Democratic Republican Party opposed Hamilton's program of centralization and worked to dismantle it after Jefferson assumed the presidency in 1801. Jefferson appointed Albert Gallatin secretary of the Treasury, a post he would hold under both Jefferson and Madison until 1814. Gallatin sold the government interest in the Bank of the United States, repealed direct taxes, and relied on import duties to reduce the national debt.

The effect of Gallatin's program was to decentralize capital. In 1798 there were only twenty-one banks in addition to the first Bank of the United States, most serving the mercantile elite of the seaports. Eager to obtain capital for agricultural and small-scale manufacturing enterprises on the frontier, Democratic Republican legislatures in Vermont and Kentucky chartered banks in 1806 expressly to provide money and loans to its citizens. Other states quickly followed suit, and many citizens formed insurance companies and other depositories that extended credit. By 1810 there were over one hundred banks across the United States. By 1820 there were over three hundred, and by 1830 over two thousand.

### TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENTS

One use to which Americans put this new capital was improvements in transportation systems, often demanded by farmers who wanted better access to the seaports so as to sell their surplus agricultural products. In the 1790s and 1800s, mid-Atlantic and New England legislatures appropriated money to build turnpikes that would connect seaport towns to each other and to the hinterland. They built roads of plank wood and stone overlaid with gravel, complete with drainage ditches to protect roads during inclement weather.

Turnpikes improved communication between seaport towns, but hauling grain and other goods overland to market was expensive. The preferred method was by water. Small canals connected some farming communities with major waterways and seaport towns, and several small projects were carried out in the 1790s and 1800s. The longest canal in this period, the 27.25-mile Middlesex Canal, was built between 1795 and 1803 to connect New Hampshire with Boston Harbor via the Merrimack River.

Infrastructure improvements became a matter of national politics after the War of 1812. Henry Clay (1777–1852), Speaker of the House of Representatives, advanced a plan for building a national economy that included a tariff on manufactured goods to encourage native industry, a national bank to stabilize currency for a national money market, and in-

frastructure improvements. Some Jeffersonian Republicans balked at this ambitious national program, including Presidents James Madison and James Monroe. Although Madison approved the second Bank of the United States in 1816, he vetoed a bill to devote federal funds to transportation improvements in 1817. Madison could accept that the second U.S. bank served the public good by creating a kind of national currency, but he drew the line at funding transportation improvements, which he believed should be left to the states. Monroe vetoed a similar bill in 1822. Andrew Jackson would veto a bill to devote federal funds to help finance the Maysville Road in 1830. It would be up to the states to build the nation's infrastructure.

The most ambitious project began in 1817, when Governor DeWitt Clinton of New York signed a bill appropriating seven million dollars in bonds for construction of a canal that would connect Albany with Lake Erie. Portions of the Erie Canal were open for use as early as 1819; the entire canal, 363 miles long, 40 feet wide and 4 feet deep, was opened on 26 October 1825. Tolls collected on the canal quickly paid off the debt New York had contracted to build it. The Erie Canal, connecting with the Hudson River in Albany, opened up the Great Lakes and their tributaries to New York City and cut the cost of transportation by over 90 percent. Encouraged by the success of the Erie Canal, other states jumped to build their own, resulting in a boom. By 1840 there were over 3,300 miles of canals in the United States.

The South lagged in building canals and turnpikes. Large plantation owners held a major share of the South's wealth and invested in slave labor to maximize production of the cotton and rice cash crops, leaving little in the way of available capital to develop a transportation network. With 40 percent of the South's population enslaved, there was a conspicuous absence of a local consumption market for agricultural or manufactured products. Small farmers in the South maintained a traditional subsistence economy, marketing small surpluses to large, cotton-exporting plantations.

## MANUFACTURING

Improved transportation did more than just bring the raw materials of the hinterland to the port cities; it took manufactured goods from the Northeast into the hinterland. Most manufactures during this period were small-scale family operations that served local markets, although after the Revolution manufacturers responded to increased internal demand for high-quality finished products by expanding opera-

tions. In New England, mills became profitable investments because cheap manufactured goods could pay for inexpensive grain from the mid–Atlantic and the West. In 1791 Samuel Slater assisted a mercantile partnership in Providence, Rhode Island, in establishing a yarn mill at Pawtucket. His small mills were replicated and established in numerous New England towns by 1815.

Industry expanded across the Northwest at a time when labor was still a scarce commodity in most of the United States. New England's intensifying person–to–land ratio, however, left part of its workforce idle. To supplement family income, family farms sent women and children—their reserve labor—to earn wages in the mills. Industry also grew up in Philadelphia, where immigrants arriving from Europe looked to wages in order to survive. Although family agriculture would continue to dominate the economy, wage labor became important to cost-conscious industry.

In 1813 Francis Cabot Lowell and his Boston Manufacturing Company started a textile mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, that introduced the power loom to North America and the mass production of cotton cloth. Lowell's mills integrated the economic processes of spinning, weaving, bleaching, and dyeing (and in some cases printing) and mechanized the labor process. Lowell also built dormitories to house young female laborers.

Large factories were rare in the early Republic, as most industry was small-scale, relied on labor expertise rather than mechanization, and could not afford to integrate different aspects of the production process under one roof. But owners of small manufactories consciously worked to increase profits by investing capital and streamlining the productive process, particularly through more efficient divisions of labor. By dividing up tasks, manufacturers could increase output and reduce costs

All of these changes were indicative of and fueled by a new entrepreneurial spirit in the early Republic. Although elements of the traditional, subsistence-based economy survived into the early Republic, noticeably in the South, the country as a whole was remarkably different by 1829. Farmers, tradesmen, merchants, and manufacturers increasingly devoted more resources to investment in their productive processes. They clamored for easy credit to expand operations and built roads and canals to integrate seaports and the hinterland. All this signaled a widespread acceptance of the aggressive pursuit of profit, making the market revolution a reality for the people of the early Republic.

*See also* **Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement; Agriculture: Agricultural Technology; Bank of the United States; Class: Development of the Working Class; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Currency and Coinage; Democratic Republicans; Economic Development; Economic Theory; Election of 1800; Erie Canal; Expansion; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Farm Making; Federalists; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Jackson, Andrew; Manufacturing; Manufacturing, in the Home; Material Culture; Plantation, The; Presidency, The: James Madison; Presidency, The: James Monroe; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Proclamation of 1763; Revolution: Impact on the Economy; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; War of 1812; Work: Agricultural Labor; Work: Factory Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Appleby, Joyce O. *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s.* New York: New York University Press, 1984.

Foster, A. Kristen. *Moral Visions and Material Ambitions: Philadelphia Struggles to Define the Republic, 1776–1836.* Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2004.

Gilje, Paul A. *Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early American Republic.* Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1997.

Lamoreaux, Naomi R. "Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast." *Journal of American History* 90 (2003): 437–462.

Sellers, Charles G. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Taylor, George R. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* New York: Rinehart, 1951; Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1989.

*H. Robert Baker*

**MARRIAGE** In the period from 1754 to 1830, marriage was defined in a relatively constrained and uniform way. Among Euro-Americans, who almost universally married, it meant a monogamous, consensual legal union between a man and a woman. Men were obligated by law to provide for and govern their wives, while women were to obey and aid their husbands. Love and affection were encouraged and often expected in the relationship; law, religion, and



**Eighteenth-Century American Wedding Dress.** An elaborate yellow bridal gown dating to around 1764. © MICHAEL FREEMAN/CORBIS.

community standards dictated that sexual relations be kept within its bounds. Marriage was thus both a public institution shaped by the larger society through law and societal expectations and a private relationship influenced by the interaction and negotiation of the couples themselves.

**MARRIAGE LAW**

Marriage law was set by the individual colonies (and later the states). These laws regulated who could marry and when, what obligations spouses lived under, who could officiate in ceremonies, and when and how marriages could be terminated. During the period from 1750 to 1830, the beginnings of a social and legal shift gradually increased individual choice and diversity in marriage. In the pre-Revolution Chesapeake region, for example, many people entered into common-law marriages largely because of the scarcity of Anglican priests; new laws eventually allowed magistrates also to conduct ceremonies, giving Tidewater residents more opportunity to marry legally if they so chose. Divorce also became slightly more available in many states by 1830. An exception

to this loosening of legal control was the maintenance of statutes restricting sex outside of marriage (despite growing nonconformance to this standard) and interracial marriage.

### THE REVOLUTION AND RIGHTS IN MARRIAGE

The Revolutionary War's impact on the demographics of marriage was limited—there were more widows and a slightly higher number of divorces and desertions. However, the war did contribute to a dialogue about the nature of marriage and marriage law. Commentators influenced by Enlightenment ideas of contractualism began writing less about hierarchy and more about union and consent. This trend later contributed to the passage of mid- to late-nineteenth-century laws liberalizing divorce and guaranteeing married women's property. Colonial marriage entailed the serious inequity of coverture: upon marriage, a woman's legal identity was subsumed or "covered" by her husband's, and she ceased to exist as a legal being. She could not own property, make contracts, testify against her husband, file suit, and so on. These restrictions show that during this time marriage law allowed men to exercise considerable power over wives. Still, the rhetoric of the Revolution contributed to a language and dialogue that eventually was used to challenge coverture.

### COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE

A corollary development to the changes in law and legal thinking about marriage was the rise of the middle-class companionate marriage. In the flux of complex social and economic changes shaping the new nation, families lost many of their economic and social functions on the path to becoming middle class. Marriage became less about the transfer of property and more about emotional fulfillment. By 1830 middle-class parents were allowing their children to make their own choices in marriage. Parents might steer children away from undesirable suitors of the wrong social group, but couples made their own choices based on mutual attraction and esteem. Companionate marriages also often included family limitation. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, births per white woman began a gradual decline that continued through the century, from 7 in 1800 to 3.5 in 1900. This revolution had immense implications for marriages, ranging from improved health for women to changes in child rearing and the role of the provider.

Ceremonies surrounding marriage reflected the companionate ideal. The practice of publishing banns (public announcements of marriage) died out, and

church weddings with more elaborate rituals, including the exchange of rings, became more common. In the South elaborate marriage celebrations became signs of rank to separate the elite from the lower classes.

### AFRICAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN MARRIAGES

For most African Americans during this period the constraints of the institution of slavery dominated marriage. Slaves lacked the freedom to express consent, and thus owners theorized that slaves could not legally enter into the contract of marriage. More important, the cold economics of slavery required the absence of any legal marriage contract that would hinder the owner's ability to sell a slave. Therefore, the laws of most colonies, and later states, did not recognize slave marriage. Most slaves, however, wedded unofficially, using ceremonies conducted by preachers or by their own word, often ritually "jumping the broom." That these marriages had weight with both blacks and whites is evidenced by the fact that many slaves remained with the same spouse till death. Still, slavery prevented African Americans from fulfilling the male and female roles traditionally held in either African or white American society. Slave men, for example, could rarely provide for their wives or protect them from abuse by owners. Many slave women had no choice but to neglect children and home to cook and clean in the big house or labor in the fields. Neither could ultimately protect a child or spouse from sale and separation. Ironically, because of these disruptions to traditional roles, slave marriages were probably more egalitarian than white marriages during these years.

Among Native Americans there was a greater diversity of marriage practices than among whites or blacks. Although most men and women lived in monogamous relationships, most groups allowed men to marry more than one wife. Among Plains groups and West Coast tribes, for example, polygamy was fairly common. Some tribes placed no restrictions on premarital sex, and a few allowed married men sexual relations outside of marriage while their wives were pregnant or nursing. Widows often married a brother of their deceased husbands, and some widowers were expected to marry an unmarried sister of their deceased wives. Native Americans also tended to marry earlier than whites—women as early as twelve to fifteen years old and men generally in their late teens and early twenties. Perhaps the most striking difference was the number of matrilineal societies. Hunting-oriented groups, like the Sioux and Cheyenne, tended to be patrilineal, passing property

and authority through male lines, but among tribes where women did much of the essential work of farming, matrilineality was common. Among the Iroquois and the Pueblos, for example, marriage for a man meant moving into his wife's extended family. Divorce was generally available among most groups, often requiring nothing more than the decision of one spouse to terminate the marriage. By 1830, however, many native marriage practices were lost to the pressures of Euro–American encroachment.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; Childbirth and Child-bearing; Courtship; Law: Women and the Law; Manliness and Masculinity; Parenthood; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cott, Nancy F. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Godbeer, Richard. *Sexual Revolution in Early America: Gender Relations in the American Experience.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Man and Wife in America: A History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Jabour, Anya. *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Mintz, Steven, and Susan Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life.* New York: Free Press, 1988.

*Shawn Johansen*

**MARSHALL, JOHN**   John Marshall, the greatest chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, was born on 24 September 1755 in Fauquier County, Virginia, and was the oldest of fifteen children. He married Mary Ambler in 1783 and they had ten children.

Prior to his appointment to the Supreme Court by President John Adams early in 1801, he had distinguished himself in numerous areas of public service. Marshall was a successful lawyer, practicing in the area of Richmond, Virginia, and specializing in debt cases. He argued, unsuccessfully, one case before the Supreme Court—*Ware v. Hylton* (1796). He was a soldier in the American Revolution, served several terms in the Virginia legislature, and was a diplomat to France. He refused several offers to serve in government, most notably as U.S. attorney general and as an assistant Supreme Court justice. He served

in Congress from 1799 to 1800 and then briefly as President John Adams's secretary of state.

When Adams sent Marshall's nomination to the U.S. Senate in January 1801, the Federalists were still in control, but most were not enthusiastic about the nomination; this caused some delay in confirmation. Nevertheless, Marshall assumed his duties on 5 March 1801, becoming the highest–ranking Federalist in the new Democratic Republican era that began after 1800. For the first time in the nation's history, the Democratic Republicans controlled the House, the Senate, and the presidency. Federalists thought the country would never survive Republican governance. The Republicans, on the other hand looked unfavorably upon the federal judiciary as the last stronghold of Federalist influence. The feelings of the Republicans were only strengthened by the last-minute passage of the Judiciary Act of 1801, which was an attempt by Federalists to put their party in firm control of the judiciary after having lost control of the other two branches of the government. This put Marshall, just as he arrived on the Court, right at the center of President Thomas Jefferson's assault on the federal judiciary.

Marshall worked quite hard and, for the most part, was successful in persuading the Court to produce single "opinions of the court"—except for dissents—so the Court's decision would be clear, strengthening the Court. To further this goal he convinced the rest of the Court to cease the practice of seriatim opinions by which each justice had written his own opinion for each case. To have one Court opinion and usually to have unanimity in support of that opinion was one of the many things Marshall did to help the Court achieve equal footing with the other two branches of government. In most of the unanimous opinions, at least in the significant cases, it was Marshall who wrote the opinion of the Court.

Most, if not all, of Marshall's noteworthy opinions increased the power of the federal government at the expense of the states. One case that does not fit this description but the one for which, perhaps, Marshall is best known, is *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). His opinion gave the first clear articulation of the principle of judicial review by the Supreme Court. This opinion was carefully crafted, keeping in mind Jefferson's battle with the courts and attempting not to give him more ammunition in his effort to check the influence of the judiciary.

Marshall used a case-by-case approach in attempting to strengthen the federal government. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810) his opinion furthered the goal

of judicial nationalization, using the contract clause of the Constitution as the instrument.

His opinion in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) used federal supremacy as its dominant theme. This opinion restrained the actions of state legislatures, but it also freed Congress by giving judicial approval to the loose construction of the Constitution, particularly Article I, section 8, clause 18, the necessary and proper or elastic clause.

Marshall and the Court issued a strong justification and defense for judicial review in upholding the right of the Supreme Court to review decisions of state courts in *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821). In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) Marshall's opinion held that Congress had the power to regulate interstate commerce. His opinion was written broadly so that his opinion and its findings would not become antiquated.

Marshall's greatest period of influence was the first ten years of his tenure. From 1811 to 1823 his importance declined, in part due to the personnel on the Court with him—Justices Joseph Story and William Johnson, for instance—being great justices in their own right. After *Gibbons*, Marshall's influence on the Court, particularly in conference (meetings of the justices alone), began declining further, reaching a low point in the early 1830s. Marshall died 6 July 1835.

*See also* **Fletcher v. Peck; Gibbons v. Ogden; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; Marbury v. Madison; McCulloch v. Maryland; Presidency, The: John Adams; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Supreme Court; Supreme Court Justices.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Newmyer, R. Kent. *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

Smith, Jean Edward. *John Marshall: Definer of a Nation.* New York: Holt, 1996.

*J. Mark Alcorn*

**MARTIN V. HUNTER'S LESSEE**   The case of *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816) helped shape the jurisprudence of the early Republic by confirming the power of the U.S. Supreme Court to review decisions of state courts. In this case the U.S. Supreme Court reversed a decision by Virginia's highest court. The issues in the case involved the Constitution and the Judiciary Act of 1789, which was one of the first acts passed by Congress. Article VI of the U.S. Constitution provided that the Constitution itself and all laws and treaties made under it "shall be the supreme Law of the Land" and that "the Judges in every State" were obligated to enforce the Constitution, laws, and treaties. Section 25 of the Judiciary Act empowered the U.S. Supreme Court to review cases from the highest courts of the states if those cases involved a federal law or treaty. In *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*, the Supreme Court upheld and implemented this provision of the Constitution over the objections of the state of Virginia.

The case involved tens of thousands of acres of land in Virginia that belonged to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, before the Revolution. Fairfax fled to England during the conflict and died there in 1781. His estate went to his nephew, Denny Martin, who was a British citizen. Lord Fairfax required that to claim this land, Martin must change his name to Fairfax, which he readily did. In 1782, with the Revolution still raging, Virginia passed legislation to take the Fairfax lands from the family on the grounds that aliens could not inherit land in the state. David Hunter subsequently bought some of these lands from the state and began a suit to force Fairfax's heirs to vacate the lands. By this time the land had passed to Denny Fairfax's brother, General Philip Martin, who argued that under the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended the Revolution, and Jay's Treaty (1794), Virginia was obligated to return the lands to their rightful owners. By the time the case reached the Supreme Court, Martin had sold some of his interest in the land to a group of investors that included Chief Justice John Marshall. Thus, the chief justice did not participate in the case.

In *Fairfax's Devisee v. Hunter's Lessee* (1813), the Supreme Court upheld Martin's claim. However, the Virginia Court of Appeals refused to accept this result and issued an opinion declaring the U.S. Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to review the decision of a state court and that the judges of Virginia were not obligated to obey the Supreme Court. In 1816 the case was back before the Supreme Court as *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee.* At this point the case was deeply tied to both Virginia politics and the politics of the early nation. Judge Spencer Roane of Virginia, who was the most important figure on his court, despised John Marshall and was a close ally of Thomas Jefferson. His challenge in refusing to accept the Supreme Court's decision was not just legal, but personal and political as well.

With Marshall not participating, Justice Joseph Story of Massachusetts wrote the opinion of the

Court. Unlike Marshall, Story was not a Federalist but, rather, had been a Republican congressman appointed to the bench by Jefferson's close friend and ally, James Madison. The Court also included William Johnson, who had been appointed by Jefferson and three other justices appointed by Jefferson or Madison. The political leanings of the justices had no effect on the outcome of the case. All agreed that the Constitution was the "supreme Law of the Land" and that Virginia had to obey the Constitution and the treaties made under it. In a lengthy opinion Story bitterly denounced the states' rights position of the Virginia court. He accused it of resorting to the same antinationalist doctrines that extreme Federalists had invoked just a few years before in resisting the War of 1812. He also exposed the absurdity of the Virginia court's claim that state courts were free to interpret the U.S. Constitution and federal laws as they wished. This would have led to legal anarchy and, as Story put it, "the public mischiefs that would attend such a state of things would be truly deplorable." America's constitutional system required that "the absolute right of decision, in the last resort, must rest somewhere" and that "somewhere" was the U.S. Supreme Court.

Story's opinion in this case is generally considered one of the most important in Supreme Court history. He rejected the states' rights "compact theory" of the Constitution and emphatically endorsed the idea that the U.S. Supreme Court was indeed the final arbiter of the Constitution and the laws and treaties made under it.

*See also* **Constitutional Law; States' Rights; Supreme Court.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Newmyer, R. Kent. *Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story: Statesman of the Old Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

*Paul Finkelman*

**MARYLAND**    Founded as a refuge for Catholics in 1632, Maryland was one of the oldest English colonies in America. By the 1750s, however, many Marylanders had grown tired of British rule. The British practice, instituted in 1717, of transporting convicts deeply angered the colonists by establishing one convict for every ten adult males in Maryland by 1757. Partly as a result, Maryland strongly supported the Revolution and played an integral role in

the hostilities. During the war, Maryland privateers severely crippled British commerce. The captured supplies of powder, arms, and clothing greatly helped the American forces. Congress moved to Baltimore for the winter of 1776–1777 when the British threatened Philadelphia. On 28 April 1788 Maryland became the seventh state to ratify the new Constitution, and the colony seemed poised for prosperity. Over the next four decades, the state's white population grew and its slave population declined steadily. Suffrage was expanded, and the state became increasing involved in the market economy.

In the federal census of 1790, Maryland had a population of 319,728. In 1800 the population rose to 341,548 despite Maryland's 1791 gift of territory to form the federal District of Columbia. The state's population continued to increase, with 380,546 people in 1810; 407,350 in 1820; and 447,040 in 1830. The state's major city, Baltimore, was the fourth-largest urban area in the nation in 1790, with 13,500 people. Baltimore's population, consisting of German Americans, French Acadian refugees, Anglo-Americans, and African Americans, continued to grow over the succeeding decades. Western and northern portions of Maryland grew modestly.

Maryland's growth is deceptive. Although much of the state expanded, in the national era the counties with the highest number of slaves steadily lost population. When land no longer supported a planter's family and slaves, many Marylanders left the state rather than lose their status as slave owners. Other planters facing economic ruin sought out-of-state buyers for their slaves. Such sales were common enough that bills were introduced in the state assembly to prevent the breakup of black families, but none of the legislation ever became law. Giving freedom to slaves also proved a popular way for slave owners to escape financial burdens. In 1796 Maryland permitted voluntary slave emancipation while also forbidding the import of slaves for sale. The legislation dramatically affected the black population. In 1790 Maryland had almost thirteen times as many slaves as free blacks. By 1810 the ratio was about three to one as the number of free blacks swelled to thirty thousand. In 1830 Maryland had nearly fifty thousand free blacks.

As the numbers of free blacks rose, fearful whites attempted to maintain control by reducing the rights accorded to blacks. After 1796 free African Americans could not testify in court cases involving the question of blacks being free or slave. A later law permitted slaves to testify against free blacks. In 1806 the Maryland Assembly revealed white fears of slave

uprisings by restricting the rights of free blacks to assemble and by requiring African Americans to obtain a permit to own a firearm or a dog.

As blacks lost rights, poor white men and Jews gained privileges. In 1802 the Assembly approved a state constitutional amendment removing property qualifications for adult white males voting in local and state elections. In 1810 the state extended the ballot to federal elections and abolished property qualifications for would-be state officeholders. Jews were permitted to hold public office with legislation passed in 1826.

Maryland also experienced economic changes. By 1815 most farmers had abandoned tobacco as a cash crop because its repeated cultivation had depleted necessary nutrients from the soil. Additionally, European conflicts had made the market unpredictable. Many of the tobacco farmers switched to wheat, but attacks by the Hessian fly consumed thousands of baskets of grain and prompted major importers of Maryland wheat to close their docks to Maryland products.

The poor state of the agricultural economy prompted Maryland to focus more on trade and industry. In 1790 the Bank of Maryland formed to issue paper money and make capital available for investment. Some of these investments went into transportation. After five years of construction, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal opened in 1829. Eager to profit from western trade, Maryland chartered the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1827. State leaders thought that railroads would overtake canals as the preferred routes to the western markets. By 1830 Maryland was shifting its focus away from agriculture to commerce.

*See also* **Agriculture: Overview; Constitution, Ratification of; Currency and Coinage; Emancipation and Manumission; Mid-Atlantic States; Plantation, The; Railroads; Slavery: Overview; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brugger, Robert J., with Cynthia Horsburgh Requardt, Robert I. Cottom, Jr., and Mary Ellen Hayward. *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980.* Edited by Robert G. Merrick. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Walsh, Richard, and William Lloyd Fox. *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974.

*Caryn E. Neumann*

**MASSACHUSETTS** Mid-eighteenth century Massachusetts was an overwhelmingly white, English, Congregationalist colony, with a population of about 175,000, second only to Virginia. In the years since the landing of the Pilgrims, the colonists had created two rather distinct worlds—a culture of small farms and small towns in the interior, and a maritime culture along the Atlantic coast.

Typical inland farmers produced largely for their households rather than for markets and relied on family, neighbors, and town for their protection and nurture. Devoted to the republican ideal of a virtuous moral community, they placed the common good ahead of individualism and were suspicious of commercial society. Yet markets and a cash economy existed in the countryside, and a different, liberal ideal, stressing the rights of individuals and capital, was gaining ground.

The liberal ideal was more advanced in the seaports, where merchants were making profits in the British trading system. Their ships arrived regularly with tea, fish, molasses, whale oil, and manufactured goods and left with rum, dried fish, lumber, and other products. Massachusetts led all colonies in distilling, sugar refining, ship building, and tonnage of incoming and outgoing ships. In 1750 Boston was the largest port on the Atlantic coast.

The steady hum of commerce fostered a cosmopolitan culture that was less homogeneous and more individualistic and refined than in the backcountry. In 1775 the seaports had almost as many dissenting churches as Congregational. A large nonfarming population, including some African Americans, both slave and free, created a widening gap between poor laborers and rich merchants like John Hancock, who in 1771 had savings of 16,000 pounds earning interest. Boston boasted four newspapers, four marine insurance offices, and a major royal post office. It was also known for its handsome Georgian-style buildings, the portraits of John Singleton Copley, and, across the Charles River, Harvard College (founded 1636).

The provincial government of Massachusetts dated back to the royal charter of 1691. A powerful governor, appointed by the king, had absolute authority to appoint judges, veto bills from the legislature, and dissolve the House of Representatives. There was no religious test for voting and only a moderate property qualification. Congregationalism was the established religion, supported by town taxes. The system worked well, but most colonists

**The Massachusetts State House.** Designed by Charles Bulfinch and adorned with a famous gold dome, the Massachusetts State House on Boston's Beacon Hill was completed in 1798. Several later additions extended Bulfinch's original structure. © DAVID SAILORS/CORBIS.

considered town government more important than provincial government.

Despite its established position, Congregationalism was under attack. In 1740 the eloquent English revivalist George Whitefield warned large crowds in Boston that no one could be saved without having undergone a deep, personal religious experience. His sermons buttressed a similar message from Jonathan Edwards and other American revivalists. The Great Awakening, as the movement was called, drew many Congregationalists away from the orthodox church.

After the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British Parliament began to levy heavy taxes on the colonies. The new policy triggered a sharp reaction in Boston, where friction already existed between a royal party led by Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson and an opposition championed by men such as John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and James Otis, who had influence over the Boston workingmen. When Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765, mobs of workers destroyed Hutchinson's home.

From then on Massachusetts was on the leading edge of the American Revolution. The Massachusetts legislature sent out the first circular letter, the Boston Massacre inflamed public opinion, and the Boston Tea Party brought on the war. Parliament made it almost inevitable that the war would start in Massachusetts when it closed the port of Boston, sent in troops, and restricted the holding of town meetings. Ironically, the fighting began, not in the seaport where the controversy had flourished, but in Lexington and Concord, two country towns. In the months that followed, a Massachusetts leader, John Adams (cousin of Samuel) played a dominant role in the Continental Congress, chairing many committees and persuading the Congress to issue the Declaration of Independence.

### TRANSITION, 1775–1789

Adams also drew up the new Massachusetts state constitution (ratified 1780), the first ever adopted by

**Total Population of Massachusetts**

| Year | Total Population | Black Population | Native American Population |
|------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1750 | c. 175,000 | c. 4,500 (of which, slaves c. 2,000) | c. 1,500 |
| 1770 | 235,000 | — | — |
| 1790 | 379,000 | 5,463 | — |
| 1800 | 423,000 | — | — |
| 1810 | 472,000 | — | — |
| 1820 | 523,000 | — | — |
| 1830 | 610,000 | 7,049 | — |

Note: Figures given here do not include Maine, which was governed by Massachusetts until 1820 but is not covered by this article.

a specially elected convention and ratified by the people. The constitution was a conservative document. The governor, who was given limited power to veto and appoint, was stronger than governors in other states. The property qualification for voting was retained and was not removed until 1821. African Americans, however, were allowed to vote, and slavery was abolished. The constitution failed to end the establishment of religion, but it protected the rights of all denominations. The document was a setback for the interior because it established a powerful central government that would overshadow the towns and gave the large coastal towns proportionately more representation in the lower house than the small interior towns.

Another setback for the interior came in 1786–1787 when the governor used the power of the state to suppress Shays's Rebellion, a farm movement in central Massachusetts demanding relief from foreclosures and high taxes. The rebellion was a fruitless attempt to maintain the republican ideal of a moral economy regulated by the towns. The failure of the rebels reflected the steady gains of liberal ideas.

A year later, when a Massachusetts convention met to consider the United States Constitution, a majority of the delegates were opposed to ratification, especially many from the interior who resisted the idea of a strong national government. But again the seacoast had its way, and, despite a better than two-to-one vote against it by the delegates from the inland counties, the Constitution was ratified by a tiny majority.

### IN THE UNITED STATES, 1789–1829

For the next twenty-five years, the Federalists, who had supported the Constitution, dominated Massa-

chusetts politics. They controlled the major seacoast counties of Essex and Suffolk as well as Hampshire County in the Connecticut River Valley and represented the powerful Congregational, maritime, and financial interests of the state. Their opponents, the Republicans, won the support of religious dissenters and the counties west and south of Boston. After 1800 some of the Massachusetts Federalists became so frustrated with national Republican policies that they started a sectional resistance. In 1803–1804 Essex County Federalists tried unsuccessfully to form a Northern Confederacy to secede from the Union. Later the Federalists opposed the War of 1812 and called the Hartford Convention (1814–1815), which, again unsuccessfully, proposed states' rights amendments to the Constitution.

In the 1820s the Federalists merged with centrist Republicans to form a state party, led by John Adams's son, John Quincy Adams. Partisan Republicans reorganized under the banner of Andrew Jackson. In the presidential election of 1828, in which the Adams party carried Massachusetts but Jackson won the presidency, Massachusetts was again out of step in national politics.

But not in the economy. The movement of people into western Massachusetts and the spread of a market economy brought changes that blurred the distinction between seacoast and interior. Labor and investment capital were now available in the west as well as the east. New turnpikes had been built connecting Boston with Albany and New York City. Canals were dug between the Merrimack River and Boston and between the inland town of Worcester and Narragansett Bay.

The changing face of the interior was one of the elements in the rise of cotton manufacturing. Between 1790 and 1812 entrepreneurs built scores of tiny cotton mills between Worcester and Rhode Island. But large-scale manufacturing did not begin until trade restrictions prompted seacoast merchants to look for new forms of investment. In 1813 Francis Cabot Lowell and Patrick Tracy Jackson of Boston raised the enormous sum of $400,000 and organized the Boston Manufacturing Company. Within a year they had set up a factory in Waltham, near Boston, where for the first time in America the entire process of manufacturing cotton textiles took place under one roof.

Eight years later Jackson and others founded a new town on the Merrimack River, named Lowell, which would devote itself solely to textile manufacturing, with young farm women running most of the machines. By 1834 six companies were operating

nineteen cotton mills at Lowell, and Massachusetts had become the leading cotton manufacturing state in the Union.

Meanwhile the spread of Methodist and Baptist churches and the rise of Unitarianism had accelerated the decline of the Congregational Church. The struggle with Unitarianism came to a head in 1805–1806 when Harvard College, where Congregational ministers were traditionally educated, selected Unitarians as Hollis Professor of Divinity and president of the college. In Boston church after church went over to Unitarianism, and the orthodox Congregationalists were forced to found a seminary at Andover in Essex County. The official end of Congregational dominance came in 1833, when a constitutional amendment did away with an established religion.

The overturning of the Congregational churches took place during the rise of a new Boston under the leadership of the architect Charles Bulfinch, who served as chairman of the selectmen between 1799 and 1817. Bulfinch left an indelible mark with his Massachusetts State House (1800), his graceful street patterns, and his plans for filling in coves to increase the available land mass. Boston grew from a town of eighteen thousand in 1790 to a city of sixty thousand in 1830.

In less than a century Massachusetts had made the transition from an agrarian, maritime British colony culturally divided between seacoast and interior to an American state in which all sections were becoming increasingly involved in manufacturing.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Adams, John; Adams, John Quincy; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; Architecture: Public; Boston; Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Bunker Hill, Battle of; City Growth and Development; Congregationalists; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Cotton; Election of 1828; Federalist Party; Federalists; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Hartford Convention; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Loyalists; Manufacturing; New England; Revivals and Revivalism; Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict; Shays's Rebellion; Shipping Industry; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Tea Act; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brooke, John L. *The Heart of the Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts, 1713–1861.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Brown, Richard D. *Massachusetts: A Bicentennial History.* New York: Norton, 1978.

Clark, Christopher. *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Dalzell, Robert F. *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987; New York: Norton, 1993.

Formisano, Ronald P. *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Handlin, Oscar, and Mary Flug Handlin. *Commonwealth—A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774–1861.* Rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Rothenberg, Winifred Barr. *From Market-Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750–1850.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

*Donald B. Cole*

**MATERIAL CULTURE**   Material culture refers to the pattern of tangible, human-made forms as an indicator of cultural ideas and traditions. While architecture, art, craft, food, and dress are genres represented in material culture, the emphasis in material culture analysis is upon discerning patterns, landscapes, symbols, and behaviors that cross these genres and characterize the built environment. Material culture often refers to social relations among people mediated by objects and, therefore, involves connections to intellectual and social systems in communities and regions.

The period of the new American nation, sometimes referred in historical material culture typologies as the Federal period, is particularly significant for material culture analysis because of the development of a national design alongside the ongoing regional and ethnic folk cultures, often formed out of the hybridization of transplanted traditions and responses to the new environment. The Eastern seaboard that Europeans and Africans encountered was filled with natural wonders, but there were few of the ancient ruins and remains that characterized the Old World. As settlement pushed the frontier westward and crossed natural as well as social borders, residents formed cultural landscapes for a new land and nation. Into the nineteenth century, migrant set-

over the landscape. The English conception of time and age was linear, and English settlements were permanent and arranged on a grid with privately owned properties. Indian settlements were mobile and often arranged in circular patterns, their conception of time and age was cyclical, and tribal architecture was based less on human dominance than on a relationship with nature.

Both groups practiced agriculture, and much of the cultural borrowing that occurred between them seems to have been in various forms of food, including tobacco, corn, and maple syrup. The dugout canoe used by European Americans was indebted to Indian technology, but the Europeans did not adopt the crooked knife of the Indians, held in one hand and used by cutting away from the body; Europeans preferred the shaving knife, held in two hands and used by cutting toward the body. Some architectural exchange apparently took place in lumbering areas, where building in bark was borrowed from Indian sources.

Enslaved Africans in the American South were forcibly acculturated to European American material systems, but strong signs of ethnic maintenance are evident in privatized areas of house interiors, crafts, dress, and foodways. An example is the African American head wrap, a cloth tied around the head that emphasized the upward vertical extension of the head, in contrast to the European American scarf and bonnet that was fastened to extend down the back of the neck. Africans adapted the British American quilt form of symmetrical blocks to show the African aesthetics of textile strips across the blanket, often with irregular designs. Evidence of cultural exchange also includes the spread of the Deep South's front porch and long shotgun house, American developments of African origin. African influences are particularly evident in American instrument making. The African *banjar*, with a skin stretched over a deep gourd, and the instrument's distinctive feature of a plucked short drone string on the neck entered into general American culture during the 1830s.

### REGIONS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

The persistence of westward movement through the nineteenth century has informed the idea that the distinctive characteristics of American material culture which developed in that century were based on the clearing of the forested wilderness and a reliance on wood as the primary component of construction. This movement westward helped shape a new national identity, assimilate immigrant groups into the aesthetics of a pioneer American society, and encour-

tlers shaped the New World's environments; they were cognizant of their traditions but willing to reshape them for the new land and a sense of community. As citizens of the new American nation, many settlers indeed asked whether a national architecture, art, and food could possibly unite the wide expanse of the American cultural landscape from the commons, maple syrup, and connected farmsteads of New England to the plantations and sorghum of the Deep South.

### NATIVE AND AFRICAN INFLUENCES

Drawing on early American historical experience, an assessment of material culture can draw contrasts between American Indian, northern European, and African influences on the landscape. In colonial New England and Virginia, according to this perspective, different material culture systems came into conflict when English settlers confronted Native Americans. Observers noted that the English system was built on the formation of lines and rectangles, while many Indian tribes relied on a base concept of the circle. English architecture was organized on a rectangular foundation and therefore emphasized human control

**Gardner-Pingree House, Double Parlors.** The Federal-style Gardner-Pingree House in Salem, Massachusetts, was designed by Samuel McIntire and built in 1804 for John Gardner, a wealthy merchant. The elegant furnishings of its double parlors befit the Federal vision of the new Republic. © TODD GIPSTEIN/CORBIS.

age the removal of indigenous peoples. Particularly for groups that did not plan to return to Europe but, rather, were making a fresh start with a commitment to making a home or establishing a religious or political haven in the New World, settlement was more than just a matter of transplanting the Old World to the New. As can be seen by the migration of log construction from a core area in the mid-Atlantic to the South and West or the wide adaptation of Native American foodways, there was an openness to technologies that fit the environment while conforming to familiar aesthetics and traditions. Nonetheless, the first permanent European settlements in the American experience effectively determined the future course of material culture development and the formation of regions in the new American nation.

Material culture regions emerged from settlements on the Eastern seaboard around four main ports of entry and subsequent migrations. Scholars frequently use the metaphor of a "hearth" to describe the central sustaining influence of settlement pat-

terns through these ports of entry on cultural formation. The New England hearth, with its strong English stamp, was based in the Cape Cod area and from there material culture patterns established by English settlers spread north to New Hampshire and Maine and westward across New York and Michigan. The Chesapeake-Tidewater hearth influenced the movement of material culture across Maryland and Virginia into the upland South. The lowland South hearth, featuring a strong African influence, worked its way through South Carolina and Georgia into the Deep South. The last hearth to form was in Pennsylvania, where Palatine Germans, Swiss Anabaptists, English Quakers, French Huguenots, and Scots-Irish influenced the formation of a plural society and a strong inland Pennsylvania-German culture subregion that spread into the Midwest. While the Pennsylvania cultural hearth is considered to show the most hybridization out of the multiple ethnic influences in the settlement, each of the hearths reveals some cultural hybridization, giving rise to a distinctive American material culture.

**New England.** In New England, a noticeable settlement pattern brought from England was the town common, or green. It was not prevalent in other regions, and was influenced in New England by the Puritan idea of mutual aid and meeting undergirding a community, stated in documents such as the Mayflower Compact (1620). In some New England towns the common was called the "meetinghouse lot" because it lay near the chief public structure. Originally intended as a common space for grazing the livestock owned by townspeople, it came to signify the corporate spirit that shaped space and structure. Around the green emerged separated, individualized houses, often single-bay, story-and-a-half structures meant for nuclear families; but the green and meetinghouse gathered people together and centered the town. Houses and fields took shape according to community will; land committees assigned acreage and town meetings arranged the placement of mills and blacksmith shops as well as controlling the activities of millers and blacksmiths. Graveyards were often established as common space where the elite as well as ordinary townspeople were buried. The pattern of community spirit and town meetings continued into the founding of the new nation as communally built roads, bridges, and jails multiplied and the tradition of common land became a sign of the new democratic Republic.

The ordinary New England house and barn took advantage of the abundance of forested land to build in wood with an abandon unknown in England. One sign of the new landscape was the replacement of thatch as a roofing material by wooden shingles. The Cape Cod house, consisting of a central chimney and central doorway with a kitchen on one side of the hearth and front and back rooms on the other, was an adaptation of the English hall house. With a lean-to on the back to allow an extension, the house took the shape of a saltbox and became known as a standard regional type. Not far from the house, the English barn reflected the symmetry of the house and was used as a threshing floor and a location for social dances. It had a central entrance on the nongable end and was built flat on the ground. Toward northern New England, one could find connected farmsteads that brought house and barn together in a linear pattern. Not simply a reaction to the cold and snow of harsh New England winters, the line of connected buildings sheltered a south- or east-facing work yard, called the dooryard, from north or west winter winds. It developed even more as a response to multipurpose agricultural production, including a mixed husbandry system of working with a variety of crops and animal products and involvement in home

industry for non-agricultural sources of income (e.g., lumbering, clothing, and basketry).

As New Englanders moved west across New York State, the connected farmstead gave way to a dispersed farm-building layout, but the tradition of the workyard remained. A distinctive material landscape emerged particularly in towns along the Erie Canal. There, cobblestones were used as building materials in public and private buildings. In the Hudson Valley, Dutch building skills from the seventeenth century continued in many families and could be discerned in the rise of New World Dutch barns, noticeable in their open interior space and steep-pitched roofs. The farmstead might also have another distinctive form marking a New World Dutch identity: a hay barrack, usually smaller than its Old World counterpart. Consisting of a movable roof resting on four posts, it provided flexible hay storage and reminded English neighbors of ethnic differences in agricultural building design.

**Pennsylvania.** In Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley, a varied combination of English Quakers and Anglicans, Scots-Irish Presbyterians, German Mennonites and Reformed, and Lutherans, among others, participated in William Penn's Holy Experiment, which promised religious tolerance and entrepreneurial opportunity in wooded and mountainous areas thought to be a barrier to settlement. Germans and Scots-Irish enthusiastically sought farmland and put distance between themselves and Quaker control. Visitors remarked on the isolated, self-contained, German-speaking "Dutchland" forming inland and the migration of Scots-Irish and Germans into Virginia's Shenandoah Valley to help form the hardscrabble Appalachian region. The region's mountain dulcimer, for example, was derived from the German zither and was used to accompany old British ballads. The "pot pie" (actually appearing to be more of a stew with dumplings and chicken) associated with Pennsylvania-German cuisine maintained the heavy dough and gravy diet of Central Europe while borrowing the terminology of the British "pie." Farmlands were at first devoted to wheat, but later a corn-pig complex was developed by which corn supplied a grain for baking as well as food for livestock. Many Pennsylvania foods that spread beyond the German population, including sausage, scrapple, and corn mush, relied on this complex. Probably best-known of the German American traditions that spread widely into American material culture were the holiday customs of the indoor Christmas tree, the Easter bunny, and decorated egg tree.

Most notable on the Dutchland landscape was the large, two- or three-level Pennsylvania barn, which featured a German-looking forebay hanging over a sublevel on one side and an inclined bank leading to an entrance on the nongable side. It departed, however, from the forms of many lower Rhineland barns in its nongable entrance, perhaps adapted from English barns. The German house also went through an Anglicization and later an Americanization process. Known for its asymmetrical *flurkuchenhaus*, or continental German type of dwelling, the house of Rhineland settlers in Pennsylvania usually had an entrance that led on one side directly into the kitchen hearth, which extended to the back of the house. On the other side were a wide front room, or *Stube* (literally the "stove room"), and the sleeping chamber, or *Kammer.* The chimney was therefore off center in the house, and befitting the dough cuisine, it often contained an exterior bread-baking oven. In some areas, the oven was in a separate structure. With the spread of English political influence in urbanizing areas, many houses took on more of the symmetry of the Georgian high-style exterior while often retaining the long kitchen and two side rooms. A folk type that developed out of this hybridization throughout the mid-Atlantic region used two front doors and the German-type interior in contrast to the central hallway and four evenly spaced rooms of the Georgian plan. Although the German type persisted into the nineteenth century in many rural areas of the state and in several communal societies such as Ephrata, Bethlehem, and Harmony, the central passage and decorative architectural features of eagles and classical pediments were increasingly in evidence on the two-story, two-room-wide, two-room-deep mid-Atlantic house. The eagles and classical features even appeared on furnishings (e.g., painted dower chests) and illuminated manuscripts (e.g., *Taufscheine*, or baptismal certificates) alongside the traditional German symbols of the heart, tulip, and *distelfink* (an ornamental bird design deriving from the German for "goldfinch;" it is often used to represent good luck and happiness and is sometimes shown as two attached birds facing away from each other).

**The Chesapeake Tidewater.** In the source area of the Chesapeake Tidewater, running from Baltimore down to the coast of North Carolina and inland to the Blue Ridge Mountains, settlers developed a material culture based largely upon the cultivation of tobacco. By the end of the eighteenth century, householders had developed specialized barns for curing their tobacco with loosely jointed sideboards to allow air to flow among the hanging leaves. Barns, dwellings,

and fences reflected the transiency of their builders. The tobacco barns and small stables of the Tidewater region appeared astonishingly flimsy to visiting Europeans and northern farmers. If not cultivating tobacco, many southern planters erected log double-crib barns based on a type found in Central Europe; these barns were found especially further inland into the Tennessee Valley at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As storage needs grew, they expanded into a New World form of the four-crib barn with a central passageway (one of its two passageways was blocked off to provide additional stabling), thus forming a transverse-crib barn.

The settlers in the Tidewater understood themselves as southerners by the contrast of their built landscapes to the corn-pig complexes and multipurpose agricultural systems furthern north. With wood being plentiful, they created a building style adaptable to an agricultural crop that exhausted the soil and forced them frequently to move on to new arable land. Their "worm" fences, made from split rails heaped loosely upon one another in self-supporting zigzag patterns enclosing their fields, could easily be dismantled as well as erected. These fences appeared to waste vast amounts of wood, but they had the advantage of needing no posts or postholes, thus allowing for quick mobility and expansion.

The most distinctive folk house-type to emerge in the Tidewater and spread outward through the South was the one-room-deep hall and parlor house, which developed into the two-story, one-room-deep "I house." Frequently built of wood rather than brick, the hall and parlor were fashioned largely after the English original but were frequently adapted to the hot, humid climate of the South. It had a raised foundation to avoid water damage to the first floor; external chimneys to maximize heat loss; a deep, shady front porch; and frequently a breezeway or central passageway that allowed air to flow through. A peculiarly southern terminology emerged for variations of its two-room-wide, one-room-deep structures that developed in the early nineteenth century, including "dogtrot," "saddlebag," and "double-pen" houses. Some observers have noted that unlike the sturdy bay or room of the North, the southern pen connoted impermanence as well as an adaptation to the expansiveness of the southern landscape. This pattern fostered an American material culture of mobility, which included the development of large-wheeled vehicles, use of wood for road coverings, and clothing such as lightweight fabrics and protective bonnets for women and durable broadcloth pants

**Gardner-Pingree House, Entry.** Fanlights and sidelights surround the front door of the Gardner-Pingree House. Such embellishments are characteristic of Federal architecture. © TODD GIPSTEIN/CORBIS.

and riding boots for men. Scholars have speculated whether this mobility also fueled an increased taste for consumer goods, since people on the move demanded ready-made domestic products.

**Deep South and Louisiana Purchase.** The development of plantations for cotton and rice in the Deep South, meanwhile, included the common layout of the big house and slave cabins behind the big house. In South Carolina the line of slave cabins was known on the rice plantations as "the street" with a white overseer's house at its end. The slave houses exemplified British house-types, typically single-story or hall and parlor cabins with symmetrical fenestration. Some observers have noted that African American carpenters built broad front porches unlike those in Europe and thereby taught their masters about adapting to a hot climate. Slave women learned quilting from European American tradition but applied quilt patterns, especially the ubiquitous strip or string quilt characteristic of West African textiles. Outside the cabin, slaves continued the African tradition of having dry gardens by sweeping dirt to form aesthetic patterns in front yards. In death, African

American cemeteries featured mounded dirt graves with shells and broken crockery in keeping with African funerary practices.

Hybridization in New World material culture was particularly noticeable to Americans in the southern portion of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), previously colonized by France and Spain. Along the Mississippi River into New Orleans and the Louisiana bayou, Afro-Caribbean influences could be discerned in the early nineteenth century; along with French and Spanish colonial cultural exchanges, they created a distinctive Creole society. Especially conspicuous on the built landscape was the "shotgun" house, reminiscent of Haitian and West African building styles of one room behind another and a front porch, in contradistinction to the two-room-wide, one-room-deep pattern of British folk house-types. On the American landscape, a third and even fourth room was added. (The kitchen was typically in the rear, the front or common space in the front, and sleeping areas in between.) Characterized by a narrow facade and extreme length, the shotgun might be constructed with wood or brick or with infilling

between vertical posts, following French tradition. In keeping with African tradition, the front-to-rear arrangement of the house lacked privacy and encouraged socialization. One American response was the development of the double shotgun house to provide a two-room-wide structure with two front doors reminiscent of the double pen. A room on one side might be removed to create a deep corner porch and main entrance through the social space of the porch, as was common in northern Louisiana. Metal grave-markers commonly seen in cemeteries also derived from French tradition, but some black Creoles shaped the crosses into heads and animals following Afro-Caribbean tradition.

### THE FEDERAL STYLE

While strong ethnic cultural sources and migration patterns influenced the development of America's regional differences into the nineteenth century and beyond, the creation of the new nation also inspired high-style architecture and furnishings, primarily urban, befitting the Federal vision of a new Republic. Often the Federal period in material culture is known for a classical revival, particularly between 1780 and 1830, leading to the Greek Revival in town naming and architecture between 1820 and 1860. Federal architecture derived from the high-style emphasis on symmetry and order from 1700 to 1780 in the British Georgian style that was commonly used in large civic buildings in the English colonies. Georgian architecture had a rectangular plan, often with symmetrical wings flanking each side. Many American architects who had been abroad celebrated its geometric rationality. Over time the facade and interior decorations became more elaborate and often signified imperial excess. The architecture often had a pedimented gable, frequently with a projecting central pavilion or a portico with two-story columns emphasizing authority and power. Brick walls were commonly laid in a fancy Flemish bond pattern. Also influencing the Federal style were the royal architects Robert Adam (1728–1792) and James Adam (1730–1794), who refined the Georgian style with elegant lines and design motifs including fan ornaments, festoons, urns, wreaths, leaves, and petals.

Although echoes of the Adam style are clearly discernible in the Federal style, the American version is often distinguished by emphasis on classical features, extensive use of glass (glass manufactured in the United States was less expensive than that imported from England), and elegantly elaborate doorways. The Federal style also extended from civic and commercial buildings to brick and brownstone urban row houses in both South and North. Federal taste, promoted by celebrated American figures such as Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), Charles Bulfinch (1763–1844), and Robert Mills (1781–1855) favored giant entrance porticos, sometimes domed; a fan-shaped light; a central pediment; and a cupola with arched openings. Exemplary Federal buildings, such as the U.S. Custom House and Public Stores in Salem, Massachusetts, built in 1819, reflected a trend of locating a large, nationalistic eagle on or over the central pediment. The U.S. Capitol, completed in 1827, exemplified the symbolic qualities of the style for the nation. It announced in its classical designs the revival of the Republic; while it owed its inspiration to Europe, it contained distinctive American features such as the neoclassical Statue of Freedom with a Native American crest of an eagle's head, feathers, and talons and a shield with thirteen stripes.

Decorative moldings, friezes, pilasters, and quoins used in the large civic buildings were also adopted in ordinary houses, especially in highlighting the pediment, fanlight, and pilasters around the door. In fancier houses, Federal buildings have side-gabled, center-gabled, or hipped roofs, often enclosed or partially enclosed with a balustrade at the line of the cornice. Furniture also exhibited Federal taste, especially in the stylistic treatment of chairs, chests of drawers, and bookcases in inlaid mahogany with shield designs and central wheat sheaves or urns and plain, tapering legs. Although Windsor chairs are known in England as well as America, American craftsmen during the Federal period developed the fanback style among others and had a fondness for the rocking chair that spread in vernacular forms. Other decorative arts taking on a Federal look included mirrors topped with eagles; brass eagle door knockers; classically inlaid tall and banjo clocks; weathervanes with Columbia and other patriotic symbols; neoclassical dresses featuring a high-waisted bodice; carved pilastered mantelpieces; and silver boxes, pots, and bowls festooned with classical wreaths and plumes. In public places and private interiors, particularly in eastern cities for a rising middle class, the Federal style was expressed materially through classical design and American iconography. It influenced the spread southward and northward from America's midland of the design of America's courthouse on the square and the outlying classical "temple" form of the vernacular upright and wing house. As the Federal building marked America's national aspirations in capital cities, the courthouse square and upright and wing house became hallmarks of the American small town in the new nation.

*See also* **African Survivals; American Indians: American Indian Ethnography; Architectural Styles; Architecture; Cemeteries and Burial; Clothing; Farm Making; Food; Furniture; Housing; Immigration and Immigrants; Washington, D.C.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Benes, Peter, ed. *House and Home.* Dublin, N.H.: Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, 1988.

Bronner, Simon J. *Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986.

Cohen, David Steven. *The Dutch-American Farm.* New York: New York University Press, 1992.

Ensminger, Robert F. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America.* 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Foster, Helen Bradley. *New Raiments of Self: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South.* Oxford, U.K.: Berg, 1997.

Garrett, Wendell. *Classic America: The Federal Style and Beyond.* New York: Rizzoli, 1992.

Garrison, J. Ritchie, Bernard L. Herman, and Barbara McLean Ward. *After Ratification: Material Life in Delaware, 1789–1820.* Newark: University of Delaware, 1988.

Glassie, Henry H. *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Hubka, Thomas C. *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1984.

Hutchins, Catherine E., ed. *Everyday Life in the Early Republic.* Winterthur, Del.: H. F. du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994.

Jakle, John A., Robert W. Bastian, and Douglas K. Meyer. *Common Houses in America's Small Towns: The Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi Valley.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Jordan, Terry G. *American Log Buildings: An Old World Heritage.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Joyner, Charles W. *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Kirk, John T. *American Furniture and the British Tradition to 1830.* New York: Knopf, 1982.

Price, Edward T. "The Central Courthouse Square in the American County Seat." *Geographical Review* 58 (1968): 29–60.

Puig, Francis J., and Michael Conforti, eds. *The American Craftsman and the European Tradition, 1620–1820.* Minneapolis, Minn.: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1989.

Quimby, Ian M. G., ed. *The Craftsman in Early America.* New York: Norton, 1984.

St. George, Robert Blair, ed. *Material Life in America, 1600–1860.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Stilgoe, John R. *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.

Vlach, John Michael. *The Afro-American Tradition in the Decorative Arts.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. Reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.

———. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

*Simon J. Bronner*

**McCULLOCH V. MARYLAND** U.S. Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall's opinion in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) ranks, along with his opinion in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), as one of his two most important opinions. It is the most important and persuasive assertion of the supremacy of the Constitution and Congress in the period before the Civil War. The case involved the constitutionality of the federal legislation creating the Second Bank of the United States. Marshall wrote an opinion that resembles a state paper or an essay on constitutional and political theory. It is a magisterial essay on the powers of the national government and the meaning of the Constitution. In it he upheld the constitutionality of the bank.

In 1791 Congress had given the Bank of the United States a twenty-year charter over the objections of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and U.S. Representative James Madison. The charter expired in 1811, when Madison was president and his allies firmly in control of Congress and just as firmly opposed to the bank. Thus, the first Bank of the United States ceased to exist. However, the War of 1812 (1812–1815) forced Madison and his party to rethink their position. Without a central bank it was difficult for the government to function, especially in a time of crisis. Thus, in 1816 Congress chartered a new bank and Madison happily signed the legislation creating the Second Bank of the United States. The bank was initially popular, but public support diminished as a growing financial crisis led to the Panic of 1819. In 1818 Maryland passed a law to tax notes of all banks "not chartered by the legislature." The only bank that fit this description was the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States. James W. McCulloch, the head of the Baltimore branch, refused to pay the tax and was subsequently sued by the state. He appealed his conviction to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Arguments in the case lasted nine days as Daniel Webster, Attorney General William Wirt, and Wil-

liam Pinkney, one of the most prominent lawyers in the nation, defended the bank's interests. Maryland's legal team was led by Luther Martin, who had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Marshall, speaking for a unanimous Court, based his opinion on the "necessary and proper" clause of the U.S. Constitution. He established that the bank was necessary for the smooth operation of the national government. He showed that it was proper for the government to control its finances and have a place to deposit tax revenues. He demonstrated that nothing in the Constitution prohibited Congress from establishing a bank. Thus, he concluded: "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional." He noted that the Tenth Amendment declared that the "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution" were reserved to the states or the people. But he pointed out that the amendment, unlike the language in the Articles of Confederation, did not use the term "expressly delegated." He rejected the idea that the Constitution was like a legal code, spelling out all the powers of Congress. Such a document "could scarcely be embraced by the human mind." He reminded readers they must "never forget that it is a *constitution* we are expounding," and that it was "a constitution intended to endure for ages to come." Thus, it had to be "adapted to the various crises of human affairs." This flexible approach to the Constitution allowed Congress to pass all laws and create all institutions that were necessary and proper for implementing the functions of government, as long as the Constitution did not specifically prohibit such actions.

He then turned to Maryland's attempt to tax the bank. He noted that the "power to tax involves the power to destroy," and that if Maryland could tax the bank created by Congress, it could destroy that bank. But no state could destroy what Congress legally and constitutionally created, because "the great principle" of the American nation was "that the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme." If Maryland could tax the bank, it could tax the customhouse, the mails, military installations, and in effect destroy the national government. "This," Marshall was certain, "was not intended by the American people."

Marshall's opinion deeply angered states' rights advocates, especially those in Virginia who feared a strong national government. Judge Spencer Roane, Judge William Brockenbrough, and former U.S. senator John Taylor (known as John Taylor of Caroline) attacked the decision in Virginia's newspapers. Marshall replied to these attacks on his opinion, first under the *nom de plume* "A Friend of the Union," but the Philadelphia paper that published these essays gnarled them and left out complete paragraphs. Thus, he republished corrected versions in an Alexandria, Virginia, paper under the name "A Friend of the Constitution." The newspaper debate did not settle the issue, and in 1832 Andrew Jackson would dismantle the bank. But Marshall's opinion endured as the Supreme Court's most powerful and authoritative analysis of the inherent flexibility in the Constitution and the supremacy of both the Constitution and Congress.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Marshall, John; Panic of 1819; Presidency, The: James Madison; States' Rights.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gunther, Gerald, ed. *John Marshall's Defense of McCulloch v. Maryland.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969.

Newmyer, R. Kent. *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

*Paul Finkelman*

**MEDICINE**    Between 1754 and 1829, medicine in what would become the United States passed through three stages. All of the stages originated in Europe, and American medicine remained in a colonial relationship with that continent, regardless of what was going on in politics and economics.

### STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

At first, physicians and educated people who knew medical texts tended to think in very traditional terms and formulations that had been honored since the time of Galen in the second century A.D. People fell ill because of an imbalance in the humors—black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. To this basic scheme were added alchemical ideas, folk wisdom, and sometimes ideas about the body as a chemical or physical organism.

The second stage came in the late eighteenth century, when a number of physicians took up Enlightenment teachings. The most conspicuous and important was Benjamin Rush, a physician and teacher in
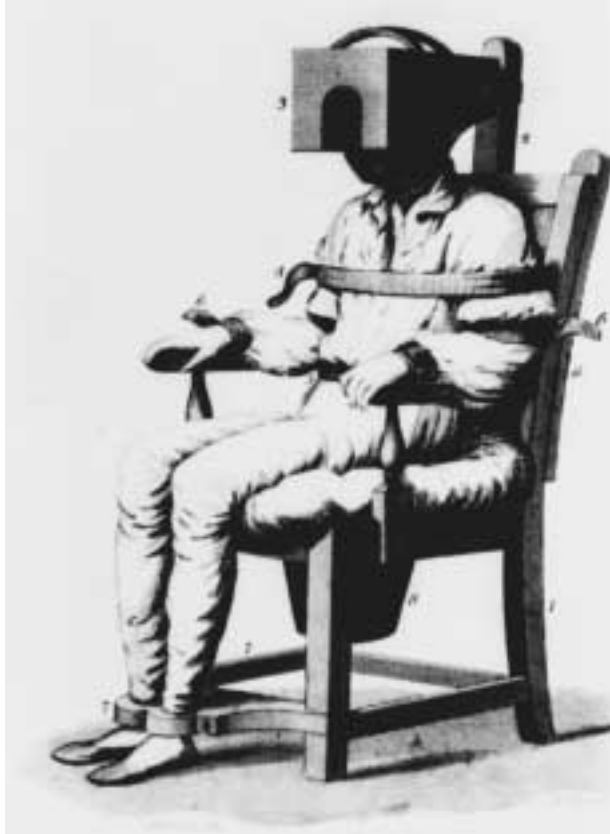
**Tranquilizing Chair.** Designed by Benjamin Rush around 1800, the tranquilizing chair was used in the treatment of mental illness. The chair restrained the body with straps and a box-like apparatus that fit over the head. Engraved by Benjamin Tanner after John James Barralet. © CORBIS.

Philadelphia. Rush based his ideas on those of William Cullen of Edinburgh, who in turn inspired John Brown, also of Edinburgh, where a significant number of American physicians studied. All three of them taught highly rational systems of medicine, as was appropriate to the Age of Reason. Disease in their eyes represented either too much or too little irritability or excitability. Rush in particular held that pathology grew out of a morbid tension in the walls of the arteries.

After the War of 1812, leading American physicians began to study in France. By 1830 the French clinical school was deeply influencing the way physicians viewed and treated ill health. By correlating symptoms with local lesions found during autopsy, and by introducing a measure of skepticism concerning traditional therapies, French clinicians gave a small but growing number of American physicians a sense that empirical investigation could lead to much better understanding of disease.

## IDEAS ABOUT DISEASE

Except for the theories of Rush and others, and then the slow incursion of notions of localized pathology, ideas of what a disease was did not change greatly in the two-thirds of a century after 1763. Epidemics were sent by God, but individuals had some control over their own health. Something, it was held, went awry with "the system," a more or less mechanical entity that nevertheless had a vital spirit infusing it and was sensitive to the ordinary inputs of eating and sleeping and the more ominous influences from the environment (often airborne "miasmas"). Because the ideas of both the human system and inputs and environments were vague and contested, medicine remained at best an inexact science and one that was difficult to explain in that time or this. Certain features did stand out, however.

While a few diseases were distinctive, such as syphilis, cancers, stroke, and smallpox, most acute diseases were just varieties of general categories, chiefly fluxes (that is, diarrheas) and fevers. And that was what practitioners ordinarily saw the most of. But fever could come in many varieties, such as long fever (typhoid), malarial fever, putrid sore throat, and the like. In general, diseases were classified by symptoms. One of the most common diseases, for example, tuberculosis of the lungs, was described in a term suggesting the way patients wasted away: consumption.

What people at the time especially noted was how illnesses varied with season and geography. The measles of one year would be different from that of the next. Even epidemics came at different seasons—everyone knew that malaria was a disease of hot weather, that respiratory and arthritic ailments were worse in the winter. Moreover, there was serious doubt that the disease of one place was the same as that of another. It was a surprise in 1800–1801, for example, that the smallpox of New England would respond to vaccination just as would the smallpox of Old England.

As sectional identities began to develop, sectional differences appeared among physicians. Southerners encountered diseases such as malaria and yellow fever that were seldom found in the North. Northern physicians had to deal with diseases of cold weather, not only frostbite but arthritic disorders, which appeared in young as well as older adults. The trans-Appalachian West even acquired a significant disease, first described in 1809–1811. Called the milk sick, it later was found to be poisoning that came when cattle ate a common weed, white snakeroot, so that the illness was both geographical and seasonal. As set-

tlers filtered into the West, the milk sick was a serious and sometimes epidemic disease. (The mother of Abraham Lincoln died of the milk sick in 1818.) On the basis of these different types of illnesses, physicians began to describe special regional medicines, especially southern medicine.

## TREATING ILLNESSES

To a remarkable extent, the therapies available then were general, designed to set the system back onto a natural course so that it had humors in balance or the amount of irritability or tenseness balanced. There could not be a specific cure until there was a specific disease to be cured. From an earlier period, there was a specific cure for the disease of syphilis: mercury. And in the 1730s, Europeans started using cinchona bark, which contained quinine, a specific for malaria. But since the bark affected one fever, many physicians used it for all fevers, since "fever" was the working category. Then, beginning in 1785, foxglove (containing digitalis) was imported from England, where it was discovered to counter dropsy (congestive heart failure). Thus, the list of specifics was a very short one, without significant additions until after 1830.

Physicians often prescribed very powerful drugs—usually herbs, including opium. Each practitioner had his or her favorites. Diet and other, more homely, devices were also used. Sweating was common. The gastrointestinal system was kept as active as possible, and stimulating medications were administered from both ends of the GI system, causing diarrheas and vomiting. "Trust in God, and keep the bowels open," was common wisdom.

Treatments were described in general terms according to the effects that they had on the system. There were stimulants (people most importantly and incorrectly imagined that alcohol was a stimulant). There were depletives, of which the most commonly employed was bleeding. And there were alteratives, such as violent purges that wracked the system and left it in a new rhythm or state after the effects had run their course.

Physicians and people practicing on themselves utilized other techniques as well. In addition to bleeding, a variety of instrumentalities existed to produce running sores and pus by means of which the body would throw off "moribific matter" or undesirable elements in the blood. The skin could be blistered with irritants such as cantharides (Spanish fly) or cupping (burning paper in a cup applied to the skin and creating a vacuum). "Issues" could be created by inserting a pea or bean under the skin to obtain a discharge. Or a seton could be made: a thread was run under the skin and then coated with an irritant and pulled back and forth, which usually produced a satisfactory discharge (done in the neck for headache, for example).

Since treatment modalities tended to persist from the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century, the style of treatment rather more than the specific details defined changes in medicine. Beginning in the 1790s, and especially under the leadership of Benjamin Rush, who thought his extreme measures had some effect against the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793, so-called heroic medicine flourished in the United States. The more serious the symptoms, the more powerful were the treatments. "It is but trifling with the life of a man to give him less of a remedy than his disease calls for," wrote a southern physician in 1828.

Heroic treatment consisted of the usual therapies carried out with more than usual vigor and dosage. "Copious bleedings" took place—to an extent that scandalized later generations. Although extremely violent purgatives were used, "the Samson of the material medica" was mercurous chloride, or calomel. Calomel was used as a stimulant, and it did stimulate the gastrointestinal system. Calomel also caused classic symptoms of mercury poisoning. The mouth could turn ash gray, ulcers of the oral area appeared, and teeth could become loosened. Patients often took calomel until they "salivated"—another sign of mercury poisoning.

Heroic treatment spread most famously to the West and South. The practice of many New Englanders and other physicians was often relatively restrained and mild—and empirical. But already by the 1820s, a popular reaction had set in, and many lay people as well as medical practitioners were criticizing heroic styles of practice. At the same time, an active stance regarding an individual patient's disease was part of a professional identity.

## SURGERY

In colonial medicine, physicians, even those trained in England as surgeons, did only limited kinds of surgery. Since there was no anesthesia, and since infection almost invariably followed cutting into the body, only in urgent cases would anyone resort to surgery. A competent practitioner would set a simple fracture or correct a dislocation. He would lance abscesses and extirpate growths on the skin. He might couch a cataract. In a case of a compound fracture, or in warfare when a bullet broke the skin, amputation of the limb was called for. Infection otherwise

would almost certainly kill the patient. The only generally accepted procedure that involved cutting below the skin on the body or head came when a patient was dying with bladder stones that prevented urination. Then a physician could "cut for stone"—often with considerable success.

Occasionally some foolhardy or desperate practitioner would attempt to intrude into the thorax to cut a dangerous growth or condition, though such incidents became more common in the nineteenth century. The most famous instance was that of Ephraim McDowell, a practitioner of Danville, Kentucky, who in 1809 operated on a woman with a large ovarian tumor. He subsequently repeated the operation successfully, reporting his cases in 1817. And all through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many practitioners ingeniously invented or copied new and better surgical instruments, many of which have survived in museum collections.

## MEDICAL PRACTICE AND SELF-TREATMENT

Almost all practice was carried out in patients' homes or, to a lesser extent, the physician's home office. Charitable hospitals appeared only slowly. The Pennsylvania Hospital had been founded in 1751 (and the New Orleans Charity Hospital in 1736), and others came and went. But no one would willingly choose a hospital over home care. Nursing, either institutional or domestic, was carried out by servants or relatives.

Because of the isolated life of many settlers, and because a large and growing proportion of the population was literate, many Americans avoided the expense of seeking medical advice and used their own means to treat their illnesses. Sometimes family recipes or folk healing sufficed. A growing number of advice books was available, either imported from Europe or printed in America in pirated editions. Throughout the period, almanacs like those compiled by Benjamin Franklin contained medical advice. Most notably, proprietary or "patent" medicines, offered commercially, attracted many customers. Newspaper ads for English preparations first appeared in significant numbers during the 1750s, and by the 1820s Thomas Dyott of Philadelphia, a former bootblack, was becoming one of the richest men in the country by marketing nostrums.

In 1830 American medicine was poised for great changes. For the first time, Americans would be contributing significantly to world medicine. (The physiology of digestion, surgical anesthesia, and landmark therapeutic skepticism all came in the 1830s.)

Cholera, which terrorized the population and stimulated changes in medical practice; health reform movements; and the railroad, which enabled professionals to organize, all lay in the future. Meantime, in the 1820s, many signs of the future were already in place. Sulfate of quinine—in place of "bark"—came in. A national pharmacopeia appeared in 1820, with a promise of revision every ten years. The Philadelphia College of Pharmacy was established in 1821. The first state mental hospital to signal a wave of reform that swept the country, the Eastern Lunatic Asylum (later Eastern State Hospital), was established in 1824 in Lexington, Kentucky. And by 1829, 105 American physicians had returned from studying in Paris. Of course, they still had to practice right alongside a very large number of practitioners of various degrees of education, apprentice training, self-education, and simple commercial cupidity.

*See also* **Asylums; Epidemics; Health and Disease; Malaria; Mental Illness; Pain; Patent Medicines; Professions: Physicians; Smallpox.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Estes, J. Worth. *Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove: Medical Practice and Research in Revolutionary America*, *1760–1820.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1979.

Estes, J. Worth, Philip Cash, and Eric H. Christianson, eds. *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, *1620–1820.* Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980.

Gevitz, Norman, ed. *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Kett, Joseph F. *The Formation of the American Medical Profession: The Role of Institutions*, *1780–1860.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968.

Reiss, Oscar. *Medicine in Colonial America.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2000.

Rothstein, William G. *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Shyrock, Richard Harrison. *Medicine and Society in America*, *1660–1860.* New York: New York University Press, 1960.

Warner, John Harley. *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America*, *1820–1885.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.

*John C. Burnham*

**MENTAL ILLNESS** The understanding and treatment of mental illness changed radically between

1754 and 1829. Two major, related trends can be discerned: a move towards a more benevolent, nontheological approach to persons considered insane and the establishment of the first institutions in British North America designed to treat mental illness.

### 1754–1790s

By the 1750s, colonists in British North America who were influenced by the European Enlightenment increasingly questioned Calvinist concepts of the innate evil of mankind and pessimism about human life, as well as age-old Christian beliefs that demonic possession and sinful natures caused insanity, for which the insane deserved punishment. On the European continent, optimistic Enlightenment views that human nature was malleable and that nature could be controlled by knowledge-based action fostered a secular approach to mental disorders. Although not new, the idea that mental afflictions were diseases, natural phenomena, and thus subject to medical treatment, became more common in British North America and began to be expressed institutionally. The colonists wanted to emulate Europe in establishing enlightened institutions in North America. Furthermore, population growth and urban development, especially in the northern colonies, produced fears of deranged persons wandering freely in the community.

The Pennsylvania Hospital, the first hospital in the colonies, established by Quakers in Philadelphia in 1754, accepted mental patients. In support of that policy, Benjamin Franklin—preeminent civic activist, creator of institutions, and promoter of the hospital—pointed to London's venerable Bethlem Royal Hospital ("Bedlam") for the mentally ill, where two-thirds of patients reportedly recovered (an exaggerated claim). At the Pennsylvania Hospital more than a generation later, Dr. Benjamin Rush—scientist, reformer, and "father of American psychiatry"—advocated humanizing the care of mental patients. However, his heroic therapeutic techniques, most notably extensive bloodletting and dosing with chemicals, did not work. Rush and his contemporaries could accurately describe symptoms of mental illness, but they had limited scientific understanding of it, and their physical remedies were minimally effective.

Another early institutional model was the first publicly supported hospital exclusively for mental patients in the colonial capital of Williamsburg, Virginia. Opened in 1773 as a secular, humane institution, it demonstrated to the governor and other elite founders the advanced state of their civil society (slavery notwithstanding).

Throughout the colonies, though, most "insane" persons—often chained in basements or attics at home, languishing in almshouses and jails, or roaming about neighborhoods—remained untreated, and physicians, however enlightened, lacked verifiable knowledge of the etiology of mental disorders, the physiology of the brain, and the nature of the "mind" and its relationship to a soul assumed to be immortal.

### 1790s–1829

By the end of the eighteenth century new approaches to the nature and treatment of mental disorder emerged in Europe and found their way to the United States. In revolutionary France Dr. Philippe Pinel, famous for removing chains from insane patients, initially considered insanity to be a self-limiting disorder that could be ameliorated by physically shocking the patient. When this technique failed, he adopted a "moral" treatment, whereby patients were managed primarily with compassion and moral suasion.

In England the Quaker leader Samuel Tuke independently devised and introduced a somewhat similar system in 1792 in a small new sectarian asylum. Tuke's example influenced fellow Quakers in the United States to open the Friends Asylum outside Philadelphia in 1817. Subsequently, Friends elsewhere were involved in founding several well known nonsectarian hospitals following the same therapeutic philosophy. They stressed humane care and occupational therapy, in a comfortable, friendly setting in bucolic surroundings, with patients away from their families, the cares of ordinary life, and fire and brimstone religious sermons—all believed to contribute to, if not cause, mental illness. While physicians visiting the facilities continued dosing and bleeding patients, the emphasis at the new institutions was on trying to affect the psyche through a benevolent, communal environment and training in self-control. Exactly how these techniques affected the mind was not made clear: these early British and American lay reformers were motivated by pragmatic and humanitarian concerns rather than medical science.

American physicians—like Pinel, whose psychiatric writings became available in English translation in 1806—considered insanity to be an essentially somatic (physical) disease. They viewed moral treatment, however humane, as nonmedical in nature and therefore incapable of curing insanity, although they had little else to offer and were stymied by the traditional mind-body dichotomy.

By 1829 the high recovery rates reported in moral-treatment hospitals seemed to justify therapeutic claims for the system. But only a relatively few mentally ill persons could benefit from such hospitals, as these institutions tended to cater to (white) families able to pay the fees. Physicians and laypeople both assumed that the sensitive upper classes were most likely to succumb to insanity, while lower-class white people were much less susceptible and blacks and Indians least so. In fact, there was no evidence for most contemporary notions about the prevalence or incidence of insanity. By the mid nineteenth century, when state mental hospitals for the public proliferated, views about susceptibility reversed: now poor people, immigrants, and non-whites were considered more apt to become insane and harder to treat. As before, social and class prejudice, combined with unsophisticated and erroneous statistics, influenced "scientific" attitudes.

Still, some of the early hospitals, by gathering patients together in an optimistic hospital environment, gave local communities experience with the insane to counterpose against traditional pessimistic, superstitious, and theological lore about mental illness. This change, together with an American belief in progress and overoptimism about curability (spawned by the presumed effectiveness of moral treatment), would help to inspire the later full-scale movement (beginning in the mid-nineteenth century) to build state mental hospitals, many with moral treatment as a goal. To be sure, an additional major consideration was always the perceived need to protect society, and at lowest cost. The difficulty of sustaining moral treatment, an expensive therapy, plus the intractability of much of mental illness and the failure of physicians to discover a somatic basis for it, dimmed the early high hopes and eventually alienated most advocates of moral treatment from the medical establishment. Cycling between psychological and somatic theories—the old mind-body split—continued through the years and is still used today, in practice if not in theory. The moral-treatment movement faded from history until the mid-twentieth century, to be rediscovered in a new era of reform, serious historical study of psychiatry, and radical critiques of medical concepts of mental illness and its treatment. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, contrary to revisionist writers like Michel Foucault (1926–1984), who viewed all societal efforts to improve the lot of the mentally ill as inherently exploitive, most historians would agree that moral treatment, its limitations notwithstanding, was a social advance.

*See also* **Franklin, Benjamin; Health and Disease; Hospitals; Professions: Physicians; Quakers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dain, Norman. *Concepts of Insanity in the United States, 1789–1865.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961.

Grob, Gerald N. *The Mad among Us: A History of the Care of America's Mentally Ill.* New York: Free Press, 1994.

Jimenez, Mary Ann. *Changing Faces of Madness: Early American Attitudes and Treatment of the Insane.* Hanover, N.H.: Published for Brandeis University Press by University Press of New England, 1987.

Micale, Mark S., and Roy Porter, eds. *Discovering the History of Psychiatry.* Parts 4–5. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Scull, Andrew, ed. *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

*Norman Dain*

**MERCANTILISM**   *See* **Economic Theory.**

**MERCHANTS**   In eighteenth-century parlance, a "merchant" was a wholesaler who traded in foreign markets. Residing in seaport cities, with their businesses and even their homes usually located conveniently close to the wharves, merchants played key roles in the early American economy. Merchants arranged for farm products to move from the countryside to seaports, imported manufactured necessities and luxuries for colonists' consumption, and shipped cargoes of raw materials and produce to Europe, the West Indies, and Africa.

In a precarious business world, merchants had to be flexible and versatile. Besides buying and selling goods, they served as bankers by extending credit and transferring funds, and acted as insurance underwriters. Because communications were slow and unreliable, merchants used agents in foreign ports to purchase and ship their orders of merchandise and to find buyers for their shipments from America. Alternatively, merchants might consign goods to a ship's captain or associate known as a supercargo, who traveled with the shipment and handled its sales. Merchants often hedged their investments by putting funds in business or real estate. Among New

York merchants, land was the preferred investment; others owned shares of companies such as iron furnaces. A trader could specialize in dry goods (textiles, notions, and certain items of clothing), meaning that his main contacts were in Great Britain, or in wet goods (rum, molasses, coffee, and other imported groceries), in which case he did business in many ports. Generally, dry goods dealers were the more prosperous of the two groups.

It is customary to refer to a "merchant class," implying a coherent, wealthy group that wielded political and economic clout. But in fact merchants varied widely in their ethnicity, politics, religion, and income. In all the major seaports—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston—some merchants were among the elite, upper ranks, but by no means were all merchants in that class. Philadelphia traders, for example, included wealthy merchants as well as middling ones whose income was equal to that of a shopkeeper or artisan. (Even struggling merchants enjoyed a higher social status than that of artisans or mechanics, however, because they did not work with their hands.) Most merchants who did reach the upper strata worked their way up rather than relying on inherited wealth; they did not have time for politics while they were active in business. Thomas Hancock, for example, the son of a Puritan minister, began as a bookseller in Boston and made his fortune by supplying British troops during the Seven Years' War. He left a substantial business to his nephew, John Hancock, who succeeded him in the House of Hancock; John, however, found he had more aptitude, interest, and success in politics than he enjoyed as a merchant, and his business suffered as a consequence.

In the Lower South the status of upper-tier merchants was comparable to that of wealthy planters; merchants sometimes owned plantations as well as city businesses, and they intermarried frequently with planter families. Charleston, the fourth-largest (and wealthiest) city in the colonies, had the largest concentration of merchants in the South. By the late colonial period, Charleston merchants conducted 75 percent of the region's overseas trade; they did most of their business with British firms, with whom they formed close business and social ties.

The two principal ports of the middle colonies, New York and Philadelphia, had sizable merchant communities. In Philadelphia before the Revolution, about fifty men (or 10 percent of the total number of merchants) handled half of all the city's shipping. These top Philadelphia merchants were among the wealthiest men in America, and, though not rich by

European standards, they lived in aristocratic fashion. Merchants such as Robert Morris and Joshua Fisher resided in three-story, elegantly furnished brick townhouses and frequently built countryseats outside the city.

In New England, Boston was the main port, but it competed for trade with lesser places, including Newburyport, Marblehead, Salem, Newport, Providence, and Portsmouth. Here too, certain families—the Faneuils, Hancocks, and Boylstons of Boston, and the Browns of Providence—rose to prominence, rising above the lesser merchants to form a wealthy, near aristocratic, class. Although he came to relish hobnobbing with the common man, John Hancock lived extravagantly, including riding in a coach with liveried servants.

Some merchants were actively engaged in the cause of liberty, whereas others were lukewarm. Hancock was popular among the working classes in Boston because of his Patriot stance and his association with Samuel Adams. When Hancock was placed under arrest for smuggling (evading duties was everyday practice for Boston shippers), a mob dragged a British custom boat through the streets, then burned it in protest. South Carolina merchant Christopher Gadsden was so ardent for the rebellion that he was known as a Southern Samuel Adams. Prominent Rhode Island merchant John Brown was among the locals who wounded the captain of the British customs boat *Gaspée*, then set it on fire in 1772. In Newburyport, Massachusetts, merchants supported the radical movement wholeheartedly, perhaps because they had fewer ties to Britain than merchants in other cities. In some cases merchants may have supported the periodic boycotts of British imports for economic reasons; it is possible that boycotts gave merchants a chance to unload the accumulation of dry goods that the British merchants had dumped on the American market, or that some merchants saw nonimportation as a way to drive competitors out of business.

In other instances merchants were cautious and conservative when it came to rebellion. Like their more zealous counterparts, they, too, worried about British infringement on American rights, and some were even willing to sacrifice for the cause. However, there was no sustained support among all merchants for nonimportation. In Philadelphia and New York, traders were reluctant to jeopardize business by cutting ties with British firms. Sometimes merchants supported boycotts under duress; in 1773 Philadelphia merchants James Abel and Henry Drinker anticipated a healthy profit when they agreed to sell tea

for the British West India Company. They had to give up the commission when visited by a "tar and feather committee" enforcing the boycott against the Tea Act. Even in Boston, where there were major protests, including the Boston Tea Party, merchants were not united. The historian John Tyler found that, of 392 Boston merchants whose sentiments can be determined, 42 percent were Patriots and 39 percent were Loyalists. Loyalists tended to be Anglican dry goods traders with ties to British exporters, while most Patriots were Congregationalists who dealt in a variety of goods.

Sectional interests also played a role. When the Continental Congress decided to ban exports to Great Britain in response to the Coercive Acts, South Carolina insisted and Congress acquiesced that it continue exporting rice, a clear indication that neither all colonies nor all merchants were united in a course of action. The rice trade aside, Congress warned merchants that violators of the sanctions would be considered "enemies of American liberty." Because colonists were increasingly directing their resentment not only toward what they saw as British oppressors, but also at merchants and others in positions of power and wealth at home, mob rule continued to keep reluctant merchants in compliance.

Merchants may have had good reason to question rebellion, considering that after the war the nation plunged into a depression that lasted until the 1790s. Although they sought new markets in distant places, merchants were hampered by Britain's punitive trade restrictions and by lack of imperial protection. British merchants also dumped goods on the American market and then demanded payment in scarce specie (money in coin) rather than paper money, so that American merchants, in turn, pressed customers for payment and caused resentment among citizens already affected by the depression and inspired by the rhetoric of liberty. Moreover, wealthy creditors, including some merchants, pressed Congress to repay war loans and bonds, with interest and in specie, while ordinary citizens agitated for paper money and tax relief. When tensions between upper-class creditors and working- and middle-class debtors erupted in Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, merchants helped finance the militia that quelled it. Wealthier merchants and businessmen merchants were thus clearly aligned with the educated elites who believed that too much government in the hands of ordinary people was dangerous. They were also among the nationalists who backed the movement to craft a new Constitution that would strengthen the federal government and allow it to regulate trade, impose taxes, and raise a standing army, as well as rein in state and individual powers.

Throughout the nineteenth century northern merchants attempted to reduce the nation's reliance on imports by investing in factories. Indeed, by the antebellum era New England had become the nation's most industrialized region. New York and Baltimore continued to grow, while Philadelphia declined in relation to the other ports. By 1800 Baltimore merchants were siphoning off trade from the Eastern Shore and western Pennsylvania and leading the nation in flour exports. New York trade surpassed that of Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century, and Philadelphia merchants made the transition from being leaders of American commerce to holding important positions in banking, manufacturing, mining, and coastal trade. Southern planters and businessmen, rather than expand into manufacturing, continued to put their emphasis on agriculture.

*See also* **Boston; Boston Tea Party; Charleston; Constitutional Law; Consumerism and Consumption; Currency and Coinage; Government and the Economy; Industrial Revolution; Insurance; Manufacturing; Material Culture; New York City; Philadelphia; Plantation, The; Shays's Rebellion; Shipping Industry; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Tea Act; Wealth; Wealth Distribution.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baxter, W. T. *The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724–1775.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1965.

Dalzell, Robert F., Jr. *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987; New York: Norton, 1993.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Jensen, Arthur L. *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963.

Labaree, Benjamin W. *Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764–1815.* New York: Norton, 1975.

Matson, Cathy. *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Papenfuse, Edward C. *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776.* 1918. New York: Atheneum, 1968.

Tolles, Frederick Barnes. *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

Tooker, Elva. *Nathan Trotter, Philadelphia Merchant, 1787–1853.* Harvard Studies in Business History 19. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955; New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Tyler, John W. *Smugglers and Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986.

*Diane Wenger*

**MESMERISM**   When he arrived in Paris in February 1778, the Austrian physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815) introduced a new healing art that rapidly became a transatlantic sensation. Theorizing that all natural bodies were permeated by a rarified fluid akin to electricity or magnetism, Mesmer argued that illness was the product of obstructions in the flow of this fluid. The task of the physician, then, was to manipulate these fluids by massaging and manipulating the bodily "poles" to overcome blockages and restore the natural electromagnetic flow. Sometimes en masse, patients responded dramatically to mesmeric treatment, falling into convulsive fits (the "crisis") that signaled the cure.

Mesmerism's authority stemmed from its mingling of the science of electrical theory with familiar notions of bodily balance. Although it developed a strong following among the French elite and among social reformers, it remained controversial. Worried by its reputed connection with political radicals, a skeptical Louis XVI appointed a commission of eminent scientists in 1784 to investigate its claims. Headed by Benjamin Franklin, the commission ultimately concluded that although some patients had indeed improved, the phenomena were merely a product of the "force of imagination." When asked by his grandson whether this report would be the end of mesmerism, however, Franklin was doubtful. "Deceptions as absurd," he wrote, "have supported themselves for ages."

As Franklin predicted, mesmerism flourished despite the verdict, diversifying in theory, practice, and application. Even as many practitioners clung to some version of a universal fluid that was analogous (or equivalent) to electricity and magnetism, others charted new theoretical terrain. By the 1820s almost the only feature uniting mesmerists and their peers, animal magnetists and electrical physicians, was the contention that the mind was capable of sympathetically exerting influence on other bodies and minds. In the United States, mesmerism found particularly fertile ground. From the time that the Marquis de Lafayette delivered a paper on the subject before the American Philosophical Society in 1781, it swelled in popularity, reaching its apex during the 1830s and 1840s.

Instead of crises, however, American somnambules (the subjects of animal magnetism) exhibited a range of remarkable phenomena that seemed to confirm the reality of the universal fluid predicted by Mesmer. Some were brought into a cataleptic state so profound as to permit them to undergo surgery without experiencing pain. Others entered a state of mutual sensation with their mesmerists, and still others exhibited the capacity to read thoughts, to experience religious ecstasy, to see and diagnose illnesses within others, or to make clairvoyant voyages to other cities or planets. Most famously, the "Poughkeepsie seer," Andrew Jackson Davis (1826–1910), experienced visions of the afterlife and other worlds while mesmerized that echoed the visions of the Swedish scientist and philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). Davis would become an important figure in the Spiritualist movement of the 1850s. In short, mesmerism promised a world of unseen sympathetic connections between individuals and became a powerful means of conceptualizing nature and society and the relations of individuals within society.

The antebellum years, however, also marked a significant juncture in the history of animal magnetism. Although it remained enormously popular, it was increasingly marginalized by the medical community, its practices coopted and incorporated into the new field of hypnotism.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Darnton, Robert. *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1968.

Taves, Ann. *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Winter, Alison. *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

*Robert S. Cox*

**METHODISTS** In 1776 the Methodist movement and the new American Republic existed in uneasy tension. By 1829 the two seemed to share a common destiny, so closely did Methodists identify with the new Republic. By the opening salvos of the Civil War, Methodist churches of varying identities would claim the largest proportion of American churchgoers, the largest numbers of ministers, and the largest numbers of church structures of any American denomination. Regarding the religious culture of the new Republic, it may be said, as went Methodism so went the nation.

This great American church's origins could not have been more improbable. Methodism emerged from the reforming impulses of early Anglicanism, seized upon by the brothers John and Charles Wesley in their experience as Anglican missionaries to American Indians in Georgia. Methodism's emphases on missionary outreach, moral reform, and later episcopal structure all owed their ancestry to the Church of England. John Wesley, the movement's chief theologian, organizer, and advocate, conjoined a powerful focus on religious conversion with a "connection" (loose hierarchy) of unordained itinerant preachers to produce what he considered a return to the values of early or "primitive" Christianity. But Wesley's free will theology, emphasizing the experience of sanctification (also called spiritual perfection), was distinctly at odds with the largely Calvinist revivals in the American colonies, led by the Wesleys' former fellow Oxford comrade and competitor, George Whitefield.

Conditions for the introduction of Methodism improved in the 1760s, when Methodist adherents migrated to the middle colonies. Wesley was inspired to appoint two itinerants to a new "American circuit" in 1769, just before Whitefield's death. The Patriot movement was well under way, but the rising numbers of American-based itinerants remained nonpartisan or Loyalist in keeping with Wesleyan instructions. In Britain, contrary to his reformist tendencies, Wesley published strongly worded condemnations of the Patriot movement. Conversely, the Methodists' liberal strain appeared early in their path-breaking recruitment of African slaves and free people, also encouraged by Wesley's antislavery publications. Because few of the Patriots espoused emancipation of slaves, this ambition further removed many Methodists from the greater cause of the Revolution.

With American independence and intensification of the Revolutionary War, Wesley's itinerants scattered, some back to Britain, some into British-occupied territory, others dangerously into Whig neighborhoods. The future leader of the American movement, British-born Francis Asbury, took sanctuary in Delaware. Methodism's fate was left in the hands of novice preachers, mostly American recruits. Among their main concerns was appealing to followers without attracting the attention of Patriot authorities and state legislatures.

## THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND ITS FIRST MEMBERS

The Methodists' change in fortunes came with the end of the war and Wesley's decision to permit the American preachers to form their own connection. At the Christmas Conference (24 December 1784– 2 January 1785), Asbury and Wesley's emissary, Thomas Coke, went one step farther, persuading the American itinerants to create the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC), in part to keep pace with the Anglicans and the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Methodist order of the ministry was established, and Coke, already ordained as "superintendent" by Wesley, officiated over Asbury's ordination as his co-bishop, the apostolic title preferred by the Americans. (By contrast, the connection in Britain remained a part of the Church of England until Wesley's death in 1791.) In 1785 the first Methodist discipline condemned slaveholding as "contrary to the Golden Law of God . . . and the unalienable Rights of Mankind."

Initially centered in Philadelphia and New York City, the new church's informal headquarters swiftly moved to Baltimore at the northern tip of a rapidly rising Methodist population in Delaware, Maryland, and northern Virginia. The itinerants now recruited a wide array of Americans into their movement. A large percentage of Methodist followers before 1800 were women—as much as two-thirds of the early city congregations. Many of these women were young and unmarried, part of a new post-Revolutionary generation bound less by family ties than voluntary association. Many were slaves and former slaves. Others, especially in the Baltimore and urban areas, were wealthy patrons and confidantes of the traveling ministers. The movement provided unprecedented opportunities for women to lead public prayer groups and to support the itinerants. The correspondence between the preachers and their female adherents is replete with expressions of mutual admiration. Women's presence in the church continued strong after 1800. As she notes in *Strangers and Pilgrims* (1998), the scholar Catherine A. Brekus discovered as many as twenty-nine self-appointed fe-

male Methodist preachers, black and white, in the years before the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). Among them was African Methodist Jarena Lee, who published her spiritual memoir in 1836.

Methodist outreach to black members was the movement's most distinctive social characteristic. By 1800, 21 percent of America's 64,000 Methodists were black, slave and free. A small Methodist congregation in Wilmington (Delaware), the pioneering African Methodist Episcopal congregation under Richard Allen in Philadelphia, and the African Methodist Zion congregation in New York City asserted their independence as separate denominations in 1813, 1816, and 1821 respectively. All these groups placed special emphasis on the "African"—African American—identity of their members and sought full ordination of their ministers, refused to them by the MEC. By contrast, Baltimore's black Methodist presence, forming up to 35 percent of the city congregation in and around 1800, remained within the larger church. Although most of Baltimore's black worshipers likely met in their own chapel building, the Baltimore Methodist churches may be described as the first significant multiracial organizations in the United States.

The white men who came to the church in its first years were also socially diverse—laborers, artisans, professionals, middling merchants, and assorted industrial capitalists in the cities; slaves, farmers, and varying orders of gentry in the countryside. After the MEC was organized in 1784, urban and rural local elites alike began to form boards of trustees to sustain the building of hundreds of Methodist chapels across the states and into the territories.

Young, single men especially discovered the vocation of the traveling preacher in the church's formative years. Between 1769 and 1806, Jesse Lee, the first Methodist historian, calculated that 990 men comprised the first generation of licensed Methodist preachers. They were a sacrificial lot: committed to traveling a different, and often enormous, circuit every six months, as mandated by church discipline and dictated by the bishops. The early Methodist clergy's feats of itinerancy were legendary. Bishop Asbury traveled sixty times across the Appalachians and twenty-nine times to the Lower South, covering over a quarter of a million miles on the American continent before he died in 1816. He probably met more Americans face-to-face than any single figure in the early Republic. The itinerants' lives were often cut short by their labors, and their obligations ran the gamut from delivering sermons to delivering health care. In some areas, the preachers were seen as shamanlike figures, capable of magical acts of redemption and personal healing. But the older denominations often typecast the itinerants as uneducated upstarts, who, in the words of one Anglican minister, "set themselves up as teachers of those above them."

Other churches had reason to fear Methodist growth. By the 1790s Methodist circuits were being surveyed in especially large numbers in New York, New England, and the Upper South, and Methodist itinerants were moving quickly into new territories and states west of the Appalachians. In New England the MEC challenged the standing order of the Calvinist Congregational Church. In the South they eventually overtook the Anglicans and posed the first significant competition for the Baptists.

## THE METHODIST AGE

The later years of the Second Great Awakening (1800 through the 1830s) have also been called the Methodist Age by religious scholars, and with good reason. Although conservative Evangelicals were convinced that freethinker Thomas Jefferson's election as president marked a low point in American religious influence, many Methodists were encouraged by the Democratic Republicans' support of the separation of church and state. The Methodists' success in Jeffersonian America corroborated the liberal (Wesleyan) evangelical belief that religious freedom would serve newcomer churches well.

Membership in the MEC skyrocketed in the decades after 1800: from 64,000 in 1800 to 175,000 in 1810, 257,000 in 1820, and nearly 500,000 in 1830. The church's message was assisted by an eastern innovation, the camp meeting. These initially interdenominational revivals further popularized the Methodist style: preacher, hymnbook in hand, exhorting expectant listeners to receive the Holy Ghost and convert to primitive Christianity. The huge meeting in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801 marked the starting point of evangelical dominance in the West, but also the beginning of Methodism's massive influence on the style of worship of other American churches.

Less easily determined is Methodism's political character after 1800. In Great Britain, in response to the French Revolution, the royal government's crackdown on radicals—traveling preachers among them—compelled the Methodist leadership to steer a conservative course. The long association between the Methodist establishment and Victorian values began early in the century, although working-class Methodists also developed strong ties with the trade

unionist movement in Britain's emerging industrial centers.

In the United States, historians disagree on the fundamental nature of Methodist political culture. The historian Christine Leigh Heyrman argues in *Southern Cross* (1997) that evangelical preachers across the South, hundreds of Methodists among them, succeeded in controlling the region's religious future only after they abandoned their early allegiance with women and African Americans and adopted the gender and racial norms of southern white men. Southern Methodism and Baptism consequently, and rapidly, veered away from early emphases on emotionality and the equality of all Christians to a masculine mastery that has come to define American evangelicalism. Heyrman's thesis is supported by the rapid movement of southern Methodists away from the church's original antislavery teachings. In 1804, the church no longer urged its southern members to abandon slaveholding. By the 1820s, black Methodists in the south were strongly discouraged from forming their own congregations.

Similarly, in the North other studies show that the book agent Nathan Bangs eagerly encouraged Methodists to pursue gentility, while he transformed the Methodist publishing house into a thriving capitalist enterprise with publications like the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*. Methodist women, the *Magazine*'s avid readers, were urged to devote their missionary energies to their families, and Methodist women increasingly complied. Pew rents became customary in many Methodist churches. In 1820, New York Methodists objected to replacing the downtown meetinghouse with a neoclassical edifice as a departure from "the primitive simplicity of Methodism." Gothic-style Methodist structures would help define the American Victorian landscape.

Taking the opposing view, in *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989) the scholar Nathan O. Hatch portrays Methodism as one of the great democratic mass movements in United States history, notable for its unorthodox preaching, indifference to established ecclesiastical authorities, and all-embracing religious populism. Evangelical preachers were passionate insurgents, Hatch argues, determined to reinstate primitive Christianity in America and strikingly unconcerned with respectability. Black Methodist preachers were likewise proud of their lack of sophistication. Typically American, the Methodist clergy also made the most of a burgeoning capitalist economy to advertise their spiritual wares and whereabouts.

Certainly, the scale of Methodist expansion—federal in structure, multiracial in composition, propelled by troops of charismatic and energetic itinerants into every region of the country—prompts irresistible comparisons to the democratic Republic: experimental, expansive, young, and vibrant. As the historian Richard Carwardine has shown, in *Transatlantic Revivalism* (1978), the competitive political culture of the Republic also drew many Methodist men away from their espousals of nonpartisanship into enthusiastic participation in electoral politics. Methodists were pro-Federalist in Delaware and pro-Jeffersonian in Ohio. Methodists soon appeared in the ranks of state legislators, judges, and even governors. By the 1820s the Methodist ministerial calling attracted westerners like Peter Cartwright who identified with the American revolutionaries, American political virility, and American expansion. The historian Mark A. Noll, in *America's God* (2002), describes Methodism's spiritual practice, evangelical mobilization, and sheer size as providing the bonds for national cohesion, linking together religion and republicanism in fundamentally new ways.

Whether interpreted as conservative or democratic, political or more strictly spiritual, John Wesley's missionary movement was a thoroughly Americanized institution by the beginning of President Andrew Jackson's first administration in 1829. As such, Methodists were divided by the same issues, particularly the conflict over slavery, that divided the country. In 1844 the MEC split into two halves, northern and southern, a breach that would not heal for more than a hundred years.

Methodism's unorthodox influence remained strong nonetheless. While Frederick Douglass condemned the hypocrisy of southern Methodist slaveholders, he was a Baltimore Methodist when he made his escape to the North in the late 1830s. Women remained strong advocates of Wesley's teachings and took leading roles in the formation of Methodist offshoot denominations, among them the Primitive Methodist and Methodist Protestant churches. The Methodist preachers' rejection of Calvinist predetermination and embracing of free will theology and sanctification fundamentally altered the aim and tone of American Christianity. For the Republic, the legacy of the Methodist age was deep-seated, multilayered, and long-lived.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Religion; Baptists; Bible; Camp Followers; Catholicism and Catholics; Denominationalism; Presbyterians; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview;**

Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Publishing; Revivals and Revivalism.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Andrews, Dee E. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Carwardine, Richard. *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Lyerly, Cynthia Lynn. *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Nash, Gary B. *Forging Freedom*: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Richey, Russell E. *Early American Methodism.* Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1991.

Schneider, A. Gregory. *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: The Domestication of American Methodism.* Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993.

Wigger, John H. *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

*Dee E. Andrews*

**MEXICO** Mexico had undergone nearly three hundred years of Spanish rule by the eighteenth century's end. Although the occupation failed to erase Mexico's indigenous culture and customs, it indelibly marked the region with Spain's stamp. In the end, Spanish insistence on strict control over its overseas holdings drove Mexico to seek independence.

**UNDER SPANISH RULE**

The arrival of Spanish conquistadors in 1519 began Mexico's domination by Europeans. However, indigenous groups that had assisted Spain in defeating the Aztecs found special favor. The Spanish Crown rewarded men like Hernando Cortés (1485–1547) and their native allies with grants and titles. Within a short time, Mexico's new ruling class had begun the process of re-creating in New Spain life as they had known it on the Iberian Peninsula.

A caste system developed in Mexico that persisted well after independence. *Peninsulares*, Spaniards born in Spain, occupied the top rung of the social ladder and received the most important government and ecclesiastical positions. *Peninsulares* also controlled the trading houses and industrial endeavors such as mining. Second in importance were the *criollos*, or Mexican-born Spaniards. *Criollos* occupied an inferior station to *peninsulares* solely because of the location of their births. Below Mexican-born Spaniards were *mestizos*, people of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. Other classes, such as *zambos* (children of African and Indian parents) and *mulattos* (children of Spanish and African parents), were looked down upon by the pure-blood Spanish. Although the families of some indigenous people who had assisted in the Spanish conquest of New Spain had been given the title and prerogatives of nobility, the majority of Mexico's indigenous population made up the lowest class of colonial society.

Spain tightly regulated colonial Mexico's economy. Nations with colonies expected their overseas holdings to provide resources and serve as markets for their industrial output. Thus, Mexican silver and other minerals traveled eastward to Spain and Spanish goods sailed westward to Mexico. Fortunes could be made in trade, and the *peninsulares*, with ties to friends and relatives in Spanish ports, made the most of their connections. To ensure Spanish dominance of industry and agriculture, the Spanish government published an extensive list of products that could not be manufactured or grown in Mexico. Strict restrictions spawned smuggling, an activity that became endemic within New Spain's economy.

Spanish and indigenous cultures coexisted in colonial Mexico. Important cities—Jalapa, Puebla, Mexico City, Guadalajara—dotted the road across central Mexico that connected Vera Cruz and Acapulco. Other important towns grew in the north due to the mining wealth that came from the ground near Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Durango. These communities were home to Mexico's ruling and working classes. The countryside, however, was still home to the vast majority of Mexicans, an indigenous population that continued to farm the land of their ancestors. The major change to the life of these men and women was the tax and labor burden levied on them over the years by the Spanish.

A change in Spain's royal dynasties from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons occurred in 1700 when the childless Charles II selected his French nephew, Philip V, to take his place on the Spanish throne. The move resulted in the War of the Spanish Sucession (1702–1713), which upheld the Bourbons' right to rule Spain. The consequence for Mexico was that the Bourbon desire for administrative reform was applied to New Spain. Bourbon reformers believed that a rational approach to government administration would make Spanish bureaucrats more efficient, meaning that more revenue could be raised for the crown. Officials analyzed Mexico's political divisions and economic practices and recommended improvements. Although these changes increased Mexico's contribution to its own upkeep as well as Spain's, it did little to alleviate the growing rift developing between the *peninsulares* and the rest of Mexico's population, which increasingly felt overburdened and slighted.

### FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE

Events in Europe ultimately led to Mexico's independence. The eighteenth-century Enlightenment (the movement that had produced the Bourbon reforms) had weakened absolutism by proposing alternatives to the traditional relation between rulers and their subjects. Monarchs and their supporters viewed with alarm the formation of the United States and its adoption of a federal, republican form of government. They had reason to fear, because in 1793 the French populace revolted and ultimately executed many of the ruling class, including its own king and queen. A brief flirtation with republicanism gave way to the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte and a new French empire. In 1808 Napoleon deposed the Spanish king and gave the throne to his own brother. This action severed the ties between the Spanish Crown and its overseas possessions, giving these colonies their first opportunity to experience self-government.

Mexico responded to these events as did other Spanish colonies, establishing *juntas* that claimed to rule in the name of the king. The turmoil brought the underlying tension between the *peninsulares* and other Mexicans into sharp focus. *Criollos* contemplated not just freedom from Spain but freedom from the grasp of the *peninsulares*. The latter held the upper hand through their control of the army, church, and commercial enterprises, but they feared that without continued support from Spain, they would lose their dominant position in society.

The first step in Mexico's road toward independence came on the evening of 16 September 1810. Many parish priests, themselves *criollos*, sympathized with Mexico's mixed-blooded population. Although their plight was not as severe, their own Mexican birth prevented advancement within the church hierarchy. One village priest, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, plotted a revolt with other *criollos*. The plot discovered, Hidalgo went to his church at the village of Dolores and rang the bell to assemble his parishioners. There he issued the Grito de Dolores, a call for protection of the church and an end to "bad government." News of the revolt spread quickly, and within days thousands of *mestizos* and Indians had flocked to Hidalgo's banner.

Many *criollos* desired a reordering of Mexican society but were shocked by the turn of events initiated by Higaldo's pronouncement. The revolt took on the tone of a race and class war when his mixed-race army attacked both *peninsulares* and *criollos*. Hidalgo's followers seized Guanajuato and plundered the city, killing more than three hundred royalists who had sought refuge from the mob in a public granary. Forced by circumstances to ally with the *peninsulares*, *criollos* joined with royalists to put down the insurgency that threatened to destroy Mexico's social order. Hidalgo and his army were defeated in 1811, and the priest along with his lieutenants were captured as they made their way to Texas; their severed heads adorned posts outside the granary at Guanajuato as a warning to would-be rebels.

The Spanish, however, were not able to stamp out the revolt. Allies of Hidalgo and his supporters took to the forests and hills and waged a guerilla campaign against the royalists. Leaders included another parish priest, José María Morales. In 1815 the Spanish captured Morales and executed him, depriving the insurgency of a popular and effective leader, but others continued the insurgency.

Rebellion was not confined just to the heart of Mexico. In 1811 the garrison at San Antonio de Béxar in the province of Texas revolted against the Spanish and seized the governor and other officials. The revolt crumbled but discontent remained. In 1812 Mexican republicans, supported by American filibusters, crossed into Texas from Louisiana and confronted the Spanish. By April 1813 the expedition had defeated local forces and occupied San Antonio. That summer, however, a royalist army arrived in Texas to reclaim the province and to punish the insurgents. The republicans were routed at the Battle of the Medina outside San Antonio. The brutal suppression of the revolt, which included hundreds of

executions of rebels and mistreatment of the Tejanos, further depopulated an already sparsely settled region. The need for a stable population led Spain to invite colonists like Moses Austin from the United States to settle in Texas.

Events in Europe once again rocked Mexico and resulted in its independence. In 1820, liberal army officers forced the Spanish king to reinstate popular governmental reforms. The news was received with alarm because Mexico's upper classes feared a renewal of class warfare. The royalists finally lost control because *criollos* worked out a power-sharing agreement with *mestizo* insurgents by adopting three principles that all Mexicans could support: independence from Spain, equality for all Mexicans, and protection of the church.

### INDEPENDENT MEXICO

The year 1821 brought political independence but failed to mark an end to Mexico's problems. The new nation inherited an economy and infrastructure that had been wrecked by ten years of civil war. European leaders looked to establish a strong presence in the former Spanish colony and gladly extended credit to Mexico, trapping it in a web of foreign debt. An aggressive neighbor, the United States, eyed Mexico's northern territory from Texas to California. Internal political factions struggled for control of Mexico's new government and the chance to shape the country's future. Civil war, invasion, and dismemberment awaited Mexico as the nineteenth century progressed.

*See also* **Latin American Revolutions, American Response to; New Spain; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anna, Timothy E. *Forging Mexico, 1821–1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Chipman, Donald E. *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

Knight, Alan. *Mexico: The Colonial Era*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Lafaye, Jacques. *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Miller, Robert Ryal. *Mexico: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

Véliz, Claudio. *The Centralist Tradition in Latin America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.

*Richard Bruce Winders*

**MICHIGAN** Remote from eastern settlement, Michigan was initially set off as part of the Indiana Territory in 1796. In 1805 Congress established the Michigan Territory, which included all of present-day Wisconsin and part of what became Minnesota in addition to the two peninsulas that constitute what became the state of Michigan. The territory remained a sparsely populated hinterland into the 1820s, with a diverse collection of British and French–Canadian fur traders, Métis, and various Indian peoples, but few American settlers. Popular perceptions of the territory as an impenetrable swamp in the south and a sterile, rocky wilderness in the north offered little incentive to potential settlers compared to the favorable soils, greater accessibility, and milder climates of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Not until the introduction of steamships into the Great Lakes in 1818 and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 did any substantial American migration penetrate the isolated peninsulas.

In 1810 Michigan's Anglo population of 4,762 was concentrated in and around Detroit and outposts in Michilimackinac and Sault Sainte Marie in the Upper Peninsula. Founded by the French in the early eighteenth century, these military and trading posts passed to the British following the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The British ceded their Old Northwest claims in 1783, although French Canadian and British traders continued to operate in the Territory. Detroit and Michilimackinac played significant strategic roles in the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812. At the onset of the War of 1812, the British seized Michilimackinac and Detroit, but these victories proved temporary. Following its recapture in 1813, Detroit served as an important base for the American invasion of Canada. The Treaty of Ghent in 1815 firmly established the boundaries of Michigan, and the trickle of settlement into the territory slowly expanded. Yet growth remained gradual, and in 1820 census takers still counted only 8,896 non–Indians in the entire territory. By 1830 that number had grown to a mere 31,639—a population that paled in comparison to the nearly one million inhabitants of Ohio to the south and east.

Unlike Ohio, however, Odawa (Ottawa), Ojibwa (Chippewa), and Potawatomi villages populated both peninsulas, with approximately fourteen thousand Indians living in the Lower Peninsula and two to three thousand in the Upper Peninsula in 1830. Their presence posed a significant barrier to the spread of white settlement outside of Detroit, making land-

cession treaties with the various bands a preeminent concern of Michigan's early leaders. One of Michigan's most vigorous boosters was Lewis Cass, territorial governor for thirteen of the sixteen years between 1813 and 1829. Cass directed the acquisition of approximately two-thirds of the Lower Peninsula via treaties with the Odawa and Ojibwa in 1819 and 1821 and engineered the funding and building of a government road that finally connected Michigan with Ohio in 1827. Cass's tireless efforts to erase the negative image of Michigan encouraged the spread of settlements across the southern Lower Peninsula, but it was not until 1836 and 1842 that the remainder of the new state was transferred from Indian control, following which American settlers began to populate the northern wilderness.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Removal; Erie Canal; Fur and Pelt Trade; Ghent, Treaty of; Northwest; Pontiac's War.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gilpin, Alec R. *The Territory of Michigan (1805–1837).* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1970.

Lewis, Kenneth R. *West to Far Michigan: Settling the Lower Peninsula*, *1815–1860.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002.

Russell, Nelson Vance. *The British Régime in Michigan and the Old Northwest*, *1760–1796.* Northfield, Minn.: Carleton College, 1939.

*Bradley J. Gills*

**MID-ATLANTIC STATES** The British middle colonies were constructed, between 1664 and 1720, from the remnants of Dutch New Netherland in the Hudson River Valley and Scandinavian New Sweden on the Lower Delaware River. The defining element of their character was population diversity, beginning with these non-English seventeenth-century foundations and continuing with major German and Scots-Irish migrations to the region during the mid-eighteenth century. By 1750, the mid-Atlantic region included members of a dozen or more religious denominations, including Anglicans, Lutherans, German and Dutch Reformed Calvinists, Presbyterians, and sectarian Pietists, as well as Jews and Catholics.

The region's architects included royal agents and proprietary stakeholders working from the top down and diverse colonists operating at ground level.

English officials by 1682 had carved the territory into New York; New Jersey; and Pennsylvania, including its Lower Counties below Philadelphia (later Delaware). New Jersey split into two proprietary entities, called East and West New Jersey. Settlers and Indians across the Hudson and Delaware watersheds acted as if these imperial and political designations were irrelevant. They traveled, traded, farmed, and built families across the vague borders of the region. Royal officials after 1685 tried to reassemble a greater New York, resembling the original footprint of New Netherland, but proprietary interests, led by William Penn, resisted this project. Between 1720 and 1760, imperial and proprietary activism receded, and the bonds of region were private trade, extended family dynamics, and complex interprovincial political networks. The durable geopolitics of Indian diplomacy—anchored in an entity in western New York known to ethnohistorians as Iroquoia—reinforced regional cohesion. None of these processes generated any broad consciousness of collective identity among the area's people. Unlike in New England or the southern colonies, "region" here was more a behavioral than a subjective phenomenon.

The American Revolution destroyed the main structural pillars of the region—the hub of royal government at New York, the proprietary hearth in Philadelphia, and the linchpin of European–Indian relations in Iroquoia. Defeated redcoats sailed from New York Harbor in 1783, leaving a toothless socket of British imperial power. The Penn family was the biggest Loyalist claimant on royal largesse. The Six Nations, or Iroquois Confederacy, having benefited from both imperial military power in New York and war aversion in Pennsylvania, were driven by American treaty expansionism into Canada and the Great Lakes country. The adhesive strength of private behaviors is suggested by the fact that—as the institutional scaffolding of the region collapsed—the mid-Atlantic complex retained so much of its shape and its functional utility.

Economic processes in the late colonial era contributed to both the survival and the modest warping of the mid-Atlantic's outer boundaries. The bulwark of great landlord power in the Hudson Valley kept New York underpopulated, and—with help from British troops in the 1760s—pushed Yankee settlers north along the Connecticut River and into coastal Maine. Mason's and Dixon's Line was barely surveyed in the 1760s, defining a political border between Pennsylvania and Maryland, when the loss of planter confidence in tobacco culture eroded the economic edges of the region. Farmers on the Delmarva

Peninsula and in northern Maryland shifted to grain cultivation and much of the area joined Philadelphia's economic hinterland. With this shift, the families of talented lawyers like John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway came into that city's political orbit. By 1776 they embodied the at-best ambivalent response of elite middle colonists to the risks and opportunities of independence.

### RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION

Geographical convenience made New York and Philadelphia the respective meeting places of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 and the first Continental Congress in 1774. From 1765 until 1783, members of the Continental Congress from New England were described as being from the "Eastern" colonies or states, while the rest lacked focused regional identities. The overlapping hinterlands of New York and Philadelphia were harder to herd into effective cooperation against British imperial change, or to mobilize into resistance, than the more united societies of Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina. This caution initially assured a local stability that was fruitful of deliberative creativity. As the crisis of empire intensified in the 1770s, however, it meant that opposition to British measures was forced on many communities and enforced in others. It was not accidental that a Pennsylvania moderate like Dickinson presided over political deliberations at the Stamp Act Congress in New York in 1765 and remained influential in Philadelphia a decade later. When he and the conservative Whigs who supported him retreated in 1776—opposing separation until after adoption of the Declaration of Independence—radical Patriot forces had to steer the Revolution from places that had been wracked by intense internal upheaval and divisive change for more than a decade.

The mid-Atlantic's cautious approach toward rebellion and then its explosive embrace of it grew from factors that had made the region vibrant, prosperous, and turbulent for a century. Cultural and religious pluralism bred a pragmatic toleration that was not conducive to boycotts or active resistance. The royal hub in New York and the proprietary hearth at Philadelphia established rooted patronage circles in the hinterlands of both towns that grew together in New Jersey. The mundane commodities that the region made—grains, meats, timber, glass, and even bar iron—escaped the regulatory embrace of mercantilist imperial managers and found Atlantic markets that enriched their makers within the strictures of the English Navigation Acts. This fostered what Thomas Doerflinger has called a "logic of moderation" that persistently muffled radicalization.

When war intruded into the region between 1776 and 1779, it galvanized these circumstances. Washington fought unsuccessfully in late 1776 to defend the islands at the mouth of the Hudson River. Repeated defeats sent his army retreating across New Jersey, while that colony's pragmatic civilians seemed to embrace the ascendant British side. When this momentum unexpectedly reversed after Christmas 1776, their mercurial loyalties did too. The British withdrew into New York City, which they kept as a headquarters garrison until late 1783. The Continentals tried to police the Hudson and Delaware watersheds. The territory between the two forces became a no-man's-land where corrupt and violent freelance conflict between civilians often followed patterns of prewar ethnic and religious enmity and amity. When General William Howe invaded Pennsylvania in late 1777 and occupied Philadelphia, similar dynamics emerged there, complicated by that polity's Quaker culture. The British abandonment of Pennsylvania in 1778 froze this crazy-quilt pattern of strengths and weaknesses into place there.

The war was neither won nor lost in the mid-Atlantic, but the Revolution showed its kaleidoscopic character there as vividly as anywhere in America. Native American–European hostilities, although arriving belatedly after 1750 in the one English place that had been buffered from them by Iroquoian diplomacy and Quaker restraint, continued into the Revolutionary era. Washington's effort to end this problem decisively with a destructive invasion of Iroquoia under General John Sullivan in 1779 loosened the hold of Indians on the region and hastened their removal from it during the 1780s and 1790s. The multiethnic European populations of the Mohawk, Raritan, Schuylkill, and Brandywine Valleys—almost as prolific demographically as New Englanders—were freed to expand into the western parts of the older colonies.

### THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The mid-Atlantic was both an exporter and importer of population in the early Republic. The manorial wall along the Hudson River broke after 1790 and restless Yankees "hived" west into the spaces evacuated by retreating native nations. Across the Finger Lakes region, and especially in the Genessee country, they hoped to create a newer New England, but smaller transsecting streams of settlers moving north from Pennsylvania and New Jersey subverted that design. The British seizure of Fort Duquesne in 1758 made Pennsylvania a cultural filter for postwar American settlement of the Ohio Valley and the Old

Northwest. The mid-eighteenth-century flow of German and Scots-Irish Presbyterian migrants into the Valley of Virginia likewise fashioned a Greater Pennsylvania portal to the upper parts of the trans-Appalachian South. Although Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 claim probably overstated the case, a new and distinctly "American" society seemed to be emerging between a temporarily exhausted and in some ways a culturally fragmenting New England hearth and a still-incipient South that had yet to achieve any real integration or coherence.

During the generation after 1787, the mid-Atlantic traded its fortuitous Revolutionary-era position of national political centrality for one of continental economic and then industrial hegemony. This advantage was not built on internal unity, or even internal coherence, as the polar tendencies latent in the region since the 1630s reasserted themselves. New York political leaders mobilized British capital and new immigration between 1817 and 1825 to drive a canal west from the Hudson Valley to Lake Erie during those years. The success of the Erie Canal in the 1820s positioned New York to become a dominant force in the nation's economy for the next century. By "improving" the natural sea-level path of the Mohawk River, they welded the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley agricultural hearth and eventual industrial belt to their Atlantic metropolis. Pennsylvania's efforts to match this achievement with an awkward combination of turnpikes, canals, railroads, and inclined planes over the Appalachian Mountains seemed more inspired than ingenious. By mid-century, however, the Pennsylvania Railroad pierced that barrier. Then the subterranean accident of anthracite and bituminous coal deposits could redress the advantage. Pittsburgh became the heavy manufacturing citadel of an industrializing America while Philadelphia built a diversified and resilient light industry and skilled-craft economy. That city's port, although farther from the Atlantic than New York City's and prone to winter disruption, held its share of the Northeast's import and export traffic. New York City became the financial engine of a capitalist national economy and displaced Philadelphia as the port of entry for the torrential streams of Europeans who transformed the nation in the nineteenth century.

In the generation before the Revolution, the mid-Atlantic colonies built prototypes for a modern political system that stabilized a dynamic plural society, ameliorating its conflicts and harnessing its energies into productive channels. While those state-based machines failed under the pressures of imperial crisis, and while governments in the region were maintained by the sword rather than by consensus during the Revolution, the underlying culture of political pragmatism survived the trauma. By 1787, Philadelphia again seemed a safe enough place for national constitutional delegates to gather. The document that they produced received some of its most challenging ratification tests in the region. While planning began almost immediately for the national capital to move south along the balance beam of free and slave systems, and while Virginia and Massachusetts would dominate the American presidency for a generation after the Revolution, New York and Pennsylvania remained laboratories of state and metropolitan political experimentation. Indeed, New Jersey—by allowing women to vote until 1807, however inadvertently—even more fully anticipated the ultimately democratic political future.

*See also* **Agriculture: Overview; Constitution, Ratification of; Delaware; Economic Development; Erie Canal; Iroquois Confederacy; Loyalists; New Jersey; New York City; New York State; Pennsylvania; Philadelphia; Revolution: Military History.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Countryman, Edward. *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760–1790.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Jensen, Joan M. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Jonas, Manfred, and Robert V. Wells, eds. *New Opportunities in the New Nation: The Development of New York after the Revolution.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1982.

Nash, Gary B. *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Taylor, Alan. *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic.* New York: Knopf, 1995.

*Wayne Bodle*

**MIDWIVES**   *See* **Childbirth and Childbearing; Work: Midwifery.**

**Migration**
— Modern boundary
--- Proclamation Line of 1763
✕ Battle
• Settlement

# MIGRATION AND POPULATION MOVE-MENT

By 1754, most of the choice lands between the Atlantic Coast and the Appalachian Mountains had been settled by European colonists who, looking westward, pressed colonial governments to acquire and provide new lands. As early as 1747, Virginia planters interested in land speculation and the fur trade organized the Ohio Company to explore and open the Ohio River valley to settlement and economic exploitation. The French viewed the company's activities as a challenge to their imperial claims, which in part led to the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). When the war ended, however, rather than open the Ohio River valley to colonists, the British—hoping to avoid further conflict with the Indians—barred settlement in trans-Appalachia in the Proclamation of 1763.

Throughout the 1760s and early 1770s, pressures for new lands escalated. Over 125,000 emigrants arrived in the colonies from the British Isles. Many found jobs in urban areas along the coast, but most sought land and, unable to acquire large farms along the seaboard, began looking to the backcoun-

tries. By the outbreak of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), settlers (large numbers of whom were German, Scots, and Scots-Irish) streamed into New York's Mohawk River valley and the Pennsylvania mountains and along the Great Wagon Road into the Virginia and North Carolina backcountries.

Yet Europeans were only the most conspicuous populations on the move. The migrations of slave-owning colonists created a forced migration of African Americans, particularly in the southern colonies. As whites and blacks moved into new areas, they displaced Native Americans who consequently relocated into other regions and uprooted other peoples. This pattern of peoples bumping into each other characterized American migrations throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The pattern pertained as well to Europeans, who—as Bernard Bailyn in *The Peopling of British North America* (1986), David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly in *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (2000), and others had demonstrated—were of such vast cultural, if not ethnic, diversity that their migrations often challenged the cultural ways of previous settlers.

The Revolutionary War accelerated these patterns by eliminating imperial impediments to migration and by giving rise to a sense of providential destiny. Migration had been among the causes of revolution; British western land and Indian policies were among the grievances listed in the Declaration of Independence. Under the Treaty of Paris (1783), the Confederation of American states gained all the territory east of the Mississippi River between Canada and Florida. And among the most significant acts of the Confederation Congress of the 1780s was a series of ordinances organizing the Old Northwest that opened territories north of the Ohio River to settlement.

### THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN WEST

Dr. Thomas Walker was the first American to discover the Cumberland Gap in 1750, but it was not until the impediments to migration disintegrated with the Revolutionary War that the gap became a primary gateway to the West. Throughout the late 1770s and 1780s, increasing numbers of backcounty peoples from the Carolinas and Virginia flowed through it, moving southward into the Holston settlements of Tennessee or following the Wilderness Road into central Kentucky. The other major route into the West was along the Ohio River, which remained under the watch of Native Americans well into the 1790s. Migrants from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Northeast arrived in Pittsburgh and chartered flatboats down the Ohio to landings at Maysville, Fort Washington (Cincinnati), and Louisville.

The majority of white migrants, whether German or Scots-Irish or traveling along the Wilderness Road or the Ohio River, journeyed either alone or in small family groups. The cost and burden of travel made the transport of households difficult for the wealthiest of travelers, so many migrants left extended kin networks behind, along with most of their belongings. Still, the draw of the West was for many more powerful than attachments to family and possessions. By 1790 Kentucky had some seventy-three thousand occupants, and Tennessee's population grew tenfold between 1790 and 1796, when it had sixty thousand residents.

In comparison to furniture and elderly parents, slaves were less of a problem to transport, and the postwar migrations evidenced large-scale displacement of black Americans. First, the Shenandoah Valley, western North Carolina, and the South Carolina and Georgia up-countries became new slave societies. Then, slaves were forced into Tennessee and Kentucky. The uprooting of slaves disrupted the fragile kin networks that provided stability to black life on the plantations, and the Appalachian Mountains created a barrier that made escape and reconciliation nearly impossible.

### THE OLD NORTHWEST AND OLD SOUTHWEST

The opening of Tennessee and Kentucky encouraged leaders of the new nation to expand westward, evidenced in two of the Confederation Congress's most impressive accomplishments: the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787. The earlier law provided for the survey and sale of lands in the Old Northwest (later the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota). The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery and outlined the process for statehood.

Yet the Old Northwest was occupied by numerous Indian nations, all assured by the government that their rights and interests would be protected. White and black migrants into Kentucky and Tennessee, however, had already bumped into these Native Americans, inciting an Indian war north and south of the Ohio River. Despite several military victories, the Indians' defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 forced them to concede much of what later became Ohio in the Treaty of Greenville (1795) and to migrate collectively farther northwestward. The trickle of American settlers that characterized migration into the Old Northwest in the 1780s and early 1790s became a flood as migrants from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England flowed into Ohio. By 1800, over forty-five thousand Americans had migrated into the territory.

Between the 1770s and 1790s, therefore, the patterns of white migration, forced black migration, and Native American displacement and migration that had formed in the colonial era became more evident and ingrained in American western development. As the Old Southwest opened in the late 1790s, these patterns and their consequences became even more dramatic.

Most whites who migrated into the Old Southwest (later western Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and the Florida panhandle) came from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia in search of rich soils and agricultural opportunity. They were small, nonslaveholding farmers, just as in the Old Northwest. But a planter elite also migrated westward, expanding the institution of slavery as well. Determined to open up the territory for cotton agriculture, they pushed for federal intervention with the Native Americans and with the Spanish who still controlled Florida. In

1818 Andrew Jackson occupied West Florida and virtually conquered East Florida, forcing the Spanish to cede the territory to the United States through the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819). By 1840, Florida's population had reached fifty-four thousand, half of whom were slaves.

More than one million African American slaves went from the slave states to the Old Southwest, which soon became the largest cotton-producing region in the world. Especially after the War of 1812 (1812–1815), when commercial ties were reestablished with Great Britain, the cotton boom lured settlers rapidly toward the Mississippi River and beyond.

While rapid expansion into both the Old Southwest and the Old Northwest strained relations with Native Americans, the War of 1812 ended Native American military resistance to white settlement in both regions. The Shawnees under Tecumseh, who had formed an alliance with Britain against the United States, were defeated at the Battle of the Thames in 1813. Meanwhile, in 1814 Andrew Jackson conquered Red Stick Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in Alabama and forced all the Creeks to cede lands to the United States. Again, Native Americans were on the move, migrating westward and joining with other Indian groups for survival. This set the stage for the final removal of Native Americans from the Old Southwest in the 1830s, when the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles would be taken, most by force, into the Indian Territory of what subsequently became Oklahoma.

The War of 1812 also opened up the northwesternmost reaches of the Old Northwest to American settlement. Migration into Michigan boomed following the war, as did the movement of miners into the lead deposit regions of Wisconsin.

### ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

By the turn of the nineteenth century, American migrants were moving into most of the lands east of the Mississippi River, and both the federal government and the citizenry began to look even farther westward. Interest in expansion into the trans-Mississippi West had begun simultaneously with the first migrations into the Old Northwest. In 1792, for example, Robert Gray explored the mouth of the Columbia River by sea, mapping much of the Pacific Coast and strengthening the claim of the United States to the far Northwest. Eleven years later, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark embarked on their expedition into the northern reaches of the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase and then on to the Pacific

Ocean, gathering a vast amount of geographic and scientific information, establishing diplomatic and trade relations with Native American tribes, and further establishing an American claim to the West. They were followed by other government-sponsored expeditions: Zebulon M. Pike in 1805 and Stephen H. Long in 1820 explored the central Great Plains and eastern hills of the Rocky Mountains.

On the heels of these explorers came American migrants. The cotton boom of the Old Southwest spread into Louisiana and swelled its population to seventy-eight thousand by 1810. The confluence of the Mississippi River, the Oregon Trail, and the Santa Fe Trail at St. Louis drew migrants into Missouri, the population of which reached over sixty thousand by 1820. Missourian Moses Austin organized and his son Stephen F. Austin led three hundred families to eastern Texas, opening the way for further migration into the region in the 1830s. As American migrants traversed the Mississippi River, they took with them the patterns that had characterized American migration for over one hundred years: the bumping-in-to-each-other process, forced black migration, and Native American displacement.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Removal; Exploration and Explorers; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pioneering; Trails to the West; West.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Cashin, Joan E. *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Finger, John R. *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Fischer, David Hackett, and James C. Kelly. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Mitchell, Robert D. *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977.

Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

*Craig Thompson Friend*

# MILITARY TECHNOLOGY

**MILITARY TECHNOLOGY** Revolutionary Americans fought the War of Independence (1775–1783) with a munitions industry that they pieced together as they went. They achieved no notable innovations in production techniques or products made. With readily available supplies of wood and iron, experience in colonial warfare, and gunsmiths scattered throughout the colonies, they had the foundation for a munitions industry but only learned through bitter experience how difficult and expensive it was to equip large numbers of men in the field. Powder mills built for the French and Indian War (1754–1763) rotted in disrepair. Gunsmiths were more accustomed to repairing old than making new weapons. Many of those guns and most if not all of their flintlock firing mechanisms came from Europe—and primarily from England, ironically enough.

## SUPPLY SHORTAGES DURING THE REVOLUTION

Americans were short of firearms and gunpowder throughout the Revolution. If not for large quantities of both imported from Europe, their difficult circumstances would have been dire. A deal struck between the Continental Congress and a French firm to make small arms and artillery somewhere in the middle states fell through, an opportunity lost not only for short-term supply, but for long-term development of an American munitions industry with closer ties to continental production methods. The American procurement system was fundamentally the same as that of the British—by contract through small shops, but the revolutionaries had to create that system at the same moment they were forming a nation that divided political authority under a federal arrangement and divided military organization into militia and Continental units, all of which institutionalized confusion and internal competition for scarce munitions. Almost all American artillery came from abroad, except for a few scattered pieces from private forges and foundries and congressionally funded magazines at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Springfield, Massachusetts. Munitions production in any form underwritten by individual states rarely lasted long, so private provisioners dominated the industry.

Developing new weapons and weapons tactics for an impoverished army that grew and shrank with the campaign season was next to impossible. Initially, George Washington had thought that he could use rifles to advantage, given their superior range over muskets, and he was an enthusiastic supporter of riflemen units raised in frontier areas during the early stages of the Revolution. Before too long he saw that riflemen were better adapted to light infantry duty than linear tactics, and by war's end the Continentals were trained and equipped very much like British regulars, insofar as supplies and finances allowed.

Muzzle-loading, smoothbore muskets, ideally issued with socket-style bayonets, were therefore the most common weapons for all troops in the war. Skilled laborers, the most likely source of innovation, sometimes received exemptions from military service, not to experiment with new weapons but to keep production from falling short. The Board of War had been authorized by the Continental Congress to set up "laboratories" for munitions production, but Congress did not have the resources for much more than simple purchase and repair. Systematic research and development did not yet exist in either the private or public sectors. There was no enforceable, standardized weapons design and little chance of interchangeability. Even so, because firearms were sophisticated tools, emphasis on improved design and more specialized labor—precursors to modern factory techniques—was intrinsic to the trade. Some muskets were patterned after the British Brown Bess, others followed French specifications, and all were manufactured (in the preindustrial sense of being made mostly by hand) in small lots, with repair ad hoc, on-site, weapon-by-weapon. Wilder schemes, such as the proposal by Thomas Paine, the Revolutionary pamphleteer, for steel crossbows to shoot fire arrows the breadth of the Delaware River or Joseph Belton's rapid-fire musket, understandably garnered little interest. While in large part this was a function of scarce resources, it was also a reflection of the military's preference for the inexpensive, simple, and reliable, which explains why the British did not suddenly embrace a bayonet-fitted, breech-loading rifle designed by Major Patrick Ferguson and Americans did little to encourage the submarine experiments of David Bushnell.

## SLOW PROGRESS AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Independence did not in and of itself bring much change. The Hamiltonian program of the early 1790s included plans to make the new nation more self-sufficient in the weapons of war. National arsenals at Springfield, Massachusetts, and Harpers Ferry, Virginia, supplemented by contracts with individual gunmakers, were supposed to supply both the regular army and the state militias. Failure by either to do so adequately as an undeclared war (1798–

**Revolutionary War Cannons.** These Revolution-era cannons now stand at the French Soldiers and Sailors Memorial in Yorktown, Virginia. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

1800) loomed with France explains the contract offered to Eli Whitney in 1798, who had made cotton gins but not firearms. Despite promises to deliver improved, standardized muskets (following the popular French Charleville 1763 pattern) by using newly designed machine tools, Whitney's guns did not have interchangeable parts and were late in coming; more expensive than projected; and, overall, of rather poor quality. Among private contractors, pistol maker Simeon North produced perhaps the best weapons at the turn of the century.

Ultimately, the United States went to war in 1812 against Britain with a woefully inadequate munitions industry. In the years leading up to the war and during the war itself, various inventors approached the national government with plans for improved weapons, but nothing came of these schemes, and most were reminiscent of failed proposals put forward during the Revolution (including Robert Fulton's "torpedoes," which were essentially naval mines). Americans were fortunate that the fighting was intermittent and small scale and that

they had managed to reduce their dependence on imports. Although it is not clear if American gunmakers drew from the practices of French gunsmith Honoré Blanc that so impressed Thomas Jefferson in the 1780s, it is clear that the gunpowder industry benefited immensely from operations begun by French émigré Éleuthère Irénée du Pont along the banks of Delaware's Brandywine River in 1802. In 1813 Simeon North had ambitiously contracted to deliver twenty thousand pistols in five years, all of them with truly interchangeable parts. He failed but came much closer than had Whitney. By war's end the Springfield Armory led the way in quality musket production, making use of better tools and more specialized labor than other arms producers.

Postwar developments were more notable still, marked by Thomas Blanchard's stockmaking machinery at the Springfield Armory and John Hall's model 1819 breech-loading rifle at Harpers Ferry. Hall, who began as an independent contractor, personified the blending of entrepreneurial inventiveness with the War Department's quest for standardized

weapons. At the same time, the War Department's reluctance to put aside muzzle-loading muskets because of its desire to have one inexpensive, easily produced weapon that could be used by militiamen as well as regulars demonstrates that inventions can succeed or fail as technological innovations for nontechnical reasons. Moreover, change came incrementally and gradually. There was no sudden transformation from shop techniques to factory-based machine production, even in the so-called armory practice pioneered by Hall and Blanchard.

*See also* **Army, U.S.; Arsenals; Continental Army; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Revolution: Supply.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bellesiles, Michael A. *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Brown, M. L. *Firearms in Colonial America: The Impact on History and Technology*, *1492–1792.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980.

Cochran, Thomas C. *Frontiers of Change: Early Industrialism in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Hounshell, David A. *From the American System to Mass Production*, *1800–1932: The Development of Manufacturing Technology.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Smith, Merritt Roe. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.

York, Neil Longley. *Mechanical Metamorphosis: Technological Change in Revolutionary America.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

*Neil L. York*

**MILITIAS AND MILITIA SERVICE**   The United States of America emerged from the War of Independence in 1783 with two decidedly conflicting images of the militia and the role it should play in the new nation. One side saw the militia as the bulwark of American liberty and freedom, a force of citizen soldiers investing their very lives in their new Republic. The other saw the war as having been won through the skill of the regulars and despite a bumbling and incompetent militia. Too much reliance on the militia could result in disaster.

Those that saw the militia in a positive way strongly believed that a standing army was an unmitigated threat to freedom and liberty. True, America lived in a hostile world still dominated by autocratic monarchs. And there was no guarantee that the Atlantic Ocean could contain the troubles of Europe or that the English to the north and the Spanish to the south would respect American independence. But supporters of the militia argued that a standing army could not possibly traverse the vast expanses of territory to adequately defend the new nation from foreign enemies. Instead, they chose to rely on the citizens themselves to protect and defend their country.

To veteran commanders of war, George Washington foremost among them, the militia performed poorly on the battlefield and could not be given the sole responsibility of defending the nation. In April 1783 the Continental Congress appointed a committee that asked Washington for a formal report on the future of the American military. Washington recommended the establishment of a regular army that would pull troops from state-organized militia forces. Under Washington's plan, the militia forces would receive from twelve to twenty-five days of training annually. In essence, his proposal called for a permanent standing army in the mold of the Continental forces during the war. Congress, however, failed to enact his plan. In 1784 an army was created to go into the Northwest Territory; its seven hundred troops had been culled from the militias of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

A tax revolt known as Shays's Rebellion in western Massachusetts in 1786–1787 proved to many that the militia was unreliable. Massachusetts called up local militia and sent it to restore order and protect the courts, but the militiamen defected to the rebels. When Shays and his men marched on the Springfield armory to gain more weapons for their growing forces, a private army consisting of militiamen and others raised mainly in unsympathetic eastern Massachusetts and financed by merchants dispersed the rebels in a short battle, ending the revolt. The incident in Massachusetts played a leading role in motivating Americans to adopt a stronger national government. The Constitution looked to federal-state cooperation in the militia through its grant of authority in Article I, Section 8 to Congress to call out the militias in cases of invasion or domestic insurrection and to restore law and order when needed, and later, with the Second Amendment and its guarantee of the right to bear arms as a way of promoting militia efficiency.

After the ratification of the Constitution, the militia continued to play an important role in the defense plans of the United States. In 1790 and 1791 President George Washington dispatched militia forces into the Northwest Territory to battle Native

Americans. Twice the force was defeated with embarrassing results. Washington learned his lesson and in 1794 dispatched a force made up of regular troops led by General Anthony Wayne, who defeated the Native Americans at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.

### UNIFORM MILITIA ACT OF 1792

In 1792 Congress passed the Uniform Militia Act of 1792, a compromise measure that left President Washington dissatisfied. He advocated a plan put forth by Secretary of War Henry Knox in 1790. The Knox plan divided the national militia into three grades based on age and physical condition. The youngest group of approximately thirty-two thousand men would provide an immediate reserve force for the standing army after going through a basic training program to last two weeks. Knox wanted to tie the right to vote to successful completion of the training program. The older groups would be called up in case of grave national emergency. Knox's plan and its $400,000 annual price tag was too controversial for Congress. Instead, the Uniform Militia Act assigned responsibility for organizing and maintaining the militias to the states with almost no standards, minimum training requirements, or federal oversight. White men aged between eighteen and forty-five were required to serve and supply their own weapons and equipment. (The law prohibited free blacks from serving in the militia.) States were asked to turn in a report to the adjutant general on the status of their militia, but most ignored this provision. The Uniform Militia Act did nothing to create an adequate defense force and set the stage for subsequent failings. On the whole, Washington and the Federalist Party lost any faith in the militia and sought to build up the regular army.

The state-organized militias varied in many aspects. Some states had muster dates written into their laws, while others left it to local captains to call their men. Some had fines for failing to show up to the mandatory musters, others did not. Some provided for elected officers all the way up to commander of the state militia, but others gave the governor wide latitude in appointing officers. Most states allowed the men themselves to vote on their immediate officers. Some provided weapons, others required the militiamen themselves to supply their own firearms and accoutrements. In general, units varied in size and were not interchangeable with those from other states.

President Washington did secure from Congress a law that gave the president the power to call out

the militia. The new executive power was first used to summon up the militias of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New York to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794. Over 12,900 men responded to the call. However, there was widespread resistance, including riots in Philadelphia that led to the unpopular drafting of men. As in Shays's Rebellion, local militia forces supported the rebels, attacking and capturing a small contingent of regular army troops. Although Washington had a low opinion of the militia, he preferred the citizen soldiers to restore order because it was politically less controversial than using the regular army, especially with the support of the governors. As Washington had hoped, the overwhelming display of force ended the rebellion.

In 1798 President John Adams had less success with the militia in suppressing a domestic insurrection known as Fries's Rebellion. Following the creation of new federal taxes on property to finance the Quasi-War with France, rebellion spread through Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Once again the militia sided with the rebels and attacked the federal tax assessors. Adams was forced to use regular troops to restore order. To make matters worse, Virginia made some moves towards preparing its own militia to fight against the federal government, because the state opposed the unpopular Alien and Sedition Acts (1798). This was not the first time a state looked to its militia to defend itself against the federal government. In 1794 the Georgia militia and the regular army had almost come to blows over Indian policy.

If the Federalists of the 1790s distrusted the militia and praised the value of the standing army, Thomas Jefferson strongly held the opposite beliefs. When he became president in 1801, Jefferson greatly curtailed the size of the army and navy and placed more reliance on the militia to defend the nation. Small gunboats consisting of a single cannon and coastal fortifications manned by militia replaced reliance on large naval frigates. During the Embargo of 1807–1809, Jefferson assigned the unenviable task of enforcement to the militia. As with other militia operations, general disorganization and confusion prevailed. Several states refused Jefferson's request to allow the federal government use of their militias to enforce the law. Despite a renewed interest in the militia, little was done to improve efficiency. The one exception occurred in 1808, when Congress voted to provide $200,000 a year to supply militiamen with weapons.

## MILITIA SERVICE

A carnival-like atmosphere, more than a martial one, dominated militia musters. In general, musters occurred only four times a year to train on the local commons or the courthouse grounds. After gathering in some sort of formation, the captain inspected the men, who were dressed in their regular clothes. Some did not have weapons. When they were armed, there was no uniformity in their firearms, which ranged from rifles to muskets to shotguns, all in varied calibers and conditions. Sometimes target practice and drilling followed inspection. On other occasions, the men voted to adjourn early. In any event, training never lasted more than a couple of hours, after which the men visited the many tables hosted by salesmen who peddled all varieties of products, including alcohol. Drunkenness became a significant problem and something of a running national joke prominent in the literature of the day. Women baked pies and cooked food. There were games of chance, races, and other sporting events. Politicians flocked to the militia musters to build support for their upcoming electoral bids. A militia officer's commission was a valuable asset in politics. Their popularity as militia commanders catapulted Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison all the way to the presidency.

Not all states had a mechanism to enforce attendance at muster. Also, in states that had a fine, those who could afford to pay it did so and tended to stay home or provide a substitute to take their place. Quakers and other conscientious objectors avoided service in this manner. The Uniform Militia Act provided for some exempt occupations and states added to the list. Generally, these included lawmakers, teachers, tradesmen, and ministers, among others.

## WAR OF 1812

The true test of the militia as a defensive force came during the War of 1812. Much like contemporaries of that conflict, historians are not in agreement in their assessments of the erratic performance of militia. To some, the militia was a complete failure as a defensive force. To others, these failures were caused largely at the political level. When the war began there were technically 100,000 militiamen available for service, but disorganization at the state level and poor morale and training made them of dubious value. On the eve of war, Congress strengthened the courts-martial system to better discipline the militia and required militia forces to serve six months from the time they met at their gathering points.

The militia performed best when led by a commander who could motivate them and did not expect much from them. General Alexander Smyth had no faith in his militiamen and his public statements to that effect got him run out of western New York. The most successful was General Jacob Brown, who used the militia skillfully to defeat the British at the Battle of Sackett's Harbor in May 1813. The militia also served well at the Battles of Baltimore (1814), Horseshoe Bend (1814), and New Orleans (1815).

In many other battles, however, the militia performed poorly and at times disgracefully. The Battles of Detroit (1812), Queenston (1812), and Bladensburg (1814) were the lowest points. Poor battlefield performance was only one part of the general failings of the militia system during the war. Only Massachusetts had a peacetime quartermaster general for the militia. Other states had problems supplying their men. Kentucky marched 2,300 militiamen all the way to New Orleans with less than one-third armed, for example. Moreover, the militia was often poorly led by officers who were either political appointees or were elected by their men without regard to their ability to lead. Even before the battles, the militiamen were notorious for not answering their mobilization. When New York State called out its militia in 1813 to defend Plattsburgh, only 300 showed. With the nation's capital under attack in 1814, only a few thousand militiamen out of the 93,500 called to service were present, and they fled the battlefield as soon as they arrived. Failure to get enough volunteers to fight against the Creek Indians in the Old Southwest required a draft of militiamen. Such a measure, however, did not solve the problem, and entire companies refused to show up at their gathering points.

Cooperation was also hampered by partisan opposition to the war. Federalist governors did not support what was often called "Mr. Madison's War." In New England there was a tendency to retain militia units for use in their own states. Connecticut, for example, used its militia to man coastal fortifications. Rhode Island federalized one company, but would not allow it out of the state. Although Massachusetts provided more volunteers for the regular army than any other state except New York, the militia forces were kept in the commonwealth. This was a severe blow to the war effort, since Massachusetts had the best-trained militia in the United States. New York militia units were willing to fight alongside the federal forces to defend their state but refused to cross over to Canada even in the middle of battle.

In general, the militiamen presented a disciplinary problem as well. Commanders feared that the rowdiness and ill will of the militia would contami-

nate their regulars. Militia felt the federal government took advantage of them. Army volunteers received 160 acres for their service (later raised to 320 acres), yet militiamen were generally paid only a few dollars a month, and in many cases they did not get paid for several months at a time. Some states provided bounties and bonuses, others did not. When their service was up, militia simply left, marching out as a unit. Even a strong-willed leader such as Andrew Jackson eventually had to yield and allow his militia to march back home in the middle of a campaign. These depletions made it difficult for Jackson or any other commander to keep an offensive force in the field.

### REGULAR VERSUS VOLUNTEER MILITIA

After the war, the Army Reduction Act of 1815 limited the size of the army and shifted the primary responsibility of defending the nation from the militia to the regular army. Between 1816 and 1835 the various presidents asked Congress no less than thirty-one times to reform the militia, but no substantive action was taken. In 1820 Secretary of War John Calhoun recommended the creation of an expandable army and the phasing out of the militia, but this plan was not acted upon. In 1826 Calhoun's successor James Barbour created a board chaired by General Winfield Scott to examine the state of the militia. The board recommended that the federal government enforce a standard table of organization for the militia, appoint an adjutant general at the War Department specifically for the militia, distribute drill manuals, and operate a ten-day mandatory training camp at federal expense. Despite the soundness of these proposed reforms, they were never acted upon. In fact, the militia became increasingly ineffective. The militia also became a target for social reformers who saw it as a burden on the workingman that was avoided by the wealthy.

Neglect caused the regular militia to fall out of use. By 1850 nine states had ended mandatory militia service and four more had lifted any penalties for failing to be present for muster. Volunteer, privately organized militia companies picked up the slack. Although the oldest volunteer militia was formed in Boston in 1638, most were formed after the War of 1812 ended. Made up predominately of the middle class and the well-to-do, the volunteers spared no expense, presenting a marked contrast to the regular militia. They drilled in elaborately decorated and colorful uniforms. Their equipment was often the best and most extravagant that money could buy. They took their drilling seriously and met on a much more frequent basis than the regular militia did. Often there was competition between the many volunteer companies in a city. In New Orleans, which had ten volunteer companies in 1843, the most common form of competition was a marksmanship contest. States could and did integrate the volunteers into the regular militia and occasionally paid them as well. It was the municipal level, however, that came to rely most heavily on the volunteers, as they were called upon to perform a wide range of duties from guarding prisoners, providing honorary color guards at important events, marching in parades, manning fire brigades, and suppressing riots.

### THE SOUTH

The situation in the South was a little different because the regular militia was called on to act in slave patrols. Much like every other aspect of militia service, the assignment of this duty varied from state to state. Some states and localities placed this responsibility in the hands of the volunteer militia and others in the hands of the police, but in most, the regular militia took on this burden. Each militia company provided two volunteers, who served two nights a week for three to four months during which they patrolled in groups of four. In some areas, slaveholders compensated the patrollers. The duties of the slave patrols included searching slave quarters for contraband, breaking up meetings of slaves, hunting down fugitives, and checking traveling slaves for passes. In urban areas, militias acted as sentries for courthouses and other important public buildings. The patrols had authority to carry out summary punishment and whipped slaves who violated the law. The greatest fear in the South remained slave insurrections. Both volunteer and regular militia forces were called out during threats of slave revolts. Militia troops played an important role in suppressing both the Denmark Vesey (1822) and Nat Turner (1831) revolts.

*See also* **Continental Army; Fries's Rebellion; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Patrols; War of 1812; Whiskey Rebellion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coakley, Robert W. *The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders, 1789–1878.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1989.

Cooper, Jerry M. *The Militia and the National Guard in America since Colonial Times: A Research Guide.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1993.

Crackel, Theodore J. *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801–1809.* New York: New York University Press, 1987.

Cunliffe, Marcus. *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775–1865.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.

Doubler, Michael D. *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War: The Army National Guard, 1636–2000.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Franklin, John Hope. *The Militant South, 1800–1861.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Kohn, Richard H. *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802.* New York: Free Press, 1975.

Mahon, John K. *The American Militia: Decade of Decision, 1789–1800.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960.

———. *The War of 1812.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1972.

———. *History of the Militia and the National Guard.* New York: Macmillan, 1983.

Skeen, C. Edward. *Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

*Gregory J. Dehler*

**MILLENNIALISM** Millennialism is the belief, based on an interpretation of Revelation 20, that there will be a distinctive one-thousand-year period (the millennium) before the Last Judgment. This belief was especially popular in America from the 1750s to the 1840s.

Because the Book of Revelation is written in highly figurative language, believers differ over the details of the millennium. One fundamental point of difference is whether it will be ushered in by a fiery apocalypse, with only a faithful remnant saved to reign with Christ for one thousand years (premillennialism), or if it will be a peaceful interlude that precedes the Second Coming of Christ (postmillennialism).

The significance of this distinction is that postmillennialists are generally more optimistic about human progress: human agency through the reform of societal ills can help bring about the millennium. Premillennialists are generally more pessimistic about the ability of human agency to effect the millennium and therefore are more likely to focus on cultivating their own spirituality. Protestants were drawn to both kinds of millennialism in unprecedented numbers during the era of the new nation. According to Nathan O. Hatch in *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989), "the first generation of United States citizens may have lived in the shadow of Christ's Second Coming more intensely than any generation since" (p. 184).

Although interest in the millennium in America goes back to the first generation of Puritans, throughout the colonial period most of that interest was confined to ministers. Ordinary laymen and -women wrote next to nothing in their spiritual journals concerning the millennium. The Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763 ushered in a period of increasingly widespread interest in the millennium. That war pitted Protestant Great Britain against Catholic France and included a great many battles in the American colonies, where it became known as the French and Indian War. Some ministers in the colonies, in keeping with a 250-year Protestant tradition, argued that the Antichrist mentioned in the Book of Revelation was in fact the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, the Seven Years' War was a war against the Antichrist and the defeat of France might help usher in the millennium. Because thousands of American colonists fought in this war, the ministerial rhetoric seems to have touched a nerve among the populace.

After the American Revolution (1775–1783) and the ratification of the U.S. Constitution (1787), millennial interest increased. What was once the preserve of learned ministers became a concern for many laymen and -women. In the new Republic, most Protestants were optimistic postmillennialists, believing that if they worked to rid the nation of sin they might help initiate the millennium. This partly accounts for the connection between religion and reform in this period. Many churchgoers participated in reform movements such as abolition and temperance; a large number of them did so with one eye toward the future, hoping their efforts might help begin Christ's reign on earth. But most mainstream Protestants, though hopeful that the millennium would someday arrive, believed that that day was nonetheless far off. Many in the new Republic still followed the computations of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), who had calculated that the millennium would begin around the year 2000.

But there were smaller, more radical groups of premillennialists, many of whom believed the Second Coming of Christ was imminent. Not only was the Second Coming near at hand, but when it came only true believers would survive the fiery apocalypse. The Shakers and Free Will Baptists of northern New England, for example, believed that the millennium was imminent. Indeed, before the death of their founder Ann Lee in 1784, the Shakers had believed that Lee was the messiah, returned to earth to initiate

the millennium. Throughout the early national period, this strain of millennialism persisted, reaching its peak in the Millerite movement of the early 1840s. Followers of William Miller, a Baptist preacher from New York, believed that an apocalyptic Second Coming of Christ was going to occur in 1843 or 1844. The radical possibilities of millennial belief can be glimpsed in the Millerites' openness to female preaching: since they felt that the end times were so near, it seemed imperative for all believers to spread the word, whether they were male or female.

Ultimately, of course, the Millerites were disappointed. Christ did not return in 1844. Indeed, at the time people referred to their situation as the Great Disappointment. But even among mainstream Protestants, active speculation regarding the millennium declined after the 1840s. In two thousand years of Christian belief, interest in the millennium has waxed and waned. Rarely has that interest captured the imagination of a people as it did during the era of the new nation.

*See also* **Religion: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America*, *1740–1845.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

Holifield, E. Brooks. *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

*Erik R. Seeman*

**MINT, UNITED STATES** During the colonial and Revolutionary periods, foreign coins of many denominations circulated in America. In 1782 superintendent of finance, Robert Morris, initiated the first concrete efforts to found a U.S mint. On 15 January 1782, he sent Congress a plan drafted by his assistant, Gouverneur Morris, for the establishment of an American coinage and a mint to produce it. After Congress approved the proposal in principle, Morris hired metallurgist Benjamin Dudley to create the needed machinery and produce sample coins, which he submitted to Congress in April 1783, along with a request that Congress take action on his coinage proposals. Morris's proposed coinage was the world's first official decimal-based coinage plan, although Thomas Jefferson had earlier suggested the

idea. Morris's plan was based on multiples of a small abstract monetary unit called the mill, equivalent to 25 percent of a grain of silver or .069 percent of a dollar. The unit was designed to facilitate mathematical conversions without leftover fractions between the new monetary system and the old state currencies. When Congress failed to act on the plan, lack of funding forced Morris to suspend his mint operations.

In 1785 Congress approved a decimal-based system but rejected the small monetary unit in favor of the dollar as recommended by Thomas Jefferson, chairman of the committee to which Morris's coinage plan was referred. Congress also authorized the creation of a mint, but except for a private production of copper coins under contract with the Board of Treasury, no action was taken until after the new federal government was established in 1789. On 15 April 1790, the new U.S. Congress directed secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, to submit a new plan for a mint. In April 1792 Congress, overcoming objections to the expense of a mint and its potential for partisan patronage, approved a bill based on Hamilton's 28 January 1791 report. The bill reaffirmed the dollar as the monetary unit, authorized the creation of a mint in Philadelphia, and required that the design of the new coins bear an image of liberty. Debates in Congress during 1791–1792, when Robert Morris chaired the Senate committee responsible for mint legislation and helped produce sample coins bearing the bust of Washington, led the House of Representatives to reject as too "monarchical" the idea of placing a portrait of any incumbent president on U.S. coins. Pattern silver half dimes were produced in October 1792, reportedly using silver obtained from Washington's household.

The Pennsylvania scientist David Rittenhouse, who had advised Dudley on the design of mint machinery in 1782, became the first director of the U.S. Mint in 1792 and served to 1795. The Mint was initially under the jurisdiction of Thomas Jefferson's State Department. Housed on Seventh Street near Arch in the first building erected for the federal government, the Mint opened in 1793 and delivered its first circulating coins, copper cents and half cents, in that year. Silver coins were first produced in 1794 and gold coins in 1795, using bullion privately deposited at the Mint. With silver overvalued in the coins, most large coins were exported. In 1806 President Jefferson banned production of any coins larger than a half dollar, and no silver dollars were produced for thirty years. The Mint's primary early contribution was therefore relieving the problem of

a shortage of money in low denominations for use in the small transactions in which most Americans were involved. Despite its efforts, a continuing coin shortage meant bank notes, scrip, and lightweight foreign coins continued to circulate to meet the need for small change.

In 1794 a congressional investigative committee led by Elias Boudinot challenged the high cost and low production of copper coins at the Mint, noting that such coins had been produced at far lower cost in New Jersey, Boudinot's home state. Next, Jeffersonian polemicist James Callender attacked the mint as a symbol of Federalist excesses and patronage and claimed that a thousand tons of cents could be struck at Birmingham, England, for the same cost. On his last day in office in January 1795, Hamilton also commented on the Mint's inadequacies, blaming poor management and recommending its transfer to the Treasury Department. When Boudinot's committee reported in February 1795, it recommended various procedural adjustments in the weight of coins, in receiving deposits, and in vending coins. Although the report exonerated the ailing David Rittenhouse from blame, he soon resigned as director. His successor, Henry William De Saussure, quickly resigned. Even after Boudinot took over as director, opposition to the Mint continued, with further complaints of Federalist patronage abuse and proposals for less expensive contract coinage. In 1800 a Senate committee recommended abolishing the Mint; the Senate proposed contracting with the Bank of the United States for coins, but Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, who took office in 1801, opposed placing coinage in the hands of a private corporation. A copper shortage and decline in bullion deposits resulted in periods of idleness at the Mint, leading to another round of debates in 1802, during which the Mint was again depicted as a "Federalist creation," monarchical, unproductive, expensive, and an embodiment of centralized power. Nevertheless, plans for contracts with the Bank of the United States or with Matthew Boulton's firm in Birmingham failed, and the Mint continued in operation.

Henry Voight was named first chief coiner, Albion Cox was recruited in England to serve as chief assayer, and Robert Scot was hired as engraver. John Jacob Eckfeldt, case-hardener of dies for Morris's sample coins of 1783, established a family dynasty at the Mint. His son, Adam Eckfeldt, began constructing tools and machinery for the mint in the 1790s and rose to chief coiner in 1814; other family members worked there continuously until 1929. Benjamin Rush served as treasurer of the mint from 1797 to 1813, and was succeeded by his son James, who served until 1830. Another long-term employee was assayer Joseph Richardson of Philadelphia, who succeeded Cox in 1795, served for thirty-six years, and was succeeded briefly by his son John, who had been in the department for over ten years. On the other hand, in the 1790s Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemics periodically shut down the mint and quickly claimed the lives of several of its employees, including engraver Joseph Wright, assayer Joseph Whitehead, and mint treasurer Nicholas Way.

In 1799 the mint was made an independent agency in Philadelphia, reporting directly to the president; not until 1873 was the headquarters moved to Washington and placed under the Treasury Department. Until 1816, when steam-operated machinery was introduced, horses or oxen powered the metal sheet–rolling machinery. Planchets were hand fed into the screw coining presses to produce the coins, a hazardous process, but in 1793 Adam Eckfeldt invented a device for automatically feeding and ejecting them. In 1838, branches of the U.S. Mint were opened in Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina, and as gold and silver were discovered in the West, various branches and assay offices were established there.

*See also* **Barter; Currency and Coinage.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Stewart, Frank H. *History of the First United States Mint.* Camden, N.J.: private printing, 1924. Reprint, Lawrence, Mass.: Quartermain, 1974.

Taxay, Don. *The United States Mint and Coinage.* New York: Arco Publishing, 1966. Reprint, New York: Durst, 1983.

*Elizabeth M. Nuxoll*

## MISSIONARY AND BIBLE TRACT SOCIETIES

Voluntary societies were central to American missionary endeavors during the colonial and early national eras. Most of these organizations were affiliated with a denomination and led by prominent church officials, but they relied on the labor and contributions of both ministers and laity. In spite of occasional competition, they often welcomed interdenominational cooperation in the service of the propagation of Christianity. Usually, they raised money by distributing published texts, such as letters from missionaries, in metropolitan areas of North America and Britain.

The first society devoted to missions in British America was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, established by the Long Parliament in 1649. In 1662 King Charles II granted a new charter to the organization, renamed the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America. Known as the New England Company, it supported the work of Puritans among Algonquian tribes of New England. After the American Revolution this group shifted its focus to Canada.

In 1698 Thomas Bray founded the Church of England's Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which distributed religious books throughout Britain and its colonies while building charity schools in the British Isles. In 1701 he founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Although focused on providing ministers to colonists and their slaves, the SPG also launched several missions to Indians, which had the most success with the Mohawks. At the outbreak of the Revolution, it turned its attention to Canada. The Associates of Dr. Bray, founded in 1717, assisted with the Church of England's efforts to convert slaves.

In 1709 the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands and the Foreign Parts of the World (SSPCK) was chartered. It employed missionaries such as David Brainerd, who preached to Indians in New England, New York, and New Jersey. It also helped organize the visit of Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian and Presbyterian minister, to Britain from 1766 to 1768. The SSPCK continued to fund missions to the Iroquois and other tribes after the Revolution.

The United Brethren, or Moravians, began American missionary work in 1735. They were very successful in converting Indians, especially of the Delaware tribe. The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, which existed from 1741 to 1764, raised money for Moravian missions. When it was established in 1795, the Friends' Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting also organized some missions, building on the earlier work of individual members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers.

While the first Great Awakening of the 1740s invigorated missionary efforts in already-existing institutions, the Second Great Awakening inspired the creation of new societies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Statewide organizations appeared first, such as the New York Missionary Society in 1796 and the Connecticut Missionary Society in 1798. The first women's missionary organiza-tion, the Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes, was established in 1800. Many "Female Cent Associations," in which members contributed one cent a week for missionary endeavors, also were founded in this era. These local groups were focused mostly on missions to both whites and Indians in frontier regions such as western New York, southern Ohio, and Kentucky. In 1826 most of them were absorbed into the American Home Missionary Society, which was officially nondenominational but predominantly Congregationalist. Because their reliance on itinerant preachers had already met with much success in frontier areas, the Methodists developed missionary organizations later than other Protestant denominations, founding the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1820.

Many local Bible societies, which distributed free or inexpensive Bibles, also were founded in this era, beginning with the Philadelphia Bible Society in 1808 and the Connecticut Bible Society in 1809. They were combined into the American Bible Society in 1816. Likewise, regional tract societies, such as the New England Tract Society, founded in 1814, were absorbed into the American Tract Society in 1825. Other groups connected with missionary projects, moral reformation, and what is sometimes called the Benevolence Empire were founded in this era, including the American Education Society in 1815 and the American Sunday School Union in 1817.

The emergence of national voluntary societies devoted to foreign missions often is connected with the leadership of Samuel J. Mills Jr., Gordon Hall, and other members of the so-called Haystack Band, who—when they were students at Williams College in 1806—committed themselves to missionary work while conducting a prayer meeting under a haystack in a rainstorm. Their initiative led to the founding in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a multidenominational Protestant organization that sent its first missionaries to Calcutta in 1812. It then sent missionaries to Hawaii and to Syria in 1819. After two ABCFM missionaries became Baptists while en route to India, the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions (also known as the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions or the Triennial Convention) was founded in 1814. Missionary goals also provided some of the impetus for the American Colonization Society (ACS), which was founded in 1816 to resettle free African Americans in Africa. In 1818 the ACS commissioned Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess to visit England and Sierra Leone in an effort to pur-

chase land for a colony. In 1822 the ACS obtained land in Liberia and sent its first settlers there, along with its hopes that African American colonists would help spread the gospel throughout the African continent. Through organizations such as the ACS and the ABCFM, the United States became a source as well as an object of missionary outreach.

*See also* **Bible; Frontier Religion; Liberia; Religious Publishing; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bays, Daniel H., and Grant Wacker, eds. *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.

Goodykoontz, Colin Brummitt. *Home Missions on the American Frontier*, *with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society.* Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1939.

Stevens, Laura M. *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries*, *Native Americans*, *and Colonial Sensibility.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, *1607–1783.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

*Laura M. Stevens*

**MISSISSIPPI**   The United States acquired most of the land that became the state of Mississippi (with the notable exception of the Gulf Coast) in 1795 through the Treaty of San Lorenzo. The primary purpose of this agreement was to normalize trading relations between the United States and Spain, but the result was the first major acquisition of new territory since the Revolution and, eventually, the creation of a distinct subregion within the slaveholding South.

In 1798 Congress created a governance plan for the new Mississippi Territory that drew heavily on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, with the notable exception of permitting slavery. In the years that followed, cotton began to emerge as the major agricultural product. The largest European settlement was Natchez, located on the eastern banks of the Mississippi River approximately 150 miles north of New Orleans. Originally fostered by the Spanish, Natchez was a rough trading outpost that served as the home to the local Creole elite, an aspiring polyglot population of French, Spanish, and British ancestry that had established its wealth primarily through commerce down the Mississippi River or through the Indian

trade. Outside the emerging plantation region along the Mississippi, Indians—most notably the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and the Creek—successfully resisted most European and Anglo-American efforts to extend either settlement or political influence.

Undermining Indian power, promoting white settlement, and eliminating Spanish threats to American security became interconnected goals of federal policy in the Mississippi Territory. The collapse of the Spanish Empire and the War of 1812 (1812–1815) created the pretext by which the United States seized portions of the Gulf Coast. These successes against the Spanish helped the U.S. Army conquer the Mississippi Indians, eventually forcing them to accept peace on American terms, which included major land cessions.

The number of Anglo-American settlers and African Americans grew in direct proportion to the death or eviction of Indians and the ejection of Spanish authority. In 1800 the Mississippi Territory had approximately 8,850 non–Indian residents. By 1810 the total had increased to just over 40,352. Almost 40 percent of the population was enslaved. Meanwhile, the white population was emerging in two distinct cultural regions. Western Mississippi, especially the Mississippi Delta, continued to be a center of wealth emanating from plantation agriculture. Much of the region eventually became home to a slave majority. In sharp contrast, many of the settlers in eastern Mississippi were of more modest means, establishing farms with few or no slaves. Different economies and folkways increasingly distinguished the eastern and western portions of the territory. When Congress permitted the first steps toward statehood, it divided the territory along these lines. The western portion entered the Union in 1817 as the state of Mississippi. The eastern portion entered two years later as the state of Alabama. The population in both states continued to surge. By 1820, Mississippi had over seventy-five thousand non-Indian residents.

Despite their differences, the white populations of Mississippi and Alabama remained united in their defense of slavery. Into the antebellum era, the two states carved from the Mississippi Territory developed some of the most repressive racial regimes. Accordingly, they fostered a political culture that responded with increasingly shrill defensiveness to any criticism of slavery or efforts to limit its expansion.

*See also* **American Indians: Old Southwest; Cotton; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Slavery: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Libby, David J. *Slavery and Frontier Mississippi, 1720–1835.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004.

Morris, Christopher. *Becoming Southern: The Evolution of a Way of Life, Warren County and Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1770–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Skates, John Ray. *Mississippi, A Bicentennial History.* New York: Norton, 1979.

*Peter J. Kastor*

---

**MISSISSIPPI RIVER**   The Mississippi River and its basin are vital components of America's natural environment. In addition, they have had a vital shaping influence upon the history of North American Indians, exploration, military campaigns, pioneering and settlement, politics, folk and high culture, civil rights, and economic development.

The Mississippi River drains the North American continent from its headwaters in Lake Itasca, Minnesota, to the Gulf of Mexico. Home to diverse and distinctive species of flora and fauna, it was first civilized between 500 AD and 1500 AD by agrarian, mound-building Mississippian Indians. Beginning in 1541, European explorers, traders, and adventurers traversed the Mississippi Valley in the service of Spain; France; Britain; and later, the United States. Before losing the Upper Mississippi Valley and Canada to Britain in 1763, France briefly delivered its claims to the Louisiana Territory to Spain. France regained Louisiana in 1802, only to sell it to the Americans in 1803. The Louisiana Purchase ended an eighteen-year dispute, at last opening the rich port city of New Orleans to American rivermen and seaman.

From the Revolution onward, the Mississippi River witnessed a microcosm of American history. Revolutionary militia general George Rogers Clark fought at Kaskaskia, in Illinois country, in 1778; Lewis and Clark wintered on the Mississippi in 1803–1804 on their way to explore Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase; Andrew Jackson defeated the British at New Orleans in 1815; the Missouri Compromise debate of 1819–1821 over the status of slavery west of the river polarized America into proslavery and antislavery forces; Chief Black Hawk's 1832 defeat in Illinois, followed by the forced march of the Cherokees across the frozen Lower Mississippi, marked the extirpation of America's woodland Indians; Mormon prophet Joseph Smith was murdered at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1844; Ulysses S. Grant turned the tide of the Civil War at Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1863; and American life was forever marked by the eras of Mississippi Valley slavery, the Jim Crow laws there, and the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s.

The economic history of the Mississippi River is one of technological innovation, beginning with Indian canoes and frontier keelboats and flatboats, moving into the steamboat age, and culminating in the twentieth-century development of diesel-powered towboat and barge commerce along the mighty river's banks. The first Mississippi rivermen were Indians, paddling their sleek, wooden canoes and crude "bullboats" up and down its waters. Immediately following the American Revolution, keelboatmen steered sleek, prowed, sixty-foot-long craft swiftly downstream and then worked very hard to inch cargoes of coffee, sugar, and other trade goods upstream. The introduction in 1811 of steamboats on the western rivers, however, quickly ran the keelboats out of business.

Interestingly, the crude, inexpensive nonsteam flatboat (introduced in the late 1700s) endured well past the advent of steam power and the Civil War. Flatboats were flat-bottomed, box-shaped craft averaging fifty feet in length and twelve feet in width. Flatboats carried pork, corn, furs, hardy fruits and vegetables, and whiskey downstream only. Having sold their loads and boats (as scrap lumber), flatboatmen walked home along the dangerous Natchez Trace route or, after 1811, purchased deck passage aboard northbound steamers.

The keelboat and flatboat workers did not always conform to the rough, tough "alligator horse" image portrayed in folktales and published stories about Mississippi River heroes like Davy Crockett (1786–1836) and Big Mike Fink (1770?–1823), the "king of the river." Many early boatmen were coarse and violent frontiersmen, but as time progressed a boating workforce emerged, characterized by more civilized family men and young farm boys. The average nonsteam riverman was a white Ohio and Mississippi Valley male of English or Celtic ancestry, averaging twenty-eight years of age. Antebellum and postbellum lumber raft crews—navigating large log assemblages down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers—fit most of this description except that this group included more Scandinavian American raftsmen.

The workaday Mississippi steamboat was a small (approximately three-hundred-ton) craft exhibiting little gilt or fancy trappings. As with flatboat and keelboat commerce, peak steamboat shipping time was during high water; the high waters of late fall and early spring greatly reduced the chances of running aground. At those times, the Mississippi

was dotted with steamers, crewed by both white and African American boatmen and carrying pork, whiskey, lead, tobacco, cotton, and ticketed passengers. By the 1850s, however, the railroads had proved the steamboat's economic undoing. The steamers were ultimately succeeded in 1903 by screw-propellered, steam- and, later, diesel-powered "towboats" pushing fleets of lashed river barges up and downstream.

In the realm of American culture and arts, the Mississippi River valley has proved seminal to the work of authors ranging from Mark Twain (1835–1910) to William Faulkner (1897–1962). Its environment, wildlife, and working folk have been painted by George Caleb Bingham (1811–1879), John James Audubon (1785–1851), and Karl Bodmer (1809–1893). And every indigenous form of American music—gospel, blues, country, jazz, and rock and roll—was born along the banks of, and aboard, the boats plying this great river.

Twain, once a steamboat pilot, referred to the Mississippi River valley as "the heart of America." In all aspects of American culture, the Mississippi River and its people reflect the core of the American experience.

See also **Blount Conspiracy; Environment, Environmental History, and Nature; Frontier; Louisiana Purchase; New Orleans; Revolution: Diplomacy; Spanish Conspiracy; Steamboat.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Michael. *Western Rivermen, 1763–1861: Ohio and Mississippi Boatmen and the Myth of the Alligator Horse.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Baldwin, Leland D. *The Keelboat Age on Western Waters.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1941.

Haites, Eric F., James Mak, and Gary M. Walton. *Western River Transportation: The Era of Early Internal Development, 1810–1860.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Hunter, Louis C. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1993.

Saxon, Lyle. *Father Mississippi.* New York: Century, 1927.

Twain, Mark. *Life on the Mississippi.* Boston: Osgood, 1883. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

*Michael Allen*

**MISSOURI** Missouri's strategic location at the confluence of North America's great central river system made it both a popular place for settlement and a contested region. In the mid-eighteenth century approximately fifteen hundred French Creoles and African slaves occupying a handful of riverine villages on both sides of the Mississippi coexisted in relative peace with their Indian neighbors, even as rival European powers vied to control their destinies. France's defeat in the French and Indian War (1754–1763) momentarily dashed that nation's imperial ambitions in North America and forced it to relinquish its territories there. The Treaty of Paris (1763) confirmed the placement of Canada and the lands east of the Mississippi under British control and the cession of Louisiana to Spain. The change of regimes did little to alter the fundamental character of Upper Louisiana (present-day Missouri). To the contrary, an influx of Francophone newcomers fleeing British rule reinforced French ways of life in Ste. Genevieve (c.1750) and St. Louis (1764).

Under Spanish rule French remained the common tongue. The Creole villagers were Catholic, communal, deferential, cosmopolitan, reliant on trade and commerce, and generally respectful of Indian customs and sovereignty. More than one-third were slaves. Agriculture, fur trading, lead mining, and salt making produced the commodities of exchange that fueled Upper Louisiana's colonial economy.

The province's sizable Indian populace constituted another vital element. They were the principal suppliers of the valuable pelts that made St. Louis, Upper Louisiana's capital city, a major hub in the international fur trade. The Osage, Upper Louisiana's dominant resident tribe, forged a powerful and mutually beneficial commercial alliance with St. Louis's founding family, the Chouteaus. Members of several other Indian tribes, including the Missouri, Ioway, Sauk, and Fox tribes, also lived or hunted in Upper Louisiana. During and after the American Revolution they were joined by bands of eastern émigré Indians who moved westward to escape the ravages of conflict in their homelands.

Spanish officials primarily viewed Louisiana as a buffer that would protect their valuable possessions in New Spain (Mexico) from British encroachment. Although Spain governed Louisiana for nearly four decades, few Spaniards chose to live there permanently. With limited resources at their disposal, Spanish policymakers sought to strengthen their hold on the sparsely populated and poorly defended province by enticing Anglo-Americans from east of the Mississippi to settle there with offers of free land. The scheme was predicated on a belief that over time

they could be transformed into Catholic subjects loyal to the Spanish king. But the English-speaking Protestants who accepted the offer were a different breed. Independent-minded and self-reliant, they shunned the existing communal French villages in favor of scattered and isolated farmsteads. They looked on land as the primary measure of wealth and, in contrast with their Creole neighbors, were predisposed to view Indians as menacing savages.

Napoleon Bonaparte's attempts to resurrect the French nation's imperial designs for the Western Hemisphere culminated in Spain's agreement in 1800 to retrocede Louisiana to France; but more urgent imperatives elsewhere soon dashed those dreams. To the Spaniards' chagrin, the French ruler unexpectedly changed course and offered to sell the sprawling western province to the United States. President Thomas Jefferson accepted the offer, and the Louisiana Purchase (1803) ushered in a new era.

When U.S. officials took charge in St. Louis in March 1804, Upper Louisiana's total population probably exceeded 17,000. That figure included more than 10,000 Euro-Americans, perhaps 1,800 African American slaves, a handful of free people of color, and 5,000 Indians divided almost equally between immigrant and indigenous groups. Americans, including famed pioneer Daniel Boone, who had flocked to the territory during the Spanish regime's waning days already outnumbered the old French inhabitants.

The new U.S. authorities faced a daunting task as they set out to build a stable and prosperous society grounded on republican principles in a place that Washington Irving later described as "more motley than Mackinaw." President Jefferson briefly flirted with the notion of temporarily closing Upper Louisiana to further settlement, but that quixotic scheme was quickly cast aside. The decision to place the region under the control of officials in the Indiana Territory drew howls of protest from local residents of all stripes, and in 1805 Congress authorized creation of the Louisiana Territory, not to be confused with the lower parts of Louisiana then called the Territory of Orleans.

Louisiana's first governor, the controversial and self-serving General James Wilkinson, succeeded in exacerbating tensions between longtime residents and incoming Americans eager to make their mark. Competing claims for the territorial lands pitted holders of large Spanish concessions against land-hungry newcomers. The outbreak of the War of 1812 compounded the challenges of defending exposed settlements in the Missouri Territory (renamed

in 1812 when Louisiana became a state) and added to local uncertainty. The end of that conflict doomed Missouri's steadily declining Indian population to further dispossession and relocation and hastened new settlement in the booming Boonslick Country adjacent to the Missouri River.

Of Missouri's territorial governors, William Clark, in office from 1813 to 1820, proved to be the most adept as he steered the fractious territory through the perils of political and economic transformation that prepared it for statehood. In his failed attempt to become the state's first elected governor, the celebrated explorer and scion of Virginia's old republican order fell victim to a populist political dynamic that championed the common man while embracing Indian relocation and removal. Newly elected U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton and many other aspiring Missouri politicians quickly acknowledged the new realities and hitched their political fortunes to this rising national tide soon to be dubbed Jacksonian democracy. Missouri's 1818 bid to become a slave state unleashed a contentious national debate over slavery extension that was temporarily resolved with passage of the Missouri Compromise (1820), a measure that paved the way for its admission to the Union as a slaveholding state in 1821.

In the post–statehood era, Missourians were well positioned to capitalize on the looming opportunities of a dawning industrial age. St. Louis, already a major fur trade entrepôt and outfitting place for western explorers, traders, and overland travelers, took advantage of a developing road system and the advent of the steamboat era to become a major manufacturing, wholesaling, and commercial center and the nation's dominant inland city.

To accommodate the new migrants filling up Missouri's unoccupied interior spaces, officials moved the state's capital to centrally located Jefferson City. The opening of the Santa Fe trade in 1821 provided a new economic boost and made places like Franklin, Arrow Rock, and Independence way stations and outfitting places. The trade also presaged Missouri's future as the primary point of departure for the great western trails. Settlers from the Old South reinforced the state's slave base and Southern identity even as a vanguard of German and Irish immigrants along with a small cadre of Yankee businessmen provided added leavening to the border state's already diverse mix. The 1830 U.S. Census listed Missouri's population as 140,455, seventy times greater than the 1791 Spanish count. Official enumerations of all inhabitants (excluding Indians) conducted by Spain in 1791 (2,111) and 1800

(7,125) and the United States in 1810 (19,783), 1820 (66,586), and 1830 (140,455) detailed that growth, but they barely hinted at what lay ahead for a state clearly in its ascendancy.

*See also* **American Indians: Plains; French; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Fur and Pelt Trade; Jefferson, Thomas; Louisiana Purchase; Mississippi River; Missouri Compromise; Pioneering; Santa Fe; Slavery: Overview; Spanish Empire; St. Louis; Steamboat; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ekberg, Carl J. *French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Faragher, John Mack. "More Motley than Mackinaw: From Ethnic Mixing to Ethnic Cleansing on the Frontier of the Lower Missouri, 1793–1833." In *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830.* Edited by Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Foley, William E. *The Genesis of Missouri: From Wilderness Outpost to Statehood.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989.

Gitlin, Jay L. *Negotiating the Course of Empire: The French Bourgeois Frontier and the Emergence of Mid-America, 1763–1863.* Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2002.

Kastor, Peter J., ed. *The Louisiana Purchase: Emergence of an American Nation.* Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002.

*William E. Foley*

**MISSOURI COMPROMISE**   The Missouri Compromise (actually a set of congressional acts passed in 1820 and 1821) settled the sectional crisis triggered by Missouri's application to join the Union as a slave state. It permitted this while prohibiting slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30'. This legislation established the policy for the admission of future states for the next thirty years.

The crisis began when, on 13 February 1819, about three weeks before the adjournment of the Fifteenth Congress, New York Representative James Tallmadge introduced an amendment to the Missouri statehood bill to bar the importation of new slaves and emancipated at adulthood those already in the territory. Tallmadge's amendment sparked an explosive reaction from southern congressmen, particu-

larly from border states, such as Virginia, which looked to the new territories as a market for their dangerous surplus of slaves. This outburst surprised many Northerners, who had accepted at face value Southern, and especially Virginian, avowals of antislavery sentiment. After an intense debate employing nearly all the arguments that would be made for and against slavery until the Civil War, the House, by a narrow margin, passed the Missouri bill with the slavery restrictions on 16 February 1819. New York Congressman John W. Taylor's proposal to restrict slavery in the adjacent territory of Arkansas was defeated three days later, and his subsequent proposal to bar slavery in the territory north of 36° 30' never received a vote. The Senate struck out the antislavery provisions of the Missouri bill, but the House stuck by them, leaving the question unresolved when Congress adjourned on 4 March.

Despite the fury of the congressional debates, the Missouri dispute initially attracted little attention in the nation at large, being overshadowed by the Supreme Court's decision in *McCulloch v. Maryland* and a sharp economic recession. Spurred by Federalist activists, including New York editor Theodore Dwight and venerable New Jersey philanthropist Elias Boudinot, Northern antislavery (and anti-Southern) sentiment strengthened over the subsequent months. Incited by anti–Missouri meetings throughout the free states, virtually all Northern state legislatures voted—usually unanimously—to instruct their congressional delegations to oppose the expansion of slavery. Public opinion in the South, on the other hand, was much more muted.

When Maine (then part of Massachusetts) applied for statehood, Virginia Senator James Barbour sought to use it for leverage in brokering a compromise. On New Year's Day 1820, President Monroe and Barbour explained the plan to Maine congressman John Holmes, who reported to Maine's top political leaders that administration leaders felt that "the *Mother* should have *twins this time.*" However, the proposed linkage detonated explosive responses in both North and South. Maine's citizens were outraged by their representatives' apparent acquiescence to a move to tie the admission of their state to the extension of slavery, while Virginia leaders angrily reacted to the suggestion floated by President Monroe that he might endorse the proposal by Indiana senator Jesse Thomas to bar slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30'—the identical line proposed the year before by antislavery advocate Taylor, now Speaker of the House.

**BRITISH NORTH AMERICA**

Oregon
Country

Unorganized Territory

Michigan  Territory

NH
VT
ME

MA

New
York

Pennsylvania

RI
CT
NJ
DE
MD

Illinois  Indiana  Ohio

Missouri  Virginia

Missouri
Compromise
Line

Kentucky

36°30'N

Arkansas Territory

Tennessee

North
Carolina

South
Carolina

*PACIFIC
OCEAN*

*ATLANTIC
OCEAN*

**NEW SPAIN**

MS  Alabama  Georgia

LA

Florida
Terr.

*Gulf of Mexico*

N

**Missouri
Compromise, 1820**

Free States and Territories

Slave States

Closed to slavery by the
Missouri Compromise

Opened to slavery by the
Missouri Compromise

0      200      400 mi.

0    200    400 km

In the face of this surge of outrage from both sections, Monroe abruptly backed away from expressions of compromise, avowing privately to Virginians that he would give up the presidency before supporting restrictions on slavery and explaining his earlier stance as a desperate response to extreme danger to the Republic. Monroe and his associates began to advise receptive Southerners and stalwart Northern Republicans that the campaign to restrict slavery in Missouri was really a cynical ploy by Federalists to regain power by appealing to Americans' humanitarian impulses. Cabinet officials and other influential administration allies, most notably Thomas Jefferson, spread the message that only the selfless statesmanship of anti-restrictionist politicians, such as Maine's Holmes, could save the Union from the machinations of northern conspirators. New York governor DeWitt Clinton and Senator Rufus King were portrayed as the architects of an electoral coup that would oust Monroe from the presidential mansion and close the West to slavery, thus insuring that Upper South planters would be "damned up in a land of slaves," as one Virginian put it. This fanciful sce-

nario gained some plausibility from the facts that Clinton was a cousin of Tallmadge, author of the restriction amendment, and that King's half-brother and two sons, all of whom had close ties to Republican leaders, implicitly endorsed the damaging charges against their kinsman by their silence.

The deadlock in Congress continued through February, although restrictionist unity showed growing cracks. While their constituents overwhelmingly continued to oppose the admission of Missouri with slavery, Northern congressmen began to waver in the face of charges of Federalist plotting, Southern threats to withdraw from the Union, and "the influence of the Palace." To secure support from recalcitrant Northerners, the president and his associates employed moral suasion, bullying and removals, political favors and lucrative public offices. A close reading of contemporary accounts reveals James Monroe as a master of persuasion, but most discreet. Despite his activism, Monroe's historical image remains that of a cautious strict constructionist.

On 12 February, when pro- and anti-restriction sentiment reached a fever pitch, Senator Rufus King took the floor of the Senate and delivered an antislavery speech so stinging that, according to John Quincy Adams, slaveholders "gnawed their lips and clenched their fists as they heard him." King repudiated "all laws and compacts" supporting slavery as "absolutely void, because contrary to the law of nature." Thus did he solidify his reputation as the South's most dangerous foe. Four days later the Senate approved the Thomas Amendment, barring slavery above 36° 30'. On 2 March, after three weeks of furiously escalating rhetoric and action (including fervent nationalist Henry Clay's declaration that he would "go home and raise troops, if necessary"), the House voted 90 to 87 to strike the slavery restriction from the Missouri statehood bill, and 134 to 42 to accept the compromise line. "I consider myself and associates as conquered," Rufus King lamented. "The slave States, with their free corps, have subdued us." Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, an opponent of compromise, nonetheless exulted that the South considered it "a great triumph." Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, after a discussion with Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, portentously observed of slaveholders, "The discussion of this Missouri question has betrayed the secret of their souls."

However, not all opponents of slavery were mournful, nor perhaps had slaveholders betrayed all their secrets. Speaker Taylor wrote to his wife, "We have gained all that was possible, if not all that was desired," calling the outcome "an ample recompense for all the time and labour it has cost us." The author of the original restriction, James Tallmadge, wrote his colleague Taylor that news of the vote "gives great Joy," adding, "You have in this business a monument to your fame." After receiving a unanimous opinion from his cabinet that the bill passed constitutional muster, President Monroe signed it on 4 March 1820.

Many Northerners, however, continued to oppose statehood for Missouri, and the July 1820 draft constitution of the territory, which barred free blacks and mulattos from the state, gave opponents the grounds they needed to reopen the controversy: they viewed the measure as an unconstitutional violation of the rights of black citizens of other states under the rights and privileges clause (Art. IV, Sec. 2) of the Constitution. The opening of the Seventeenth Congress witnessed another fractious stalemate, mirroring the previous year's discord. In the end, Henry Clay led a hand-picked joint House-Senate committee in drafting a deliberately ambiguous resolution declaring that the antiblack clause in Missouri's constitution should never be construed as violating the constitutional rights of any citizen. Though in fact designed to be construed differently in different sections, this language, if interpreted consistently, implied that either Missouri's restriction was in fact unconstitutional or black citizens of other states affected by it were not citizens of the federal government. Although, as a New Hampshire newspaper bitterly observed, "a child might penetrate the flimsiness of the evasion" inherent in the compromise language, the exhausted House members narrowly adopted Clay's compromise on 26 February 1821 and a week later voted to admit Missouri to statehood.

It is not clear how much the election of John Quincy Adams in 1824 was influenced by the controversy. The election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 and the rise of the Democratic Party constituted setbacks to the policy of containing slavery, which the compromise was designed to promote. Yet the Arkansas statehood bill (1836) generated a nearly equal sectional showdown between the House and Senate, as did the Wilmot Proviso a decade later, demonstrating the continued explosiveness of the slavery issue. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 galvanized antislavery sentiment and spurred the formation of the Republican Party. The Supreme Court's decision in *Dred Scott* that the compromise was unconstitutional helped to trigger the Civil War. Thus if the short-term impact of the Missouri Compromise is difficult to assess, in the long run it must be viewed as a decisive setback to slavery and the cornerstone of a later free-state majority.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Antislavery; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Presidency, The: James Madison; Proslavery Thought; Slavery: Overview; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brown, Everett S. *The Missouri Compromises and Presidential Politics, 1820–1825: From the Letters of William Plumer, Jr., Representative of New Hampshire.* St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1926.

Brown, Richard H. "The Missouri Crisis, Slavery, and the Politics of Jacksonianism." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 65 (winter 1966): 55–72.

Dangerfield, George. *The Era of Good Feelings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1952.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The South and Three Sectional Crises.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

Forbes, Robert P. "Slavery and the Meaning of America, 1819–1833." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994.

Moore, Glover. *The Missouri Controversy, 1819–1821.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953.

Shoemaker, Floyd. *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804–1821.* Jefferson City, Mo.: Hugh Stevens, 1916.

*Robert P. Forbes*

**MONEY**  *See* **Currency and Coinage.**

**MONROE, JAMES**    James Monroe (1758–1831) was a soldier, lawyer, state legislator, ratification convention delegate, governor, diplomat, U.S. representative and senator, secretary of war, secretary of state, and fifth president of the United States. Monroe was born on 28 April 1758 in Tidewater Virginia's Westmoreland County to respectable but not prominent parents. He was fortunate, however, in his maternal uncle, Joseph Jones. This childless uncle stood alongside the other Patriot leaders of the colonial House of Burgesses and ultimately sat in the Continental Congress and on Virginia's highest court. He took young James under his wing and encouraged the nephew's political inclinations.

### EARLY POLITICAL CAREER

Monroe attended the finest school in the colony, Rev. Archibald Campbell's Campbelltown Academy, beginning at age eleven. He then became the first in his line to attend the College of William and Mary when he matriculated in 1774, but his schooling was interrupted by the Revolution. Monroe enlisted in the American forces along with many of his classmates.

Monroe's service in the Revolution earned him respect as a war hero. Particularly noteworthy was his role in the Battle of Trenton on 26 December 1776, during which he helped lead a cavalry charge that captured enemy guns well positioned to command the chief road into town. Monroe received a severe wound in helping to ensure one of the Americans' most conspicuous victories of the entire war.

Upon returning to the College of William and Mary in 1780, Monroe began to read law under Governor Thomas Jefferson. Their personal association would reach fruition in the late 1790s, when Monroe bought a plantation two miles from Monticello.

In 1782 Monroe entered the House of Delegates, which elected him to the Confederation Congress the



**James Monroe.** The fifth president of the United States, shown in a lithograph (c. 1828) based on a portrait by Gilbert Stuart. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

following year. Much of Monroe's attention in Congress was devoted to issues related to Virginia's western lands claims. Although he grew sympathetic to nationalists' demands that the Confederation government be strengthened, from early on his attachment to the United States included a tincture of the states' rights creed that he, Jefferson, and James Madison later would elevate into the centerpiece of their party's dogma.

Monroe's support for federal reform left him disappointed in the Virginia General Assembly's omission of his name from its distinguished roster of Constitutional Convention delegates at Philadelphia in 1787. Close attention to Virginia's interests, particularly in regard to the western lands and to the apportionment of the new U.S. Senate, drove him into opposition in the Virginia ratifying convention of 1788. It was Monroe who wrote after the state's convention that George Washington's influence had narrowly won the day for the Federalists. Attempting to secure membership in the first U.S. House of Representatives, Monroe lost a hard-fought election to his friend James Madison, the intellectual leader of the new Constitution's advocates in the Old Dominion.

## BECOMING A REPUBLICAN

By the end of 1790, Monroe had been elected by the General Assembly to the U.S. Senate, where he soon became one of the leaders of the developing opposition to Alexander Hamilton's Federalist program. At the same time, Monroe staked out a position of strong support for the French Revolution. Thus, when the French government requested the recall of Gouverneur Morris, the U.S. minister to France, President Washington nominated Monroe to replace him in 1794.

In France, Monroe made notorious statements in support of a revolution that had become a bloody debacle. Secretary of State Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts finally insisted that he be recalled, and Washington did so in September 1796.

On his return, Monroe found himself quite popular among Republicans. Defensively, Monroe published a volume of official papers with a self-exculpatory introduction; he also took the opportunity to attack Federalist foreign policy.

In 1799 Monroe was requited for his dutiful Republicanism when, on Madison's nomination, the General Assembly elected him to the first of three consecutive one-year terms as governor. As governor, he presided over the delicate work of limiting the political impact of Gabriel's Rebellion, the largest known slave conspiracy in Virginia history until that time, which broke out in the capital of Richmond in the run-up to the pivotal election of 1800. Monroe also prepared the Virginia militia to intervene in case the presidential imbroglio of 1800 did not turn out in Jefferson's favor.

## DIPLOMAT AND CABINET MEMBER

In 1803 Monroe was one of two negotiators who exploited Napoléon Bonaparte's unexpected willingness to part with his North American empire by accepting the proffered region that became the Louisiana Territory. The resulting treaty is usually regarded as Jefferson's foremost achievement as president, but in actuality diplomatic brilliance had little to do with it. It simply fell into the Americans' lap.

Before his return to America in 1807, Monroe conducted fruitless negotiations with Spain in 1805; he and fellow negotiator William Pinkney concluded a treaty with Great Britain in 1806, but Secretary of State James Madison considered it inadequate (as did President Jefferson). Monroe believed that Madison and Jefferson's purpose was to deny Monroe the acclaim he believed the treaty would have brought him, and he allowed dissident Virginia Republicans to promote his presidential candidacy in preference to Madison in 1808; his candidacy, though, came to naught.

Early in his administration, Madison offered Monroe the governorship of Louisiana Territory, which Monroe refused. Instead, Monroe returned to the General Assembly in 1810 and was elevated to the governorship again in January 1811. In March 1811 Madison appointed Monroe secretary of state. When the War of 1812 broke out, Monroe and his political allies were certain that Madison's rejection of his treaty with Britain underlay most of America's diplomatic troubles, but Monroe soldiered on.

Secretary of State Monroe personally scouted the Chesapeake region to ascertain British troop movements in 1814, which symbolized the disaster that Republican foreign and defense policy had become. When the secretary of war resigned in the wake of Washington's capture by British forces, Monroe became secretary of war in 1814; soon thereafter, he was reappointed secretary of state as well. Resigning the secretary of war position in 1815, he considered himself Madison's logical successor.

## PRESIDENCY

Monroe took office in 1817 after carrying all but three states—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware—in the 1816 election. He appointed a very talented group of cabinet secretaries, headed by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and, in time, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun. His administration was notable for five developments: the Missouri Crisis, the Monroe Doctrine, the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, the Supreme Court's decision in the 1819 case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*, and the virtual demise of the Federalist Party.

The Missouri Crisis of 1819–1821 found Monroe and Calhoun playing the unusual role of southerners willing to compromise the issue of slavery in the territories. While southern members of Congress nearly unanimously opposed the eventual Missouri Compromise, Calhoun and Monroe both considered it a positive development. Their primary interest lay in ending the dispute over slavery in the western territories rather than in ensuring the prospects for slavery in the enormous Louisiana Territory that Monroe had helped to purchase from France.

The Monroe Doctrine, central to American foreign policy since it was proclaimed, warned European powers to keep their hands off New World territories. It was issued in response to assertions of independence by Spain's former colonies in mainland Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine demonstrated boldness and daring. The United States had first re-

jected a British proposal for a joint statement of policy. Then, although it had no power to enforce its position at the time, the United States issued the Monroe Doctrine alone. From that day onward, the United States would feel free to intervene in opposition to European involvement in American territory south of Canada.

Finally, Federalism, long in decline and extremely weak in the election of 1816, virtually disappeared from the national stage by 1820. Monroe secured reelection with all but one electoral vote, and it seems that that elector's anti-Monroe stance flowed rather more from personal animus than from political opposition. Little could Monroe have realized at the time that his second term would be marred by the contest for the presidency.

All of Monroe's cabinet secretaries, the Speaker of the House, and General Andrew Jackson—America's war hero du jour—fancied themselves his successor. Their political maneuvering went so far as coordinating obstruction of each other's policy proposals in Congress. Monroe, meanwhile, believed himself barely suited to his high charge, confiding at a private dinner at Jefferson's Monticello that he was not intellectually fit for the post.

### RETIREMENT

When Monroe retired from the presidency, he returned to Virginia in relative poverty. Therefore, he became a symbol of republican rectitude for those, such as Calhoun, who thought that the succession in 1825 ultimately had been decided by what he and others called a "corrupt bargain." Monroe's political retirement was interrupted only when he served as the titular president of the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829–1830. There, in an echo of his performance during the Missouri Crisis, he stood for compromise between Virginia's warring democratic and aristocratic sections.

James Monroe's death on 4 July 1831 came on an appropriate day, exactly five years after that of his political mentor, Jefferson. Monroe was both the last president to have played a part in the American Revolution and the only anti-Federalist to serve as president. While he was always a more practical, less philosophically inclined man than either of his two immediate predecessors (and in this he resembled the other Revolutionary warrior who held the presidency, George Washington), he was certainly a more successful president.

*See also* **Anti-Federalists; Democratic Republicans; Madison, James; Missouri Compromise; Monroe Doctrine; Virginia; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ammon, Harry. *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Presidency of James Monroe.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996.

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Horn, James, Jan Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Sutton, Robert P. *Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989.

*Kevin R. C. Gutzman*

**MONROE DOCTRINE**  From a historians perspective, President James Monroe's proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine—consisting of three paragraphs in his annual message to Congress of December 1823—was perhaps one of the most important moments in nineteenth-century American diplomacy. At the time, however, its significance was not obvious. Within just a few years, it had been largely forgotten, and it would not be taken up again until the 1840s, when it was first referred to as the "Monroe Doctrine."

President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams crafted the doctrine as the American response to recent European developments. In the spring of 1823 French troops, authorized by the Holy Alliance of European monarchs, had entered Spain to topple the three-year-old constitutional government and restore King Ferdinand VII to absolute rule. It seemed likely that the Holy Alliance would continue to support Ferdinand by providing military and financial assistance to help him resubjugate his rebellious American colonies. Some Americans even worried that the allies' wars against republican government would eventually extend to the United States. In August, the British foreign secretary, George Canning, proposed to the American minister in London, Richard Rush, an Anglo-American declaration opposing any allied assistance for Spain against its colonies and disavowing any interest in acquiring Spain's colonies for themselves. Over the same months, moreover, evidence mounted that Russia intended to extend its colonial presence along the Pacific Coast of North America.

Rush's report of Canning's proposal reached Washington in early October and formed the principal topic for often-divisive cabinet discussions during November. Historians have offered various explanations of the divisions within the cabinet over the appropriate response to the European developments and the British proposal, ranging from conflicting assessments of the real danger to competing aspirations in the approaching presidential election of 1824. According to Adams's diary (the only internal account of the cabinet meetings), President Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun leaned toward accepting the British proposal in some form because they genuinely feared an allied assault upon Spanish America. Adams, in contrast, pressed for a unilateral response that would preserve American freedom of action, both in the current crisis and in the future. By taking its stand in the message to Congress rather than through a joint statement with Great Britain, the administration adopted, at least publicly, a position more consistent with Adams's views.

The Monroe Doctrine included three key points. In a section that was directed primarily at Russia, it asserted that the Western Hemisphere was closed to further colonization. Two other paragraphs warned that the European powers should not interfere in New World affairs and pledged that the United States would not interfere in European affairs. By responding to the European threat and the British proposal unilaterally, the administration avoided either entangling the United States with Great Britain or foreswearing future expansion at Spain's expense, particularly in Cuba. It also preserved the diplomatic position enjoyed by the United States in the New World as the only established nation that had formally recognized the independence of the rebellious colonies.

Monroe's message was wildly popular at home and among the new nations of Spanish America. But it was largely ignored in Europe, where quiet Anglo-French diplomacy had already defused the crisis even as Monroe's cabinet debated its response. While European developments never required a decision about whether and how to make good on the doctrine, some of the Spanish American governments viewed it as a new pledge of American commitment on their behalf and called upon the administration for assistance. Colombia, and later Mexico, hoped to use Monroe's message to leverage military support—probably aid rather than ships or troops out of the United States—as well as diplomatic support. They pointed to the continuing Spanish denial of their independence and, in the case of Colombia, to French

diplomatic pressures. Monroe and Adams quickly and quietly backed off from their bold stance as they responded to these calls for assistance. When Adams's secretary of state, Henry Clay, referred to Monroe's "memorable pledge" in diplomatic correspondence regarding Mexico, he triggered a fierce backlash in Congress. By the end of Adams's presidency in March 1829, the doctrine had been abandoned.

Scholars have differed over the significance of the Monroe Doctrine in the minds of those who shaped it, describing the doctrine as little more than an attempt to curry favor with American voters; one element of a complex and flexible response to international developments; or a bold blueprint for American empire in the New World. Ultimately, it neither prevented a European invasion nor checked British influence in Spanish America nor established American dominance in the New World. It did, however, testify to a deep fear that the spread of European influence, institutions, and principles in the New World would threaten the United States.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Monroe, James.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Combs, Jerald A. "The Origins of the Monroe Doctrine: A Survey of Interpretations by United States Historians." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 27 (1981): 186–196.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

May, Ernest R. *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Perkins, Dexter. *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823–1826.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927.

*James E. Lewis Jr.*

**MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS** Historical monuments, particularly those erected publicly rather than on family plots in cemeteries, not only tell their manifest stories but also reveal something of the ideas dominant when they went up. In the new nation monuments went up slowly at first, revealing either an ideological bent against such memorials—Americans having toppled the statue of King George III in New York City during the Revolutionary War—or perhaps a shortage of sculptors. Fewer than twen-

of granite, begun in 1823, was not dedicated until 1843.

The first monument to bear the names of ordinary enlisted men who fell was at Lexington, Massachusetts. During the war, two to four times as many men died on board twenty-two prison ships in New York harbor as died in battle throughout the conflict. In 1808 the Tammany Society finished a vault holding some of these remains, and a century later the Society of Old Brooklynites put up a monument to these victims of war in Fort Greene Park.

### REMEMBERING THE FOUNDERS

More early monuments honor George Washington or the War of 1812. Probably the first statue of Washington was by William Sullivan in wood in 1792. Brightly painted, it stood in Bowling Green Square in lower Manhattan until 1843, adorned a barbershop for a while, and eventually moved to the Delaware Historical Society. In the 1820s statues of Washington appeared at the state capitols of Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Virginia, and atop the Washington Monument in Baltimore. Now they are everywhere, often put up by Masons. Perhaps the silliest Washington monument, at least to modern eyes, was Horatio Greenough's oversize 1830s sculpture showing Washington semi-nude and built like a Greek god. By 1908 it had become an embarrassment and was removed from the Capitol grounds to the basement of the National Museum of American History.

In 1792 a life-size marble statue of Benjamin Franklin went up in Philadelphia; around this time, the Italian sculptor Giuseppe Ceracchi began a series of busts of other founders. A marble Italianate column commemorating America's naval war with Tripoli went up in Washington, D.C., in 1807, but wound up at the Naval Academy. In the 1820s other Italians sculpted classical statues of *War*, *Peace*, and *The Genius of America* for the Capitol. As the century wore on, American sculptors began to get more of these commissions, previously monopolized by Italians and other Europeans.

In the 1840s and 1850s more monuments were erected, honoring national founders including Virginia's Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Mason, but also local heroes such as the Palmetto Regiment in South Carolina and King Gambrinus, the Patron of Brewing, in of course Milwaukee. At about this time, ethnic groups began literally to make their appearance on the landscape, each choosing their hero from among Revolutionary War figures. Thus Casimir Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, is memorialized

**The Washington Monument in Baltimore, Maryland.** Baltimore's monument to George Washington, designed by Robert Mills, was built between 1815 and 1829. Enrico Causici designed the sculpture of Washington that stands on the top of the tower. © RICHARD T. NOWITZ/CORBIS.

ty public monuments built before 1830 appear in the Smithsonian Inventory of American Sculpture, admittedly an incomplete list.

### REMEMBERING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Americans were slow to commemorate the soldiers and sailors of the Revolution, compared to the dispatch with which they put up monuments after the War of 1812, the Civil War (Union side), the Spanish American or Philippines Wars, and World War I. On Beacon Hill in 1790, Bostonians erected a Doric column designed by Charles Bulfinch and topped by a golden (wooden) eagle, but they had to take it down twenty-one years later because they had removed too much of the hill as landfill. Joseph Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill, got a Tuscan pillar in 1794, but it too did not last. The Bunker Hill obelisk, 221 feet

in Savannah, Georgia, where he died of wounds, by a monument whose cornerstone was laid by Lafayette during his triumphal 1824–1825 tour of America; in Washington, D.C., by a monument put up by Polish Americans; and in Buffalo, Philadelphia, and Meriden and Hartford, Connecticut—all with sizable Polish American populations. Thaddeus Kosciusko, a Polish Patriot, is on the landscape at West Point (1829) and Saratoga, where he served, and Chicago, the last surely owing to that city's Polish population. Baron von Steuben, a Prussian captain, made an appearance in 1870 in Utica, New York (where he died after the war), in Washington, D.C., at the site of the Battle of Monmouth in New Jersey, where he played a major role, and at Valley Forge, where the National German American Alliance rather desperately tried to connect Americans and Germans in 1915.

Similarly, Irish Americans supported a monument to Commodore John Barry in Philadelphia and African Americans supported one to Crispus Attucks in Boston. Today we take for granted the glorification of Attucks as the "first casualty of the American Revolution." In 1888, however, when the black community of Boston after decades of struggle sparked the erection of the Boston Massacre monument, members of the Massachusetts Historical Society declared him "not a fit candidate for monumental honors." Attucks was a rebel, but more African Americans sided with the British, who offered them freedom; it seems nothing on the landscape tells their story.

Christians also latched onto the founders, sometimes distorting history in the process. The Washington Memorial Chapel at Valley Forge, begun in 1903, is dominated by two matched sets of stained-glass windows—one depicting the life of Jesus Christ, the other the life of George Washington. In the central opening over the door, Washington kneels in prayer at Valley Forge. In the early twenty-first century some fundamentalist Christians claim the United States was founded as a Christian nation, whereas others acknowledge that Franklin, Jefferson, and some other founders were more Deist or Unitarian than Christian.

### CONTROVERSIES

Monuments seem silent, consensual, and faithful—history written in stone. But some monuments commemorating early American figures or events, like their late-twentieth-century counterparts in eastern Europe, have been scenes of turbulence. In 1879 transatlantic-cable magnate Cyrus Field erected a monument to Major John André, a British spy in the Revolutionary War, in Tappan, New York, where he was executed, but angry patriots toppled it three times. An 1889 statue of an earlier founder, John Mason, adorned the site in Mystic, Connecticut, where he led British colonists in exterminating the major village of the Pequots, but in the 1990s remnants and supporters of the Pequots finally got it removed to a less offensive location near his original home site. A zinc obelisk to Tom Quick, erected because he killed perhaps ninety-nine Native Americans to avenge the 1756 death of his father, stood in Milford, Pennsylvania, until vandalized with a sledgehammer in 1997.

Other monuments of the early nation need some turbulence. On both sides of Lake Champlain, a standing Samuel de Champlain towers over a kneeling Native American. These monuments exemplify "hieratic art"—"hier" as in hierarchy—for Champlain is fully clothed with cloak and cape, while the Indian is almost naked. Depending on the weather on that spring day in 1609 when Native Americans showed him the lake he "discovered," either the Indian was shivering or Champlain was sweating. Of course, it never happened that way; the clothing is simply a way to contrast "primitive" (naked) and "civilized" (clothed).

A 1929 monument in Aurora, New York, commemorates Sullivan's Raid: "Routes of the armies of Gen. John Sullivan and James Clinton, 1779, An Expedition against the hostile Indian nations which checked the aggressions of the English and Indians on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, extending westward the dominion of the United States." In reality, "the aggressions" were largely American. Washington instructed Sullivan "that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed. . . . You will not by any means, listen to any overture of peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected." Afterward, Sullivan reported, "We have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the [Iroquois] Five Nations." Perhaps New York might encourage Native Americans to erect a historical marker nearby, providing some of these details.

### ABSENCES

Enormous gaps in the public history of America's early years remain. For example, up to 80 percent of the budget during Washington's presidency was consumed by Indian warfare, especially the Ohio wars, yet it is hard to glean an inkling of these campaigns from the landscape. Although Abigail Adams gets a cairn and statue in Quincy, Massachusetts, and Martha Washington gets on the landscape in

several places, the roles women played in the forming of the nation are not well memorialized. In Zionsville, Indiana, for example, a state historical marker reads, "Patrick H. Sullivan, 1794–1879, was the first white settler in Boone County, 1823, and built the first log cabin." In reality, Sullivan entered what is now Boone County accompanied by his wife. Most assuredly, since the first thing a man needs when building a log cabin is someone on the other end of the log, *they* built the first log cabin. Such distortions make a difference: even in the postfeminist era, we still do not typically think of women as log-cabin builders. Yet they were.

With the rise of organized labor in the late nineteenth century have come monuments and memorials put up by unions. By contrast, the working class in the early nation goes largely uncommemorated. Massachusetts has erected two monuments to Daniel Shays and his revolt, in Sheffield and Pelham.

Perhaps the hardest single thing for Americans to face in all their storied past is slavery. Everywhere monuments honor slave owners, but the s-word usually goes unwritten. Also nearly invisible is the role of the slave trade, domestic or international, including the triangular trade, which included New England. A small stone titled "Old Slave Block" in Fredericksburg, Virginia, is one of the few sites across America that recognizes a place where people were bought and sold. New Orleans marks no slave auction site, although in some years more people went on the block there than anywhere else in the United States. No memorial reminds Americans that until 1850, slaves were sold in several public areas in Washington, D.C., including at what is now Union Station. In Lower Manhattan a historical marker tells where the first stock market stood, but no marker mentions the first slave market, which stood just across the street. In downtown Philadelphia a historic marker does tell of the slave market at the London Coffee House. Charlottesville, Virginia, has a plaque indicating that an auction block had stood nearby, and a memorial in Charleston, South Carolina, marks the slave market.

In the aftermath of the Revolution, Congress did face slavery, banning it from the Northwest Territory, but that prohibition had loopholes and was not well enforced. Shortly after Illinois became a state, proponents of slavery tried to amend its constitution to allow slavery. Had they succeeded, American history might have been very different, for the free states would have been blocked from the West by slave states stretching from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico. Governor Edward Coles, a planter turned abolitionist, organized the opposition, defeating the referendum in 1824. A monument south of Edwardsville erected a century later commemorates Coles, "who by steadfastness and courage kept slavery out of the constitution of Illinois."

Some Americans think the founders banned the international slave trade in the Constitution; actually, they did just the reverse, guaranteeing it against abolition until 1808. In that year Congress did ban the trade, but for the next fifty-three years, to 1861, law enforcement officials in many parts of the country turned a blind eye. As with Prohibition or the later drug trade, the criminalization of slave importation, coupled with erratic enforcement, ensured that it would be profitable by increasing the price differential of slaves in the United States compared to West Africa or Cuba. Tucked away next to a vending machine in a side room at Fort Gaines, Alabama, is almost the only spot on the American landscape that acknowledges the illegal international trade: some timbers from the *Clotilde*, which entered Mobile Bay with an illicit cargo in July 1860. Except for these timbers, a mess kettle on display at Georgia's Jekyll Island State Park from the *Wanderer* (a slave ship that landed there in 1858), and increasing attention to *Amistad* in coastal Connecticut, monuments and memorials ignore this trade.

Slave revolts also go largely unremarked. Possibly the largest single revolt in United States history began on 8 January 1811, near Laplace, Louisiana, west of New Orleans. African Americans killed at least two whites and marched down the river road toward New Orleans, pillaging and killing as they went. At every plantation others joined until they numbered in the hundreds. Two days later, U.S. troops attacked with muskets and cannon, killing at least sixty-six resisters in the fighting or the aftermath. The event has no memorial, however, and Laplace refused to put up a historical marker mentioning it as suggested by the state.

### SLAVERY AND PUBLIC HISTORY

In 1848 construction began on America's tallest single monument to a person, the Washington Monument in the capital. Its scale implies the greatness of the nation. Work stalled in 1854, however, not to resume until the end of Reconstruction. The stoppage line, still visible, is emblematic of America's waning ability to unite behind major undertakings as the Civil War approached. A nearby landmark, "Freedom," the bronze woman atop the Capitol, also bears witness to the growing division. The sculptor's prototype wore a "Liberty Cap," worn by freed slaves in

ancient Rome. As a slave owner, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, the power behind the Buchanan administration, objected. He suggested stars overlaid by an eagle's head and feathers; most tourists infer she is a Plains Indian.

One of America's most famous monuments received its iconic name in the late 1830s. The bell that hung in the Pennsylvania State House when the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence bore a Bible verse: "Proclaim LIBERTY throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants thereof." Delighted by the verse, abolitionists christened the bell the Liberty Bell. During the 1840s and 1850s they adopted the bell as a symbol, to the discomfort of those who wished the issue of slavery would go away. The movement for black freedom inspired America's other iconic monument, the Statue of Liberty. Its creation in 1886 stemmed from connections forged during the Civil War between American abolitionists and the French Anti–Slavery Society. Hence her name, and hence the broken chains at her feet.

The Jefferson Memorial, constructed during the presidency of Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt, also shows distortion resulting from conflict over slavery. Its third panel of quotations, which the National Park Service describes as "devoted to his ideas on freedom of the body and to his beliefs in the necessity of educating the masses of the people," is a hodgepodge of quotations from widely different periods in Jefferson's life. The effect of this medley is to create the impression that Thomas Jefferson was very nearly an abolitionist. In their original contexts, the same quotations reveal a Jefferson conflicted about slavery—at times its critic, often its apologist. Neither the memorial's designers nor the Park Service in its videos and handouts seem willing to accurately present Jefferson's views on slavery.

### CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

After more than two centuries, Americans are still revising their views of the events and individuals that shaped the new nation. Voices of women, African Americans, and Native Americans, often not heard when early memorials were built, now vie for attention. Americans continue to change how they commemorate these events and individuals on the landscape. Von Steuben's monument at the Battle of Monmouth was dedicated in 2004, for example. Also in 2004, Milford, Pennsylvania, announced it would reerect its monument to Tom Quick. A National Slavery Museum is planned for 2007 near Fredericksburg, Virginia; it will perhaps fill some of the gaps in the treatment of the slave trade in the new nation. Controversies over the public history of the nation will not soon abate, and surely these debates make Americans better informed about their past.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; Architecture: Public; Art and American Nationhood; Cemeteries and Burial; Founding Fathers; Revolution: European Participation; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Washington, D.C.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cray, Robert E., Jr. "The John André Memorial: The Politics of Memory in Gilded Age New York." *New York History* 77, no.1 (January 1996): 5–32.

Goode, James M. *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.: A Comprehensive Historical Guide.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1974.

Loewen, James W. *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong.* New York: New Press, 1999.

Mayo, James M. *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond.* New York: Praeger, 1988.

Piehler, G. Kurt. *Remembering War the American Way.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1995.

*James W. Loewen*

**MORAVIANS**   After an aborted colonizing effort in Savannah, Georgia, in 1735, the Moravians came to British North America in 1741 to stay. In that year, this Saxony-based pietistic sect founded Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, a communal town that became the center of an ambitious missionary effort in America.

This effort had two components. One was to introduce the gospel of Jesus Christ to Indians and slaves. The second was to reenergize Christianity by bringing the "new birth" to both the churched and unchurched.

Followers of the reformer Jan Hus founded the Moravian movement in Lititz, Moravia, in 1457. Disillusioned with a Catholic Church they saw as corrupt, they sought to emulate the early Christians by living a life of simple piety. Membership totaled more than 200,000 on the eve of the Counter-Reformation. The Moravian Church, also known as the Unitas Fratrum (Unity of Brethren), grew so large in Moravia and Bohemia that it became a threat to the Roman Catholic Church and was driven underground. In 1722, refugees from Moravia arrived

at the estate of Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf in Berthelsdorf, Germany; under the guidance of Zinzendorf, the Moravian movement revived and prospered, becoming the largest pietistic sect in the Western Hemisphere and leaving its mark in architecture, in music, in education, and on Wesleyan Methodism.

In 1727, the Moravians began sending missionaries to Europe, Greenland, Africa, the Caribbean, and the Americas for work among blacks, Indians, and whites. The "Diaspora," Zinzendorf's term for the effort to win over Christians to "heart" religion, was at the center of the count's ecumenical vision. Fanning out from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Moravian missionaries attracted a following of nearly two thousand people in the northern colonies by 1760, and Moravians there established congregations as far south as Carrollton Manor, Maryland, and as far north as Broadbay, Maine. In 1753, the Moravians established a southern colony as well: a 98,895-acre community in backcountry North Carolina called Wachovia.

The Moravian movement consisted of two settlement types. The first was known as *Ortsgemeinen*, or congregation towns, where church leaders restricted residency to full-time church members and expected inhabitants completely to devote their lives to Jesus and the church. The church owned the land and tightly controlled the economy and the residents' social lives. The second settlement type was the *Landgemeinen*, or farm congregations. In the *Landgemeinen*, diverse groups of German- and English-speaking settlers from a variety of religious backgrounds lived on dispersed family farms with less oversight from church authorities. By 1800, Wachovia's population totaled twelve hundred pilgrims, 88 percent of whom were German speakers from Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian traditions. The remaining 12 percent were Anglo-Americans, Scots-Irish, Irish, and others.

The ecumenicalism of the Moravian movement produced complex cultural change in the early Republic. The conversion experience enabled "reborn" brethren to forge close friendships with members of different ethnicities that led to intermarriage and the lessening of ethnic and social differences. Religiously inspired intermixing, in turn, set off a wave of cultural change among German and English speakers that resulted ultimately in the Americanizing of German-speaking members.

*See also* **Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities; Immigration and Immigrants: Germans; Methodists; Pietists.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Rohrer, S. Scott. *Hope's Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Smaby, Beverly Prior. *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

*S. Scott Rohrer*

**MORMONISM, ORIGINS OF** Although the Mormon church, officially known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was not founded until 6 April 1830, many of its formative events occurred in the 1820s, a decade that saw major social, economic, political, and religious changes in the new nation. Joseph Smith Jr., the founder of the new religion, experienced many of these as an impressionable youth. Born 23 December 1805 in Sharon, Vermont, young Joseph joined his family in their move to a farm near Palmyra, New York, in 1816 in search of economic opportunity. This region of western New York, soon to be traversed by the Erie Canal, came to be known as the "Burned-over District" because of its intense religious revivals. The Smith family experienced these enthusiasms, which touched the village of Palmyra in the early 1820s, with the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and the Society of Friends (Quakers) competing for the allegiance of the residents. Young Joseph, in his early teens, found the conflicting claims of the various denominations confusing. His mother, Lucy Mack Smith, attended Presbyterian services, while his father, Joseph Sr., avoided all religious affiliation. Unable to make up his mind, the boy retreated to a grove on his father's farm, and in a simple prayer asked God for help. In his report to his parents of what transpired in the grove, he said that he was astonished by a pillar of light in which he beheld a divine personage, of whom he inquired what church he should join. Joseph Jr. received the answer that he should not affiliate with any, all of them having turned away from the gospel and having failed to keep the commandments of the Lord. Several years passed before young Smith had another revelation. In 1823, when he was seventeen, an "angel" who called himself Moroni told Joseph about a record on plates of gold containing the history of ancient inhabitants of North America. Although the plates, Joseph was told, were buried in a hill near his father's farm, it was not until four years later, on the night of 22 September 1827, that he was allowed to remove them along with instructions for

---

### AUTHORSHIP AND SOURCES OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

Virtually from the day of its publication, the authorship and sources of the Book of Mormon became issues of controversy. Alexander Campbell (1788–1866), a founder of the Disciples of Christ, charged that the book was a figment of Joseph Smith's imagination, comprising within a fanciful story a pastiche of many of the religious opinions of his time—an interpretation supported by prominent biographer Fawn M. Brodie in *No Man Knows My History* (1945). Others charged that the Book of Mormon was plagiarized—either from an unpublished work by Solomon Spaulding dealing with the Israelite origins of the American Indians or from a story by Ethan Smith, *Views of the Hebrews; or, The Ten Tribes of Israel in America* (1823). Modern scholars have rejected the charge of plagiarism, concluding that Smith was indeed the author of the Book of Mormon.

Those unable or unwilling to believe in its divine origins have advanced a number of theories regarding the sources Smith might have used to produce the book—virtually all of them conceding the author's fertile imagi-nation. Brodie suggested that the work was a kind of veiled autobiography, an idea pursued by a number of scholars near the turn of the twenty-first century. In *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (1994), Joseph L. Brooke has documented occult and hermetic influences that can be traced to the New England ancestry of the Smith family, while Clyde R. Forsberg Jr.'s *Equal Rites: The Book of Mormon, Masonry, Gender, and American Culture* (2004) has argued that the Book of Mormon can be read as a Masonic monitor of the Templar persuasion. An interpretation by a non-Mormon scholar that has been embraced by many Mormons is that of Jan Shipps in *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (1985). Shipps has shifted the focus from the "prophet or fraud" debate to the way the Book of Mormons is understood by believers, who see in it the replication of the biblical story, which was part of nineteenth-century American culture.

*Klaus J. Hansen*

---

their translation. With divine aid he dictated the translation, first some short passages to his wife, Emma, thereafter the major portion to a young schoolteacher, Oliver Cowdery. In March 1830 the Palmyra newspaper announced the publication of the Book of Mormon. The founding of the church followed shortly thereafter.

The essential message of the Book of Mormon was that God had revealed himself to the inhabitants of the New World as well as those of the Old. Analogous to the Bible in style and message, the book appealed to a people familiar with a biblical culture, while bringing certainty to an age in which religious pluralism caused confusion and insecurity to many, such as the Smith family. According to the Book of Mormon, Christ appeared to the inhabitants of the American continent after his crucifixion, teaching the Gospel to the ancestors of the modern Indians. The German church historian Peter Meinhold has suggested that the Book of Mormon was the folk expression of an American historical consciousness. Historian Mario DePillis has argued that Mormonism represented a search for religious authority. In the opinion of some leading scholars, evangelical religion—by encouraging religious pluralism—was the logical expression of a democratic culture and compatible with an emerging "market revolution." However, many people found such changes disorienting and threatening. Some may have sought refuge in the certainties of Mormonism. These may have been among the reasons why Mormonism became the most successful new religion originating in early nineteenth-century America.

*See also* **Religion: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Richard L. *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1984.

Hansen, Klaus J. *Mormonism and the American Experience.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1981.

Shipps, Jan. *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1985.

*Klaus J. Hansen*

# MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

In October 1784 the dyspeptic painter Robert Edge Pine (1730–1788) opened a gallery in Philadelphia where for twenty-five cents admission, his great allegorical canvas, *America*, along with depictions of scenes from Shakespeare, could be seen. Recently arrived from England, Pine intended eventually to expand his gallery to include portraits of political and military heroes of the new United States and historical paintings of "the most illustrious scenes of the late Revolution." His efforts met with a warm reception. With the patronage of Samuel Vaughan, he was soon awarded rent-free rooms in the State House, a tacit acknowledgment of the value of his works to the nation.

## MUSEUMS

Pine's short-lived gallery was among the first in a burgeoning number of museums and historical societies that sprang up during the first fifty years of the Republic, a period in which Americans sought to construct and reconstruct memories of their new nation. Motivated by commercial gain, self-promotion, nationalism, and a desire to promote civic virtue and a stable social order, Americans converged on the idea of collecting, preserving, and displaying their past and present for public consumption.

During the colonial era, "cabinets" of natural curiosities and "philosophical apparatus" were largely private affairs, though some could be found at colleges or were associated with scholarly organizations. None of these cabinets, however, adopted the broad educational aims or nationalist aspirations of the museums that came in the wake of the Revolution. The quintessential museum of the early national period, and one of the earliest museums in America, was founded in 1786 by the artist, scientist, and Revolutionary veteran Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827). Like Pine before him, Peale established his Philadelphia Museum as a commercial enterprise featuring portraits of Revolutionary heroes, designed not only to commemorate the events of the war, but to propagate the patriotism and values of that generation.

An ardent republican, Peale aimed to "instruct and amuse" all classes of society, high and low, using his exhibits to limn a narrative of the new nation as uniquely virtuous, powerful, and expansive. By 1796, after he had moved his museum into rented spaces on the top floor of Philosophical Hall (headquarters of the American Philosophical Society), Peale's ambitions had expanded to include all the nat-

ural world, the contemplation of which he believed, as did many of his contemporaries, would exert a moral influence over young minds. Although the museum included objects collected from around the world (some obtained through Peale's peers in the American Philosophical Society), his emphasis lay on the distinctive productions of the continent that he believed reflected the American character. In a menagerie behind Philosophical Hall, he kept grizzly cubs and other American beasts, and inside he arranged wildlife, plants, and Indian artifacts in an exhibition based upon the Great Chain of Being, with white humanity at the head.

The museum added other distinctly American displays, including specimens collected by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark during their transcontinental expedition (1803–1806) paired with a life-size wax model of Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) himself, decked out in buckskin and fringe. The centerpiece at Peale's museum, however, requiring a separate twenty-five-cent ticket, was the mounted skeleton of a mastodon unearthed in New York state in 1801, an animal that was a natural hymn for the new nation. Prior to the American Revolution the French naturalist, George Louis LeClerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1788), had wounded the pride of American naturalists by theorizing that the North American environment was so impoverished that it could support only a weak and degenerate fauna. The mastodon, called the Mammoth, was the American response, proof positive of native vigor.

High toned and low, museums proliferated in the wake of Peale's, with a relatively small group of entrepreneurs spreading them throughout the states. The Peale family, for example, established a second branch in Baltimore in 1813, while the industrious wax modeler Daniel Bowen followed the creation of his museum in New York (1789) by opening another in Philadelphia (1792–1794) and then the Columbian Museum in Boston (1795–1803). While many were regional in focus, the nationalist elements that distinguished Peale's were common. Even Nathan Dunn's Chinese Museum in Philadelphia had implications for the nation, displaying the material goods reaped from America's first commercial forays into Asia. After the turn of the nineteenth century, museums also flourished as adjuncts of a growing number of lyceums and scientific societies and, building from rudimentary teaching collections and the private cabinets of faculty members, a few collegiate collections became noteworthy. The faculty at Harvard, Bowdoin, Dickinson, and Yale built important mineralogical collections, for example, while Princeton

pursued a different course, purchasing a private collection in 1805 to form the core of its new museum of natural history.

### HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Paralleling the proliferation of museums was an equal proliferation of historical societies, which merged some of the functions of museums, learned societies, and public archives. One of the key factors fostering the growth of these societies was the wave of nostalgia, peaking in the years around the War of 1812, for the supposed unity and virtue of the Revolutionary generation and the desire, while still possible, to capture the memory of the founding generation. Atypical in many regards, the American Antiquarian Society (1812) was the offspring of Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831), the printer and Revolutionary veteran, who was convinced of the central position of the United States in the providential history of the world and wanted to preserve the written record of the Revolutionary generation and make it available to future Americans.

The earliest historical society in the United States, the Massachusetts Historical Society, was founded in 1791 to collect "things which will illustrate the history of our country." "Things" initially signaled a hodgepodge of artifacts and curios, but within a decade, the society began increasingly to focus on the written record. Following the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), the merchant John Pintard (who had helped found the American Museum in 1790) in 1804 led a group of ten in organizing the New–York Historical Society. It had a mission similar to the MHS: to "collect and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical History of the United States in general." These words were echoed by the seven young Philadelphians who established the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1824, which made a special effort to document Indian cultures. After an array of federal institutions began to preserve documents of national importance during the early nineteenth century, historical societies like those in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania adopted a more strictly regional focus.

*See also* **Art and American Nationhood.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffith, Sally F. *Serving History in a Changing World: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the Twentieth Century.* Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2001.

Orosz, Joel J. *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740–1870.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1990.

Sellers, Charles Coleman. *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art.* New York: Norton, 1980.

*Robert S. Cox*

# MUSIC

The entry consists of four separate essays: *African American*, *Classical*, *Patriotic and Political*, and *Popular*.

## *African American*

The student of African American music of the early national period is immediately confronted with two fundamental challenges. First, compared to many other historical subjects, there is a significant dearth of evidence describing black music of the era. Much that does remain was recorded in passing by white observers who may not have understood or cared about what they heard. Therefore, conclusions about the sound and scope of African American music often must remain speculative. Second, a tension exists within the phrase "African American music." Scholars have used the phrase to describe music that is unique to, and shared by, the African American population. This definition enables scholars to identify a strong musical tradition and heritage maintained by African Americans, yet it can obscure both differences within the African American population and the extent to which black artists were integral to the development of all aspects of American music.

### AFRICAN TRADITION

Many of the unique aspects of African American music derived from the instruments, attitudes, and styles that enslaved Africans preserved across the Middle Passage. African music was very diverse, boasting sophisticated traditions featuring drums, stringed instruments, horns, solo or group vocal performance, and dance. Despite such diversity, African music often shared some conceptual characteristics. First among these was a tendency to understand music as a process rather than a product, a verb rather than a noun. The broad participatory experience of music could foster commonality among participants and blur distinctions between performers and listeners. Often African music emphasized functional purposes, likewise diminishing the division between performance and everyday life. Specific songs or styles often were associated with work, child rearing,

festivals, worship, or other activities. Scholars also have argued that African music often displayed a number of aural characteristics that distinguished it from the musical cultures of Europe. They emphasize the common appearance of rhythmic contrasts and complexities, call-and-response patterns between groups of participants, a valuation of improvisation, and the use of a pentatonic scale in which some pitch values (particularly thirds and sevenths) are ambiguous, falling between the major and minor tonalities common in European tradition.

### MAINTAINING TRADITION

North American slave communities maintained African music traditions to varying degrees, depending on several factors: the number of newly enslaved people arriving from Africa or the West Indies (particularly prior to the 1808 ban on the transatlantic slave trade but continuing afterward); the variable strength of oral traditions; the ratio between African and European residents; the level of repression of slave musical practices (including the banning of drums, dancing, or religious services); and amount of exposure to European or Native American repertoires and instruments. Compelled by personal determination or the violent demands of owners, some slaves learned and excelled at the composition and performance of European-derived music, even participating fully in the diverse musical world of the colonies. Yet slaves also fostered a collective memory of African music (and other cultural forms) to articulate a common heritage, to counteract slave owners' attempts at cultural deracination and assimilation, and to resist the institution of slavery as a whole.

### THE REVOLUTION

The era of the American Revolution (1775–1783) was a watershed for African American music. Paradoxically, it saw both a growing African American exploration of European musical forms and the institutionalization of distinct African American musical practices. During the Revolutionary War approximately five thousand black soldiers fought against the British, most in integrated units. A common designation for African American soldiers was that of drummer, and many contributed to the martial drum-and-fife music that led the Continental Army into battle, celebrated its victories, and mourned its fallen. Black soldiers sang many of the same songs popular within the white ranks and introduced many white soldiers to African American singing styles.

### THE DECLINE OF NORTHERN SLAVERY

With the gradual decline of slavery in the northern states, music flourished among free African Americans, who now found somewhat improved access to musical instruments, education, and professions. Some became featured church organists or prominent conductors. Others were in demand as private teachers. Many more fostered a love for the hymn tradition of the major Christian denominations. The era also witnessed the proliferation of institutions founded and supported by African Americans. Black Christian congregations (including Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal) increased in number during the early national era. Often African American churches fell under the governance of local white congregations and ministers. Nevertheless, separate services enabled black congregations some autonomy to worship and sing as they pleased. Many used the same denominational hymnbooks as white congregations, and a significant overlap existed in the songs sung in white and African American churches. This shared tradition expanded with the interracial worship common at camp meetings during the early years of the Second Great Awakening.

### NEW REPERTOIRE AND STYLES

Yet African American congregations developed a new religious repertoire which differed significantly from that of white congregations. At the center of this new repertoire was the spiritual. The spiritual tradition that developed in the early nineteenth century combined expanded themes from the Bible and denominational hymnbooks with the tradition of the ring shout. The shout, descended from African traditions, was a religious service featuring singers intoning repeated refrains while dancers moved around a ring in a slow shuffle. Shouts could last a long time, moving participants into a state of religious devotion and excitement. Spirituals, while devotional, could also be used to communicate coded messages among the slaves about plans for secret religious services or even escape from bondage.

African American slaves developed a number of secular styles. Slaves performed dance music for each other—and often for slave owners—using the fiddle and predecessors of the modern banjo, as well as by patting their own bodies in rhythm with the dance. They also developed unique calls and hollers as methods of singing greetings, news, and other information loudly across farms and fields as they worked.

African Americans, in slavery and freedom, established rich musical traditions in the early years of the American Republic. Even as historians struggle to

determine the specific sounds of the era's music, most agree that those years witnessed the concerted preservation of African elements; the emergence of new African American styles; an increasing integration of African, European, and American music; and a significant African American participation in the musical life of the new nation.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Epstein, Dena J. *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

Floyd, Samuel A., Jr. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Radano, Ronald. *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Southern, Eileen. *The Music of Black Americans: A History.* 3rd ed. New York: Norton, 1997.

*Karl Hagstrom Miller*

## *Classical*

Though growing rapidly, the thirteen colonies had only 1.2 million people in the mid-1750s. By 1829 they had grown to twenty-four states and almost 13 million people. Music could be heard everywhere throughout this period, but in far more variety, and often with far greater expertise, by 1829. This was certainly true of classical music, here defined as music written out with internationally recognized methods of notation and performed by professionals or by talented and experienced amateurs for audiences who listen attentively. Such music requires cities with stores to sell sheet music and instruments, churches willing to pay professional organists and choirmasters, families willing to pay for children's music lessons and audiences willing to pay for, and even subsidize, productions of oratorios, operas, and symphonies. Many of North America's classical musicians were European-trained immigrants performing European music or composing music in America that conformed to European styles. Professional musicians supported themselves with various jobs that included performing, teaching, organizing, composing, publishing, and selling. New music, usually ephemeral but sometimes of high quality, was often commissioned for theaters, dancing schools, and public events.

During this three-quarters of a century, the chief support for classical music in Europe shifted from the high officers of church and state (cathedrals and courts) to the urban middle classes; in British North America the middle classes (including southern planters convening for political and artistic seasons in Charleston, Williamsburg, or Annapolis) supported classical music from the beginning. Opera, ballet, recitals, concerts, and plays with musical interludes were no longer the exclusive privileges of a ruling class; they were open to anyone who could afford the price of a ticket, and impresarios learned how to scale the cost of their tickets so that almost anyone could afford the poorest seats in the house. Meanwhile, classical music itself grew in complexity and expressive power; traditional ideals of form and balance were increasingly subordinated to intensity of feeling, personal expression, and heroic virtuosity—in short, musical romanticism.

Before the American Revolution, small ensembles flourished in coastal cities from Charleston, South Carolina, to Boston, Massachusetts, and in French New Orleans. Domestic music making reached high levels among connoisseurs such as Francis Hopkinson, Thomas Jefferson (a proficient violinist), and Benjamin Franklin, all signers of the Declaration of Independence. Franklin even invented an ingenious instrument, the glass armonica, which consisted of glass discs of varied shape, all arrayed on an axle in a trough that kept them both wet and turning, so the player could draw tones from them with his fingers. One tightly knit religious community, the Moravian Brethren of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina, maintained skilled orchestras, choruses, soloists, and composers. Theirs was essentially German sacred music, transplanted to the North American frontier.

Notable among the European professional musicians who settled permanently in the eastern cities of the United States between 1770 and 1800 were William Selby (1738–1798), Rayner Taylor (1747–1825), Alexander Reinagle (1756–1809), George K. Jackson (1757–1822), Benjamin Carr (1768–1831), and James Hewitt (1770–1827), all from England. From Germany by way of England came Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner (1767–1836). Most settled in Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, which maintained leadership in high culture throughout the nineteenth century. The Northeast also produced over two hundred native composers, mostly self-taught and part-time singing masters, whose typical work was creating, collecting, and publishing thousands of hymns, anthems, and settings of the

Psalms. Some produced music now considered classical in quality and significance, as well as having vernacular authenticity. The most famous of these composers, William Billings (1746–1800), was based in Boston; the great majority, however, were located in small towns of the hinterland.

A major figure rediscovered in the 1970s was Bohemian merchant Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781–1861), who determined at age thirty to make the United States his home and music his career. Settling in Kentucky, he contributed to Lexington's musical life, then took a sabbatical to create *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky; or, the Pleasures of Harmony* (1820). This book contained forty-six original compositions for piano, vocalists, and small ensembles and drew favorable notices in the East. Heinrich moved to New York City, where he composed and performed for several decades. He was the first U.S. composer to exploit extensively American literary, geographic, and ethnic themes in his work.

By 1829 American musicians had performed and American audiences had heard major compositions by George Frideric Handel, Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Gioacchino Rossini, Carl Maria von Weber and many other European composers. New York City enjoyed its first full season of opera in 1825–1826, provided by Manuel García's Italian Opera Company. There were eighty performances, among them Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787), whose librettist, Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749–1838)—then professor of Italian at Columbia College—was a proud sponsor. Most of the musical organizations of the young nation, whether for teaching, performing, or publishing, lasted but a few years, but those that failed were soon replaced, and new enterprises were always appearing. Among the notable exceptions for endurance was Boston's Handel and Haydn Society (1815), specializing in large-scale oratorio (especially Handel's *Messiah* [1742] and Haydn's *Creation* [1798]). The Society's fame spread across the growing nation with the publication of its *Collection of Sacred Music* (1822, and many subsequent revisions), edited by Lowell Mason (1792–1872), composer, businessman, and promoter of musical education.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present.* 3rd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1987.

Nicholls, David, ed. *The Cambridge History of American Music.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Temperley, Nicholas. *Bound for America: Three British Composers.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

*Robert McColley*

### Patriotic and Political

American patriotic music in the Revolutionary and Federal periods was heavily influenced by the presence of traditional British military bands during the colonial era. Besides the small squads of fifers and drummers that the British army used for signaling troop movements and duties, separate regimental bands were often subsidized by officers for concerts and entertainment. These bands consisted of wind instruments such as bassoons, clarinets, oboes, and horns and played more sophisticated music than the fife and drum corps. American musicians were familiar with, and influenced by, these bands in their midst. For example, Timothy Swan of Connecticut, one of New England's late-eighteenth-century composers of psalmody, was said to have learned to read music from a British fifer. The outbreak of hostilities between England and the American colonies in early 1775 prompted the establishment of similar bands attached to colonial troops, but only six American regiments had bands. The musicians attached to the Fourth Regiment of Continental Artillery from Pennsylvania, one of the best of the bands, entertained General Washington on his birthday in 1778 at Valley Forge. The move toward independence also elicited the first nationalist tunes such as the instrumental march, "The Road to Boston."

Parody played a large part in Revolutionary-era American song writing as well-known British patriotic tunes were given lyrics that turned their original meaning on its head. The traditional text of "The British Grenadiers" compared these English shock troops with Alexander the Great and Hercules. The American version to the familiar tune, "A Song on Liberty," is attributed to Boston Patriot Joseph Warren, who died in 1775 at Bunker Hill:

> Proud Albion bow'd to Caesar,
> And numerous lords before,
> To Picts, to Danes, to Normans,
> And many master more;
> But we can boast Americans
> Have never fall'n prey,
> Huzza! huzza! huzza! huzza!
> For free America.

"The Liberty Song," written by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania in 1768, took its melody from the English "Heart of Oak," written by London actor

David Garrick in 1759 to celebrate victories over the French in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Dickinson's lyrics stopped short of advocating open conflict but reflected the confrontational spirit engendered by the Townshend Acts:

> Come join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
> And rouse your bold hearts at fair liberty's call;
> No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just claim
> Or stain with dishonor America's name.

In a musical repartee, annoyed British soldiers stationed in Boston countered with "Parody upon a Well-known Liberty Song—Come Shake Your Dull Noddles," printed by the *Boston Gazette* later in 1768:

> Come shake your dull Noddles,
> Ye pumpkins and bawl,
> And own that you're mad at fair Liberty's Call;
> No scandalous Conduct can add to your Shame,
> Condemn'd to Dishonor
> Inherit the fame.

"Yankee Doodle," a British lampoon of American soldiers that probably dated from the Seven Years' War, had many textual variants that strayed from patriotic fervor into bawdy camp commentary. It was updated for the American rebellion when it was printed in England in 1780 as "Yankee Doodle, or (as now Christened by the Saints of New England) The Lexington March" and had instructions for "The Words to be Sung thro' the Nose . . ." in imitation of an American accent.

Singing sacred music in this period was a prevalent pastime and a few patriotic hymns became popular. William Billings's "Lamentation Over Boston," published in 1778, connected the Patriot cause with religious enthusiasm and, specifically, the 137th Psalm:

> By the Rivers of Watertown we sat down and
>     wept,
> when we remember'd thee, O Boston.
> As for our Friends, Lord God of Heaven,
> preserve them, defend them, deliver and restore
>     them unto us.

Billings's "Chester" became the spontaneous anthem of American troops when he rewrote the text for one of his own hymns with words of martial inspiration:

> Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
> And Slav'ry clank her galling chains,
> We fear them not, we trust in God,
> New-England's God for ever reigns.

The years immediately after the war brought new verses that celebrated the new nation and its heroes, either with new music or older melodies, but no longer relied on parody. New England composer Abraham Wood's "Hymn on Peace" encouraged turning "swords to plowshares" while praising God for the success of the American cause. The expanded notion of individual rights was underscored by "The Rights of Woman," printed in Providence in 1793:

> Woman aloud rejoice exalt to thy feeble voice in
>     cheerful strain.
> Let woman have a share, nor yield to slavish fear
> Her equal rights declare and well maintain.

The near deification of General Washington even before he became the first president found expression in music. Two popular songs were "Washington's March" and "He Comes, the Hero Comes!," celebrating Washington's return to New York in 1783. Philip Phile, a former Hessian soldier who led the pit orchestra in Philadelphia's theater in the late 1780s, wrote "The President's March" in 1789. Possibly played at Washington's first inauguration, the tune was very popular, and when Joseph Hopkinson wrote lyrics for it in 1798, it became "Hail! Columbia," America's unofficial national anthem for most of the nineteenth century. Other paeans to American ideals came from theater musicians, such as Alexander Reinagle's "America, Commerce, and Freedom," written in Philadelphia in 1794. The death of Washington in 1799 prompted the publication of memorials. "Funeral Dirge" by I. Decker was played by the Alexandria Band at his funeral, while "Funeral Dirge on the Death of General Washington" by Peter Von Hagen was played at the Stone Chapel in Boston.

By the mid-1790s political divisions between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans were finding expression in song. "Hail! Columbia" originated as a stridently pro-Adams, anti-French exhortation to present a united national front:

> Firm—United—Let us be,
> Rallying 'round our Liberty
> As a band of brothers joined,
> Peace and Safety shall we find.

"Ode on Science," written by Deacon Janaziah in 1798 and a very popular tune during the nineteenth century, tried to find a middle ground in resisting both British and French threats to American sovereignty:

> The British yoke, the Gallic chain,
> Was urged upon our necks in vain,
> All haughty tyrants we disdain,
> And shout, Long live America.

Other composers tried to appeal to followers of both of the emerging parties with medleys that switched back and forth in allegiance. Perhaps the best-known is Benjamin Carr's "Federal Overture," presented in New York in 1794, which included "Marseilles," "Ca Ira" (both Republican, Francophile

anthems), "O Dear What Can the Matter Be"(a comment on the current political strife) "Rose Tree," "Carmagnole," "President's March," and "Yankee Doodle" (the last two were Federalist favorites). Band leader Carr was rewarded for his lighthearted attempt at inclusion with a near riot and physical assault.

Musical political invective only became sharper with Jefferson's presidency. Set to a martial tune, "Jefferson and Liberty," a response to the earlier "Adams and Liberty," was a celebration of the overthrow of the Federalists. The first two lines refer to the Alien and Sedition Acts and the rest of the Federalist national security panic of 1798–1800:

> The gloomy night before us flies, the reign of
>     Terror now is o'er,
> Gags, Inquisitors and Spies, its herds of Harpies
>     are no more.
> Rejoice! Columbia's Sons, rejoice! To tyrants
>     never bend the knee,
> But join with heart and soul and voice, for
>     Jefferson and Liberty.

The War of 1812 brought a reappearance of anti–British compositions. Francis Scott Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner" was written in 1814 using the melody from "To Anacreon in Heaven," an old British drinking song, but did not become the official national anthem until 1931. Andrew Jackson's victory in New Orleans in 1815 added lyrics and a fiddle melody to American folk music; "The 8th of January," or "The Battle of New Orleans," became a hit song for early rock-and-roller Johnny Horton in the 1950s. Humorous, satirical songs flourished during the presidential campaign of Andrew Jackson, a new brand of politician. In 1822 supporters of Jackson's first presidential campaign sang "The Hunters of Kentucky," which reminisced about the general's victory. Opponents of his second term in office who had been put off by his autocratic style and allegations of corruption sang "King Andrew" in 1834:

> King Andrew had an itching palm to finger the
>     nation's cash;
> Most of 'em thought 'twas just the thing but
>     some thought it'd be rash
> The General took his cook's advice and hurried
>     away the Rhino;
> But where it went, aye there's the rub, I'll be
>     damn'd if you or I know.

Although patriotic songs remained steady sellers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, electoral satire set to music became a permanent art form in American politics, even if the lyrics were by nature ephemeral.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Election of 1824; Federalist Party; Humor; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Poetry; Satire; "Star-Spangled Banner"; Townshend Act; Washington, George.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Camus, Raoul F. *Military Music of the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976.

Lowens, Irving. *Music and Musicians in Early America.* New York: Norton, 1964.

Nathans, Heather S. *Early American Theatre from the Revolution to Thomas Jefferson: Into the Hands of the People.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Sonneck, Oscar G. *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer, 1737–1791, and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmodist, 1735–1794.* New York: Da Capo Press, 1967.

**Discography and Liner Notes**

*George Washington, Music for the First President.* David and Ginger Hildebrand. Liner notes by David Hildebrand. Hildebrand CD 105, 1999.

*Liberty Tree.* The Boston Camerata with Joel Cohen. Liner notes by Joel Cohen. Erato CD 3984-21668-2, 1998.

*Music of the American Revolution: The Birth of Liberty.* The American Fife Ensemble and the Liberty Tree Wind Players. Liner notes by Richard Crawford. New World Records CD 80276-2, 1996.

*Music of the Federal Era.* The Federal Music Society. Liner notes by Richard Crawford. New World Records CD 80299-2, 1994.

*Tippecanoe and Tyler Too: A Collection of American Political Marches, Songs, and Dirges.* The Chestnut Brass Company and Friends. Liner notes by Jay Krush. Newport Classic Premier NPD 85548, 1992.

*Peter Leavenworth*

## *Popular*

American music in the late colonial and early national periods depended greatly on styles, publishing, and performers from England. With various rich traditions of many types of music and a range of venues for performance, Great Britain supplied English-speaking colonists with the cultural elements of three basic categories of music.

### SACRED MUSIC

The most widespread form of music found in early America was psalmody, which was used by nearly all Protestant branches and sects. Adhering to the Reformation belief in full participation by congrega-

tions in singing, colonial Americans sang in worship services, including Congregationalists in New England, German Lutherans in the mid–Atlantic region, and Anglicans and Scots-Irish Presbyterians in the Virginia Tidewater and the Deep South. Puritans and other dissenting sects believed in using only scriptural verses from the Psalms of David for services rather than hymns by composers who were their contemporaries, and they also eschewed the use of choirs and instruments as trappings of Catholic excess that distracted from the purpose of worship. These principles began to give way during a century of changes in sacred music that emanated from England beginning around 1720. Sacred music was so important to colonial culture that America's first published book was the Bay Psalm Book in Boston in 1640, a Puritan revision of psalms translated from Hebrew. In New England, colonists sang psalm tunes outside of church while they worked or at midweek gatherings where secular songs might also be sung.

In the mid–Atlantic colonies and the South, German Pietists and Anglicans had no such injunction against instruments or choirs, but organs and bell rings were rare until later in the eighteenth century because of their cost. Throughout the Revolutionary and early national periods, the insular German Moravians in Pennsylvania and North Carolina enjoyed a string of composers trained in Germany who were especially fond of incorporating brass ensembles into their services. Anglican churches used organs in the largest northern cities, but in the South, only the refinement of Charleston, South Carolina, attracted such compositional talents as Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690–1750, son of Johann), Henry Purcell (1742–1802), Peter Valton (1740–1784), and J. H. Stevens (1750–1828). By the 1760s, the "regular singing" reforms initiated earlier in New England were slowly being adopted by parishes throughout the Northeast and in the South as well. These transitions included moving away from the seventeenth-century practice of "lining out," in which a deacon or preceptor spoke or sang a line that was then repeated by the congregation, a practice necessitated by illiteracy or a lack of psalm books. It gave way to using separate choirs trained to read music in weekly singing schools for at least part of the service. There was also an expansion in the use of hymns (in which Scripture is only paraphrased or referenced), aided by the waves of revivals in England and America in the 1740s. The use of hymns was championed by English religious lyricists like Isaac Watts (1674–1748) and the brothers John Wesley (1703–1791) and Charles Wesley (1707–1788). Stringed instruments such as violins, bass, and tenor viols began to accom-

pany choirs that were increasingly seated apart in galleries above the congregation. Finally, a more florid, ornamented, and dynamic style of sacred music composition, influenced in part by English theater, found its way to America originally through imported tunebooks and musicians. While indigenous American hymnody had been meager, the Revolutionary period ushered in a dramatic escalation in sacred music composition and publishing that focused mainly in the Northeast. Beginning with the *New England Psalm-Singer* (1770), by William Billings (1746–1800), which contained 127 of his own pieces and no imports, a host of amateur singing masters and composers began a publishing frenzy that continued into the early nineteenth century. The percentage of American compositions in all publications went from less than 5 percent in 1770 to nearly 70 percent in 1800. At the same time, the total number of pieces printed increased by a factor of ten during the same period, from approximately 1,460 to 15,770. Enjoying wide popularity during the Revolution and until the turn of the nineteenth century, these Yankee tunesmiths were almost exclusively rural storekeepers and tradesmen without formal musical training. A few of the more popular hymns had overtly patriotic themes, such as "Lamentation over Boston" (Billings), "Bunker Hill" (Andrew Law, 1748–1821), and "Bennington" and "Trenton" (Daniel Read, 1757–1836). Billings's "Chester" was more popular with the Patriot troops than was "Yankee Doodle," and the funereal "China," by Timothy Swan (1758–1842), was the standard, rather than Chopin's sonata, at American memorial services for much of the nineteenth century. A popular characteristic of this first American style of music composition was the choral device of "fuguing." American fugues, as distinct from much more complicated European fugues, were simply sections of staggered, overlapping phrases sung by the different parts of the choir as in singing rounds. Often rendering the words of worship unintelligible, the style was deemed by some critics to be sacrilegious and indicative of moral failing. A final wave of reform in sacred music occurred after 1800, originating in the major urban centers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Influenced by recently arrived European professional musicians and a conservative reform component of the Second Great Awakening, the indigenous American style of folk hymnody came under attack as lacking both sophistication and sufficient reverence. The careening melodies and simplistic use of "fuguing" seemed to a new generation of Americans anachronistic and too oriented toward the enjoyment of singing for its own sake. Advocating strict

attention to European standards of harmonic composition, a younger cohort of American sacred music composers including Lowell Mason (1792–1872), Thomas Hastings (1784–1872), and Samuel Dyer (1785–1835) espoused a simpler, more accessible genre epitomized by Hastings's classic "Rock of Ages." Hymnody remained an immensely popular type of music throughout the nineteenth century and continued to be the predominant way in which most Americans participated in making music.

### THEATER MUSIC AND STAGE SONGS

Music from the colonial theater did not initially have a large public audience, but by the second decade of the nineteenth century, musical entertainment generated by the stage commanded an enormous following. The period from the Revolution through the first third of the nineteenth century witnessed a gradual legitimization of public theater in America that brought with it an increasingly significant variety of popular music.

Each of the three largest colonial cities—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—hosted attempts at establishing venues for performing British drama earlier in the eighteenth century. These entertainments, which often took place in taverns, were met with opposition by Quakers in Philadelphia and Puritan sensibilities in Boston. Disapproval of the theater in colonial New York was more politically based and dramatic productions flourished only during the nearly continuous British wartime occupation. As traditional political structures changed and antagonism to British exports waned in these cities in the postwar period, so too did resistance to professional theaters. During the 1790s, each major city eventually had at least two theaters in operation, with satellite circuits of smaller venues in outlying towns. Funded by proprietors drawn from new merchant ranks, theater companies were imported wholesale from the vibrant comic-opera scene in England as scores of professionally trained musicians and singers relocated to America. In addition, during the 1790s émigrés from the French Revolution and the Haitian slave revolt brought French aristocratic talent to these urban centers as well.

This rapid influx of trained European musicians employed in theaters generated a taste, and a market, for music that required instructed accomplishment and reflected the classical and Romantic styles then current in Europe. Music in early national theaters consisted of performances by pit bands before and after plays as well as accompaniment during musical dramas. The selections came from a wide assortment of styles, from European composers to vernacular ballads and patriotic pieces. Within two decades after the war, music played in a refined manner went from being the province of gentleman dilettantes emulating their European counterparts to a widely available style made accessible through expanding theatrical circuits. The British comic-opera tradition was similar in many respects to modern musicals, and after 1800, favorite songs from especially popular plays gained favor with the public. This development was further promoted through intercity tours by solo European and American male and female actors who were also accomplished singers. These performances were more profitable and easier than participating in dramatic productions and focused public attention on the individual careers of the "stars." (The use of the word "star" to denote singer and actor celebrities began in late-eighteenth-century England.) Urban circuses, stationary but feeble structures in Philadelphia and New York, competed with theaters in presenting popular entertainments, including music, that lacked the pretense to gentility that theaters strove to offer. This cultural dualism between vernacular and cultivated taste was presented together within single shows in the early national period to American audiences that reflected a broad social spectrum. Later nineteenth-century developments in American fine arts increasingly separated the loci of performances for these parallel tastes. Favorite songs lingered even further in the attention of the public through sheet music–publishing in major American cities. As American printing and publishing expanded exponentially during the 1790s, so too did music publication. Popular songs, including selections from well-known ballad operas like *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), *Love in a Village* (1762), and *The Poor Soldier* (1783) (George Washington's favorite), received attention on a national basis as music publishers in different cities traded best-selling sheet music among themselves. Relatively inexpensive single offprints of popular tunes appealed to increasing numbers of owners of the new pianoforte, a keyboard instrument that had been replacing the harpsichord as a popular instrument in prosperous households since the Revolution. After 1800 new generations of aspiring young middle-class ladies were encouraged to acquire the rudiments of singing and piano playing as part of a matrix of social distinction. The Bohemian immigrant composer A. P. Heinrich (1781–1861) commented that his real income came from "teaching little misses on the pianoforte, for small quarter money, often unpaid." Popular subgenres abounded, including patriotic tunes, sentimental songs, and music borrowed from European countries.

Airs from Ireland and Scotland became very fashionable after the turn of the century, prompting compositions like *Six Ballads from the Poem of "The Lady of the Lake"* (1810), by Benjamin Carr (1768–1831), taken from Sir Walter Scott's just-published epic. By the 1820s the theater had increasingly become a venue for an assortment of music-centered entertainments that featured comic skits, famous scenes from plays, and various types of dance. This variety format moved easily into the minstrelsy phenomenon in music hall circuits that dominated American popular entertainment later in the nineteenth century.

### VERNACULAR AND FOLK MUSIC

This ephemeral genre of popular songs has been variously referred to as "folk" or "oral" traditional music and usually ascribed to rural or working-class practitioners. However, late-twentieth-century revisions by musicologists have shown that ballads formerly believed to have been circulated through a shared cultural memory, predicated on illiteracy, were actually often recorded and learned through print and manuscript as well as through oral transmission. In addition, they were enjoyed by all levels of society. Later nineteenth-century conceptions of folk authenticity, deeply colored by Victorian notions of class and gender, have to varying degrees persisted into the beginning of the twenty-first century. Children's songs, often didactic and moralistic, endured as a consistent subgenre for many generations, intertwined with stories and fairy tales. Public singing was often associated with taverns, which were known to have repositories of broadsides and chapbooks containing lengthy verses about tragic and current events. By the second half of the eighteenth century, Americans were recreating ballads in the British traditional style, but with Americanized meanings and words.

One of the earliest known indigenous American ballads is "Springfield Mountain," or "The Death of Timothy Merrick." Originally a memorial for the untimely death of a young man bitten by a rattlesnake in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in 1761, the ballad was eventually sung to children as an instructive lullaby. By the 1830s, versions of the song that satirized its rusticity spread in print and appealed to an audience several generations removed from the tragedy and inured to the ballad's sentimental roots. Thus, vernacular songs in this period could be transformed according to contexts that complicated simple entertainment: spreading sensational news, warnings to children, and self-deprecating humor. Vernacular instrumental music such as dance melodies on the fiddle or military music for the fife were still transmitted by ear, but even these tunes were formalized in printed songsters that created "official" versions. African Americans, free and enslaved, influenced this colloquial music idiom to greatest effect through self-taught proficiency on European instruments played with African sensibilities. Diaries, letters, and journals abound with anecdotes describing public "street" music in general as well as black practitioners in particular.

Popular music after 1800 began to reflect social changes taking place elsewhere in American society, especially in regard to a lay rejection of artistic expertise and acquiring direct access to new music. Ballad lyrics published in newspapers, magazines, or broadsides invoked well-known melodies that sidestepped any requirements of musical training. While this strategy had long been in use, the rapid expansion of inexpensive print sources after 1790 meant greater selection. Shape-note music, invented in the 1790s, became widespread in the ensuing decades. Also known as "dunce" notes or "patent" notes (for the different notational systems copyrighted), shape-notes relied on note-heads of squares, triangles, diamonds, and circles to represent relative tones in a given key that sidestepped the need for sharps and flats (or even a staff in some systems). This simplification of notational literacy was reviled by many urban commentators, but it remained popular and widely used in regions west of the Atlantic seaboard as the country expanded.

This democratization within popular music worked against the increasing sophistication of taste that the influence of trained European musicians introduced to American music, and it contributed to the gradual bifurcation of venues within public music later in the nineteenth century. It should be emphasized that these categories of sacred, stage, and vernacular music intersected and that all reacted with the others to create a lively national music soundscape.

*See also* **Religious Publishing; Theater and Drama.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cockrell, Dale. *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Crawford, Richard. *The American Musical Landscape: The Business of Musicianship from Billings to Gershwin.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

———. *America's Musical Life: A History.* New York: Norton, 2001.

Hitchcock, H. Wiley. *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction.* Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 2000.

Lowens, Irving. *Music and Musicians in Early America.* New York: Norton, 1964.

Nathans, Heather S. *Early American Theatre from the Revolution to Thomas Jefferson: Into the Hands of the People.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Porter, Susan L. *With an Air Debonair: Musical Theatre in America*, *1785–1815.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991.

Silverman, Kenneth. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre in the Colonies and the United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington*, *1763–1789.* New York: Crowell, 1976.

Stevenson, Robert. *Protestant Church Music in America.* New York: Norton, 1966.

Southern, Eileen. *The Music of Black Americans: A History.* New York: Norton, 1971.

*Peter Leavenworth*

## MUSLIMS, CONCEPTS AND IMAGES OF

Early American understandings of Muslims were shaped by the political power of the Ottoman Empire, the geographical expanse of the Islamic world, and the aura of the exotic found in *A Thousand and One Nights.* New nationals of varied backgrounds found the Islamic world to be a distant site of oriental opposition and licentiousness. By contrast, Americans saw the destiny of their new nation as joining religious and republican worldviews in a majority vision of Christian patriotism. When the Constitution in 1787 protected the religious freedom of office-holders, anti-Federalists feared the opening of American government to "Jews, Turks, and Infidels."

Early American religious views of Islam as anti-Christian stemmed from the heritage of the Crusades, which cast Muhammad as a false prophet who attracted adherents by appealing to carnal desires and coercing belief through violence. Interpretations of the Books of Daniel and Revelation featured Islam as the smoke from the bottomless pit resulting from the corruption of Christianity. American missionaries in the eastern Mediterranean after 1819 viewed Muslims as cursed followers of a dark delusion whose removal was a promised sign of the coming millennium.

Americans were also influenced by the Enlightenment's equation of Islamic government with systematic despotism. The eighteenth-century French political philosopher Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, popularized an image of Muslim political authority as an illegitimate empire of passion that negated the ideals of republicanism. The perverse excesses of male Islamic despots who replaced the moral home with the sexualized seraglio symbolized a social order in which the virtue of liberty had degenerated into the vice of passionate license. Montesquieu's compatriot, Constantin François de Chassebouef Volney, saw Ottoman despotism as causing the social ruin of Mediterranean culture by replacing free inquiry with fatalism. His influential work *The Ruins*, *or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires* was first translated into English in 1792 and again, ten years later, by Thomas Jefferson when he was serving as president. During the early years of the Republic, images of Muslim despots included the Turkish tyrant, the Barbary pirate, the Algerine spy, and the treacherous Malay. Americans thought Muslim societies were infested with a host of behaviors associated with public vice—not only political tyranny, but also ambition, corruption, covetousness, ostentation, sensuality, and cruelty—all dangers fatal to the viability of a virtuous republic.

The most sustained American contact with Muslim lands took place during a succession of conflicts between the United States and the North African regencies of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. In 1785 Algerian corsairs sailed out of the Straits of Gibraltar and captured two American vessels no longer protected by British treaties. The plight of these captives attracted public attention in late 1793 when nine more ships and their crews were taken into captivity. A treaty signed on 12 July 1796 with the Dey of Algiers resolved this crisis at a humiliating cost of ransom and tribute. The Pasha of Tripoli's demand that tribute be paid to him as well led to the Tripolitan War of 1801–1805, which was eventually resolved through the successful exploits of the newly developed U.S. Navy. The presence of Tripolitan prisoners in New York and the six-month tour of a reckless Tunisian ambassador in 1805–1806 helped to deflate images of the fearsome Muslim despot. Widely read works of literary fantasy celebrated how the female virtue and male valor of early nationals converted Muslims from despotism to democracy through the expression of a vigorous American example.

In the crisis of American captivity in Barbary, early abolitionists viewed Muslim practices as a mirror of the dangers that slavery posed to democratic civilization. Benjamin Franklin, less than a month before his death in 1790, satirized a Georgia congressman's support of the slave trade by assuming

the persona of an Algerian courtier who supported North African slavery on the grounds that Christians were needed to cultivate its lands. The only Muslims living in the United States during the founding period were Africans uprooted from Islamic cultures in West Africa whose heritage, although destroyed by the slave system, helped individuals to deal with the indignities of bondage.

During the Greek War of Independence from the Ottomans (1821–1828), many Americans emphasized the barbarity of Turkish despotism in their eagerness to see democracy exported back to the land of its origin. The victory of the Greeks and the decline of Turkish power in the Mediterranean after 1830 led to an increase in travel that fostered more romantic images of Muslims, including those of the natural freedom of Arab life.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allison, Robert J. *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World*, 1776–1815. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Parker, Richard B. *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Sha'ban, Fuad. *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America.* Durham, N.C.: Acorn Press, 1991.

*Timothy W. Marr*

**NAMING OF THE NATION**   Although the Declaration of Independence marked the first official usage of the name "United States of America" to designate the new nation, the name was not entirely novel in 1776. Its constituent elements had evolved over time in response to changing circumstances in the colonies. Europeans since the early sixteenth century had recognized "America" as a geographic region, owing to the efforts of cartographers such as Gerard Mercator. The term increasingly acquired political connotations after colonization. During the French and Indian War, an abortive attempt to construct a colonial union signaled a growing identification among British Americans. This identity would ultimately be forged in opposition to England during the Revolution, when it became common to refer to the "United Colonies."

As the crisis with England deepened in the 1770s, some revolutionaries began referring to the colonies as "states," a word that did not convey the same sense of dependence. Royal officials such as Thomas Hutchinson, the governor of Massachusetts, noted the changing terminology, but its meaning became evident only with the Declaration of Independence. The Continental Congress's instructions to have the Declaration reprinted and read aloud helped popularize the phrase "United States of America." And its

subsequent usage in both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution solidified its status as the official name of the Republic by the end of the 1780s.

Not everyone in the new nation was satisfied with the name, however. The tercentennial of Columbus's first transatlantic voyage prompted some in the 1790s to suggest renaming the country in his honor. It had not been unusual in earlier centuries to call the New World "Columbia," and Americans in the post–Revolutionary period were adopting the term for everything from colleges to state capitals. Patriotic clubs even began making toasts to "the United Columbian States." Members of the newly formed Massachusetts Historical Society would especially champion the cause of Columbia. To them, the name not only provided a new, non-English (yet still European) identity for the nation, but also righted a historical wrong. Early mapmakers, they argued, had mistakenly attributed the discovery of the Americas to Amerigo Vespucci. Well into the nineteenth century, other historical societies would similarly propose to correct the error by removing Vespucci's name from the country's official title. The New-York Historical Society recommended "The Republic of Washington," while the Maryland Historical Society preferred "Allegania." Yet neither name captured the popular imagination.

Perhaps no single person expended greater effort to change the country's name than did Samuel Latham Mitchill, a congressman and later senator from New York. Mitchill's thoughts on the issue reflected both his patriotism and his embrace of Enlightenment rationalism. He found the term "United States of America" uninspiring because it merely reflected a formal political arrangement rather than capturing the spirit of freedom that animated the new nation. He accordingly proposed the name "Fredon" or "Fredonia," which he loosely translated as "house of liberty." Despite Mitchill's lobbying efforts among such luminaries as Noah Webster and President Thomas Jefferson in 1803, the name never gained much currency outside of his native New York.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; Articles of Confederation; Continental Congresses; Declaration of Independence.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aberbach, Alan David. *In Search of an American Identity: Samuel Latham Mitchill, Jeffersonian Nationalist.* New York: Peter Lang, 1988.

Schlereth, Thomas J. "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism." *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 937–968.

Zabriskie, George A. "Why We Are Called Americans." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 27 (October 1943): 79–86.

*Jonathan M. Beagle*

**NAPOLEON** *See* **European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule.**

**NATIONAL CAPITAL, THE** In the months leading up to the American declaration of independence from Great Britain, colonists could look to two capitals, or centers of political activity: London and Philadelphia. London was the largest city in Europe as well as the hub of the British Empire. It was home to England's primary political, financial, and cultural institutions, and by implication it represented the imperial capital to the British colonists of North America. Independence necessarily severed the American connection to London.

Then there was Philadelphia. The capital of Pennsylvania, centrally located on the Atlantic seaboard, and the most populous city in the colonies in 1776, Philadelphia was also the seat of the Continental Congress. By default, it became the national capital when on 4 July Congress issued the Declaration of Independence. In the midst of a revolutionary war, Americans never deliberated on the appropriateness of Philadelphia as the capital city for the fledgling nation, nor would they for at least another decade. Few Americans took notice when the British occupied Philadelphia in 1777; the rump Congress simply fled to Lancaster, some forty miles to the interior. Over the ensuing seven years the Continental and then Confederation Congress met in York, Baltimore, Annapolis, Princeton, Trenton, and again in Philadelphia. After adjourning on Christmas Eve in 1784, the peripatetic Confederation Congress finally removed to New York City, where it met for the remainder of its existence.

New York City thus became the national capital of the nascent United States. Through the 1780s the Confederation Congress conducted the nation's business in lower Manhattan. In 1787 it called for a convention to meet in Philadelphia "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." By the end of the summer, the Continental Congress was on its way out to be replaced by a new government. The people of the several states ratified the United States Constitution in the course of the next year, and in 1789 a new national government convened in lower Manhattan. On the steps of the Federal Hall on Wall Street, Chancellor of New York Robert R. Livingston administered the oath of office to George Washington as the first president of the United States. Among its numerous provisions, the new Constitution stipulated that Congress purchase from the several states an area of land no larger than one hundred square miles on which to erect a permanent "seat of government."

The symbolic and strategic importance of the location of the national capital was not lost on the members of the First Congress. A fierce debate raged from September 1789, when the issue was broached, until the final House vote on 9 July of the following year. Congressmen deliberated on some sixteen possible sites. In addition to New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, a number of smaller locations were put forward in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland. James Madison proposed the creation of an entirely new city to house the capital, to be erected on the shores of the Potomac River. Ultimately, the final form of the Residence Bill embraced Madison's idea, providing for a new city to be constructed on territory between Maryland and Virginia. In the ten

years it would take to complete construction, the government would reside in Philadelphia.

How Madison's bold proposal became a reality is the stuff of legend. Virginia's and Maryland's gain was New York's and Pennsylvania's loss. No one knows precisely why New Yorkers agreed to forfeit the city's prospect of becoming the permanent capital of the United States. Most contemporaries agreed that Alexander Hamilton, the New Yorker serving as Washington's Treasury secretary, had traded it away in exchange for gaining Madison's tacit agreement to his plan for national assumption of state debts. Known as the Compromise of 1790, this remarkable political horse-trading allegedly transpired over dinner at Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson's residence at 57 Maiden Lane. In order to save his funding and assumption plan then languishing in Congress, Hamilton assented to using his influence to have the nation's capital, its putative heart, shifted several hundred miles to the south. As for the supporters of the various Pennsylvania locations, they were rather easily won over. Not only were they assured of gaining the capital for ten years, but the prospect of its never moving to the mosquito-infested shores of the Potomac River was very great indeed. What one Congress could give, another most likely would take away. Passage of the 1790 Residence Bill was not likely to be the last word.

Fully cognizant that the Potomac location was both unpopular and impractical, Madison and Jefferson sought to distance Congress as far as possible from the entire process. Madison effected this brilliantly by persuading the legislature to recuse itself from virtually all subsequent decisions concerning the capital in favor of the executive. President Washington would be charged with oversight. Despite reservations, including a conflict of interest—Washington actually owned some of the land ultimately settled upon—the president agreed to the terms of the Residence Bill. In subsequent years, he took great interest in and expended a great deal of energy on the plans to create a capital city, which all knew would ultimately bear his name.

What Jefferson and Madison did not know was whether the Compromise of 1790 was worth the price. In 1792 Jefferson confessed that the trade had been a political blunder of the first order. By the time the government actually removed itself from Philadelphia to its new home on the Potomac eight years later, Jefferson had changed his mind. As the first president inaugurated in Washington, D.C., Jefferson already in 1801 could perceive the symbolic, political, and even historic significance of situating the nation's capital in the South. In the ensuing decades Washington took on the atmosphere of a southern town, with slavery and slave markets, torrid summer heat and humidity, and a leisurely pace that inevitably had an impact on national policy and politicians.

Far more significant than where the capital was placed, perhaps, was from whence it came. By effecting the removal of the capital from New York and Philadelphia, Jefferson uniquely invested his agrarian ideal into American political culture. At the heart of the Jeffersonian vision, which would predominate at least through the nineteenth century, rested the conviction that cities like New York and Philadelphia were "sores on the body politic," full of vice and corruption, and utterly unbefitting a nation of farmers and freeholders. Ensconced on the banks of the Potomac River, the bucolic American seat of government might stave off the type of corruption that plagued European courts. In America, it would seem, "country air makes free."

Even as President John Adams reluctantly and ruefully removed from Philadelphia to Washington in the winter of 1800, where he would shortly turn over the ship of state to Jefferson, a deep irony was at work. It took many decades, but as Washington expanded around the wonderfully symmetrical design of Pierre Charles L'Enfant, it increasingly became the symbol of an emerging empire. In 1814 the capital was still sufficiently inconsequential that its burning by the invading British army had negligible impact on either the outcome of the War of 1812 or the Madison administration. Washington never rivaled New York or Philadelphia as the locus of cultural or financial might, but by mid-century it stood for central power utterly antithetical to the American agrarian ideal that had spawned its birth in the first years of the Republic.

*See also* **Articles of Confederation; Congress; Continental Congresses; Founding Fathers; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; New York City; Philadelphia; South; Washington, Burning of; Washington, D.C.; Washington, George.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bowling, Kenneth R. *The Creation of Washington, D.C.: The Idea and Location of the American Capital.* Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1991.

Bryan, Wilhelmus B. *A History of the National Capital: From Its Foundation to the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act.* New York: Macmillan, 1914.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Padover, Saul K., ed. *Thomas Jefferson and the National Capital.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946.

Young, James Sterling. *The Washington Community, 1800–1828.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

*Peter S. Field*

**NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER** Although the *National Intelligencer* began as a party newspaper, the talents, principles, and government connections of its editors soon helped it to develop into one of the nation's most influential periodicals, a position it maintained for much of its early history. In the summer of 1800 Thomas Jefferson and Albert Gallatin encouraged the Philadelphia printer Samuel Harrison Smith to follow the federal government to Washington to start a Republican newspaper. Smith, a strong Jefferson supporter, readily complied, and on 31 October 1800 the first issue of the tri-weekly *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* appeared.

After Jefferson's 4 March 1801 inauguration, Smith and his wife, Margaret Bayard Smith, became members of the Republican government social circle, dining with the president and members of the cabinet and Congress. Smith's political and social access to Congress and the administration led to profitable contracts for government printing as well as insights into the views of the president and the department heads. The *National Intelligencer* was soon known as the "court paper" of the Jefferson administration. Smith supported administration policies but avoided the strident tone of many of his contemporaries, striving for a moderate and balanced presentation of domestic and international affairs. Because of this evenhanded approach, the *National Intelligencer*'s detailed reports of congressional debates and executive activity quickly became source material for editors across the country.

After Jefferson's retirement to Monticello in 1809, Smith left publishing for finance, selling the *Intelligencer* in 1810 to his employee Joseph Gales, Jr. Two years later Gales entered into a partnership agreement with his brother-in-law, William Seaton. Gales and Seaton continued Smith's policy of high-minded editorial comment combined with detailed reports of congressional happenings and maintained amiable relations with the Madison and Monroe administrations. Because of the *Intelligencer*'s support for President James Madison and the War of 1812, the British destroyed the newspaper's offices on 25 August 1814 during the invasion of Washington, dealing a severe blow to the partners' finances. To improve their still unstable financial situation, they began publication in 1825 of the *Register of Congressional Debates*, a detailed compilation in book form of the debates of each congressional session. Gales and Seaton's support for the Bank of the United States, to which they were deeply indebted, and for Henry Clay's "American System" led to estrangement from Andrew Jackson and his supporters.

After Jackson's election to the presidency in 1828 they no longer enjoyed close relationships with the administration and received far fewer government contracts. In 1834 they began publication of the *American State Papers*, followed by the *Annals of Congress*, two editions that not only preserved the executive, administrative, and legislative history of the early Republic but also contributed to the prestige of the *Intelligencer*. As the nation became more polarized politically in the decades leading to the Civil War, Gales and Seaton's moderate, compromising style fell out of favor. The paper came to be regarded as respectable but stodgy, and readers drifted away. Gales died in 1860, and in 1864 Seaton sold the *National Intelligencer* to a firm that moved the paper to New York, where it expired.

*See also* **Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Newspapers; Press, The; Print Culture; Printers; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ames, William E. *A History of the National Intelligencer.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972.

Ritchie, Donald A. *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Smith, Culver H. *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977.

*Mary A. Hackett*

**NATIONALISM** On 4 July 1776, the Continental Congress charged a committee consisting of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson to devise both a motto and a seal for the newly declared nation. The motto, approved during the 9 September 1776 meeting that also gave the United States of America its name, was "E Pluribus Unum" or "Out

of Many One." The motto was an expression more of hope than of reality. The newly united thirteen states faced a task unique to the world: to create a government whose primary affective ties were voluntary. The very idea of creating loyalty to the nation based not on kinship or ethnicity but on ideas was as revolutionary as the form of governance Americans were proposing. The Declaration of Independence from Great Britain issued that same July in Philadelphia by the delegates to the Continental Congress was one that not only called forth a nation but a war. The priority therefore was rallying domestic support through unity of purpose to defend their political actions on the field of battle. Making the principles outlined in the Declaration manifest was critical to obtaining that domestic support. To do the work of creating not only a nation but a people, it was imperative to forge bonds that would link far-flung Americans to each other and to the new nation-state. Only through the creation and inculcation of an American sense of nationalism could the Congress hope to create a durable state. The project was immense and the solutions often ingenious as the leaders of the Revolutionary effort sought to reshape old allegiances into new patterns. Institutions, rituals, and symbols by which kingdoms had created identification and loyalty in their subjects were reinvented to reflect new ideas about the relationships of citizens to one another and to their government.

The priority in the summer of 1776 was building a cohesive sense of national purpose to fight the war provoked with Great Britain. The Stamp Act Crisis of 1765 and the Townshend Act of 1767 had taught the colonists some important lessons about unity and resistance. The formation of the Sons of Liberty during those earlier crises created an organizational network that gathered around landmarks renamed "liberty trees"; where no suitable tree was available, poles were erected that were similarly dubbed "liberty poles." Used for signals and gathering places, the British searched them out and destroyed them, creating in the process a symbol. The Sons of Liberty were often controversial in their methods of organizing mob actions and enforcing boycotts, but they were effective. Unity was also promoted by ministers who mingled republicanism with millennial Christianity. Casting the Revolution as a sign of Christ's imminent thousand-year reign, various Protestant denominations supported the cause, which resulted in a distinctive cast to American political culture and to American Christianity. Broadsides and pamphlets poured out of the presses instructing the former colonists in the theory and benefits of republican government and shaping an idea of liberty that drove the engine of popular support.

After the Revolution, campaigns related to the ratification of the Constitution provided an opportunity for public outpourings of political sentiment as supporters of a federal system framed arguments in nationalist terms. The campaign over the ratification itself signaled a shift to a national political culture that functioned through parties whose interests extended beyond the local area and issues. Despite the often bitter battles in the individual states, news in June 1788 that the needed nine states would ratify before Independence Day set off a flurry of planning in Philadelphia. The 4 July 1788 Grand Federal Procession in Philadelphia involved every class, every organization, and every bit of ritual that the evolving nation had to offer. The political culture was public, participatory, and self-conscious, a symbolic enactment of the process of creating the political nation. The frictions of class, gender, and race or of local politics were subsumed in a celebration of an anticipated future. The centerpiece was the Grand Federal Edifice, consisting of a dome supported by thirteen columns adorned by thirteen stars. The democratic spirit was evident to Benjamin Rush, who later wrote that "rank for a while forgot all its claims."

### INCULCATING NATIONALISM

Remembrances of the Revolution in holidays and commemorations assumed a new importance in the early nineteenth century as the Revolutionary generation, with its concrete unifying experience of sacrifice, gave way to a generation whose national ties were more abstract. Monarchical governments had long understood the need for events that reinforced allegiance to and identification with the monarch. Holidays as well as symbols assisted in the process of encouraging people to imagine themselves as part of something larger. Sermons, songs, speeches, and monuments focused on the ideas of sacrifice and heroism in service of principle. The idea of nation was reflected in official and unofficial rituals of remembrance at such moments as the death of George Washington in 1799; the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825; and in the ultimate in symbolism, the twin deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on the fiftieth anniversary of independence itself, 4 July 1826, were all directed to that same end.

**Independence Day.** The preeminent national holiday was Independence Day, celebrated first on 4 July 1777 in Philadelphia to mark the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The Continental

Army camp under the command of Washington was issued a double ration of rum to celebrate the day in 1778. The celebration of 4 July helped create a needed sense of unity that was bolstered by other spontaneous celebrations at the news of American military victories. After the war, the celebration of the day focused both on the birth of the political nation and on local partisan politics. Substituting political debate and demonstrations for potentially violent conflicts over local politics, Independence Day helped domesticate the Revolutionary impulse. But Independence Day did more than provide the citizen with a sense of political participation in the nation: it gave the disenfranchised a political presence. By joining in demonstrations for or against an issue, a candidate, a party, or even non-citizens were given a voice in the public discussion. Such activities provided a general sense of investment in the political future of the nation, even if tangible participation was at best a distant dream. In performing such rituals of respect, they too were participating in a performance of nationalism.

**National symbols and newspapers.** Visual representations of the nation were an important facet of the ongoing project of promoting a sense of nationalism. National symbols chosen to reinforce the idea of one nation with a unifying set of underlying principles and unique character were under design from the moment of creation. The Great Seal of the United States, whose central figure was an eagle symbolizing strength and vigilance, was adopted by Congress on 20 June 1782. Likewise, a flag to stand as a symbol for the nation both on and off the battlefield was critical. Here the desire to incorporate the idea of thirteen colonies united in common cause resulted in a flag of thirteen red and white stripes to the right of a circle of white stars on a field of deep blue, which was adopted by Congress on 14 June 1777. A federal city where government would be housed and the full force of national iconography would be displayed was designed specifically to be outside of the influence or control of any one state. There, the architecture celebrated ancient republics and the union of the thirteen original colonies.

Newspapers provided a public sphere of their own where editors and printers shaped political culture through their accounts of celebrations, letters from citizens, and selection of items from other newspapers. Ballads, broadsides, and orations all provided reinforcing ideas about the practices of the new national citizenship and its appropriate expression. Popular figures such as Brother Jonathan appeared in stage plays and in newspapers as a repre-

sentative American man who was somewhat rural, more than a bit innocent, but possessed of a combination of optimism, entrepreneurial spirit, and native common sense that bested every confidence man or elitist who tried to get the better of him. Following the War of 1812 (1812–1815), Uncle Sam emerged from soldiers' jokes about the government to become a staple of the proliferating political cartoons. Less a representative man than a symbol of government personified, Uncle Sam dressed in clothing that echoed the iconography of the American flag, hectored citizens into patriotic behavior, and acted as the eternal booster of nationalism.

**Educational texts.** Noah Webster believed "language as well as government should be national" and set out to create an "American language." But his desire went beyond the simple idea of casting off anything British. Webster stated bluntly in the introduction to his famous speller in 1783 that education was critical to instill in youth "an inviolable attachment to their own country." "A Federal Catechism" was included in some editions so that the future citizen could imbibe stories of patriotism and the principles of republican government as he or she learned to spell. But there were lessons in nationalism even for the literate adult citizen. A critical issue for many whose universe had been decidedly local was the need to understand the parameters of the new nation. Jedidiah Morse, a minister and schoolteacher turned author, had great success with his *American Geography* (1789). Geographies like Morse's helped new citizens envision the boundaries of their new country and, within the discussion of the customs of those Americans in faraway regions, acquaint themselves with their fellow citizens.

**The arts.** The creative arts too were involved in the cultural work of nation building. Joel Barlow's epic poem, *The Vision of Columbus* (1787), presented the voyage of Columbus as a divinely inspired mission linked directly to the later creation of the American nation. The production of portraits of leading men combined with dramatic commemorative scenes from the Revolution enjoyed wild popularity while reinforcing ideas about sacrifice and unity. In 1786 John Trumbull completed his panoramic painting, *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill*, which enjoyed healthy sales in prints and in painted copies. Trumbull's *The Declaration of Independence*, finished the following year, also won popular acceptance and, beginning in 1817, was copied onto the rotunda of the Capitol building. Gilbert Stuart of Rhode Island painted George Washington from life in 1797. Full of symbolic trappings such as eagles and

representations of the founding documents, it too was widely copied and sold. The original was the only artwork saved by First Lady Dolley Madison in the 1814 burning of the White House by the British army during the War of 1812, a tribute to its symbolic importance. It became the iconic staple of the elementary-school classroom for over one hundred years. The inculcation of nationalism was as participatory as the political culture.

### CONTESTED NATIONALISM

Tests of national unity came early. In the early 1790s, farmers in western Pennsylvania were incensed over a tax they considered unfair because it applied to grain distilled into alcohol but not to grain carried to market in other forms. In 1794 they staged what became known as the Whiskey Rebellion. This test of federal authority was met head-on by George Washington, who sent more than twelve thousand federalized troops to Pennsylvania, not knowing whether the farmers would back down or the countryside would rise up in support. Washington's gamble—or his reputation—paid off as word of the approaching army defused the rebellion. The aborted revolt reminded many that the same energy that fueled the Revolution also resisted full domestication. The most serious crises that threatened the Union in the first decades of its existence came not from the feared uprisings of citizens but from the bridling of states under federal authority.

In his Farewell Address of 1796, President Washington showed that he had no illusions about the nation's potential problems. The valedictory on his eight-year presidency described anything but a triumphant and stable nation. Washington expressed an "apprehension of danger" from both foreign and domestic sources. Internal dangers included division into competing factions that might look to self-interest rather than to the Constitution and the commonweal. Only in devotion to the Constitution, he warned, would the "sacred ties" of unity protect the nation. As Washington entered retirement, he took with him not only the gratitude of the nation but its affections. By establishing a working government, he set the standard for the office of the president and demonstrated that constitutional government could work. But in his final public words there are pragmatic worries that would play out in the next generation as party politics created factions and crises arose over whose interpretation of the principles of the Revolution and the balance of power in government would prevail.

Just two years later Kentucky and Virginia raised the issue of states' rights in reaction to the Alien and Sedition Acts under Federalist president John Adams. The *Marbury v. Madison* opinion of 1803 by Chief Justice John Marshall asserted that the right of final review to determine the constitutionality of all legislation lay in the Supreme Court. Virginia's chief justice Spencer Roane held that the states were the final arbiter of debates on constitutionality, and between 1810 and 1821 the two debated the point bitterly. Roane became a moving force in the creation of both the *Richmond Enquirer* (to advocate in print the Republican position) and the Richmond Junto. The Richmond Junto, with its membership of elite Virginians, was a political machine just as much as Tammany Hall in New York City. Hoping to influence and strengthen the Republican agenda nationally, the battle was not over whether the United States should cease to exist but under what terms. The same debates arose in New England during the War of 1812. Federalists, hostile toward perceived constitutional inequities favoring the western and southern states, met in convention in Hartford, Connecticut in 1814–1815. Connecticut governor Roger Griswold directly challenged the federal government by refusing to surrender the state militia to federal authority. The case reached the Supreme Court, which affirmed the authority of the president to requisition troops from the states. The most radical element involved with the Convention was known as the Essex Junto. It took an extreme position that included favoring a separate peace with Great Britain. The demands, reduced by moderates to a call for the resignation of President James Madison and a list of grievances, were delivered by a delegation to Washington, D.C., in time for the delegates to see the celebrations of the American victory in the Battle of New Orleans (1815). Retreating in humiliation, the Federalists would never recover as a party. The foreshadowing of the nullification crisis at the end of the 1820s and the secession crisis that would split the Union between 1860 and 1861 underscored the ways in which this initial project of creating a sense of nationalism in the American people was, at best, a limited success.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Flags; Hartford Convention; Monuments and Memorials; Music: Patriotic and Political; National Symbols; Poetry; Whiskey Rebellion.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Rev. ed. New York: Verso, 1991.

Craven, Wesley Frank. *The Legend of the Founding Fathers.* New York: New York University Press, 1956.

Kammen, Michael G. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Purcell, Sarah J. *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Travers, Len. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic.* Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

*Gretchen A. Adams*

**NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY** The National Republican Party flourished between 1827 and 1833, though it did not take that name until the last months of 1830. It originated from the coalition that elected John Quincy Adams president in February 1825, and supported his administration and his unsuccessful reelection bid in 1828. It led the opposition to Andrew Jackson's presidency after 1828 and ran Henry Clay as his main opponent in 1832. In the last forty years, historians have tended to deny that National Republicans constituted a real party, but in many states they created the organization and voter support that the Whig party used to oppose the Jacksonian Democrats after 1833.

## GENESIS

The term *national republican* was often used after 1815 to delineate those Jeffersonian Republicans who wished to see an active federal government pursuing a positive economic policy. In particular, representatives of the farming majority in the middle Atlantic, border, and northwestern states advocated strengthening the home market and national self-sufficiency through federal appropriations to build roads and canals and through high protective tariffs to encourage domestic industry. Supporters of this American System divided in the 1824 presidential election between Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson. By contrast, Adams gained most of his support from the urge of New Englanders—whether living in the Northeast or in recently settled areas farther west—to secure a president who was not a southern slaveholder. Though New England was still associated with the traditional Atlantic economy, early in 1825 Adams privately committed himself to Clay's policy, attracted Clay's "national republican" supporters, and so won the critical House election of 9 February 1825.

Opposed from the start by the supporters of the disappointed candidates, who gradually rallied behind Jackson's cause, the administration advocated an ambitious program of internal improvements. Under Adams, Congress voted far more money for roads and canals than under all previous presidents put together, though the voting on particular measures often reflected regional as much as partisan support. Despite losing control of the House of Representatives after the midterm elections of 1826–1827, the administration forces pushed through the most protective tariff of the entire antebellum period in 1828, though only with the last-minute assistance of northern Jacksonians. Adams men could reasonably claim that their ranks in Congress had shown a degree of commitment to the American System far surpassing that of the sectionally divided Jacksonians.

In the presidential election of 1828, the Adams men demonstrated a party discipline and organization challenging that of the Jacksonians. From March 1827 a small central committee in Washington organized the interchange of information, raised money to finance the press campaign, and established a campaign paper in Washington titled *We The People.* In twelve states the Adams men used a state delegate convention to name their electoral ticket and legitimize a state management committee, and organized congressional elections along national party lines. They spread the mantle of popular approval over their People's Ticket, stressed the interests of "la-

boring men," and scurrilously damned Jackson for his bloodthirstiness and immorality. Their campaign successfully expanded the Adams–Clay votes of 1824 and 1826, but they were overwhelmed by a massive shift to Jackson among new voters in some critical northern states.

## PARTY PERSISTENCE

Under Jackson, the disillusioned Adams men slowly transformed themselves into a major opposition party, as marked by their adoption of the title National Republican in 1830. They seized on the fact that while in 1828 Jackson had been portrayed in each state as supporting whatever policies were locally popular, once he was in power he revealed a pro-southern bias. The opposition rightly portrayed his Maysville Road Veto of 1830 as a betrayal of the American System and condemned his Indian Removal Act of 1830 as both an immoral refusal to maintain the United States' treaty obligations toward native peoples and a corrupt effort to expand the slave economy. When in 1832 he came into conflict with the U.S. Supreme Court and then vetoed the bill rechartering the second Bank of the United States, his opponents severely criticized both his disregard for established constitutional principles and his irresponsible attack on the nation's prosperity.

By this point, however, National Republicans were suffering from a major cleavage in their ranks. A fervent crusade against Freemasonry had taken hold in New England–settled constituencies, and those most aroused began to demand the exclusion of all Masons from public office. Before 1829 this demand had been subordinated to the need to reelect Adams, but thereafter it divided his supporters. Some National Republicans were Masons; many more were suspicious of Freemasonry, but objected to political discrimination based on religious or private affiliations and opposed a crusade that distracted attention from national issues. As a result, the anti-Masons had to pursue their political objectives by forming a third party, which in many northern states became the bitter opponent of the National Republicans in state and local elections. Since the anti-Masons were in part objecting to the aristocratic advantages that Masons supposedly enjoyed in law and politics, the National Republicans inevitably became associated with elite privilege in a way that their broader record entirely repudiated.

This cleavage did not greatly weaken the National Republican campaign in the 1832 presidential election, simply because most anti-Masons who had opposed Jackson in 1828 were unwilling to assist his reelection. Only in Massachusetts and Vermont, where the Jacksonians stood no chance of winning, did statewide anti-Masonic and National Republican tickets run against each other. In the three electorally powerful states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the anti-Masons and the National Republicans agreed on a coalition: in return for a free run in the state elections without National Republican opposition, the anti-Masons agreed to support amalgamated electoral tickets that would vote in the electoral college for the candidate most likely to defeat Jackson.

Buoyed by these arrangements, the National Republicans in 1832 resorted once more to the machinery used in 1828, calling state and district nominating conventions. At the national level they organized the first national convention ever designed exclusively as a nominating device, which in December 1831 produced the first keynote address, the first nominating speech, and the first floor demonstration, all on behalf of Henry Clay. In May 1832 they generated the first formally issued party platform, which laid down the principles upon which the Whig Party would operate in the two decades after 1834. Their vigorous newspaper and broadside campaign, making innovative use of political cartoons, helped draw out a popular vote that correlated very closely with that they had received in 1828, but Jackson won even more heavily in the electoral college.

## WEAKNESS

The failure of the National Republicans in both presidential campaigns resulted primarily from the fact that the anti-southern issues that gave them life restricted their reach. They appealed powerfully in twelve states stretching from Maine and Vermont to Maryland and Kentucky, always carrying at least seven of them and challenging closely in at least three others; together, these states elected 53 percent of U.S. Representatives and represented a clear majority in the electoral college. The party won its largest majorities in New England and regularly secured about half the vote in the large states of New York and Ohio, though not in Pennsylvania. The National Republicans also found extensive support in some parts of the South—in the border states, in sugar-growing Louisiana, and in Appalachia—but did disastrously in most of the older seaboard South, in the Cotton Kingdom, and on the farthest frontiers of Missouri and Illinois. This exclusion from much of the South explains why they found national success so elusive: the Jacksonians had so many more safe congressional seats and so many assured electoral college votes

that the National Republicans had to win virtually all the marginal constituencies while the Jacksonian Democrats needed only a few for national victory.

After 1832 it became clear that the name "National Republican" was a major liability, even as Jackson's renewed attack on the national bank in September 1833 brought on a crisis that emphasized the urgency of strengthening the anti–Jacksonian opposition. Anti-Masonry was already losing its force as the number of Masonic lodges declined, but political anti-Masons saw National Republicans as their major opponents in state contests, despite their common stance on national issues. Similarly the appearance of an opposition movement within the South in the wake of the nullification and bank crises created the opportunity for a genuinely national opposition party, but only if the National Republicans could shake off their identification with anti-southernism. Hence the name "Whig" became widely used in 1834 to describe all elements of opposition, but in the states where the anti–Jacksonians of the years 1827 to 1833 had been competitive, the new party used the organizational experience of its predecessor and called upon the same body of popular support. The Whig Party became the major national party opposing the Democrats for the next twenty years, but in twelve states its ideological identity and voter base can be traced back to at least 1828, under another name.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Anti–Masons; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Jackson, Andrew.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chase, James S. *Emergence of the Presidential Nominating Convention, 1789–1832.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Howe, Daniel Walker. *The Political Culture of the American Whigs.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. "Antimasonry and Partisanship in Greater New England, 1826–1836." *Journal of the Early Republic* 15 (1995): 199–239.

———. *The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818–1828.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000.

Watson, Harry L. *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.

*Donald J. Ratcliffe*

**NATIONAL SYMBOLS**   The creation of an independent nation in 1776 required much more than simply building the structures of government. A universe of images needed to be created both to represent the nation to the wider world as a sovereign entity and to promote the inculcation of nationalism among the populace. Devising symbols was a complicated and lengthy process. Formal symbols to represent the nation, including flags, seals, and the buildings that would house the government and its leaders, would arise from the efforts of charged committees and commissioned individuals. Building on old traditions from Europe and symbols of resistance during the decade leading up to the American Revolution, common popular use of such symbols as the liberty tree or liberty pole would also come to represent the nation and build unity as the Revolution progressed and the nation came into being.

### MOTTO, SEAL, AND FLAG
On 4 July 1776 the Continental Congress charged a committee consisting of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson to devise both a motto and a seal for the newly declared nation. The motto, approved during the 9 September 1776 meeting that also gave the United States of America its name, was "E Pluribus Unum," or "Out of Many One." The eagle, which became the central symbolic element in the Great Seal of the United States, emerged only after three committees spent six years attempting to distill a wide variety of ideas into one effective visual symbol. The eagle was incorporated in each of the designs. First as a detail representing Germans as one of the six primary immigrant groups to arrive in America, next as a small central figure among several in Philadelphia attorney William Barton's drawings, and finally as the centerpiece of the seal's design as described by Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson. Thomson's report combined elements from each of the committees. He specified that the centerpiece of the seal be a distinctly "American Eagle." Critical to this design was a large shield emblazoned with the colors of the flag across the breast of the eagle and standing without supporting figures. Thomson wrote in his report to Congress that he meant the arrangement to portray the United States as standing alone and relying only "on their own virtue." The eagle, which suited the predominance of classical motifs adorning buildings in the designs for the capitol because of its own associations with ancient Rome, symbolized both strength and vigilance. Congress approved the design on the same day it was presented, 20 June 1782. A flag to stand as a symbol for the nation both on and off the battlefield was perhaps the most immediate need. Here the desire to incorporate the idea of thirteen states united

in common cause resulted in a flag of thirteen red and white stripes to the right of a circle of white stars on a field of deep blue. This iconic ancestor of the present-day flag was adopted by Congress on 14 June 1777.

### LOCAL INITIATIVES

In the immediate wake of the Declaration of Independence, the project of creating national sentiment was largely local and designed to rally the population to continue its resistance. The liberty tree or liberty pole, which originated during the Stamp Act protests of 1765, was reborn as a critical location for organizing resistance up and down the eastern seaboard. The importance of the liberty poles as a symbol was not lost on the British army, which cut them down almost as soon as they rose up. Holidays to replace those like the King's Birthday, which acted as a reminder of allegiances, also got their start in local Revolutionary festivities. Philadelphia chose 4 July 1777 to mark the first anniversary of independence and in 1783 Boston declared the day an official holiday. The creation of a holiday to mark the birth of the political nation served during the war as a rallying point for the development of a truly national sense of purpose. Following the war, the holiday marked national commemoration of the deeds of founding while retaining its political character in the mixing of contemporary politics in local celebrations.

### PERSONIFYING AMERICA

Personification of the nation and of its ideals was a more complicated issue. America had long been represented in the Western world by Indian figures, often shown juxtaposed in the British press with the classical female figure Britannia and frequently used as ornamentation on such things as colonial seals, book endpapers, and maps. Portrayed as bare breasted and dressed in feathered skirt and headdress, the Indian was designed to project an "uncivilized" image in contrast to the "civilized" Britannia and was disliked by the former colonists. In its place, an American Revolutionary elite promoted allegorical classical symbols in order to incorporate the authority of ancient republics and and desirable national virtues such as independence, strength, and unity into visual terms. Columbia, most commonly used to represent a female "America," made a bow to the discoverer of the New World. Americans preferred classical, or classically inspired figures like "Liberty" or "Columbia" as appropriate representations within which they could invest their own identity and which were deemed appropriate to take their place

with similar European figures. Columbia was chosen to pay homage to Christopher Columbus as the discoverer of America. In Columbus virtues of independence, individualism, and courage could be incorporated into a mythos and a history for a nation with only a dependent colonial past. The immediate post-Revolutionary decades saw writers like Joel Barlow in *The Vision of Columbus* use Columbus as a central figure. "Columbus," "Columbia," and "Columbian" appeared in the name of everything from colleges to towns, newspapers, and the proposed new federal district. By 1829, Washington Irving's romantic biography of the explorer as divinely guided and prevailing against the odds to discover America itself suited a burgeoning sense of American exceptionalism.

### VERNACULAR SYMBOLS

The side-by-side development of those formal symbols of the nation and the rise of vernacular symbols fulfilled different cultural needs. Brother Jonathan, his progenitor Yankee Doodle, and his descendant Uncle Sam were used for everything from political commentary to sales advertising. They stood in variously for the average American (the "people") or the government itself. They evolved over time to express certain ideas about who Americans were. Yankee Doodle began his cultural life as a derisive term for colonists by British soldiers. Reclaimed in military victory during the war, he was gradually transformed into Brother Jonathan, a naïve, albeit full of common sense, representation of the new citizen in his new nation. During the War of 1812, Uncle Sam emerged from soldiers' jokes. Uncle Sam represented less the common man than the government itself—a sort of booster and nag regarding duty as the federal government consolidated its power institutionally and culturally. The symbols coexisted for varying periods of time within the newspapers and periodicals of their day.

The emergence of the United States of America came with a series of formal political actions: adopting the Declaration of Independence in 1776; fighting the Revolution; concluding the Treaty of Paris in 1783; and ratifying the Constitution in 1788. To make the principles underlying those actions manifest was critical to obtaining the domestic support necessary to defend the nation, first in war and later in the contentious peace that left competing factions all seeking to define the nation in their own terms. It was crucial to do the work of creating not only a nation but a people with affective bonds that linked far-flung Americans in a sense of interdependent union.

To the wider and more skeptical world, the assertion of sovereignty through the use of well-known symbolic motifs signaled that there was indeed "a new constellation" in the heavens as the Continental Congress formally proclaimed in approving the design of the national flag.

See also **Flags; Monuments and Memorials; Music: Patriotic and Political; "Star-Spangled Banner."**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Claudia L. *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1992.

Kammen, Michael G. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Marling, Karal Ann. *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876–1986.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Morgan, Winifred. *An American Icon: Brother Jonathan and American Identity.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Olson, Lester C. *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Purcell, Sarah J. *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Rourke, Constance. *American Humor: A Study of the National Character.* Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1986.

Schlereth, Thomas J. "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism." *Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 937–968.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Dis-Covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786–1789." *Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 841–873.

Travers, Len. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

*Gretchen A. Adams*

**NATIVE AMERICANS**   *See* **American Indians.**

**NATIVISM**   *See* **Anti-Catholicism; Immigration and Immigrants: Anti-Immigrant Sentiment/Nativism.**

**NATURAL DISASTERS**   A number of major natural disasters struck during the late colonial and early national periods. The various impacts of these calamities reflected both the nature of the event and the particular social circumstances in which they occurred. Americans interpreted disasters as "acts of God," but the meaning attached to that idea shifted as educated elites increasingly argued that calamities arose from natural, rather than supernatural, processes. Sporadically, disaster victims received various forms of relief to ease suffering or mitigate losses.

### EARTHQUAKES, HURRICANES

Earthquakes and hurricanes constituted the most terrifying disasters Americans experienced. Numerous earthquakes rattled the continent during this period, but the most significant occurred in 1755 and 1811–1812. On 18 November 1755 an earthquake shook residents from New England through the Chesapeake. Hundreds of chimneys in Boston collapsed, but there were no deaths and overall damage was minimal, especially compared to the great earthquake that had devastated Lisbon seventeen days earlier. Some viewed the different levels of destruction as a signal of God's favor for Protestant New England over Catholic Portugal, but others highlighted more mundane social factors: Boston's numerous flexible wooden buildings withstood the shocks better than the more rigid brick and stone structures common in Lisbon. A far stronger series of earthquakes struck in the winter of 1811 and 1812. Among the most powerful in American history, the New Madrid earthquakes (named for the nearby Mississippi River town) began in December 1811 and continued through March of the next year. Over 1,800 tremors shook an area of 956,250 square miles, ranging from Detroit to New Orleans to Charleston. Most were only minor, but three tremors, all likely measuring above 8.0 on the modern Richter scale, hit on 16 December 1811, 23 January 1812, and 7 February 1812. The earthquakes destroyed the town of

New Madrid and plunged more than 150,000 acres of forest into the Mississippi River. The force of the 7 February shock elevated the riverbed below New Madrid and temporarily reversed the river's current. At least eleven people died from the earthquakes; the total number of casualties is unknown and likely much higher. Although powerful, the tremors struck a sparsely settled region, limiting damage and losses.

Hurricanes struck more often and with greater impact. Dozens of hurricanes and tropical storms pounded the Atlantic coast during this period. Hurricanes were a distinctly American phenomenon—the word itself is derived from the Native American word *hurakan.* By the second half of the eighteenth century, the storms had become an accepted part of life, especially in the Lower South where they struck most frequently. South Carolina planters anticipated hurricanes each year; Henry Laurens warned business correspondents that "there is no depending upon our produce before the Hurricane Season and Harvest are fairly over" (Hamer, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, p. 511). Storms routinely destroyed buildings, sank ships, and ruined cotton, tobacco, and rice crops, resulting in significant economic losses. Because of the complex infrastructure involved in production and their low-country locations, rice plantations were especially vulnerable to the storms. In addition to economic damage, it was common for hundreds of individuals to perish in major storms, including many African American slaves. Seventy slaves drowned on one sea-island estate during a storm in September 1804. More than three hundred died in South Carolina during a hurricane on 27 and 28 September 1822. In the wake of the disaster, many planters in the Santee Delta constructed hurricane towers (short circular buildings) to provide shelter for slaves on their coastal plantations. The storms also occasionally wrought havoc farther north. A major hurricane pummeled Long Island and New England on 23 September 1815, the worst storm in the region's history until the 1938 tempest. Another storm struck states from North Carolina through Massachusetts in early September 1821, flooding parts of New York City and blowing down church steeples throughout New England.

Other calamities at times threatened individuals and their livelihoods. An infestation of the Hessian fly and market forces that encouraged shipments out of the region combined to limit wheat supplies in 1788 while an unusually cold winter and spring (linked to volcanic eruptions in Iceland and Japan in 1783) delayed spring planting the next year. Panic set in, exacerbated by eastern merchants who hoarded supplies hoping to profit from the increased demand. As a result, during the spring and summer of 1789 residents of several northern states, the St. Lawrence River Valley in Canada, and Native American villages faced shortages of provisions and hunger. Concern about food shortages also emerged in 1816, the "year without a summer." Frosts struck as far south as Virginia three times during June, July, and August. The unusually cold weather (again linked to earlier volcanic eruptions) and reoccurring periods of drought threatened crops from Vermont through South Carolina and dramatically drove up the price of flour and other provisions.

### INTERPRETATIONS

As they had done throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Americans spoke of natural disasters in providential language, as "acts of God," and local officials routinely called for days of fasting or thanksgiving in the wake of calamities to encourage reflection on sin and judgment. Providential interpretations of disasters remained common, especially among Evangelicals energized by the mid-century series of religious revivals known as the Great Awakening, who maintained the belief that disasters signaled divine displeasure. The fear generated by large-scale calamities pushed many terrified victims into churches during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Methodist churches in the western territories hardest struck by the New Madrid earthquakes experienced a 50 percent increase in membership between 1811 and 1812, compared to just a 1 percent increase among Methodist congregations in eastern states during the same period. Some Native Americans interpreted the earthquakes as a sign to join a pan-Indian alliance, led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, attempting to resist further white expansion into the West. The severe cold and drought of 1816 also brought forth proclamations to set aside days for fasting.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, arguments based on new scientific understandings of the universe and reflecting unease with the "enthusiasm" associated with the revivals challenged traditional providential interpretations. Although God remained the primary cause of all events and disasters continued to elicit calls for recognition of divine power, many educated elites, including some ministers, increasingly rejected the idea that disasters were supernatural events and argued instead that most arose from natural, or "secondary" causes. Hurricanes in particular lent themselves to such in-

terpretations. The frequency and seasonality of hurricanes and the common belief that various natural signs preceded them all suggested that the storms were part of the natural order rather than terrifying deviations from it. A sense of awe at the majesty of God's creation, rather than fear of his wrath, constituted the proper response to calamities. Indeed, some Americans argued optimistically that despite the devastation that accompanied them, hurricanes and earthquakes actually served the larger good. Harvard professor John Winthrop wrote in 1755 that more people benefited from earthquakes than suffered from them, although he offered few specifics. The southern naturalist Lionel Chalmers suggested in 1776 that hurricanes increased rainfall and purified the air, and that a lack of storms over an extended period was a "great misfortune" to residents (Chalmers, *An Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina*, p. 11).

Despite such confident assertions of natural causation, the actual mechanisms at work in hurricanes and earthquakes remained a mystery. Some theories about earthquakes posited that underground fires or volcanoes were responsible for the tremors. Others suggested that electrical fluid was the prime cause. Not until the latter part of the nineteenth century did the modern science of seismology emerge. The causes of hurricanes, likewise, remained elusive, but by the late 1820s some understanding of the mechanics of the storms had developed. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin had ascertained that the movement of storms differed from the direction of their winds. In 1804 a Mississippi planter, William Dunbar, speculated that hurricanes were circular storms that revolved around a central vortex. Credit for this scientific advancement, however, usually goes to William Redfield, who provided evidence to support the theory by noting the different directions in which trees fell in various parts of Connecticut during a hurricane in 1821.

**RELIEF**

Some disaster relief existed to aid victims of calamities. Private and public efforts to raise money or supplies were most common in the wake of fires, but victims of other disasters also occasionally received assistance. The State of New York donated food to Native American tribes during the 1789 shortages. New York also purchased food to distribute among hungry settlers, although officials expected reimbursement and the amount of assistance paled compared to that offered by the British government to Canadian settlers. In 1815 the federal government granted new land to victims of the New Madrid earthquakes whose property was destroyed in the disaster. Many, however, lost their claims to speculators. Congress earlier had appropriated $50,000 to aid victims of an earthquake in Venezuela in 1812, but they did not appropriate any financial assistance for New Madrid victims. Direct financial assistance from the federal government remained minimal during the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Environment, Environmental History, and Nature; Nature, Attitudes Toward.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Chalmers, Lionel. *An Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina*. London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1776.

Clarke, Charles. "Science, Reason, and an Angry God: The Literature of an Earthquake." *New England Quarterly* 38 (1965): 340–362.

Errington, Sara. "Wonders and the Creation of Evangelical Culture in New England, 1720–1820." Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2000.

Hamer, Philip, ed. *The Papers of Henry Laurens: Vol. 3, 1759–1763*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972.

Landis, Michele. "'Let Me Next Time Be Tried by Fire': Disaster Relief and the Origins of the American Welfare State 1789–1874." *Northwestern University Law Review* 92 (1998): 967–1034.

Ludlum, David. *Early American Hurricanes, 1492–1870*. Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1963.

Murphy, Kathleen. "Prodigies and Portents: Providentialism in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 97 (2002): 397–421.

Penick, James L., Jr. *The New Madrid Earthquakes*. Rev. ed. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

Skeen, C. Edward. "'The Year without a Summer': A Historical View." *Journal of the Early Republic* 1 (1981): 51–67.

Taylor, Alan. "'The Hungry Year': 1789 on the Northern Border of Revolutionary America." In *American Disasters*. Edited by Steven Biel. New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Winthrop, John. *A Lecture on Earthquakes*. Boston: Edes and Gill, 1755.

*Matthew Mulcahy*

**NATURAL HISTORY**   Natural history—encompassing a suite of subjects now considered distinct, including botany and zoology, paleontology, geology, mineralogy, and ethnography—was the most American of sciences during the early national period and the first in which American scientists other than

Benjamin Franklin attained international stature. It also served as a means for European Americans to conceptualize racial differences.

European gardeners and botanists were eager for specimens of the flora and fauna from exotic North America, and some American botanists exploited this opportunity for tidy profits from the wilderness. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Quaker botanists John Bartram (1699–1777) and his cousin Humphry Marshall (1722–1801) were scouring the colonies from Florida to New York for rare plants for use in agriculture, gardening, and science; were studying Indian uses of plants for new uses in medicine; and were using religious, commercial, and social networks to distribute plants and seeds abroad. Though initially viewed as little more than merchants, Bartram gained respect for his acuity in introducing and describing new species, and Marshall for employing the high science of Linnaean systematics (the Linnaean system of classification) in his *Arbustrum Americanum* (1785), the first treatise on American trees written by an American. Indeed, for most practitioners in early national America, natural history was largely a utilitarian exercise, with taxonomy (rarely systematics) enjoying the greatest prestige but economic utility providing the impetus.

As a result of the influence of Bartram and Marshall, Philadelphia became a center of botanical interest and education. In 1789 the University of Pennsylvania appointed Benjamin Smith Barton (1766–1815) as professor of materia medica and later professor of botany, becoming the first American institution of higher learning to dedicate a position to the natural sciences. Barton's students and peers created an extensive network of researchers based on correspondence and exchange of specimens, and supported by the botanical gardens founded by David Hosack (1769–1835) in New York and André Michaux (1746–1802) in New Jersey and South Carolina, as well as by private collections such as William Hamilton's in Philadelphia. Natural history continued to attract Americans. According to many practitioners, natural history offered peculiar advantages over other sciences, requiring little in the way of complex apparatus or theoretical acuity. Moreover, Americans enjoyed a proximity to nature unavailable in settled Europe, and these scientists took the botanical description of America as a national project and point of national pride. Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838), naturalists as well as explorers, collected some of the most distinctly American plants of all, yet ironically and to the dismay of American botanists, the German botanist Frederick Pursh (1774–1820) absconded with some of Lewis's specimens and published descriptions of them in London, scooping his American colleagues.

The wilderness exerted a formative, though not always positive, influence on the American character. Americans' daily lives brought them into contact with both American Indians and Africans—a situation made possible by slavery and continental conquest and providing a unique empirical basis from which to explore racial biology. Indeed, by the 1790s, race had become a central concern of American natural history. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813), Samuel Stanhope Smith (1750–1819), Charles Caldwell (1772–1853), and Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) systematically delineated how and why different racial types differed, and they used anatomy and behavior to order the races on a linear gradient of social and cultural "development." In the generations of natural historians extending from Rush to Morton, the center of gravity of scientific opinion shifted from viewing phenotypic differences as a product of the environment to viewing them as an innate and unalterable division marked in body, mind, and character.

*See also* **Botany; Environment, Environmental History, and Nature; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Medicine; Patent Medicines.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cronon, William, ed. *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1995.

Gamez, Alicia M. "Making American Nature: Scientific Narratives of Origin and Order in Visual and Literary Conceptions of Race in the Early American Republic." Dissertation, Stanford University, 2000.

Porter, Charlotte M. *The Eagle's Nest: Natural History and American Ideas, 1812–1842.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982.

Welch, Margaret. *The Book of Nature: Natural History in the United States, 1825–1875.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.

*Robert S. Cox*

**NATURAL RIGHTS** Together with the companion ideas of the state of nature and the social compact, the idea of natural rights exerted great influence during the Revolutionary era and remained extremely potent in the years of the early Republic, and in somewhat modified form, it remains important even into the twenty-first century.

## PREVALENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RIGHTS

The best-known example of a doctrine of rights is, of course, the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, but it is impossible to read very far in other documents and writings of the new nation without finding similar invocations of the philosophy of natural rights and the social contract. Thus Samuel Adams in his 1772 draft of "The Rights of the Colonists" begins with "The Natural Rights of the Colonists as Men." The 1774 Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress declared in its first resolution the familiar triad of rights to "life, liberty and property"—rights said to be held under "the immutable laws of nature." Thomas Paine in his widely read pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) appeals to "the equal rights of nature" to prove that hereditary monarchy cannot be a legitimate form of government. Some years later, during the French Revolution, Paine wrote another essay, *The Rights of Man*, devoted to defending the doctrine of natural rights against the critique leveled by Edmund Burke. The constitutions of the Revolutionary states contained clear references to natural-rights philosophy, with George Mason's draft of the Virginia Declaration of Rights of June 1776 being perhaps the most significant and most widely copied in the other states. Mason's version affirmed "that all men . . . have certain inherent natural rights . . . , among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." This list is obviously very close to the better known triad affirmed in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: "that all men . . . are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Although the U.S. Constitution does not contain a comparable recitation of the philosophy of rights, the reason for that is not that the drafters of the Constitution no longer thought natural rights important, but that the Constitution was a union of preexisting states that had already committed themselves to theses of natural rights in their constitutions and bills of rights. When James Madison drew up the draft for the federal Bill of Rights, he proposed that there be "prefixed to the Constitution" a statement patterned after Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights. This proposal was not accepted, only because it was decided to append the Bill of Rights as a series of amendments following the original constitutional text, rather than, as in many of the state constitutions, to begin with a statement of principle prefacing the Constitution.

## ON THE NATURE OF RIGHTS

Although those who appealed to the philosophy of natural rights were otherwise as different from each other as Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, George Mason and James Wilson, Thomas Paine and John Adams, there was a great deal of consensus on how to understand natural rights. All agreed that some rights were natural, that is to say, not derived from any human agreement, act, or law. The rights preceded law and established claims that could be raised against existing law and government, as the Americans did in their struggle against Britain. These rights were thus deemed inherent and inalienable. The rights inhered in human beings and thus did not come from an external source. Because the rights were inherent, they could not be alienated, that is, given up or taken away. These rights were also often said to come from God ("endowed by their creator . . . "). This phrase is not meant to deny that the rights are natural or inherent; rather, it means that the rights come to individuals with their creation, with their coming into being within a created order.

Natural rights were frequently said to derive from natural law. Nonetheless, Americans of the early national period were heirs of a conceptual evolution sponsored by the political philosophers who had developed the philosophy of rights—the Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius and the English thinkers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke in particular—an evolution that had produced a firm theoretical distinction between a law and a right. Laws set down what must or must not be done. They are clearly directive. Rights, however, are permissive and discretionary. They establish a sphere of liberty and choice for the bearer of rights. Such rights were thus frequently spoken of as liberties. The right of free speech, to take an easy example, means that one has liberty to speak or not, as one chooses. A society organized around rights tends to be a liberal society, in the sense of leaving large areas of discretion for individuals to act as they choose.

### THE TABLE OF NATURAL RIGHTS

There was also general agreement on the specific natural rights possessed by individuals, as evidenced by the similarity of lists of rights generated at the time. The first right cited in all these formulations was the right to life, the right to what is most one's own. Since life depends on the body, the right to life implies a right to bodily security, the right not to have one's body seized, invaded, controlled, or harmed by others.

The right to liberty extends the right to life. One not only possesses a right against others' interfering

with one's body; one also possesses a right to exercise one's bodily and mental faculties. Liberty is in part a means toward securing life, but more than that it is the way humans express their ability to appropriate their bodies and invest them with purpose. The right to liberty expresses the self-directed nature of being human. A corollary of this right is the responsibility individuals have for their actions and for the foreseeable consequences of those actions.

The right to property involves an extension from rights in the sphere of one's own life, body, and actions to rights in the external world. It is the legal expression of the ability of individuals to make the external their own, just as they can make their bodies their own. In the context of the Revolution and early Republic, the right to property was particularly important, as can be seen in the overwhelming demand for constitutional guarantees of representation for those subject to taxes. This constitutional demand derives support from the natural right to property, since the right of others (even kings) to take property without the consent of the property owners was understood to be a violation of the right to property.

These rights together amount to an affirmation of a kind of personal sovereignty, a right to control one's person, actions, and possessions in the service of one's broader purposes. When seen as an integrated system of immunities and controls, the specific rights sum to a comprehensive right to pursue happiness, to pursue a way of life chosen by the agent as a path to happiness. Of course, this right, like all rights, is not absolute; the rights of others and the common good serve as valid limitations on personal rights.

There was also great, if not universal, agreement on who were the bearers of these rights. As the Declaration of Independence says, the truths about rights apply to "all men." This term was understood almost universally to include women and individuals of other races. In the early years of the nation it was widely recognized that slavery was a violation of natural rights, and for this reason there was a substantial movement to abolish slavery. It was also recognized that the denial of voting rights to women, for example, did not imply that women lacked natural rights. The philosophy of rights distinguished natural from civil and political rights. The first set of rights belongs universally to all humans, but the other two sets do not necessarily belong to them. It was thought that relevant to the bestowal of the latter rights were considerations other than mere personhood or membership in the species, considerations like the organization of civil society.

## IMPLICATIONS OF RIGHTS

Natural rights were understood to have a number of important corollaries. The first is natural equality. Since all persons have the right to pursue happiness, to order their lives as they see fit, there can be no question that anyone possesses a natural right to rule over others. All are equal in that no one naturally has authority over another. This natural equality was also spoken of in the literature of the day as the state of nature, that is, as a state lacking any relations of legitimate authority. Authority must therefore derive from "the consent of the governed." Consent was understood to be equivalent to what was also called the social contract. Consent applied in the first instance to the formation of government and the origin of political authority, rather than to the ongoing conduct of politics. The requirement of consent derives from the primal rights, and consent to authority is given primarily to protect those rights. A further implication, then, is that if an authority does not secure but rather threatens rights, it has gone beyond its proper warrant and may be altered or abolished. From this idea flows the right of Revolution, which the colonists affirmed when they revolted.

The philosophy of rights and the ideas of a state of nature and a social contract together had a great impact on political thinking and acting in the new nation. The doctrine served as a general criterion of legitimacy, to be applied not only to the British Empire that Americans rebelled against but also to the new governments they were establishing. Under the tutelage of Thomas Paine, Americans quickly drew the conclusion that only a republican form of government could be legitimate. They concluded that all sovereign power originated in the people and must ultimately remain in the hands of the people (popular sovereignty). Beyond that, Americans perceived that many aspects of society required reordering, although they proceeded cautiously and unevenly in their efforts at reform. The American who perhaps gave the most serious thought to what would be required for a republic founded on natural rights was Thomas Jefferson, who set off to reform the laws of Virginia in a comprehensive way but was only partly successful. His proposals for revising the laws stands as the most thoroughgoing effort at effecting the implications of natural rights for the ordering of society. In his proposals he advocated abolishing slavery (because it violated natural rights), securing republican or popular government, providing basic public education for all and higher education for the most talented, allowing freedom of conscience, and abolishing feudal land laws. This list gives a brief indication of some of the grand implications that were

seen to follow for society at large from a philosophy of natural rights.

## FOUNDATIONS OF RIGHTS

There was much less consensus on the basis of natural rights than on the rest of the philosophy of rights. There were a number of competing theories about the grounds of rights. Some theories derived natural rights from the moral sense; others from natural theology. Still others looked to self-ownership or human autonomy or the natural order of the passions. The disagreement over foundations became important later, but it was no impediment to agreeing on rights and their corollaries in the early years of the nation.

*See also* **Antislavery; Bill of Rights; Declaration of Independence; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; Property; Proslavery Thought; Radicalism in the Revolution; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Women: Rights.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* New York: Norton, 1954.

Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government, and a Letter concerning Toleration.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

Paine, Thomas. *Rights of Man; Common Sense; and Other Political Writings.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Strauss, Leo. *Natural Right and History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Tierney, Brian. *The Idea of Natural Rights.* Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1997.

Tuck, Richard. *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origins and Development.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Zuckert, Michael P. *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

———. *The Natural Rights Republic.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.

*Michael P. Zuckert*

**NATURE, ATTITUDES TOWARD** Nature serves a cultural function as both a window and a mirror: it allows us to look into a physical world that transcends human limitations, but it also reflects the values, assumptions, ambitions, and fears we bring to our perception of it. Significant changes in American attitudes toward nature between 1754 and 1829

reflected larger changes, such as those brought by population growth, improved transportation, land ordinances and agricultural development, shifting relationships with Native American peoples, and westward expansion and exploration. Changes in how Americans viewed nature served as a leading cause, as well as a leading effect, of the growth of the nation.

By the mid–eighteenth century the American view of nature was characterized by a duality that, arguably, still exists: on the one hand, Americans were proud that the wilderness of North America was vast, lovely, and rich; on the other, they prided themselves on their ability to subdue, control, and transform nature to suit their own economic and political goals. Although Americans of this period had in some ways moved beyond the adversarial relationship to nature that had characterized their predecessors, they were deeply committed to a concept of progress that simultaneously celebrated and destroyed the natural world. As Thomas Hallock notes in *From the Fallen Tree* (2003), descriptions of "republican landscapes" commonly reveal this tension, demonstrating that Americans of the period had to grapple with the "paradoxes of expansion" (pp. 5, 4). As Americans intensified their subjugation of the North American wilderness, so too did they heighten their praise of nature and, by extension, their faith in nature as the agent of a great national destiny.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, three major cultural forces were especially important in changing American attitudes toward nature. First, older traditions of natural history were being displaced by a newly secularized and professionalized practice of scientific inquiry. Second, a rising tide of nationalism was claiming American nature as a cultural resource that would ensure the prospects of the young nation. Third, the European landscape aesthetics of the beautiful, sublime, and romantic took root in America, profoundly influencing the ways Americans understood and described nature on their side of the Atlantic.

## THE RISE OF SCIENCE

For colonists living before the mid–eighteenth century, religion was the dominant cultural framework within which nature was understood. But whereas in 1721 the Puritan minister Cotton Mather (1663–1728) could argue that comets were created by God as a place to keep sinners for an eternity of punishment, by 1754 the influential Swedish botanist Linnaeus (1707–1778) had already published early editions of his *Systema Naturae* (1735)—a revolutionary

text that set forth a comprehensive system of taxonomic nomenclature and thus encouraged the professionalization of scientific practice. The rationalism at the heart of the American Enlightenment also helped push nature out of the shades of folk superstition and into the light of reason then being focused by the lens of science.

Before the rise of professionalized science in the mid–eighteenth century, misconceptions about American nature were surprisingly common. Because the complexities of bird migration were not understood, for example, many believed that swallows hibernated underwater or even, as some had it, on the moon. Some scientifically incorrect folk beliefs—such as the widely held view that snakes captured their prey by use of a paralyzing gaze—persisted into the late eighteenth century. As science professionalized, errors were corrected, new species discovered, known species better understood, and the mechanisms of migration, feeding, and breeding clarified. There were also substantial changes in how the mechanisms of the cosmos were understood. For example, while Professor John Winthrop (1714–1779) was strongly criticized for introducing the ungodly system of Newtonian science at Harvard College in the 1740s, in 1769 American astronomer David Rittenhouse (1732–1796) was celebrated for accurately recording the transit of Venus across the Sun using an instrument of his own design.

Although Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838) were not professional scientists, their approach to natural history reflected the new attitudes toward nature that characterized American thinking at the turn of the nineteenth century. In sending the Corps of Discovery on its transcontinental voyage in 1804, President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) had instructed that "your observations are to be taken with great pains and accuracy," and he prioritized the methodical collection of data concerning minerals, fossils, flora, fauna, and weather. Despite their lack of scientific training, Lewis and Clark were able to provide a treasure trove of new information, including descriptions of many previously unknown species such as the grizzly bear, bighorn sheep, coyote, and jackrabbit. The observations of plants, animals, and minerals they recorded ultimately made their journals a national epic—one that helped persuade Americans that nature would be at the core of their nation's future.

## NATURE'S NATION: AMERICAN NATIONALISM

Perhaps no cultural force was as powerful as nationalism in changing the way nature in America was perceived during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even after winning independence from England and establishing a new government, Americans remained insecure about their national identity, with many continuing to identify strongly with British culture into the nineteenth century. As it became increasingly clear that political sovereignty was necessary but not sufficient to inspire a unique cultural identity, Americans began to search their home landscape, history, and customs for material that was distinctively American and might therefore help unify the new nation. Americans soon realized that while their nascent arts and sciences could not compete with the long-established traditions of European culture, they did have one resource that Europe did not have and could not acquire: the vast wilderness of the American continent. Consequently, Americans began to see nature in their homeland— the powerful rivers, oceanic prairies, and lofty mountains—as something promising, rich, and uniquely American. They began to believe that national character was shaped by contact with wilderness and that national prospects could be measured by wilderness, and, paradoxically, the subjugation of it.

The assumption that nature would provide a foundation for a great culture was not, however, widely accepted—especially among Europeans, who had a stake in maintaining the inferiority of the upstart Americans. Instructive in this regard is a famous disagreement between the influential French naturalist Georges–Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788), and Thomas Jefferson. Buffon asserted his "theory of degeneration," which claimed that American plants and animals (including, by implication, humans) were no more than degenerated and degenerating versions of their European counterparts. Jefferson, who was keenly aware not only of the bias and inaccuracy of Buffon's theory but also of its damaging implications for a budding American culture, explicitly challenged the theory in his book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Here Jefferson used the tools of Enlightenment science to carefully document the impressive sizes of American animals and to compare them to their (almost invariably) smaller European counterparts. Rejecting Buffon's implication that American prospects were weak because American nature was weak, Jefferson argued instead that the impressive diversity and size of American animals actually prophesied the bright future of the young country. America, he argued, would be a great nation long after the "wretched philosophy" that would have ranked its people among "the degeneracies of nature" was forgotten. Jeffer-

son's nationalist science was endorsed by Charles Willson Peale, the curator of the first American museum of natural history, who spoke from the leading edge of American natural philosophy when he claimed that "natural history is not only interesting to the individual, it ought to become a NATIONAL CONCERN, since it is a NATIONAL GOOD."

### THE ROMANTIC WILDERNESS

Changes in the American attitude toward nature were also conditioned by evolving environmental aesthetics, including new ideas that entered popular culture through landscape painting, literature, and philosophy. Among these important new landscape aesthetics was Edmund Burke's 1756 distinction between the beautiful and the sublime. The beautiful, according to Burke, described emotions stirred by pastoral landscapes, while the sublime characterized the ennobling feeling of awe inspired by the grandeur of wilderness. Because America was the land of the mighty Mississippi and Niagara Falls, the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, Americans were quick to embrace the aesthetic of the sublime as a means to valorize the wild expanses of their country. Following Burke's idea to its American conclusion, they further asserted that the American sublime—a mode of enthusiasm and inspiration specific to the grandeur of the American land—would also have an ennobling effect upon American character and civic institutions.

No eighteenth-century American writer expressed the beauty and sublimity of the American land more eloquently than did Quaker botanist William Bartram (1739–1823), whose *Travels* (1791) described his observations of nature during four years of solitary wandering in the American wilderness. Although trained as a naturalist, Bartram was a gifted writer whose perceptions of the natural world were filtered through the appreciative landscape aesthetics Burke helped introduce to America. "If we bestow but very little attention to the economy of the animal creation," wrote Bartram, "we shall find manifest examples of premeditation, perseverance, resolution, and consummate artifice." And the range of *Travels* is remarkable: Bartram captures both the delicate beauty of rare flowers and the sublime roar of bellowing alligators; he describes plants and animals using the precision of the scientist but animates his descriptions with the lyricism of the poet. Bartram prefigured important changes in the American attitude toward nature in that his approach to the natural world was based in science but inspired by a deep belief in the spiritual, ethical, and aesthetic power of nature.

That belief in the power of nature also signaled the ascendancy of romanticism, a literary and philosophical movement that began in Europe but had, by the turn of the nineteenth century, struck roots in American soil. Romanticism celebrated individualism, imagination, and nature, and thus complemented the new cultural values Americans embraced as the Jacksonian era dawned. The Romantic enthusiasm for wilderness also demonstrated how radically American attitudes toward nature had shifted during the past century. While they still worked with plow and saw to bring nature to the yoke, by 1829 Americans were creating a vibrant nationalist culture that identified nature as the locus of divinity for a new national religion—a secular faith that would dominate American cultural production up to the Civil War.

*See also* **Environment, Environmental History, and Nature; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Natural History; Romanticism.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bartram, William. *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida . . .* New York: Penguin, 1996.

Hallock, Thomas. *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1749–1826.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Edited by William Harwood Peden. New York: Norton, 1982.

Lewis, Meriwether, and William Clark. *Journals of Lewis and Clark.* Edited by Frank Bergon. New York: Penguin, 1989.

Peale, Charles Willson. "Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Natural History." In *Reading the Roots: American Nature Writing before Walden.* Edited by Michael P. Branch. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.

*Michael P. Branch*

**NAVAL TECHNOLOGY** Technological developments during the latter half of the eighteenth century allowed sail-driven warships to reach their apogee. Ironically, within another three decades an invention would end the Age of Sail. In a time of tremendous innovation, billowing canvas would begin to give way to clouds of soot, naval mines would first be seeded, and Americans would take the first tentative steps toward destroying their enemies from below the waves.

**TECHNOLOGY AND SAILING WARSHIPS**

By 1754, warship design seemed to have reached the limit of existing materials. If hulls were lengthened much beyond two hundred feet, they tended to hog (sag at each end), reducing the seaworthiness of a vessel or even breaking its keel. Hull width was a matter of function, with room to operate the iron cannon evenly spaced along each side of a warship to hurl broadsides at an enemy (with a "chaser" or two at bow and stern) and space to store the supplies and munitions for an extended voyage weighed against the need to keep a low width-to-length ratio for the sake of speed. Similarly, the thickness of the beams and planks armoring a vessel, the size of its cannon, and the weight of its top-hamper (mass at the top of the ship) had been optimized to prevent the capsizing of the ship. Though a myriad of mast and sail plans existed, they had become quite standardized within ship classes.

No matter the correctness of design, all warships suffered deterioration while at sea. Though strategy and tactics could somewhat compensate for the vagaries of wind, current, and tide, they could not stop sea life—barnacles and weeds—from attaching themselves to the bottom of a vessel in warmer waters. Within a few weeks, long strands of weed reduced the speed of a ship to the point of ineffectiveness. The only cure was to dock or careen the vessel and manually scrape the barnacles and weeds from the hull. Each careening took days from sailing and carried the risk of damaging the vessel as it rested on the sand, listing to port or starboard so the crew could reach its bottom. Aside from reducing a vessel's speed, many forms of sea life, especially the shipworm *Teredo navalis*, actually bore into the wood, thus reducing the overall life of a wooden vessel by years.

The continual battle against wind and sea also wore upon the human component of ships. Communicable diseases ripped through the crowded and less-than-hygienic decks. Scurvy, caused by a shortage of vitamin C, ravaged entire fleets, debilitating and killing sailors by the thousands. Water quickly turned green in wooden barrels, spreading the "bloody flux" among crews. During the French and Indian War (Seven Years' War in Europe) of 1754–1763, any admiral keeping ships at sea for more than a few weeks found losses to natural causes in both ships and men constantly mounting. The lessons of the French and Indian War would lead to technological change as surely as that war led directly to the American Revolution of 1775–1783.

The rebellion in thirteen of its North American colonies challenged the Royal Navy even before France, Spain, and Holland joined the conflict. With few secure naval bases (notably Halifax, New York, and Jamaica) in or near the colonies the hundreds of ships of the Royal Navy and its supply train quickly began to suffer from foul bottoms. In the early 1770s, the British Admiralty had ordered experiments with coppering, a process introduced in the civilian sector to increase the speed and lengthen the life of ship hulls. The process of coppering called for a layer of forty-eight-inch by twelve-to-fourteen-inch thin copper sheets to be overlapped and fastened to the bottom of the hull. The copper, poisonous to aquatic plants, slowed the growth of seaweed, while the thin metal protected the wood from shipworms. Though the process proved very expensive, its benefits outweighed the cost, and so the Admiralty ordered all new warships to be coppered and began refitting existing vessels. Because of the need to increase the production of copper sheets, the refitting did not approach completion until the end of the war. Though Britain's enemies quickly began to copy the new technology and though it would become standard in all navies after 1783, the Royal Navy gained a brief advantage over its enemies.

A second technological breakthrough, this time in armament, provided unexpected benefits to Britain. The Carron Iron Company of Falkirk, Scotland, designed a gun that the Admiralty adopted in 1779. The carronade was a third of the weight of similar cannon while firing the same size shot. It required a much smaller crew and less powder per round. Though its range was only two-thirds of the equivalent cannon, it could fire faster and with the same deadly effect at that range. These smaller "smashers," as the Royal Navy called them, found a deadly place on the upper decks of larger warships. More important, when placed on smaller warships, they not only reduced the number of crew needed for gunnery, but carried the broadside of a ship two to three times their size. Though the United States would adopt the carronade, it would not prove popular with other European nations.

With the addition of coppering and carronades, the Royal Navy managed to better than hold its own against the rebellious colonies and their European allies. In action after action from 1779 onward, logs and journals alluded to the British superiority in both maneuvering and gunnery, while small warships, coppered and armed with "smashers," ravaged American coastal traffic in the last year of the war. Though the United States won its freedom, the new

technology, coupled with advances in naval medicine (the use of citrus fruits to prevent scurvy, as well as improvements in shipboard hygiene and quarantine procedures) gave the Royal Navy the extended cruising time and the heavily armed small ships to institute year-round blockades of its enemies and to defeat France in wars that spanned the years from 1793 to 1815.

In 1794 the U.S. government saw the need to create a navy to protect its constantly expanding merchant marine as well as its right to remain neutral in the worldwide conflict then raging between Britain and France. It commissioned Joshua Humphreys (1751–1838) to design six forty-four-gun frigates for its navy. Four of these frigates—the *Philadelphia*, *Constitution*, *United States*, and *President*—would eventually be built, incorporating the last major design improvements of the late Age of Sail. Humphreys used extremely close framing as well as stress-bearing diagonal riders and thick, load-bearing planks to strengthen his ships. Between framing and oaken planks, some thirty inches of wood guarded their sides. The strength of the frame allowed the gangways that connected the quarter-deck to the forecastle on most frigates to be replaced by a spar deck capable of carrying the weight of additional cannon. In fact, though rated for forty-four cannon, these vessels often carried as many as fifty-six guns. The *Philadelphia* ran aground and was burned in 1803 during the first Barbary War and the *President* fell prey to a British squadron in the last days of the War of 1812, but the *Constitution* and the *United States* shocked the British people with a string of impressive victories against the Royal Navy, including its seemingly invincible frigates. The Royal Navy quickly copied Humphreys's design from the captured *United States* in order to build its own "superfrigates."

### SUBMARINES AND MINES

The American David Bushnell (1742–1824), a graduate of Yale, invented a submersible vessel dubbed the *Turtle* in 1775. Driven by a hand crank connected to a simple propeller and featuring dials lit by phosphorescent witch moss, its single crewman used a periscope to guide the partially flooded craft to an enemy ship. Ideally, he would then use a hand drill to attach a torpedo (a keg of powder with a time fuse) to the bottom of the vessel. Sergeant Ezra Lee attempted to do just that on 7 September 1776, but the hull of his target proved too hard for the drill. (Some accounts blame this on the coppering, but the sixty-four-gun *Eagle* was probably not refitted by that date.) After

releasing the torpedo, which created consternation if not harm when it exploded one hour later, Lee made a successful escape. Subsequent missions of the submarine would also fail, but the concept had been firmly planted.

Robert Fulton (1765–1815), a leading inventor of the early American nation, designed and built a submersible in 1801. With a folding mast and sail to travel on the water and a propeller hand-cranked by its two-man crew while submerged, the cigar-shaped *Nautilus* is evocative of modern submersibles. Fulton demonstrated his vessel to both the British and the French navies. When they refused to purchase the machine, he abandoned the concept for more lucrative pursuits.

During the War of 1812, Fulton designed naval mines with both timed and contact fuses. Though the American government found the torpedoes to be barbaric, numerous local governments and private individuals thought otherwise and numbers of the mines appeared protecting local harbors or aimed at British warships. The Royal Navy called these devices "Fultons," and though none ever damaged a ship, they certainly increased the anxiety of British admirals.

### THE COMING OF STEAM WARSHIPS

Fulton also designed the *Clermont*, the first American steamship, which opened operations on the Hudson River in 1807. Though Great Britain had developed and refined the steam engine, in 1814 the American government commissioned Fulton to build the world's first steam warship, the *Demologos*, in New York Harbor. Thirty thirty-two-pounders provided a powerful broadside, while wooden sides five feet thick and the placement of its vulnerable paddle wheel between two catamaran-style hulls protected the vessel. However, the *Demologos* proved chronically underpowered, and eventually lateen-rigged masts supplemented its steam engine. Completed shortly after the War of 1812 and renamed the *Fulton* in honor of its inventor, the warship had never fired a shot in anger when a powder explosion destroyed it in 1829.

As civilian use of steamships increased, only the first captain of the *Fulton*, veteran commander David Porter (1780–1843), seemed to realize the military potential of steam power. In 1822, he convinced the navy to allow him to purchase the one-hundred-ton Hudson River steamer *Sea Gull* for an anti-piracy squadron. Mounting three guns, its dual paddle wheels allowed the vessel to capture or destroy pirate craft with ease. The *Sea Gull* was the first steam war-

ship used in combat by a navy. On 30 March 1824, the *Sea Gull* justified its purchase by recapturing the schooner *Pacification.*

It would be the 1830s before American interest in steam warships revived. By that date, rapid advances in ship design, protection, ordnance, and propulsion made possible by the industrial revolution would make the changes of the years before 1830 seem tiny by comparison.

*See also* **Barbary Wars; Revolution: Naval War; Shipbuilding Industry; Steamboat; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Buel, Richard, Jr. *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Dudley, Wade G. *Splintering the Wooden Wall: The British Blockade of the United States, 1812–1815.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2003.

Dudley, William S., ed. *The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History.* Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 1985.

Gardiner, Robert, ed. *Navies and the American Revolution 1775–1783.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

Hagan, Kenneth J., ed. *In Peace and War: Interpretations of American Naval History, 1775–1984.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Keegan, John. *The Price of Admiralty: The Evolution of Naval Warfare.* New York: Viking, 1988.

Lavery, Brian. *Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men, and Organization, 1793–1815.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1994.

Martin, Tyrone G. *A Most Fortunate Ship: A Narrative History of Old Ironsides.* Rev. ed. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997.

Tunstall, Brian, and Nicholas Tracy. *Naval Warfare in the Age of Sail: The Evolution of Fighting Tactics, 1650–1815.* London: Conway Maritime Press, 1990.

*Wade G. Dudley*

**NESHOBA**   *See* **Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities.**

**NEWBURGH CONSPIRACY**   One of the Revolutionary War's most dramatic scenes occurred at the Continental Army camp near Newburgh, New York, on 15 March 1783. Five days earlier, an anonymous letter had urged officers to take bold action against the Continental Congress for its delay in fulfilling promises of pay and pensions. George Washington quickly forbade a meeting toward that end and instead called a general officers' meeting while implying that he would not attend. Just after it began, however, Washington appeared and requested the floor. Speaking from a slightly raised platform, he read a prepared statement that excoriated the anonymous author and reminded officers that the army's steadfastness and acknowledgment of congressional authority had earned it universal respect. Rather than abandon the country or turn against Congress in its own cause, it should rely on his and Congress's pledged faith. Apparently thinking his reception cool, he began to read from a congressman's letter but paused, then reached for eyeglasses few knew he needed. "Gentlemen," he remarked offhandedly, "I have grown gray in your service, and now I am going blind." The emotional pull of this famous, and perhaps spontaneous, aside dissolved the Newburgh Conspiracy.

The conspiracy's real extent and intent remain murky in the absence of much direct evidence, but the army's widely known discontent lends support to some dire suspicions. Continental soldiers had long-standing grievances over arrears of pay, and officers additionally feared for pensions that Congress had promised but for which it had never made provision. Given its dilatory record, officers were surely unhappy at Washington's constant admonitions to trust Congress. Worse, rumors circulated widely in early 1783 of an imminent peace treaty, which would remove any urgency in Congress about the officers' claims and perhaps fatally tempt state governments to ignore Congress's very weak condition, fiscal and otherwise. The country had survived war, but its ability to survive peace looked doubtful, a bitter thought for men who tended to believe that only stronger national government could preserve what their sacrifices had earned. These issues were widely discussed in a nearly idle winter camp; at the same time, Washington's close associate and artillery chief, Henry Knox, was drawing up plans for an association of demobilized officers as he talked up the related problems of pay, pensions, and governmental weakness. But the conspiracy coalesced around Horatio Gates, the victor at the Battle of Saratoga (1777), a senior general and sometime rival of Washington; Gates's aide, John Armstrong, was in fact the author of the anonymously circulated letter of March 10 and another circulated on March 12. Scorning further moderation, the inflammatory first letter proposed that the army refuse to disband and

either march on Congress for satisfaction or, if war continued, retreat to the wilderness and abandon the country to its fate. It was these notions that Washington targeted.

The conspiracy's usefulness to the intrigues of nationalists in Congress, however, raises suspicions that officers were either manipulated or instigated by players in a larger game. These nationalists, led by congressional finance chief Robert Morris, desperately wanted the states to agree to a dependable congressional revenue. That would enable Congress to function as an effective national government and pay its creditors, including officers; without it, Congress might only wither away and the nation face an uncertain future of squabbling among effectively independent states. But nationalists' hopes seemed to recede as a final peace came closer, and by late February they were also being blocked from pushing through a last-ditch compensation plan for the army. Morris and fellow nationalists looked for dramatic strokes to force reluctant hands. Approaches were made in February to Knox, who—though strongly nationalist—finally rebuffed apparent suggestions to use the army to face down Congress. At the same time, rumors of uncertain origin circulated in Philadelphia about the officers' desperate intentions and Morris, the indispensable linchpin of congressional finances, decided to heighten the pressure by announcing his resignation.

Contact seems to have been made between the Philadelphia nationalists and Gates at about this time, and the first Newburgh letter appeared within a few days. Earlier, however, Alexander Hamilton had written to Washington from Congress about rumored plotting among his officers. Washington was on the alert and ready with a response.

Officers and congressional nationalists shared many goals, but opinions vary whether the army plotters were merely pawns or seriously intended a coup, and it is unclear what they would, or could, have done had Washington not stepped in. Congress finally approved compensation shortly afterward, but the states still refused it a dependable revenue; other troops later menaced Congress directly but gained nothing. Nationalists, including many former Continental officers, acted through the Annapolis and Philadelphia Conventions within a few years to achieve the broader goal that had earlier linked Philadelphia and Newburgh.

*See also* **Continental Army; Continental Congresses; Washington, George.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Flexner, James Thomas. *George Washington in the American Revolution, 1775–1783.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.

Kohn, Richard H. "The Inside History of the Newburgh Conspiracy: America and the Coup d'État." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 27 (1970): 187–220.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

*Marc L. Harris*

**NEW ENGLAND**   As one of the distinct cultural and political hearths of colonial settlement in British North America, New England played a decisive role in the shaping of the new American Republic. From the area's initial colonization through the early nineteenth century, New Englanders developed and maintained a strong regional identity that helped give rise to various nationalistic visions, but in many cases they also were a local counterpoint to such larger allegiances. Yet this idea—this sense of identity, of "New Englandness"—operated not only as a defining element of New Englanders' identification with the new American nation, but as a powerful part of their critique of the Republic when they perceived their place within it challenged and threatened. In a somewhat ironic demonstration of the dynamic and evolving nature of the new Republic's nationhood, New England's regional distinctiveness served first to bolster, but then often critically to examine the bonds of union in the early American Republic.

### COLONIAL ERA

New England was the second major region of English colonization in North America. Unlike the preceding Chesapeake colonies, the New England settlements were, socially and culturally, initially more stable and homogenous. Founded primarily as Puritan enclaves, these colonies possessed a greater collective identity and sense of purpose than most of their counterparts in England's American domain. This Puritan-inspired sense of mission was summed up most famously by John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts Bay (founded 1630). Winthrop exhorted his fellow Puritan settlers that they must be "a Citty upon a Hill. The eies of all people are upon us." The Puritan "errand into the wilderness," meant to provide a beacon of reform for the unregenerate mainstream of the Anglican Church, ultimately proved a failure, however. Subsequent colonies in the region were founded by dissenters from this ortho-

doxy, testimony to the increasing divergence of views within the larger Puritan colonial community.

Most significantly, the Puritan mission of Massachusetts Bay became a victim of the colony's success. The thin, rocky soil of New England was unsuitable for agriculture beyond the scale of small family farming. But the extensive lumber supplies, rich fisheries, and numerous harbors of the region provided a path to economic growth that looked seaward through such pursuits as shipbuilding, naval stores, whaling, fishing, and commerce. As Boston became a preeminent center of Atlantic trade, the colony's economy grew significantly. This in turn attracted new settlers, many of whom did not share in the original Puritan ethic. Economic growth begat new social and cultural priorities; by the 1660s, Puritan ministers were preaching jeremiads lamenting the increasing worldliness of their flocks, which ultimately threatened the success of the Puritan experiment. These lamentations proved prescient—by the end of the century, New England resembled the other English colonies much more closely in its more secular nature. Most symbolic of this transformation was the crown's reorganization of its American colonies in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689. The new royal charter of 1691 for the colony of Massachusetts combined the original Puritan colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay into one unit and tied political participation to property ownership rather than membership in a Puritan congregation. Despite the failure of the reformist mission articulated by such figures as Winthrop, the Puritan identity continued to exert a profound influence on the cultural and social development of New England. Much of New England's regional identity in the Revolutionary and early national periods arose from the Puritan legacy.

### REVOLUTIONARY AND EARLY NATIONAL ERAS

Bolstering this sense of regional importance was New England's primary role in the events and debates leading to the Revolutionary War and American independence. Boston emerged as the center of colonial resistance to British policies in the years following the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Many of the prominent figures associated with this colonial resistance were New Englanders. James Otis (1725–1783) first articulated the colonists' constitutional arguments about taxation and representation. Samuel Adams (1722–1803) was the mastermind behind many of Boston's displays of resistance, as well as an early advocate of the Revolutionary Committees of Correspondence. His cousin, John Adams (1735–

1826), was a prominent leader in Boston's Sons of Liberty, as was the silversmith Paul Revere (1735–1818). The wealthy merchant John Hancock (1737–1793) lent wealth and social prominence to the movement, and he served as president of the Continental Congress when it ratified the Declaration of Independence. Many key events along the road to revolution occurred in Boston and elsewhere in New England. Boston was the site of the largest protests against the Stamp Act (1765), protests which set the pattern of popular participation and agitation that would become a hallmark of the era. The Boston Massacre (1770), the Boston Tea Party (1773), the Battles of Lexington and Concord (April 1775) and Bunker Hill (June 1775)—the coming of American independence seemed to be charted by events in Boston and its environs. No other region produced as many of the events and figures associated with the Revolutionary movement in the public imagination.

During the American Republic's first decades, New Englanders—like many other Americans—reckoned with exactly what their Revolution had wrought. Revolutionary ideals of republicanism and liberty eroded many of the norms that had characterized colonial society. Deferring to one's "betters" was no longer accepted protocol, for example; urban centers like Boston saw groups such as merchants, laborers, and even blacks and women lay claim to participation and acceptance within the larger public sphere. Assertiveness by traditionally subordinate groups could turn threatening, and even violent, in the eyes of traditional elites. Shays's Rebellion in western Massachusetts (1786–1787) seemed to embody the uncertain and contested nature of the Revolutionary legacy. The institution of slavery quickly receded throughout the northern states for these same reasons. Leading the way was Massachusetts, whose supreme court (in the celebrated Quok Walker case) declared slavery unconstitutional in 1783. By the end of the decade, slavery had been abolished throughout New England. This "first emancipation" would be a primary reason for New England's becoming the hearth of the abolitionist movement in later years.

After the ratification of the Constitution (in 1788) New England became a consistent base of political support for the Federalist presidential administrations of George Washington (1789–1797) and John Adams (1797–1801). Federalist policy favored the interests of commerce and manufacturing, both of which played central roles in the region's economy. The opposition, led by Virginians Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and dubbed the Demo-

cratic Republicans, did not make much of an inroad into New England until the early 1800s. New England solidly supported native son John Adams in the controversial election of 1800, but Thomas Jefferson won the presidency. Many New Englanders ascribed the Federalist defeat to extra Republican votes gained from the slave population through the operation of the Constitution's "three-fifths" compromise. Without these "slave votes," New England Federalists argued, Jefferson would have lost. The resentment over these issues of slavery and sectional power formed an important part of the emerging New England critique of Democratic Republican rule.

### FROM CENTER TO PERIPHERY

Though the Democratic Republicans would control the region's state governments by early 1804, Federalist opposition remained a significant force. New England Federalists decried what they saw as the Republicans' insensitivity to the commercial interests of their region. Key events during the presidencies of Jefferson (1801–1809) and Madison (1809–1817) only served to reinforce this belief. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 doubled the nation's size, threatening to render New England an even smaller minority in the national government. Indeed, in the wake of the purchase, a group of New England congressmen—led by Massachusetts Senator Timothy Pickering—attempted to put into motion a plan whereby New York and the New England states would secede from the southern-dominated Union and form an independent "northern confederacy." The conspirators even cultivated Vice President Aaron Burr, a native New Yorker, as a gubernatorial candidate in an attempt to win the spring 1804 election in his home state. If Burr had won, they planned to begin the process of secession that would culminate in the confederacy desired by these New Englanders. Burr, however, lost the election (blaming his defeat on Alexander Hamilton, he issued a challenge which led to the notorious duel between Burr and his longtime political nemesis) and the Federalists suffered general reverses in the spring elections throughout New England. In the wake of these defeats, the plans of Pickering and his cohorts evaporated. However, despite the failure of this specific plan for a northern confederacy, anti-Republican and anti-southern sentiment in New England remained strong, awaiting only another threat to the region's interests to fan it into full flame.

Commercial disputes with Britain and France, eventually leading to the War of 1812, created resentment in New England, as various Republican re-

taliatory measures (embargo and commercial nonintercourse) decimated the New England economy and led many in the region to accuse the Republicans of a larger anti-commercial—and anti-New England—animus. The protests emanating from New England had taken on an increasingly sectional tone by this point, a significant contrast to earlier decades. During the War of 1812 itself, New England remained essentially neutral—financiers refused to lend the government necessary funds, governors withheld militias from federal service, and grassroots opposition to a highly unpopular war culminated in a special convention at Hartford, Connecticut, which opened in December 1814. The Hartford Convention, however, was not only the height but the end of New England's sectionalism. The convention demanded constitutional amendments to restrict southerners' political powers and protect what it saw as New England's interests. News of Andrew Jackson's smashing victory at New Orleans (January 1815) and the Treaty of Ghent (signed December 1814) effectively rendered the Hartford Convention moot. New England's Federalists were now seen as opponents to what had become, in the eyes of most Americans, a smashing national triumph, and thus they became tainted in the public mind with an aura of disloyalty and treason.

This remarkable transformation in New England's standing—from the heart to the fringes of the American mainstream—reflected not only the rapid growth of the Republic, but the sense of national consciousness that was evolving beyond regionally centered definitions of "American," like those of New England. New England possessed, throughout this period, a strong and coherent sense of identity. This identity, however, occupied a much different place and served much different purposes by the 1820s than it had during an earlier generation.

With the decline of the Federalists in the wake of the ill-fated Hartford Convention, New England's regional consciousness and self-definition was no longer tied to a specific partisan identity. Taking the place of political agendas was the emerging manufacturing sector of New England's economy, which had its beginnings around the turn of the century in the textile mills of the Rhode Island coast and the Merrimack River valley of Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire. Since the region was never ideally suited for farming on any scale beyond that of the individual family, there was a surplus of population in terms of what was required for farm work; this surplus became a ready-made labor force available for work in the quickly growing enterprises. As

manufacturing spread into other parts of the region, and other types of production, towns like Lowell and Lynn, Massachusetts, and Pawtucket, Rhode Island, became the earliest centers of the United States' emergent industrial economy. The rise and steady growth of New England's manufacturing economy would put the region on a much different path than other sections of the United States, and ultimately play a significant role in a later generation's sectional divisions and conflicts. As the factory operative and "Yankee trader" became increasingly representative cultural types in New England, a clear contrast emerged with the rural, agrarian South of yeomen farmers and slave owning planters. Ultimately, as the American Republic matured, the very real sense of a distinctive New England culture and identity—though it now came from different antecedents—continued to be an important factor in the Republic's collection of regional identities, just as it had been from the earliest days of American nationhood.

*See also* **Adams, John; Adams, John Quincy; Congregationalists; Connecticut; Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; Hartford Convention; Massachusetts; New Hampshire; Presidency, The; Rhode Island; Textiles Manufacturing; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bushman, Richard L. *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut*, *1690–1765.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Gross, Robert A. *The Minutemen and Their World.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts*, *1690–1750.* New York: Norton, 1984.

Kerber, Linda K. *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Rutman, Darrett B. *Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town*, *1630–1649.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Sheidley, Harlow W. *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America*, *1815–1836.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.

Waller, George M., ed. *Puritanism in Early America.* 2nd ed. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

*Kevin M. Gannon*

**NEW HAMPSHIRE** New Hampshire in 1750 was a tiny British colony with a population of about 28,000, almost all of English descent. More than half of the settlers lived on or near the seacoast, where they farmed, fished, or worked in the shipyards; most of the rest farmed and lumbered in the forests and river valleys of the interior. Great Britain valued the colony because it provided masts and ships for the Royal Navy. Portsmouth, the largest town and colonial capital, was already a cultural and commercial center with a newspaper, public library, and handsome Georgian-style homes, as well as its shipyards and fishing docks.

The government and the society of New Hampshire were dominated by a mercantile, landed aristocracy, headed by Governor Benning Wentworth, who used patronage and the veto power to control the assembly. Wide gaps separated the Wentworths and their friends at the top of society from the artisans and farmers in the middle, and the poor laborers and some four hundred blacks, one-half of them slaves, at the bottom. Only colonists with estates worth at least fifty pounds could vote, and the inhabitants of each town, regardless of their faith, were required to support an established church—in most cases Congregational. On the outside were perhaps five hundred Algonquian Indians, primarily Pennacooks and Abenakis, all that remained of native groups that had once numbered more than four thousand.

By the eve of the Revolution domestic migration had increased the population to 75,000, many of whom had grown restless under British rule. Late in 1774 a mob attacked the royal fort guarding Portsmouth, and in the summer of 1775 the rebels ousted Governor John Wentworth (Benning's nephew) and established an independent government.

Reforms followed the Revolution. The state constitution in 1784 included a lengthy bill of rights. Although property and religious qualifications were retained for officeholders, all adult males were given the right to vote. The constitution did not abolish slavery, but judges interpreted the opening words to mean that anyone born after 1783 was free. Years later the legislature passed the Toleration Act (1819), granting all Christian denominations the right to be supported by taxes.

New Hampshire was also moving toward market capitalism and democratic politics. Until 1805 there were only two banks in the state; then suddenly there were ten. To get goods to market, entrepreneurs dug canals around the falls of the Connecticut

**Total Population of New Hampshire**

| Year | Total Population | Black Population | Slaves |
|------|------------------|------------------|--------|
| 1750 | 27,505 | c.400 | c.200 |
| 1770 | 62,396 | | |
| 1790 | 141,885 | 788 | 157 |
| 1800 | 183,858 | | |
| 1810 | 214,460 | | |
| 1820 | 244,161 | | |
| 1830 | 269,328 | 607 | 3 |

River and set up scores of road and bridge companies. By 1820, 14 percent of workers in New Hampshire were engaged in manufacturing, and a decade later the state had about one-tenth of all cotton spindles in the United States. Many of the workers in the cotton mills were young women, who were paid less than fifty cents a day for twelve hours of work and lived in company boardinghouses. When the cotton mill in Dover cut wages in 1828, more than six hundred women went on strike, but the strike failed.

Soon after New Hampshire ratified the United States Constitution (1788), party politics began to appear. The turnout for elections was high—81 percent in 1814 and 77 percent in 1828. Federalists controlled the state until 1805, when Republican John Langdon defeated perennial Federalist governor John Taylor Gilman. Although the Federalists regained power during the War of 1812, they were badly beaten in 1816. As soon as the Republicans took over, they passed a bill changing Dartmouth College, which was traditionally Federalist, into a state university. The college trustees, however, won back control of the institution, when Chief Justice John Marshall declared the state legislation unconstitutional (*Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 1819). By this time the Federalist party had collapsed. In the factional struggle that followed, the newspaper editor Isaac Hill organized a state party that supported Andrew Jackson and won the state election of 1829. The New Hampshire Jacksonians played a major role in the rise of the national Democratic Party.

With its increased democracy, its new industrialization, and its involvement in national politics, New Hampshire was becoming an integral part of the new American nation.

*See also* **Constitutionalism: American Colonies; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Industrial Revolution; Market Revolution; New England;**

**Religion: The Founders and Religion; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cole, Donald B. *Jacksonian Democracy in New Hampshire, 1800–1851.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Daniel, Jere R. *Experiment in Republicanism: New Hampshire Politics and the American Revolution, 1741–1794.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Turner, Lynn Warren. *The Ninth State: New Hampshire's Formative Years.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

*Donald B. Cole*

**NEW HARMONY** *See* **Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities.**

**NEW JERSEY** New Jersey became a royal province in 1702 when the proprietorships of East Jersey and West Jersey were brought under the control of the English crown. The white population of the colony at the time of the merger was fifteen thousand inhabitants, and by 1750 it had quadrupled to roughly sixty thousand. Most of the population farmed in Hunterdon, Burlington, Monmouth, and Essex Counties along the widely traveled corridor connecting New York City and Philadelphia.

Throughout the colonial period New Jersey remained one of the most diverse colonies in British America. While the largest ethnic group in the colony remained the English, Dutch remnants of the colony of New Netherland were spread out across the New York City hinterland counties of Bergen and Somerset. Scots-Irish settled in large numbers in Morris County and Germans occupied the northwestern counties of Hunterdon and Sussex. The southern portion of the state was largely English Quaker with a smattering of Swedes, Germans, and non-Quaker English in the mix.

On the eve of the American Revolution, the diminishing numbers of Delaware (Lenni-Lenape) Indians were confined to the sparsely populated Pine Barren region where they were ministered to and educated by Quakers and Presbyterian missionaries such as John and David Brainerd. In 1775 New Jersey had ten thousand slaves, most of whom worked for masters in the northern counties. This made New

Jersey the second-largest slaveholding colony north of Maryland, trailing only New York in this category.

New Jersey became a state of the United States of America when its new constitution was put into practice officially on 17 July 1776. After over a decade of internal conflict in the colony between the royal governor William Franklin and the largely Patriotic assembly, the revolutionaries gained control of the colonial government, ousted Franklin from office in June 1776, threw their support behind the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia, and began to frame a new constitution. Though New Jersey and its delegates did not take a leadership role in the Continental Congress, the state would play an important part in the Revolutionary War. Several major battles of the war were fought on New Jersey soil, including the much-celebrated conflicts at Monmouth, Princeton, and Trenton. During the war, the Continental Congress met in Princeton in 1783 and in Trenton the following year.

New Jersey established a government with a two-house legislature (known as the General Assembly) and invested most of the state's political power in this branch. The powers of the governor's office were severely limited by the framers because of fears, common in most former British colonies, that strong executive branches were prone to tyranny. It is noteworthy that the New Jersey Constitution was the only state constitution in the United States that offered limited suffrage to women. Single women (married women were represented by their husbands) who owned property were permitted to vote until this right was revoked by the state legislature in 1807.

Following the war New Jersey would play a pivotal role in the framing of the United States Constitution. The state was the first to appoint delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and was the third state to ratify the new Constitution. During the convention, William Paterson, a member of the New Jersey delegation, proposed what became known as the "New Jersey Plan" for the organization of the United States legislature. The plan, which was eventually rejected, gave each state in the Union equal representation in both houses of the federal Congress.

In 1790 the total population of New Jersey (white men and women and slaves) stood at 184,139. In 1800 the population was 211,149; in 1810 it was 245,562; in 1820, 277,575 persons resided in the state; and in 1830 the population had reached 320,823. The most concentrated area of population remained the central corridor connecting New York City and Philadelphia. New Jersey's population growth in this period occurred more through natural increase than through in-migration to the state, although this trend would change considerably later in the century.

Roughly 90 percent of New Jersey's population was of European ancestry. Most residents lived on medium-sized farms of less than two hundred acres. From the colonial period through the beginning of the nineteenth century, agriculture drove the New Jersey economy. New Jersey agriculture was quite diverse, but grain production and the rearing of livestock were most prevalent. New Jersey residents farmed for subsistence purposes, but the majority of landholders oriented their agricultural practices to meet the demands of markets in Europe and the West Indies.

In 1800 there were just over 12,000 slaves in New Jersey, but that number began to decline rapidly after the passage of the 1804 law that initiated the process of gradual emancipation in the state. By 1820 free blacks outnumbered slaves and by 1830 only 2,246 slaves resided in New Jersey. The Native American population had dwindled to only a few hundred by the turn of the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Continental Congresses; Quakers; Trenton, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Clemens, Paul G. E., and Peter O. Wacker. *Land Use in Early New Jersey: A Historical Geography.* Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1995.

Gerlach, Larry R. *Prologue to Independence: New Jersey in the Coming of the American Revolution.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1976.

McCormick, Richard P. *New Jersey: From Colony to State, 1609–1789.* Rev. ed. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981.

Pomfret, John E. *Colonial New Jersey: A History.* New York: Scribners, 1973.

Wacker, Peter O. *Land and People: A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey Origins and Settlement Patterns.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1975.

*John Fea*

**NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE**  *See* **Natural Disasters.**

**NEW ORLEANS** New Orleans was founded in 1718 as the capital of the French colony of Louisiana, which embraced a territorial expanse of more than 500 million acres stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. The settlement's situation near the mouth of the Mississippi River lent itself to the effective defense of that great continental waterway against European interlopers, and its port linked the capital to the Caribbean economic hub. The French ruled Louisiana until 1763, when the colony was ceded to Spain in the treaty that ended the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The colony's secret retrocession to France in 1800 was barely made public before the territory's sale to the United States in 1803. The port of New Orleans provided a crucial conduit for the products of the antebellum South's Cotton Kingdom at the same time it supported the expansion of agriculture in the Midwest.

### ECONOMIC AND POPULATION GROWTH

For most of the colonial period, New Orleans was more frontier outpost than capital city, with a population of barely 5,000 in 1791. Its population of just over 8,000 in 1805 had more than doubled by 1810, when it reached 17,242 inhabitants. Its population in 1820 stood at 29,865, and in 1830 at 46,310.

The city's population growth was intimately linked to its economy, and neither the city nor the colony enjoyed economic success until late in the colonial period. Successive attempts to identify a profitable cash crop in the Lower Mississippi Valley failed, and inhabitants under both the French and Spanish regimes relied substantially on a frontier exchange economy with Indians fueled by deerskins and on grain cultivated by settlers in the Illinois country well into the 1780s. Two roughly simultaneous developments transformed the colony's capital. Post-Revolutionary expansion of American settlement into the trans-Appalachian West made the utilization of the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans an essential element in the young Republic's economic progress. Even before the Treaty of Paris of 1783 gave the United States a basis for claiming navigation rights on the Mississippi, prescient American entrepreneurs had immigrated to the incipient commercial center. Spanish objections to the Americans' presumptive navigation rights were settled with Pinckney's Treaty in 1795, which guaranteed full navigation rights and a period of tax-free right of deposit at the port. The opening of the port to American commerce coincided with the rise of southern Louisiana's sugar economy, which was indebted to the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution in 1791. Sugar production on France's wealthiest possession was disrupted for more than a decade, allowing sugar planters in Louisiana to claw out a niche in a market that had long been dominated by the Caribbean colony. Louisiana's sugar industry benefited tangibly, as well, from the arrival of more than ten thousand Haitian refugees who immigrated to the city between 1791 and 1810, bringing both expertise and an experienced labor force of enslaved cane field workers. When Toussaint Louverture's black troops triumphed over Napoleon's final attempt to quash the Haitian Revolution in 1803, Louisiana's utility as a provisioning colony for the Caribbean sugar enterprise vanished and France offered the territory and its port for sale to the United States.

The Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the transfer of New Orleans to American hands, in large part the product of a triumphant slave revolt, ironically marked the emergence of the city as a center of both plantation wealth and the slave trade. During the colonial period, the city competed with limited success against more lucrative Caribbean destinations for shipments of newly enslaved Africans. An initial infusion of Africans imported into the city and its environs during the early French colonial period was followed by the near absence of shipments during the 1740s, 1750s, and 1760s. Senegambians, who were particularly well represented in the early wave of captives, are thought by some scholars to have encouraged the development of a distinctive Afro-Creole culture that influenced both black and white New Orleans even after the resumption of a significant transatlantic slave trade under the Spanish in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The impact of both Spain's attention to supplying the colony's labor force and the Haitian Revolution's incubation of Louisiana's sugar industry is evident in the growth of the city's enslaved population between 1790 and 1805, when it increased from 1,789 to 3,105. More than three thousand enslaved people arrived with a large contingent of Haitian refugees in 1809, providing a sudden and dramatic growth spurt in the slave population in and around the city. The burgeoning slave population, together with the coercive methods increasingly employed to raise productivity in the cane fields, fueled a revolt of some five hundred slaves just upriver from New Orleans in 1811.

### FREE BLACKS

The Spanish colonial period contributed a notable feature to the composition of the city's population

through its manumission laws. In addition to providing a simple emancipation process that required only a notarized declaration, Spanish law guaranteed a slave's right to self-purchase, known as *coartación.* The result of these practices was the growth of a sizeable free black population, numbering 862 in 1791, and rising to 1,566 by 1805, when free people of color made up nearly one-fifth of the city's total population and almost one-third of its free population. During the colonial period, the practice of *méttisage* (interracial sexual relationships) produced a significant number of mixed-race individuals who came to constitute a significant proportion of the free black population. Free blacks did not enjoy either de facto or de jure equality with inhabitants of unmixed European descent in either the Spanish or the American periods. Many, however, exercised influence and leadership in some of the city's most prominent institutions. A free black militia was commissioned by the Spanish and survived into the American period, though in diminished form. Free black women, as well as enslaved women, assumed leadership in the religious education and conversion of people of African descent in the city's Catholic Church. A free woman of color, Henritte Delille, founded a Catholic order of religious sisters for women of African descent in the early 1830s.

### A HETEROGENEOUS SLAVE COMMUNITY

The free black population constituted one of the city's major Francophone constituencies in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when free and enslaved Anglophones poured into the city. Congress's closing of the international slave trade in 1808 not only ended the influx of native Africans, but also stemmed the steady trickle of slaves from the French and Spanish Caribbean. On the other hand, New Orleans became a center of a burgeoning domestic slave trade that brought thousands of men, women, and children from the Upper South to the city. They were set apart from the city's Afro-Creole population not only by the English language, but also by the evangelical Protestant Christianity to which many had previously been converted. Yet another religious tradition, voodoo, was established and spread by the Haitian refugees who arrived between 1791 and 1810. The city's black population was perhaps the most heterogeneous in the country, differentiated into free and enslaved, Francophone and Anglophone, and divided among Protestant, Catholic, African, and voodoo religious traditions.

### BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

The Battle of New Orleans, won by troops under the leadership of Andrew Jackson on 8 January 1815, is often recognized as the event that sealed the city's claim to an American identity and a place in American national memory. An army of French and Spanish Creoles and free men of color joined troops from Kentucky and Tennessee to defeat a much larger British force, effecting a psychological confirmation of the statehood that had been conferred in 1812. The dramatic victory, despite being won after a treaty of peace had been signed in Europe, confirmed America's power at a crucial moment in the young Republic's history and made the reputation of Jackson, which ultimately won him the presidency in 1828.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Haitian Revolution; Louisiana; Louisiana Purchase; Mississippi River; New Orleans, Battle of; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Hanger, Kimberly S. *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997.

Hirsch, Arnold R., and Joseph Logsdon, eds. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Ingersoll, Thomas N. *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718–1819.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999.

*Emily Clark*

**NEW ORLEANS, BATTLE OF**  On the morning of 8 January 1815, a sea of red coats rushed toward the American lines defending New Orleans. Within a few short hours the extent of General Andrew Jackson's victory over the British was clear. Americans sustained a mere 6 casualties with an additional 7 wounded. The British troops under the command of Sir Edward Michael Pakenham suffered upwards of 2,500 deaths and injuries, with Pakenham among the dead. The victory was the greatest in the nation's brief history and sparked a rampant nationalism that helped to erase the rather pathetic American military record during the War of 1812. The battle also launched Andrew Jackson to overnight stardom. Known as a rough-and-tumble Indian fighter, the

**Battle of New Orleans
8 January 1815**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ▣ British forces | — | Ditch |
| ▪ U.S. Forces | ⊥⊥⊥ | U.S. fortification |
| → British advance | ⇢ | U.S. reinforcement |
| --→ British withdrawal | ≡ | Artillery in position |
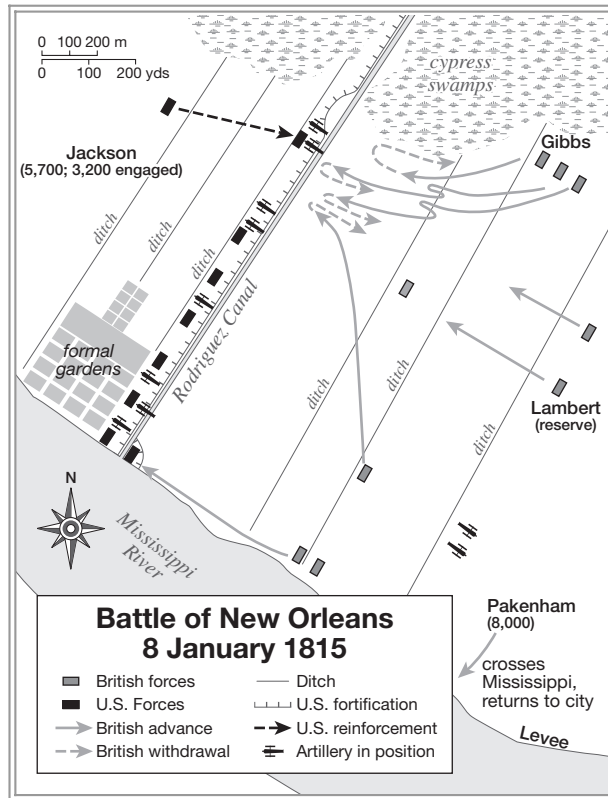
general suddenly became the people's hero. Most historians agree that the gates of New Orleans led Jackson directly to the White House. His popularity was second only to George Washington's.

The actual "battle" of New Orleans was in reality the final assault in a larger campaign. The British had arrived secretly via a bayou leading from Lake Borgne and positioned themselves just miles below the city. Jackson engaged in a risky night attack on 23 December, and the two armies exchanged considerable cannon fire on New Year's Day. The 8 January battle was the last attempt to break through Jackson's line, which ran from the edge of the Mississippi River on the west to an impenetrable cypress swamp on the east. Pakenham knew that the advance guard had chosen a horrible logistical position with absolutely no possibility to engage in a flanking maneuver, but nevertheless attempted to carry the day through sheer force of numbers. Hurling against Jackson's ragtag army thousands of Britain's famed Peninsular veterans, the men who had defeated Napoleon, Pakenham hoped that a well-coordinated attack under the cover of a dense fog would carry his troops to victory. American cannon under the direction of Jean Lafitte's notorious pirate "banditti" proved the British general wrong.

The soldiers on both sides of the engagement were awestruck at the level of carnage. A largely militia army had soundly defeated Europe's greatest fighting force. Many Americans, including Jackson, viewed the victory as a sign of Providence and an acknowledgment that freemen fighting in defense of liberty were equal to the armies of monarchs and despots.

Perhaps the most ironic aspect of the battle is that it occurred after the Ghent peace negotiations had been signed on Christmas Eve 1814. The war did not officially end until the U.S. Senate and British Parliament ratified the agreement in February, however; thus, the battle did occur during the official war. In many respects the history of the War of 1812 would have been quite different had the New Orleans victory never occurred. The battle certainly allowed America to hold its head high even though the nation's capital had been burned in August 1814. Moreover, though historians disagree on this point, there is some argument to be made that had the British taken New Orleans they would have kept it. They had never been terribly pleased with the Louisiana Purchase and officers for an entire civil government were on board their warships.

*See also* **Ghent, Treaty of; Jackson, Andrew; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Pickles, Tim. *New Orleans 1815: Andrew Jackson Crushes the British.* Oxford: Osprey, 1993.

Reilly, Robin. *The British at the Gates: The New Orleans Campaign in the War of 1812.* New York: Putnam, 1974.

Remini, Robert V. *The Battle of New Orleans: Andrew Jackson and America's First Military Victory.* New York: Viking, 1999.

*Matthew Warshauer*

**NEW SPAIN** The viceroyalty of New Spain included all of the territory claimed by Spain in North America and the Caribbean from the conquest of the Aztec Empire in the 1520s until the final assertion of Mexican independence in 1821. Although never fully settled or controlled by Spain, this area included the entire modern nation of Mexico, and Central America north of what is now Panama. New Spain also encompassed Florida and much of the western portion of what became the United States, including California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

## COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

In 1528 the creation of a high court, the *audiencia*, marked the first step in a long and ultimately incomplete effort to establish Spanish royal authority throughout the region, followed by the appointment of a viceroy in 1535 to oversee royal interests from the capital of Mexico City. Along with its southern counterpart, the viceroyalty of Peru, New Spain was subject to the legislation of the Council of the Indies, a body of from six to ten royal councilors in Seville overseeing the entirety of Spanish holdings in the Western Hemisphere. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish administration of New Spain centered on the mining of silver, the defense of the colony from other European powers, and the evangelization and assimilation of Native American peoples into the Spanish colonial system.

In addition to the earlier, better-known waves of conquistadors and missionaries, New Spain attracted numerous colonists and bureaucrats eager to exploit the mineral wealth of the New World and the labor of its indigenous inhabitants, known in New Spain as *indios.* Early European conquistadors and settlers established the *encomienda* system, in which individual Spaniards received the right to collect labor or tribute or both from specific *indio* communities. In areas of intensive silver mining, such as Guanajuato and Zacatecas, a separate system of forced labor known as the *repartimiento* required indigenous communities to make a minimum number of laborers available for hire as miners.

Africans had been present in New Spain since the earliest expeditions of exploration and conquest, participating as both conquistadors and enslaved laborers and personal servants. Over the course of the colonial period, New Spanish elites brought in some 200,000 African slaves to supplement an indigenous labor force that had been drastically reduced through diseases like smallpox and yellow fever. While the majority of the enslaved African population in New Spain remained located near the Caribbean and Pacific coasts, individual Africans of both free and enslaved status spread throughout the viceroyalty, establishing themselves in larger cities and municipalities, serving in militias, settling among indigenous communities, and participating in the silver mining booms.

Over time, members of New Spanish society formed new ethnic identities as Spaniards intermarried with Native Americans and Africans. A subtle castelike system developed, with *peninsulares* (natives of Spain) at the top of the social hierarchy. Creoles (individuals of Spanish descent born in the Americas) also formed part of the colonial elite, while mestizos (people of both Spanish and *indio* ancestry) and *castas* (people of a variety of mixed European, African, and indigenous ethnicities) tended to be excluded from many powerful positions. Although each separate racial classification carried specific privileges and restrictions, all groups had access to the courts. Social mobility for people of mixed ethnic ancestry was limited but possible, as wealth and occupation also played an important role in social status.

During the eighteenth century the population of New Spain grew as mining and agricultural production increased. With the exception of remote missions and military outposts in New Mexico, Spanish settlement of the northern frontier portions of New Spain had remained slow throughout the colonial period. These territories were home to numerous indigenous peoples who often resisted evangelization and "pacification" efforts, and forced labor systems like the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* were never successfully introduced there. Europeans made little effort to colonize these regions until the late seventeenth century, when French explorer and fur trader René-Robert Cavelier de LaSalle landed at Matagorda Bay in 1685. Although his colony was destroyed by disease and warfare with nearby indigenous groups, Spanish authorities from nearby Coahuila responded to the threat of French expansion into New Spain by sending their own expedition into Texas. In the early 1700s the French set up an outpost at Nacogdoches in eastern Texas, and the Spanish responded in kind with a new mission settlement of their own in San Antonio. New missions also appeared in California during this time.

## BOURBON REFORMS

During the second half of the eighteenth century, New Spain underwent a series of reforms implemented by the Bourbon dynasty. Spanish monarchs and their administrators attempted to overhaul the machinery of empire and revitalize royal control over the empire's American colonies. These Bourbon Reforms included the curtailment of ecclesiastical power, reapportionment of colonial territory, restructuring of colonial military forces, and new efforts to increase royal revenues.

Roman Catholic clergy had participated in the colonization of New Spain from the very beginning, with secular clergy (not members of a particular religious order) serving Spanish colonists in towns and cities and regular clergy establishing convents in settled urban areas and missions on the cultural frontier among newly evangelized indigenous communities.

By the mid-eighteenth century the church was increasingly coming into conflict with the interests of the crown, resulting in efforts on the part of the Bourbon monarchs to reduce the power and influence of the clergy, and especially of the regular ecclesiastical orders. The best-known royal action of this sort was the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Spanish territories in 1767. While this banishment was carried out swiftly and without much resistance in many areas of Spanish America, New Spain experienced a period of intense protest following the action.

In order to rule more efficiently their American empire, the Bourbons created a new jurisdictional system in the colonies. In 1776 King Charles III authorized the reorganization of the northern frontier region into a separate semiautonomous administrative district known as the Provincias Internas (interior provinces). Northern districts like Texas, New Mexico, and the Californias were all governed by a military commander based first in Arispe, Sonora, and later in Chihuahua. In 1786 Charles III divided the rest of New Spain into twelve intendancies (administrative districts governed by an intendant, or royal governor). These political reforms increased the visible presence of royal administrators in the everyday life of the inhabitants of New Spain and disrupted traditional social relations in many areas of the viceroyalty. Additionally, the fact that most of the officials appointed to oversee these many districts of colonial government were peninsular (born in Spain) rather than Creole led to increased resentment on the part of the colonial Creole elite.

The Bourbons also felt it necessary to restructure colonial militias as a safeguard against aggression from other European powers and internal social unrest. The crown's desire to cut expenses limited its ability to furnish peninsular units for protection and control of the colonies. Thus, permanent Creole regular army units, *ejércitos fijos*, were established, and colonial militias expanded to include free blacks, mulattos, Indians, and mestizos. These military reforms led to increased social status for both *castas* and Creoles in New Spain and eventually provided the basis for the armies of independence. This provided a new degree of social and ethnic mobility and a social base for future revolutionary leadership. In order to fund the formation of these new militias and pay for imperial expenses in Europe, the Bourbons intensified tax collection efforts. Ultimately, their reforms disrupted traditional social relations within the colonial system and contributed to favorable conditions for independence movements.

## RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

After the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Spain was forced to cede Florida to Britain but received the massive Louisiana Territory from France in return. In the interim, between 1763 and the start of the American Revolution, settlers from British colonies in North America began moving southward into Florida and westward into Louisiana. During this period Spain gave Euro-American merchants the right of deposit in New Orleans, allowing them to use the port for their trade goods. In 1779 Spain joined France in supporting the American Revolution against Britain, and the Treaty of Paris on 3 September 1783 returned Florida to the Spanish Empire. Spanish authorities, concerned about the growing influence of Euro-American traders in Louisiana, attempted to close the Lower Mississippi River valley to U.S. trade from 1784 to 1788 and imposed tariffs on American imports and exports through New Orleans from 1788 to 1795. After the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty) in 1795, the Spanish governor of West Florida required high duties from Americans shipping goods via the Mobile River. Euro-Americans living in the borderlands also resented Spain's failure to resolve disputed land claims in the area, and they accused Spanish authorities of instigating Indian attacks. Although these actions created resentment toward the Spanish among Euro-Americans, settlers and traders from the United States continued to move into Spanish–controlled territory during the last years of the eighteenth century.

With the increased Euro-American settlement in Spanish territory and the increased tensions resulting from Spanish trade and land policies, Euro-American interest in New Spain took on a new form after the turn of the nineteenth century. As a result of the low population density in the northern regions of New Spain, Spanish officials were unable to maintain a regular schedule of border patrols. Spain's North American holdings, particularly the Floridas, seemed to lack enough troops and loyal subjects to repel independent, privately led American invasions, or filibusters. A group of businessmen in New Orleans organized themselves into the Mexico Society with the aim of eventually annexing northern portions of New Spain to the United States. From 1804 to 1807 Aaron Burr (vice president from January 1802–March 1805), disgruntled with his lack of political success in the East, conspired to form a separate nation out of portions of northern New Spain and the newly acquired Louisiana Territory of the western United States. His attempt failed from lack of support and betrayal by a co-conspirator, General

James Wilkinson, but other filibustering expeditions soon followed.

## MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE

After Napoleon invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, a crisis of political legitimacy occurred throughout Spanish America. In 1810 a parish priest, Miguel Hidalgo, initiated the independence struggle in New Spain by raising a force of peasant soldiers to wrest control of the viceroyalty from peninsular Spaniards. Thousands of *indios*, *castas*, and even Creoles joined the insurrection, which experienced sporadic success during the subsequent decade. After initial large-scale battles including tens of thousands of rebels, the independence struggle settled into bitter guerrilla warfare in which individuals often changed their loyalties midstream. This chaotic political atmosphere attracted further filibustering expeditions from the United States and the Louisiana Territory as enterprising and idealistic individuals attempted to take advantage of Spain's predicament and capture Texas.

As Mexico's war for independence drew toward its close, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams signed the Transcontinental Treaty on 22 February 1819, fixing the boundary between the United States and New Spain. The treaty surrendered American claims to Texas but arranged for the United States to acquire Florida in 1821. On 24 February 1821 former royalist commander Agustin Iturbide, a Creole, joined forces with the Mexican insurgents and proclaimed the independent empire of Mexico. Iturbide's empire only lasted two years before succumbing to proponents of a republic, but 1821 marked the end of over three hundred years of Spanish dominion in North America. The new Mexican republic continued to claim jurisdiction over the former territory of New Spain, including Texas, but the border between the two new nations would remain porous for years to come.

*See also* **Latin American Revolutions, American Response to; Mexico; Religion: Spanish Borderlands; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire; Transcontinental Treaty.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archer, Christon I., ed. *The Birth of Modern Mexico*, *1780–1824.* Wilmington, Del. : Scholarly Resources, 2003.

Burkholder, Mark A., and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America.* 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Chipman, Donald E. *Spanish Texas*, *1519–1821.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

Gerhard, Peter. *The North Frontier of New Spain.* Rev. ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Hamnett, Brian R. *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions*, *1750–1824.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Meyer, Michael C., and William L. Sherman. *The Course of Mexican History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Rodríguez O., Jaime E., ed. *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions*, *1750–1850.* Boulder, Colo.: Rienner, 1994.

Tutino, John. *From Insurrection to Revolution: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence*, *1750–1940.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

*Barry Matthew Robinson*

**NEWSPAPERS**    The local newspapers of the early American Republic are extremely unimpressive specimens to modern eyes. They are even less impressive than their equally simple but rather elegantly presented colonial forebears, such as Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette.* Physically they were usually only four pages long; if the paper was successful, half or more of those pages were advertisements. There were no maps, no cartoons, usually no illustrations of any kind besides a few stereotyped woodcuts in the advertisements featuring crude drawings of ships, runaway slaves, or stud horses. (Political cartoons did exist, but only as separately published prints.) Sometimes a printer of unusual visual ambition procured a custom woodcut for his masthead, perhaps illustrating the name of the journal. The Pittsburgh *Tree of Liberty* featured a tree with some little faces at bottom, barely discernible to the naked eye, that were meant to represent the people but looked more a like a pile of severed heads. More typical was a clichéd American eagle, or nothing at all.

### NOT NECESSARILY THE NEWS: THE LIMITATIONS OF THE EARLY AMERICAN NEWSPAPER

There was not much in early American newspapers that a modern reader would recognize as news. Because a typical newspaper's entire staff consisted only of the printer in whose shop it was published along with his journeymen and apprentices—all of whom were too busy with ink and type and paper to do much but print—no active reporting or systematic news gathering was done. Particularly successful printers in the major towns might hire an editor or pay a writer, but it was much more common

for a printer to publish whatever he was handed by the local amateur literati (especially lawyers and other politicians), even if someone stuck it under his door, unsigned, in the middle of the night. Indeed, some political material was purposely delivered this way so that the printers could avoid prosecutions for seditious libel by asserting that they did not know the author and had not actually even read the libelous material, which they printed only to fill up space in the paper.

News was printed as it happened to come to the printer, ideally but by no means universally in the form of a letter that he or one of his neighbors received from a friend or traveling local who had seen or heard something. (This was the original, literal meaning of the term "correspondent" as applied to news reporting.) Sometimes the printer simply jotted down and printed bits of hearsay he picked up in the street or tavern. Thus the *Northampton Farmer* of Easton, Pennsylvania, "covered" a possible change in British foreign policy by clipping a paragraph from a Philadelphia newspaper reporting the opinions of one Mr. Lyman, a passenger on a ship that had just arrived from Boston. The great Lyman expected "a speedy restoration of good understanding" between Great Britain and the United States and was "incredulous as to the report of an approaching peace between Great Britain and France."

Most news and other editorial material in most early American newspapers was simply copied from other newspapers, especially from the "exchange papers" that printers could mail each other for free. The resulting content was the raw material of news as we know it today: not "stories" written by reporters, but speeches, government documents, political essays, and programs of recent community celebrations. Only occasionally, in the case of foreign events (on which the typical early American newspaper was far more informative than local or domestic happenings) would there be any effort to provide a summary or narrative of the news.

Printers' arrangements of their papers compounded the difficulty of reading them. Headlines in the modern sense were nonexistent, and the reports and documents were usually classed not according to their subject or importance, but according to where the material was found. Thus, if you were perusing a copy of the *Northampton Farmer*, you might look under the heading "Philadelphia" and find news of a naval battle in the Caribbean. Someone in New York had gotten a letter saying that the French and the British navies had fought a battle near the port of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean; but because the Easton printer clipped the item out of a Philadelphia newspaper, there it was listed. In terms of placement, only two elements of newspaper design in the early Republic were generally consistent: general interest material (poetry, songs, stories, agricultural advice) went on the back page, and locally produced material, if any, appeared on the second or third page under a heading listing the town of publication. Otherwise items were placed at random or wherever convenient.

These shortcomings were noticed at the time. "I have . . . often been surprized that the most valuable communications in our papers should be in illegibly small type, while news from Leghorn, accounts of rare reptiles and thunderstorms are in long pica," wrote Connecticut politician and newspaper writer Abraham Bishop, noting that it was usually difficult for the reader "to form some idea, when he has closed one subject and begun on another." Even Thomas Jefferson, a tremendous supporter of the press who once opined that he would rather have newspapers without government than the reverse, was exasperated by the low quality of the information he found in the newspapers of his time. "I look with real commiseration on my fellow citizens," the president wrote, "who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world." The dissemination of commercial information, through price lists, ship notices, and advertisements, was about the only thing the press did to general satisfaction. The rise of "penny press" newspapers, with large staffs of reporters gathering the racy news of the nineteenth-century city, did not even begin until the 1830s.

Before the 1830s, small-town weeklies outnumbered urban dailies 10 to 1 throughout the period. Almost all were sold chiefly by subscription, at a price of a few dollars per year. Circulations ranged from a few hundred to a few thousand. Newspaper bibliographer Clarence S. Brigham estimated that the average circulation was six hundred to seven hundred. The absolute peak was four thousand or so, claimed by the Boston *Columbian Centinel* and the *Albany Argus*, among very few others. Limitations on printing, papermaking, and transportation technology made higher figures nearly impossible to achieve. Someone still had to press every page of every copy.

### "IMMENSE MORAL AND POLITICAL ENGINES"
Yet the physical and organizational limitations of early American newspapers are only part of the story, and not the most important part. Collectively,

seemingly pathetic little sheets like the *Northampton Farmer*, *Tree of Liberty*, and their ilk were considered an unstoppable force, especially in politics. "The newspapers are an overmatch for any government," growled one conservative Federalist after his candidate, John Adams, lost the election of 1800. The paradox was symbolized by the Troy (N.Y.) *Northern Budget*'s masthead illustration: a crudely rendered Benjamin Franklin holding a tiny newspaper labeled with the words, "This is the basis of liberty."

What did the *Northern Budget*'s woodcut artist mean? As the early Republic's main form of wide publicity, newspapers filled a tremendous gap in the constitutional scheme of republican government. The whole system failed if voters could not hold elected officials accountable for their performance at a later election. The need for some lines of communication between the people and the rulers led the framers of state constitutions and the federal Bill of Rights to give special constitutional protections to the press. Later legislation and court decisions gave newspapers additional special privileges, including discounted postage rates. Simply put, the media were granted a special place at the political table because their publicity allows democracy to function. The particular means by which this was accomplished was left open. In the early Republic, with the "objective," news-gathering commercial media far in the future, newspapers performed their democratic functions by acting as working parts of the emerging party system—a convergence that might be called "newspaper politics."

The Reverend Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803), a respected compendium of the century's achievements, observed that "political journals," as he headed his chapter on newspapers, had revolutionized their place in American society. Once "considered of small moment," Miller wrote, newspapers had become "immense moral and political engines" in which "the principles of government, the interests of nations, the spirit and tendency of public measures are all arraigned, tried, and decided." (Like many later press critics, Miller went on to bitterly attack the incompetence and immorality of the people who ran these all-powerful institutions.) As Miller saw it, newspapers had revolutionized the arts of political persuasion and organization. Formerly, "to sow the seeds of political discord, or to produce a spirit of union and co-operation through an extensive community, required time, patience, and a constant series of exertions." The advent of "the general circulation of Gazettes" had ushered in a new political era, in which "impressions could

be made on the public mind . . . with a celerity, and to an extent of which our ancestors had no conception." The effect of this had been to inculcate the habits and values of democratic citizenship in the populace: "to keep the public mind awake and active . . . confirm and extend the love of freedom . . . promote union of spirit and of action among the most distant members of an extended community."

What was the evidence for the powerfully democratizing and politicizing effects of newspapers? That the basic practices, institutions, and values of the world's first democracy came together during this period of the political newspaper. At the time Miller wrote, it was generally accepted that the press had been instrumental in fomenting the break between America and Great Britain, especially by persuading the public that the British ministry and army were out to persecute and enslave America. The *Federalist* and hundreds of other newspaper essay series had sold the public a new Constitution that few initially wanted. Newspapers had helped create an opposition political party, the Democratic Republicans (ancestors of today's Democrats), which brought down the Federalist supporters of George Washington, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton in the world's first peaceful transfer of power. Across the ocean, the press had been a powerful player in the revolution that toppled the French monarchy, by many measures Europe's strongest. All those who wanted to build support for an idea or group concluded that newspapers were absolutely indispensable to their cause. Any serious political party, or faction within a party, or presidential candidate, wanted newspaper representation in as many places as possible, and had to be willing to spend money to get it. Following an old colonial practice that took on an increasingly partisan dimension in the early Republic, one method of financing new newspapers was steering profitable government printing contracts toward friendly printers willing to publish newspapers.

Under this sort of pressure for growth, the newspaper press became one of the most expansive institutions in American society. U.S. population growth was one of the wonders of the world in this time because of heavy immigration and high birth rates, but the growth of the press far outstripped it (see Figure 1).

Political crises and transformations coincided frequently with the establishment of large numbers of new newspapers, with the pace of newspaper creation spiking in such periods as the Revolution, the election of 1800, and the political crisis leading up to

**FIGURE 1**

**Population and Newspaper Expansion Rates, 1750–1840s**

(Percentage increase over previous decade)
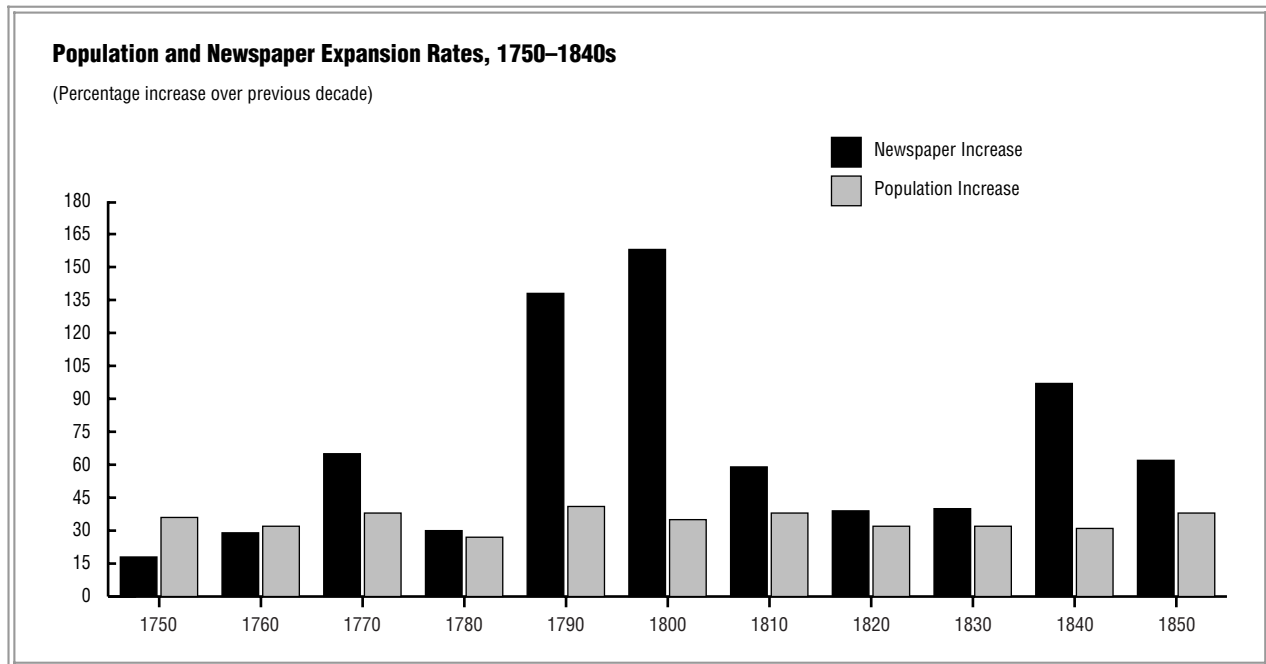


**Newspaper Growth Outstrips Population Growth**

the War of 1812, when the defeated Federalists enjoyed a comeback across the northern states (see Figure 2). Similarly the rates of expansion shown in Figure 1 were greatest in decades of political upheaval, especially the 1780s, 1790s, and 1830s.

Obviously multiple factors were involved in the expansion of the American press. Population movements carried the press west over the Appalachians during this period and spread it across the interior. At the same time, the newspaper press of the early Republic was highly diversified, with many purely commercial newspapers and around one hundred religious journals by the 1830s. There were also a significant number of newspapers that served particular ethnic communities, such as the extensive German-language press, and beginning in the late 1820s, newspapers published by and for African Americans (*Freedom's Journal*, 1827) and the Cherokee nation (*Cherokee Phoenix*, 1828). Yet it was clearly politics in its broadest sense—public, associational life—that drove much of the press's expansion in this period. Even the religious and ethnic publications often had clear political orientations, like the *Readinger Adler* of Reading, Pennsylvania, whose editor was whipped by Federalist soldiers for his fiery Democratic Republicanism.

**CIRCULATION IN THE EXTREMITIES**

Echoing the judgment of most other foreign and domestic observers, Samuel Miller concluded that the ubiquity of newspapers was one of the most distinctive features of the American scene. Never before, anywhere, was the number of newspapers "so great in proportion to the population of a country as at present in ours." This was true in 1802, and the trend grew more pronounced afterward. As shown in Figure 3, in 1800 there were almost 4.5 newspapers per 100,000 citizens, and by 1840, more than 8. In other words, the equivalent of a city of 100,000 people, roughly the size of present-day Topeka, Kansas, would have had 4 to 8 newspapers in this period. These would have represented not the "general public" or the local business community, as do twenty-first century monopoly newspapers, but multiple points in the local political and social spectrum. The situation on the ground was actually a bit more polarized. New York City had thirteen newspapers in 1810, when its population was just under 100,000. Reading, Pennsylvania, and Trenton, New Jersey, with populations around 3,000 each, both had two papers, one Republican and one Federalist. So did even smaller places such as Augusta, Georgia, Annapolis, Maryland, and Worcester, Massachusetts.

The wide distribution of newspapers greatly enlarged the number of people, including many who

**FIGURE 2**

### The Pace of Newspaper Creation, 1780–1820

(number founded each year)
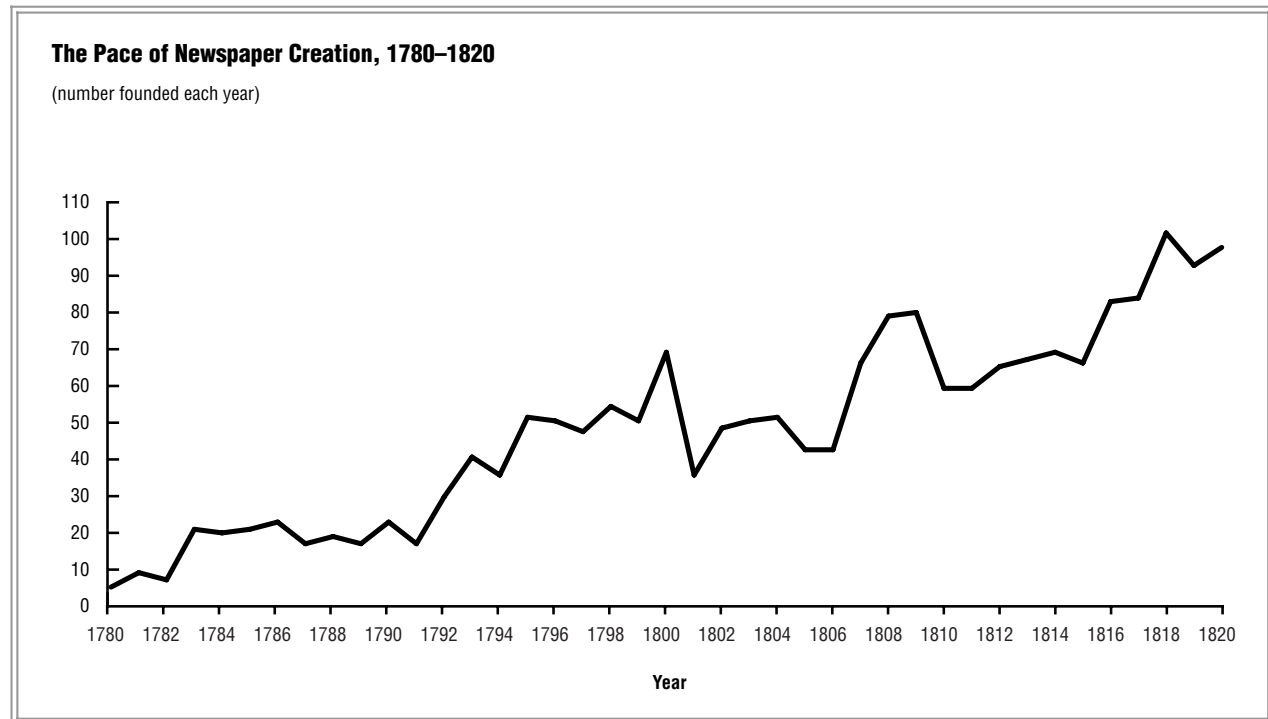


**Newspaper Creation**

had never been part of the political class in any previous society, who could be informed about and participate intelligently in the political life of the community. The United States, Miller wrote, "has exhibited a spectacle . . . without parallel on the earth . . . not of the learned and the wealthy only, but of the great body of the people; even a large portion . . . of that class of the community which is destined to daily labour, having free and constant access to public prints, receiving regular information of every occurrence, attending to the course of political affairs, discussing public measures." Massive voter turnouts and foreign travelers' accounts of America testify to the accuracy of Miller's conclusions. Passing through the backwoods of Ohio, the Transylvanian bureaucrat and reformer Alexander Bölöni Farkas marveled as the stagecoach driver hurled out settlers' newspapers right and left as they passed remote cabins along the road. "No matter how poor a settler may be, nor how far in the wilderness he may be from the civilized world," Farkas wrote, "he will read a newspaper."

In hindsight, one may want to take such claims with a grain of salt. Newspapers could reach only literate citizens, who were most likely to be white and male, and only a tiny educated elite would have been able to fully grasp everything they read. Many working families probably could not afford a yearly subscription to a newspaper in any case.

Yet there were many channels through which the press could breach these limits and reach a percentage of the population that was almost certainly higher than the overall levels of newspaper readership in the twenty-first century. Newspapers were kept on hand in many public gathering places, especially taverns, coffeehouses, and hotels, where they were often read aloud or in groups. Neighbors often shared newspapers with each other, or even subscribed jointly. Information and ideas contained in newspapers moved by word of mouth, and passed hand to hand in clippings and letters. In a time when most people still conducted most of their daily affairs through face-to-face exchanges, even a few newspaper subscribers were enough to spread the word to entire neighborhoods. Even if one assumes that most early Americans would have been unable or unwilling to read the lengthy political essays and documents that dominated the political journals of this period, there were multiple paths that political arguments could take, many of them following what communication scholars call the two-step flow of political communication.

**FIGURE 3**

**Newspapers Per 100,000 Population, 1730–1850**

| Year | Newspapers |
|------|------------|
| 1730 | 1.07 |
| 1740 | 1.35 |
| 1750 | 1.16 |
| 1760 | 1.12 |
| 1770 | 1.36 |
| 1780 | 1.40 |
| 1790 | 2.34 |
| 1800 | 4.43 |
| 1810 | 5.12 |
| 1820 | 5.31 |
| 1830 | 5.56 |
| 1840 | 8.23 |
| 1850 | 9.93 |

Although the leading "penny press" dailies that appeared after 1830 far outstripped the newspapers of the early Republic in terms of individual circulations, this may reflect as much a concentration of readership as an expansion. Decentralization was one of the hallmarks and great strengths of the early Republic's press system. Whether serving a political party, religious denomination, a social movement, or simply sharing commercial information, early American newspapers operated as networks of small, independent outlets tailored to the locality, beliefs, and interests of their readers. As a collectivity, early American newspapers outstripped their individual limitations and produced a vast amount of original material. Moreover, the networks showed an impressive ability to move information and arguments around the country.

During the election of 1800, Federalists and other observers were amazed at how quickly and effectively themes, arguments, information, and particular articles moved back and forth across the Democratic Republican press network. The Irish radical refugee William Duane's Philadelphia *Aurora* was the clear ideological leader and chief source of information for the others on politics at the seat of government. It seems to have taken from two weeks to a month for *Aurora* material to get over the mountains to the network's extremities in Kentucky and western Pennsylvania, but only a few days to a week to get as far away from Philadelphia as Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and Raleigh, North Carolina. This

was blinding speed by eighteenth-century standards. Duane's newspaper was "the heart, the seat of life" of the Democratic Republican Party, argued the Federalist *Connecticut Courant*. "From thence the blood has flowed to the extremities by a sure and rapid circulation. . . . It is astonishing to remark, with how much punctuality and rapidity, the same opinion has been circulated and repeated by these people from high to low."

The *Courant*'s metaphor was a little misleading. To borrow a computer term, the newspaper networks were "peer-to-peer" networks in which all the individual units supplied each other with material rather than taking it from a single, central source. Lateral or upstream exchanges (between hinterland newspapers, or from the hinterlands to the major cities) were just as common as items flowing down from the centers of government and culture. One of the most damaging scandals of the 1800 campaign was the saga of Republican congressman Matthew Lyon's imprisonment (because of the Sedition Act) in a "loathsome dungeon," a story that emanated from the press in Vermont. The *Aurora* and other big-city journals like the Boston *Independent Chronicle* and the New York *American Citizen* were the most heavily copied in the Republican press, but these journals copied just as much from each other and from smaller journals in the countryside.

Although social scientists tend to regard centralized command and control as indicators of a strong political organization, partisan newspaper networks thrived and drew some of their effectiveness from their very decentralization. The party's general message could be filtered or adjusted to suit local predilections. Southern Democratic Republican newspapers tried to justify and refine the states' rights principles of the 1798 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, for instance, while northern Republican journals largely avoided the topic. Perhaps responding to Federalist rhetoric about being ruled by Virginia slave lords, northern Republican editors openly expressed their antipathy to slavery despite their leader Thomas Jefferson's undeniable Virginia slave-lord status.

The major exception to this decentralization was the rise of so-called presidential "organs" in the new national capital of Washington, D.C. Beginning with Thomas Jefferson's *National Intelligencer* in 1800, there was always a newspaper in the capital that was regarded as the voice of the administration, essentially performing the functions of the modern White House press secretary and a major national newspaper at the same time. The practice began simply, with Jefferson inviting young Philadelphia printer Samuel

Harrison Smith to start a newspaper in Washington, as a counterbalance to the cantankerous *Aurora*. From there, the presidential organ mushroomed into a prominent but much-resented national institution. While these spokespapers were not public entities or officially connected to the presidency, they originated most official statements and documents the president wished to release. In exchange, the publishers received the lion's share of the major government printing contracts. Thanks to the efforts of longtime *National Intelligencer* proprietors Joseph Gales Jr. and William Seaton, the presidential organ also usually had the franchise for compiling and publishing the records of proceedings in Congress. The *Intelligencer* held its position until 1829, when newly elected president Andrew Jackson, who had been criticized in the paper for years, anointed Duff Green's *United States Telegraph* as his favorite. From there the presidential organ became a political football that changed hands if a new faction or administration came to power. In a White House version of the sort of factional struggle over newspapers that went on everywhere in the political culture of the early Republic, the rivalry between Jackson and his vice president, John C. Calhoun, took out the Calhoun-friendly *Telegraph* as well. Francis Preston Blair was brought in from Kentucky to start the *Washington Globe* and quickly became one of the leaders of Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet" of advisors. The presidential organ system lasted until scandals forced the creation of the Government Printing Office in 1860. "Newspaper politics" more generally lasted for the rest of the century, albeit with increasing rivalry from other models of publishing and politics.

*See also* **Antislavery; *Aurora*; Bill of Rights; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Freedom of the Press; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Magazines; *Niles' Register*; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Politics: Political Parties and the Press; Post Office; Press, The; Print Culture; Printers; Printing Technology; War of 1812.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, John K. *The Selling of the Constitutional Convention: A History of News Coverage.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1990.

Ames, William E. *A History of the 'National Intelligencer'.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972.

Baldasty, Gerald J. *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Brigham, Clarence S. *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, *1690–1820.* 2 vols. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1947.

———. *Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950.

Clark, Charles E. *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture*, *1665–1740.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Copeland, David A. *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997.

Hamilton, Milton W. *The Country Printer: New York State*, *1785–1830.* 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Hench, John B. "The Newspaper in a Republic: Boston's 'Centinel' and 'Chronicle,' 1784–1801." Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1979.

Humphrey, Carol Sue. *The Press of the Young Republic*, *1783–1833.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Lathem, Edward Connery. *Chronological Tables of American Newspapers*, *1690–1820.* Barre, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972.

Lee, Alfred McClung. *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument.* New York: Macmillan, 1937.

Leonard, Thomas C. *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

———. *News for All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Levy, Leonard W. *Emergence of a Free Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Miller, Samuel. *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century.* 2 vols. New York: T. and J. Swords, 1803.

Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism: A History*, *1690–1960.* 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1962.

Nerone, John. "The Mythology of the Penny Press." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 376–422.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Perdue, Theda, ed. *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain*, *1764–1776.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1980.

Schudson, Michael. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers.* New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Silver, Rollo G. *The American Printer*, *1787–1825.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Sloan, William David. "The Early Party Press: The Newspaper Role in American Politics, 1788–1812." *Journalism History* 9 (1982): 18–24.

Smith, Culver H. *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977.

Stewart, Donald H. *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969.

*Jeffrey L. Pasley*

**NEW YORK CITY**   While the population of New York City at the beginning of the French and Indian War (1756–1763) was just under fourteen thousand, slightly trailing its two rival seaports, Boston and Philadelphia, it would not have been difficult to predict that this community would prosper. New York was fortunate to possess the best natural harbor of the colonies. Protected by the Verrazano Narrows, Manhattan Island offered sheltered docks along both the North (Hudson) River and the East River. It was centrally located among the colonies. Founded in the 1620s by the Dutch as New Amsterdam, the center of their North American trade, it had a unique heritage of commerce and cosmopolitanism that neither Pennsylvania nor Massachusetts could match. The English conquest in the 1660s did not decrease the city's devotion to commerce, and it remained a mixture of nationalities known for its tolerance of minorities, though dominated by the Dutch and increasingly English population.

The French and Indian War was a turning point in the city's history. The decision of William Pitt to drive the French out of North America led to an immense influx of wealth into the city. The British stationed 25,000 soldiers in North America and a fleet that included 14,000 sailors, all of whom had to be provisioned. In addition, New Yorkers could now legally capture French and Spanish ships and keep the spoils. Merchants such as Peter Livingston and Oliver De Lancey made fortunes unheard of prior to the war.

New York too became the center of British trade with North America, now worth 50 percent of its exports to the thirteen colonies, sending flour and livestock and a variety for foodstuffs to the islands in return for molasses for the growing sugar refining industry and bills of exchange. By 1762 its population had reached eighteen thousand. Hanover Square grew famous for its retail wares, and coaches—once a rarity—crossed the city's streets regularly. Numerous elegant mansions arose, such as that of Captain Archibald Kennedy, with its grand staircase and fifty-foot parlor.

Aside from the city's mercantile elite, New York had a large artisan population, ranging from the elite trades of silversmith and carriage maker to the lower trades of tailoring and shoemaking. There were also a number of white unskilled laborers, including cartmen who hauled goods from ship to shore, and the largest black and slave population of all the colonies outside the South, constituting about 16 percent of the population. The wealthy tended to live in the center of town on Broadway and around Bowling Green, while the artisans and laborers lived in the outer wards, nearer the rivers.

### REVOLUTIONARY NEW YORK

Following the end of the French and Indian War, the British enacted legislation to tighten the organizational structure of their empire and increase their income. The Sugar Act (1764), Stamp Act (1765), and Tea Act (1773) met with resistance in all seaports where the tea was sent. Tensions in the street between soldiers at the British army garrison and citizens remained high, resulting in violence at the Battle of Golden Hill in which a seaman was killed when the British tried to prevent construction of a liberty pole. In addition, during the riots caused by passage of the hated Stamp Act, New Yorkers refused to allow the distribution of the dreaded stamps; attacked the home of British commander, Major Thomas James; and held their own tea party in 1774. The artisan population was central to resistance, demanding radical measures against the British, much to the chagrin of the more conservative merchants who, while opposing British measures, were focused on reconciliation. The Sons of Liberty, men who enforced anti-British measures, was composed largely of artisans or merchants of nonelite background such as Alexander McDougall, John Lamb, and Isaac Sears.

As British rule collapsed, two separate committees emerged, a Mechanics Committee and a governing Committee of Fifty-One, that worked together, though not without tension. While artisans did not dominate the governing committee, their pressure for more radical action had to be considered, because their votes held the keys to political power. Their shift of support from the mercantile De Lancey bloc to the landholding, Presbyterian Livingston faction reflected the Livingstons' Revolutionary stand as the De Lanceys moved steadily toward loyalism and exile.

A year after war broke out in April 1775, New York became the center of action. Following Bunker

Hill in June 1775, the British shifted their attention to the middle colonies, attempting to divide New England from the rest of their dependencies. Their first move would be an invasion of New York City. General Charles Lee had constructed a series of forts, batteries, and interior barricades for the Americans early in 1776, but there was no way to fully defend the many approaches to Manhattan Island. In March 1776 Washington moved his army from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to New York and divided it between the city and Brooklyn, across the East River. Brooklyn was protected by its hilly topography, with only a few passes that would permit an army to advance.

The British brought a major show of force to New York. It included 32,000 soldiers, 14,000 seamen, two men of war, and twenty-four frigates. Washington had 23,000 men and no navy to speak of. In August 1776 the British attacked Brooklyn in an all-night march, going through the virtually unguarded Jamaica Pass to the east and forcing Americans to withdraw to Brooklyn Heights, where a final retreat was cut off by the East River. Had Admiral Richard Howe quickly moved his ships into the river, cut off the troops, and forced their surrender, he might have dealt a mortal blow to the army. But he hesitated, and Washington moved his troops back to the city on the night of 29–30 August. Once again, Howe could have trapped the army by blockading the island through a quick landing of troops, but once more he hesitated, and the American army retreated, eventually into New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The British made New York their headquarters from September 1776 to the end of the war.

The city remained under harsh martial law throughout the war, enforced by a British administration characterized by considerable corruption and ineptitude. The occupation was made all the worse by a major conflagration that destroyed five hundred buildings and created a constant housing shortage for British soldiers, Loyalists, and slaves who had come in search of freedom. British cruelty was sadly apparent in the treatment of the thousands of American prisoners held captive in the city, most appallingly in leaky ships in the harbor including the noto-

rious *Jersey*, almost all of whose inmates died of disease or starvation. The last city to be freed of British rule was New York; the British pulled out on 25 November 1783, a day that would be a major civil holiday for the next hundred years.

## REPUBLICAN NEW YORK

After the British exodus, republican government was established in New York City, an urban center of just over 33,000 inhabitants by 1790. It was a conservative republican tide that held sway, however. Tory lands were confiscated, especially the De Lancey holdings, but most of these lands were bought by wealthy merchants. The new president of Columbia College (formerly Kings College) was William Samuel Johnson, son of the college's first president and a quiet revolutionary. New York was the home of one of the nation's strongest antislavery associations, the Manumission Society, founded in 1785, headed by John Jay and including prominent citizens such as Alexander Hamilton. Even so, in the 1790s the absolute number of slaves in the city increased by 25 percent: the number of white homes using some form of black labor tripled. Artisans continued to use slaves during the 1790s, but their use gradually decreased from one in eight to one in seventeen by 1800.

New York played a central role in the political life of the new nation. It was a focus of debate over the new federal Constitution. As opposed to upstate farmers, its residents were largely in favor of a strong central government that would protect commercial interests and uphold national honor; the *Federalist Papers*, the most important defenses of the new Constitution, were published in New York. It was also the nation's first capital; George Washington was inaugurated on 30 August 1789 on the steps of City Hall, which was converted into the first federal building.

Washington spent a year in New York before the capital was moved to Philadelphia in 1790 as part of a political deal between Jefferson and Hamilton. But although New York was no longer the political capital, Hamiltonian economic policy—which the deal preserved—and the monetary capital and commercial expertise of the city's astute mercantile elite allowed the city to remain the nation's financial hub. Gotham, as the city was dubbed, became the home of the country's first stock exchange in 1792 and its center of trade. It housed the nation's most banks and largest credit capabilities (fourteen banks and $35 million in capital in 1825), the most reliable insurance brokers ($16 million in capital in 1827), the

most dependable harbor, and the most reliable packet service. British merchants had their best contacts in New York, and as early as 1810, one-fourth of the nation's cotton trade moved through the city. By 1825 New York's exports ($175 million) nearly equaled those of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore combined. Merchants residing in the city included the likes of John Jacob Astor (1763–1848), Anson Phelps (1781–1853), and Arthur (1786–1865) and Lewis (1788–1873) Tappan. Trade grew so rapidly that wide new streets, West Street and South Street, were built from landfill. Shipbuilding flourished, and it was on the Hudson River that Robert Fulton put his steamboat, the *Clermont*, on display and into operation in 1807.

American republicanism meant new economic horizons for all classes. Artisans expanded their businesses, arranged credit, and sponsored their own banks; a number, including cabinetmaker Duncan Phyfe (1768–1854), became major entrepreneurs. Yet economic growth also meant a greater stratification of wealth. New York was a venue for the growth of the American labor movement as the increasingly large number of long-term wage earners engaged in citywide walkouts, demanding a republican wage, a salary commensurate with American citizenship.

Opponents of slavery, influenced by the Revolution's republican legacy, gained passage of New York's Gradual Emancipation Act in 1799, a decade after the launching of the new government. Although it did not grant immediate release, most bondsmen were now able to purchase their freedom; the number of slaves dropped precipitously as the free black population increased. Blacks did the city's most difficult and undesirable work, including emptying privies and sweeping chimneys, but they also worked in a number of artisan crafts, formed their own churches, newspaper (*Freedom's Journal*), and theaters, and exercised republican rights, including the right to vote—until the Democratic Republican Party disenfranchised most of them in 1821.

Republicanism meant change in municipal government. In the colonial era, the Corporation of the City of New York acted as a private body concerned with real estate and waterfront tracts. The new Common Council aggressively pursued the interest of the city's entire population. So that it could do so, the state granted it the power to tax its citizens. A new city hall was erected, the grandest structure in town, built with sandstone and marble on a Palladian, classical republican, plan. The city took on its future design, initiating the famous grid plan, based on

***Winter Scene in Brooklyn.*** A painting by Francis Guy depicting a bustling neighborhood in Brooklyn as it looked in the 1817 to 1820 period. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

the idea of reason and order, that gave modern New York its shape. The city supported the poor in a three story Almshouse (1797), then built a new Bellevue complex on the East River in 1816 that included an almshouse and pesthouse, soon to be a hospital, and was responsible for local courts and constables. It paved streets and collected garbage (though the pigs left to roam often did a better job in the poorer neighborhoods); it allocated water supply to a private firm, the Manhattan Company, that proved more adept at banking than pipelines, leaving the city with chronic plumbing and water shortages.

With two elections each year, one for federal and state office, one for city offices, political conflict was nearly constant. The two parties, the Hamiltonian Federalists and Jeffersonian Democratic Republicans, fought for competing legacies of the Revolution. Ultimately, the egalitarian Jeffersonians triumphed over the deferential expectations of the

mercantile Federalists among the pivotal electoral bloc: artisans and young, ambitious merchants. The key victory came in 1800, when the city's ballots brought New York State's electoral votes into the Jeffersonian column, making possible Jefferson's victory. Making the political fights even more intense were the conflicts with France and Britain as they engaged in the Napoleonic Wars. America's quest for freedom of the seas, leading to the War of 1812, was echoed in the streets and on the docks of New York, as the harbor was refortified for the first time since 1776.

With the aid of immigrants from Ireland and the city's hinterlands, New York's population grew to just under 100,000 residents by 1810 and to a metropolis of 197,000 by 1830, dwarfing every other American city. By then, it housed the nation's most elegant residences on Broadway and Park Place, while seeing the growth of severe areas of poverty,

including the Five Points. It became a mecca of the arts with a lively theater scene, hosted numerous musical concerts, and housed the New York Academy of Fine Arts (soon called the American Academy of Fine Arts), headed by the noted painter John Trumbull. With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, New York became the portal for immigrants of the coming generation and the center of the country's import and export trade. It was the only world-class metropolis in the new American nation.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Abolition Societies; City Growth and Development; Cotton; Economic Development; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Penitentiaries and Prisons; Work: Slave Labor; Sons of Liberty; Water Supply and Sewage.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Albion, Robert Greenhalgh. *The Rise of New York Port*, 1815–1860. New York: Scribners, 1939.

Blackmar, Elizabeth. *Manhattan for Rent*, 1785–1850. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Burrows, Edwin G., and Mike Wallace. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law*, 1730–1870. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

Hodges, Graham Russell. *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey*, 1613–1863. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Kouwenhoven, John A. *The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York City: An Essay in Graphic History.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953.

Monaghan, Frank, and Marvin Lowenthal. *This Was New York: The Nation's Capital in 1789.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1943.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Rock, Howard B. *Artisans of the New Republic*, The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson. New York: New York University Press, 1979.

Schecter, Barnet. *The Battle for New York: The City at the Heart of the American Revolution.* New York: Walker, 2002.

Stokes, I. N. Phelps, comp. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 1498–1909. 6 vols. New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915; reprint, 6 vols., Union, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange, 1998.

Tiedemann, Joseph S. *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence*, 1763–1776. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Young, Alfred F. *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins*, 1763–1797. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.

*Howard B. Rock*

**NEW YORK STATE**　At independence New York was a second-tier colony, more important for its strategic location than for its population or its economy. New York City was just a colonial port. New York's boundaries with both New England and Indian country were uncertain. The Six Iroquois Nations loomed large in New York affairs. By 1830, however, New York had become the Empire State, first in population and dominant economically over the Northeast, the emerging "Great West," and in some ways even the South. New York City had become the American metropolis and was on its way to world standing. Many Iroquois had departed and the remnants were struggling to hold on to scraps of land. In 1775 New York had the largest slave population outside the South; by 1830 only seventy-five slaves remained in the state, the last sufferers of a quirk in its gradual abolition law. Nearly 45,000 black New Yorkers were free. Yet both in 1776 and in 1830 New York was a raucous place where people of all sorts mingled and jostled.

**REVOLUTIONARY NEW YORK**

New York's Revolutionary leaders did not accept independence until 9 July 1776, making it the very last of the founding thirteen to break with Britain. Part of what they called New York, the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, was about to declare its own independence as Vermont. Until 1791 New York's leaders called Vermont a "pretended state," and its people "revolted subjects." But the state had lost the Green Mountains, as it had lost its weak claim to western Massachusetts and western Connecticut.

But New York did not yet have its familiar shape. Reporting to London in 1774, the last royal governor invoked an Indian treaty of 1702 to claim the Niagara Peninsula, in modern Ontario, and the country beyond Detroit. An official British map, drawn about 1775 and published in 1779, showed western New York ending much farther east, at the "line of property" where the country of the Six Iroquois Nations began. To the Six Nations, that line remained in effect even after the Revolutionary War. Massachusetts claimed part of the Iroquois country under its royal charter. The matter was not resolved until a treaty between it and New York at Hartford, Connecticut,

in 1786. The borders with New Jersey and with Pennsylvania were clear on official documents but had not been completely surveyed. Like much of the rest of Revolutionary America, New York's boundaries and extent were anything but certain.

Its early political life as a state was equally uncertain. The Revolutionary leaders did not proclaim a new constitution until April 1777. They never offered the document for ratification, simply announcing that it was taking effect. By then Manhattan, Long Island, Staten Island, and southern Westchester were in British hands. Loyalism was rife in the Hudson Valley. Civil war raged where white settlement met Iroquois country. Four of the Six Nations (the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas) chose the British side, whereas the Oneidas and most of the Tuscaroras were with the Americans. In 1779 the Iroquois put out their Council Fire, the symbol of a League of Peace and Power that had endured for centuries. Their white neighbors were equally divided.

Even among white Patriots dispute raged. A small group of young men who stemmed from the old colonial elite, including Philip Schuyler, John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and Robert R. Livingston, expected to take control. But the votes of soldiers gave outsider George Clinton the first of five three-year terms as governor, and in the late 1770s and the 1780s a populist political party came together around him. This party's rule was so successful that New York held off on ratifying the federal Constitution till 1788 (becoming the eleventh state to do so), joining only after it was clear that the Constitution would take effect and that New York City might secede and ratify on its own.

### THE EMPIRE STATE

Despite the war's disruptions, New York grew rapidly. Governor William Tryon estimated New York's population in 1774 at 182,000. By the 1790 federal census, that figure had nearly doubled, to 340,241. In 1800 it was 586,182, and in 1810, 959,049. New York City had outstripped Philadelphia by then—96,000 to 91,000—but Pennsylvania remained the most populous state, in 1820 outnumbering New York, 1,549,458 to 1,372,812. Not until 1830 did New York have the largest population, with 1,918,608 people. Of these, 202,589 lived in New York City. By then Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, and Kingston had passed the urban threshold to small city status. Albany had become the permanent capital, and Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo marked waypoints and industrial centers along the Erie Canal.

These numbers do not include Indians, despite New York's claim that the Six Nations, the Shinnecocks, the Montauks, and others within its now-firm boundaries "belonged" to it. The censuses did count African Americans. Governor Tryon reckoned that, in 1774, 21,549 New Yorkers were black, almost all of them part of the largest slave population north of Chesapeake Bay. Slavery weakened by 1790, when 4,782 black New Yorkers were free. More than 21,000 remained enslaved, however. The state finally began gradual abolition in 1799. The census in 1800 showed 10,374 free black New Yorkers and 20,613 slaves. By 1810 the numbers were tilting, with 25,333 free people and 15,017 slaves. In 1820 there were 29,279 free of slavery, but 10,088 remained in chains. New York's leaders adopted 4 July 1827 as the day for slavery to end. In 1830 the free black population was 44,870.

### DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Creating the Empire State required destroying what historians now call Iroquoia. At the end of the Revolutionary War the state maintained that the four Iroquois nations that had sided with the British had forfeited their land. It could not make that claim stick; nor could it claim the land of the pro-American Oneidas and Tuscaroras. Both the state government and the Confederation Congress maintained their claim to sovereignty in relation to the Indians and their right to purchase the land. To complicate matters, so did Massachusetts. Congress aside, the Treaty of Hartford gave legal sovereignty to New York but allowed Massachusetts the right as a private purchaser to preempt Indian land west of Seneca Lake. By the time the federal Constitution took effect in 1789, Massachusetts and New York believed they had negotiated treaties to purchase most Iroquois land. The federal Non-Intercourse Act of 1790 supposedly ended separate state purchases of Indian land, and in 1794 federal negotiators worked out a major treaty with the Six Nations at Canandaigua, in the central Finger Lakes region. Between then and 1846, New York State negotiated a long series of treaties for virtually all the remaining Indian land. Because those treaties did not conform to federal requirements, their legal status has remained open to litigation and is not fully resolved at this writing.

Nonetheless, settlers poured into western New York, which the state was dividing into counties and townships without regard to Indian title. Even colonials had seen that New York possessed a unique opportunity at the Oneida Carrying Place, where the Mohawk River, flowing toward the Hudson, comes

within a mile of Wood Creek, flowing toward Lake Ontario. Build a canal across that low ridge, and a few others around the Mohawk's rapids and falls, and the two water systems would join. Nowhere else between the St. Lawrence and the southern tip of the Appalachian Mountains was such a link possible. By the early nineteenth century some were thinking in bigger terms, proposing a canal from Albany to Lake Erie. Rochester flour dealer Jesse Hawley apparently had the idea first, but credit for the Erie Canal goes to DeWitt Clinton, who pushed the idea ceaselessly as mayor of New York City, governor, and federal politician, including a run for the presidency in 1812. (Not until Martin Van Buren's election in 1836, however, would a New Yorker win the White House.)

Clinton sought federal support, but when President James Madison vetoed a bill in 1816 New York embarked on the project alone. Construction began in 1817, and the canal opened in 1825. It was so successful that it needed enlargement by 1836. It gave New York City access to the whole northern interior, ensuring its primacy over rivals Philadelphia and Montreal. Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago all became part of New York's system. Land values along the canal soared.

The canal's completion was part of the high tide of white male democracy in New York, as property requirements for voting and officeholding came to an end. But democratic opportunity led straight to machine politics, of which Van Buren was a pioneer, and was joined directly to the exclusion of most black male voters, to whom property requirements for voting still applied. Moreover, the canal's very success brought unrest along its route. Central and western New York were so overrun by religious revivals and reform movements that the region became known after 1830 as the "Burned Over District." Militant abolitionism, prison reform, temperance, women's rights, and the emergence of the Latter-Day Saints as a uniquely American religion all were among the results.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Albany; Constitutionalism: American Colonies; Erie Canal; Hartford Convention; Iroquois Confederacy; Loyalists; New York City; Revivals and Revivalism; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blackmar, Elizabeth. *Manhattan for Rent*, *1785–1850*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Countryman, Edward. *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York*, *1760–1790*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981; New York: Norton, 1989.

Hauptman, Laurence M. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Sheriff, Carol. *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817–1862.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

White, Shane. *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984, 2004.

*Edward Countryman*

**NILES' REGISTER**   Known as the "News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century" to later generations, *Niles' Weekly Register* was one of the first periodicals in America to systematically gather and organize all the major news of the week. As such, it was widely read by the opinion leaders of its time and became a valuable source for later historians, especially on politics, government, and the economy.

Considerably longer than the newspapers of its era at sixteen pages, the *Register* was the brainchild of Hezekiah Niles (1777–1839), a Quaker printer from Pennsylvania. Having previously tried his hand at several types of publications, including a conventional Democratic Republican newspaper, the *Baltimore Evening Post*, Niles promised readers "Something New" in his 1811 prospectus for the *Register*, and for the most part he delivered. While the *Register* employed no reporters and printed the same basic types of material as all the newspapers of this period—political essays, texts of speeches, letters, official documents, and extracts from other newspapers—Niles made his selections much more carefully, comparing various accounts for accuracy and often summarizing the information or setting the reports and documents in context with commentary of his own. Niles also distinguished the *Register* by refusing to use it for "electioneering purposes," banning the anonymous contributions and personal attacks that dominated many party journals and printing material on both sides of many issues.

While Niles was indeed the "honest chronicler" that the Shakespeare quotation on his masthead seemed to promise, the *Register* was far from nonpartisan. Setting a pattern for later advances in news reporting, the *Register* rose to prominence by chronicling a major war, the War of 1812 (1812–1815), to which it was deeply committed. Niles was ferociously anti–British and bitterly critical of the war's many domestic opponents. As he saw it, the United States was fighting the "most profligate and corrupt government in the universe, administered by the most finished villains in the world, who make a boast of bribery, laugh at fraud, and cherish all sorts of whoredoms." Niles also became one of the most influential exponents of the American System of fostering domestic industry through internal transportation improvements and protective tariffs. He stuffed the *Register* with arguments and data in support of protectionism and did not shrink from bitter political invective on the topic. The "free trade party" (code for the Jacksonian Democrats) was full of "British agents" and wanted to "send the laborer 'supperless to bed,'" Niles warned in 1831. Given that the American System was the signature policy agenda of Henry Clay and the Whig Party, *Niles' Register* should be counted as a vociferous fellow traveler of that party even if the editor technically kept his promise not to promote candidates in his pages.

A judicious editor, skilled writer, and confirmed workaholic, Niles produced the *Register* until his health failed in 1836. He then turned the reins over to his son, William Ogden Niles, who moved the paper from Baltimore to Washington, D.C., and changed the name to *Niles' National Register*. William's tenure as editor was cut short in 1839 when his widowed stepmother sold the paper out from under him. The publication ended up in the hands of Hezekiah's old friend Jeremiah Hughes, longtime editor of the Annapolis *Maryland Republican*, who ran the *Register* until his retirement in 1848. Hughes sold out to novice editor George Beatty, who moved the office to Philadelphia and tried selling advertising in it for the first time, but mismanaged the famous publication to an early death in 1849.

*See also* **Magazines; Newspapers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brigham, Clarence S. *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820.* Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1947.

Luxon, Norval Neil. *Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947.

Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism: A History, 1690–1960.* 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1960.

*Niles' Weekly Register,* 1811–1835.

*Jeffrey L. Pasley*

**NONFICTION PROSE** Nonfiction prose in the period from 1754 to 1829 is marked by a shift from Calvinist introspection and a preoccupation with spiritual salvation to a focus on the public sphere in which attempts are made to define what an American is and what the American continent is like for curious Europeans and future immigrants. Those already living in America saw in this literature a guide to fashioning a distinctively American political, social, and cultural identity. Thus, the project of description and analysis of America had both a domestic as well as an international audience. Among the modes of expression most suited to this enterprise were autobiographies (of model Americans) and scientific writings describing the natural landscape as well as observations about the American character by recent immigrants. Added to these were popular advice books about how one might succeed in the American environment through rigorous domestic (household) economy and practical (farmer's) almanacs. And finally, among the characteristic nonfiction prose forms were histories of the American Revolution and political writings about the best modes of governance, supplemented by dissenting polemical writings (orations, sermons, dialogues, and published letters) about the overlooked capabilities of women, Native Americans, and African slaves.

This is not to suggest that intimate, personal writings disappeared, for certainly correspondence was the main form of communication and offered alternative perspectives on the new nation by less public voices, such as those of women (as seen in the correspondence between Abigail and John Adams). Nor is this to suggest that religion had foundered, for there were many revivals that followed the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, and diverse denominations flourished in the latter half the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, spiritual autobiographies, as exemplified by that of Quaker Elizabeth Ashbridge (1713–1755) continued to be written. Rather, it is to suggest that John Winthrop's vision of America as God's "city upon a hill" was adapted and naturalized in the descriptions of America by Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) and in William Bartram's *Travels* (1791). Similarly, spiritual autobiog-

raphies, like Jonathan Edwards's *Personal Narrative* (1765) and Cotton Mather's *Bonifacius* (1710; later reprinted as *Essays to Do Good*) were modified into a moral, secular, and national memoir in the *Autobiography* (1818) of Benjamin Franklin. America remained an exceptional nation, but its exceptional basis as God's chosen people was less immediately the topic of discussion, replaced by the practical exigencies of how to form a distinct and sustainable nation in the eyes of the world. The emphasis had shifted from predestination and God's sovereignty to scientific discovery and human craftsmanship—of the political state, of society, and of cultural artifacts.

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND THE NATION

Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* is in many respects a document of the nation's history, written at important junctures in Franklin's and the nation's development and from the vantage of a global perspective. The earlier parts were written in England (in 1771), where Franklin was engaged in discussions with Parliament, and in France (1784), where he stayed on as minister after the Treaty of Paris (1783) with Great Britain was signed; the last part was written in Philadelphia (in 1788) after the Constitutional Convention. The narrative documented his own attainment of personal independence (just a few years before the nation achieved its own) and his method for building a character of discernment and good judgment, which broadened into ever-widening circles of civic-mindedness, public service, and autonomous identity. The *Autobiography* was partly indebted to spiritual autobiographies that registered a journey through trials to achieve grace (for example, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* [1678]) and guides to moral conduct (for example, Mather's *Bonifacius*).

Franklin's *Autobiography* focuses, however, not upon the intractable stain of human sin in the eyes of God, but rather upon the (metaphoric) printer's errata, which can be corrected for each new readership. For Franklin, human agency is effective, and self-improvement means that others can learn from his example. His is a self-consciously rhetorical enterprise: a record of his life in the style that he taught himself from Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *Spectator* (1711–1712), a style that is "*smooth, clear, and short*: For the contrary Qualities are apt to offend, either the Ear, the Understanding, or the Patience" (Franklin, "On Literary Style," 2 August 1733). Unlike his Puritan predecessors, he did not dwell on his own imperfections but was willing to accept some limitations and vices. Clearly, what he sought most was not to avoid God's wrath. Rather,

it was—in the famous words of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence—"Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness" that this self-made man most desired, "for in Proportion as a Man is vicious he loses the Favour of God and Man, and brings upon himself many Inconveniences, the least of which is capable of marring and demolishing his Happiness" (Franklin, "A Man of Sense," 11 February 1735"). Franklin's *Autobiography* is a document, then, of a man who felicitously rose to international status through self-improvement and self-discipline, just as his nation had done. Franklin included a letter by Benjamin Vaughan (31 January 1783) urging him to publish his life story because there was a parallel between a wise and upwardly mobile Franklin and the new nation's rise to independence and success; "All that has happened to you is also connected with the detail of the manners and situation of *a rising* people," Vaughan wrote. Franklin's life story is also the nation's history.

Similarly, Thomas Jefferson's "Autobiography," written in 1821, suggests the deep intertwining of his life with the evolution of the nation, perhaps most clearly revealed in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, included in the "Autobiography." Unlike the final document, which was heavily revised by Congress and has the qualities of a timeless, universal statement representing a consensus of the American people, the original version reveals Jefferson's passionate anger and exasperation in the historical moment. In the changes that are visible in the deletions and emendations, we see the shift from a heated, polemical, and in many respects personal letter to a heavily negotiated and debated document fashioned into a public performance for a broader, international audience. The meaning of the revisions and the final document are still being debated by scholars. In *Inventing America* (1978), Garry Wills suggests that the phrase "all men are created equal" means that they all possess a moral sense that is equal to all other men's in seeking the beauties of virtue, whereas in *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (1948; 1981), Daniel Boorstin suggests that the original phrase ("all men are created equal and independent, that *from that equal creation* they derive rights inherent and inalienable") derives its sense of equality from Jefferson's scientific interests in the facts and perfection of God's creation. Indeed, from that supreme design Jefferson infers the human potential for crafting the state and the importance of perfecting the governmental design.

## FLORA, FAUNA, AND AMERICANS

To a European audience, America still represented the exotic New World and was one more clue to the entirety of God's diverse and perfect design. Thomas Jefferson wrote *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) in response to a request from the French government in 1781. A careful description of the flora, fauna, rivers, mountains, laws, manufactures, religions, and populations of Virginia, *Notes* offers a scientist's and perhaps an anthropologist's analysis of one section of America. In fact, significant sharing of scientific information much like this regularly moved back and forth across the Atlantic. Jefferson's emphasis in his descriptions was upon the landscape's orderly design, its natural wonders, and its virtuous people who derived their grace from their proximity to the land. His descriptions are frequently comparative to the Old World and were measured with a scientist's interest in accuracy. One should not forget Jefferson's—not to mention Franklin's—scientific interests and their roles in a scientific community that included Benjamin Rush (doctor and medical scientist), Benjamin Barton Smith (botanist), David Rittenhouse (astronomer), Charles Willson Peale (museum creator), and Joseph Priestley (the chemist who discovered oxygen).

William Bartram's *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida . . .* (1791) was the work of a botanist who described himself as "impelled by a restless spirit of curiosity, in pursuit of new productions of nature." Compared to Jefferson's, his descriptions of America are more vivid and sensuous and verge on the poetical as he discovered New World novelties. In fact, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth were known to have gleaned descriptions from Bartram's *Travels* for their poetry, ranging from the terrifying roar of alligators ("it most resembles very heavy distant thunder, not only shaking the air and waters, but causing the earth to tremble") to the never-ending blossoming of a tree ("with large milkwhite fragrant blossoms . . . renewed each morning . . . in such incredible profusion that the Tree appears silvered over with them and the ground beneath covered with the fallen flowers"). Bartram combined the sort of autobiographical narrative that public figures like Jefferson wrote with the scientific explorer's interest in the exotic and the poet's interest in the lyrical. Besides offering up a landscape of enchantment to Europeans who hungered for such fare, Bartram hoped to be "instrumental in discovering, and introducing into my native country, some original productions of nature, which might become useful to society."

In many respects these descriptive narratives of America, and many others of a more exaggeratedly positive nature, functioned as propaganda to entice immigrants to this country. There was, in fact, a genre of emigration promotion pamphlets that so inflated the benefits of America that Franklin spoofed them in his essay, "Information to Those Who Would Remove to America" (1782), addressed to those who might be gullible enough to believe that in America roofs were tiled with pancakes and "fowls [that] fly about ready roasted, crying *come eat me*!" J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, an immigrant from France to New York, however, wrote a more balanced series of essays titled *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782). The best known, Letter III, or "What Is an American," paints a picture of America as a pastoral land and as refuge for the beleaguered European: "We have no princes, for whom we toil, starve, and bleed: we are the most perfect society now existing in the world." Compared to the Old World, America was open and abundant. "Every industrious European who transports himself here, may be compared to a sprout growing at the foot of a tree; it enjoys and draws but a little portion of sap; wrench it from the parent roots, transplant it, and it will become a tree bearing fruit also." Crèvecoeur presents America as an orderly, self-regulated agrarian landscape and as a peaceful melting pot made up of an internationally "promiscuous [mixed] breed . . . now called Americans."

Although not all his reflections on his adopted country are so unqualified in their praise, and although he was hostile to the forces of progress that came increasingly to characterize the country, Crèvecoeur does explore the process of forging an American identity and thus stands as a significant precursor to Alexis de Tocqueville, whose later observations in *Democracy in America* (1835) characterized America for Europeans. For those who came to this country, there was ample advice in the form of almanacs, the best-known and most popular of which was Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, published annually between 1732 and 1757. A work of wisdom and humor, it made Franklin's name a byword in the colonies. For women, too, there was advice on domestic economy, including that of Lydia Maria Child's *The Frugal Housewife* (1829), where the rising middle-class woman could learn to make do with thrift, resourcefulness, and diligent economy.

## POLITICS, PERSUASION, AND HISTORY

Political pamphlets, newspaper essays, orations, and histories, particularly as they related to the Revolu-

tion, were another among the chief forms of expression in nonfiction prose. Among the pamphleteers, Thomas Paine is perhaps the best known. His series of patriotic and eloquent letters, *The American Crisis* (1776–1783), and his incendiary and highly influential pamphlet in favor of independence, *Common Sense* (1776), earned him the epithet "spark plug of the American Revolution." In his earlier writings for the *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1775), Paine had advocated for the freedom of slaves and for the rights of women. But others, too, advocated on behalf of women and against slavery, and for Native Americans as well. Using the gently suggestive form of a Socratic dialogue, Charles Brockden Brown wrote *Alcuin; A Dialogue* (1797) on behalf of the legal, economic, and political freedom of women. In "Remarks Concerning the Savages of America" (1784), Benjamin Franklin insisted that Native Americans were not barbarians, as many had portrayed them, but rather a civilized people whose advanced code of etiquette was misinterpreted as simplicity and naïveté. In 1700 Samuel Sewall wrote *The Selling of Joseph*, the first tract in America to denounce slavery, but late in the eighteenth century, many African American voices began to be heard on their own behalf. Benjamin Banneker, in a letter to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson that was published in 1792, advocated for the freedom of his brothers in slavery by reciting back to Jefferson his own words from the Declaration of Independence and reminding Jefferson of the latter's own feelings under the tyranny and servitude of an exploitative king. Similarly, William Hamilton's "Oration Delivered in the African Zion Church on the Fourth of July, 1827, in Commemoration of the Abolition of Domestic Slavery in this State [New York]" (1827) highlighted the contradiction between the republican ideals in the Declaration of Independence and the institution of slavery, for which he called Thomas Jefferson "an ambidexter philosopher." And while men were active on the stage of politics, elite female historians with access to relevant documents wrote patriotic histories of the events, as exemplified by Mercy Otis Warren's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805).

By the early nineteenth century, however, with political independence behind them, Americans faced more squarely the challenge to achieve cultural independence from Britain, a challenge heightened by Sydney Smith's taunt in the *Edinburgh Review* (1820): "In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue?" Partly in answer to this call, Washington Irving wrote his gen-

teel and much-loved *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent* (1820), a series of stories set in colonial America along with travel sketches of England. But it would be the writers of the 1830s through the 1850s, including Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville, who sought to forge a distinctively American literature that was neither an imitation of English modes nor the crude and provincial writing that had provoked the negative characterization by Sydney Smith. These authors more than answered the call to create an American literature in what has come to be known as the American Renaissance of the 1850s.

*See also* **Almanacs; Declaration of Independence; Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; Religious Publishing; Satire; Travel Guides and Accounts.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baym, Nina. *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790–1860.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995.

Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson: With a New Preface.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Reprint, 1981.

Hoffman, Ronald, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, eds. *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Looby, Christopher. *Voicing America: Language, Literary Form, and the Origins of the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Patterson, Mark R. *Authority, Autonomy, and Representation in American Literature, 1776–1865.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Wills, Garry. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978.

*Robin Grey*

**NORFOLK** Norfolk, Virginia, was established in 1680, making it one of the first towns established in the colony. It received a royal charter in 1736, making it an independent borough with local governance and allowing property holders to elect a representa-

tive to the assembly. During the decades leading to the American Revolution, Norfolk was a primary commercial port for the colonies. Because of its geographical location and spacious harbor as well as its many docks, warehouses, and commercial agents it dominated the colonial trade with the West Indies. Products such as beef, pork, tobacco, lumber, and especially grains such as wheat and corn were exported through Norfolk.

In 1791 the town's total population was 2,959, with 1,604 whites, 1,294 slaves, and 61 free blacks. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Norfolk's population had surged to 6,926 residents, including 3,850 whites, 2,724 slaves, and 352 free blacks. In 1810 the population increased to 9,193, with 4,776 whites, 3,825 slaves, and 592 free blacks. Over the next decade, the number of Norfolk inhabitants decreased to 8,608, comprising 4,748 whites, 3,261 slaves, and 599 free blacks. In 1830 the borough could boast of 9,814 residents, including 5,130 whites, 3,756 slaves, and 928 free blacks.

During the Revolutionary era, Norfolkians protested the Stamp Act of 1765, formed their own Sons of Liberty, and in 1774 established a committee of public safety in response to the Intolerable Acts of that year. Support for the Patriots had diminished by the fall of 1775, however, when Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, took control of the borough with little resistance as thousands pledged their oath of allegiance to the king. But at the Battle of Great Bridge, eight miles south of Norfolk, Virginia militiamen on 9 December 1775 defeated the British under Dunmore's command and forced their evacuation from the borough. Seeking revenge, on 1 January 1776 Dunmore bombarded the port. Before leaving Norfolk, militiamen set fires to Loyalist businesses and houses, contributing to the destruction of 90 percent of the town.

By the turn of the century the citizens had rebuilt Norfolk, maintaining its place as the largest town in Virginia and prospering in what was a primary commercial port. In 1801 the federal government established a navy yard at nearby Gosport. Navigation, nonintercourse, and embargo laws over the next two decades damaged Norfolk's economic prosperity by restricting trade to foreign ports. In the years following the War of 1812, Norfolk's role in the national economy markedly diminished, with New York emerging as the country's dominant commercial port. Although Norfolk would not regain its colonial trade preeminence, residents worked to expand the city's economic fortunes with internal improvements by investing in railroads, completing the Dismal Swamp Canal in 1829, and building the first dry dock in America at the Gosport Naval Yard in 1833.

*See also* **City Growth and Development.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bogger, Tommy L. *Free Blacks in Norfolk, Virginia, 1790–1860: The Darker Side of Freedom.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

Parramore, Thomas C., Peter C. Stewart, and Tommy Bogger. *Norfolk: The First Four Centuries.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Squires, W. H. T. *Through the Years in Norfolk: Historical Norfolk—1636–1936.* Norfolk: Norfolk Advertising Board, 1936.

*John G. Deal*

**NORTH CAROLINA** In 1790 residents of North Carolina lived in five geographic regions: the planter-controlled eastern counties, the Piedmont, the western mountains, and the trans-Appalachian Watauga and Cumberland districts. Collectively, they had rejected the new federal Constitution in 1788, but fear of economic and political isolation led them to reconsider and join the Union in 1789. In 1790 the legislature ceded the trans-Appalachian land to the federal government with the provision that it guarantee land titles, protect the institution of slavery, and otherwise establish a territory under the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. This area became known as the Territory of the United States south of the River Ohio, and in 1796, the state of Tennessee.

North Carolina had an extant but not well-developed two party system in the early national period. A limited number of elite families helped establish a Federalist coalition in the 1790s, and party cohesion was strong enough that John Adams obtained electoral votes both in 1796 and 1800. Petitions supporting the Federalist agenda, moreover, made their way to President Adams in 1798. As late as 1808, Federalist presidential candidate Charles Cotesworth Pinckney received three electoral votes out of fourteen. Even so, Federalism was generally limited to eastern counties, persisting longest in the upper Cape Fear Valley, and was undermined by an increasingly organized Jeffersonian coalition. Though present by 1796, it became particularly influential after concerns emerged over the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. By the early nineteenth century, Republicans would dominate the political structures of the state.

A new political division eventually emerged out of North Carolina's economic condition. Cotton became a dominant crop in eastern and southern counties, although some profitable plantations existed as far west as Buncombe County. Also notable were the naval stores and lumber trades. Yet most people engaged in general farming, and modest remunerative value meant that North Carolina generally was not an economic powerhouse during the early national period. Its lingering reputation for "backwardness" led Archibald Debow Murphy, a state senator, and other prominent men to propose internal improvements, commercial innovation, and state-supported public education as early as the 1810s. Many North Carolinians remained unconvinced by such measures, however, and after 1830 more formal opposition helped usher in the Second American Party System, a term that refers to the two-party competition that developed between the Democratic and Whig parties.

Gradual population growth did little to enhance the state's relatively limited economy. Numbering 350,000 at the outbreak of the Revolution, in 1790 population was just over 395,000. By 1800 the number had grown only to 478,103, and in 1810 to 555,500. In 1820 the number grew to 638,829, and in 1830 North Carolina had a total population of 737,987. Enterprising North Carolinians understood by 1830 that greater opportunities lay in westward migration. For boosters, outward migration seemed serious enough that they feared it might undermine the state's efforts at improvement.

An important element in this gradual population growth was the high number of African Americans. Despite the state's relatively modest economic status, the institution of slavery nevertheless maintained a powerful presence. In 1790 there were 100,783 slaves in North Carolina, along with 5,000 free people of color. By 1800 the number had grown to 133,296, with 7,073 free blacks; in 1810 there were 168,824 slaves and 10,266 free blacks. In 1820, 205,017 slaves lived in North Carolina, along with 14,612 freedmen. In 1830 the state held 245,601 slaves as well as 19,543 free blacks.

Early nineteenth-century North Carolina is best described as a master-race society—one that became increasingly democratic for that race but remained tyrannical for subordinate groups. Perhaps the North Carolina Supreme Court case *State v. John Mann* best encapsulates the nature of this society. Mann was charged in the 1820s with assault and battery on a female slave whom he had hired. On appeal, the court ruled that Mann had the same rights as the slave's owner, and therefore could not be prosecuted for cruelty. As Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin wrote in the decision, "the power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect."

Although also subject to this oppressive culture, the state's small free black population held a significant advantage over those in most other slave states: because of a loophole in North Carolina's constitution, they maintained the right to vote. This unusual right was taken away in 1835, when a convention altered the constitution in response to Nat Turner's slave rebellion and the emerging abolitionist movement in the North.

North Carolina also maintained a noticeable American Indian presence. More sizeable in the early eighteenth century, by the early national years the remaining population mostly lived in the western mountains. The Cherokees were the major, although not the only, tribe. Between 1790 and 1830 Cherokees struggled to maintain their land and autonomy against an onslaught of white speculation, settlement, and attempts at "civilization." They finally were compelled to migrate across the Mississippi River in 1838, leaving behind only a small population in the Smoky Mountains.

*See also* **American Indians: Southeast; Antislavery; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Proslavery Thought; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; South; Tennessee; Town Plans and Promotion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Franklin, John Hope. *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943, 1995.

Tushnet, Mark V. *Slave Law in the American South: State v. Mann in History and Literature.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Watson, Harry L. *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict: The Emergence of the Second American Party System in Cumberland County, North Carolina.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.

*Kristofer Ray*

**NORTHWEST** In late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century parlance, the term "Northwest" referred to the American region north and west of the Ohio River. This area became the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and a portion of eastern Minnesota.

The territory comprising what became known by the mid-nineteenth century as the "Old Northwest" was ceded to the newly independent United States by Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris (1783). The region had long attracted the attention of land-starved eastern farmers and speculators. Intent upon an orderly and structured settlement of the area and hoping to compensate Revolutionary War veterans with land for their largely unpaid service, the Confederation Congress convinced the eastern seaboard states to abandon their numerous historical claims to western territory and to create a national domain in the region. Moreover, the fledgling government entered into negotiations with native tribes to gain undisputed control over the land. Though some of these negotiations bore fruit, witness the Treaties of Fort Stanwix (1784) and the Treaty of Fort McIntosh (1785), many other native groups repudiated the land cessions and openly resisted settler encroachment upon their homelands, armed resistance that would wax and wane until 1815. With title to the land secured (in principle), Confederation officials passed laws establishing a systematic pattern of land survey (based on rectilinear units) and public sale (Ordinance of 1785) and organized the region as the Northwest Territory, creating in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 a framework for territorial governance and outlining the necessary steps for the region's eventual statehood and full equality with the existing states.

In spite of ongoing tensions with local natives, settlers from the North and South alike streamed across the Appalachian Mountains and began carving out settlements and farmsteads along the Ohio River and its tributaries. In the face of increasing pressure, native resistance in the Northwest stiffened and the federal government was forced to dispatch large armies into the region to protect settlements and to quash the Indians. After a series of early military disasters, the eventual defeat of the northwestern tribes by General "Mad" Anthony Wayne's Legion at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794) and the ensuing Treaty of Greenville (1795) opened the region to full-scale settlement. By 1798 the Northwest Territory's population surpassed five thousand, and it elected its first territorial legislature that year. In 1803 Ohio, the first state carved out of the Northwest Territory, was admitted to the Union. The remainder of the Old Northwest followed a similar path to statehood with Indiana admitted in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1837, Wisconsin in 1848, and Minnesota (including additional territory obtained through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803) in 1858.

## A REGION OF AMERICAN VIRTUES

Although the Northwest attracted a wide array of settlers (New England "Yankees," migrants from the mid-Atlantic, upland southerners, and immigrants from abroad), shared experience and a common political origin under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 enabled a collective regional identity to develop quickly. Indeed, regional boosters, such as James Hall of Illinois and Lewis Cass of Michigan, argued that the Northwest's diverse population forged a discernable "western," yet undeniably national, culture.

For many self-titled westerners, their region and the culture that it spawned fully embodied the republican values of limitless opportunity, unfettered freedom, independence, and selflessness that had driven the Revolutionary movement. According to this view the Northwest, as the nation's first experiment in "colonization," was a vehicle for the dissemination of the blessings of liberty into the wilderness. The Northwest—through the Northwest Ordinance and the principles embedded within it—further institutionalized the ideals of the Revolution and the promise of self-government. Furthermore, many believed that the Northwest and its settlers were defined as the most "American" of all regions by virtue of the selfless cession of western land claims by the eastern states, the democratic access to land via public sale to all comers, the area's orderly progress toward self-rule and full equality as states, the freedom of religion and basic rights guaranteed by the Northwest Ordinance, the promotion of public education, and the banning of slavery from the region. The region's fertility, bountiful and relatively inexpensive land, and developing connections to broader markets also induced many westerners to embrace an emerging middle-class, Protestant ethos of capitalistic self-improvement and material gain. This soon became one of the alleged hallmarks of the northwestern persona.

## THE DARKER SIDE

This self-constructed identity, however, belied a more complex reality. Though many spoke in terms of a collective "western genius," a large number of the region's inhabitants found themselves at odds with its basic precepts or were forced to lead lives on the periphery of western society. Land, the basis for independent living, remained beyond the reach of many. Others, for varied reasons, rejected the Northwest's burgeoning capitalist ethos and clung to a tradition of self-provisioning agriculture. The region's vaunted hostility to slavery was also not uniformly shared. Many upland southern settlers harbored no animosity toward the "peculiar institution" and

some went so far as to push for the repeal of its exclusion from the states being carved out of the Northwest Territory. Likewise, the Northwest Ordinance did not free those individuals already enslaved in the region as of 1787, and thus the institution continued to linger on into the nineteenth century, with some slaves held in Illinois into the 1840s. Similarly, the spread of "American" ideals into the West did not proceed smoothly or peacefully and left in its wake many casualties. In the end racism, greed, and prejudice relegated the area's African American and indigenous residents to marginal existences. Additionally, many "westerners" resented their region's ongoing subordination and dependency. Protracted territorial status, contentious admission to statehood (Michigan being a prime example), and political powerlessness left many westerners chafing at their perceived inequality and eastern domination.

The Northwest spent many of its formative years as a shadowy western dependency of the established states. Isolated from direct access to the east coast by the formidable Appalachian Mountains, the region's economic and cultural link to the rest of the nation was the Ohio–Mississippi River system. Unfortunately, during the Confederation era and on into the first years of the nineteenth century, Spain controlled the all-important port of New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi River. Spanish closure of the port to American trade and the Confederation's inability to change Spanish policy produced reoccurring separatist movements in the Northwest until the American acquisition of the river's mouth through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Equally galling to "westerners" was the continued British presence on American territory down to the late 1790s and the inept military policy of the federal government in response to the threat posed by the western tribes. Even with the British gone, the Indian threat diminished, and American control over the Mississippi River ensured, northwestern settlers remained wedded to the region's river valleys and the area remained an economic satellite of the expanding American South.

### BECOMING A POWERHOUSE

In the decade of the 1820s, however, the Northwest began to flex its muscle and the region emerged as a national powerhouse. The construction of the National Road and the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 provided the region with direct and speedy links to the Atlantic seaboard and the world. Moreover, the development of steam travel on the Great Lakes and western rivers enabled trade to move in an economical and efficient manner. Consumer goods flooded into the region and the bounty of western lands flowed east to fuel an economic boom. Northwestern farms rapidly surpassed the output of older farms in the Northeast, and the region became the breadbasket for the nation and much of Europe. Likewise, the abundant natural resources of the Northwest—its lumber, fish, and minerals—attracted eastern capital and found ready markets in the East, sparking the birth of new industries. The population of the Northwest also grew dramatically during the decade, jumping from roughly 785,000 in 1820 to over 1.4 million by 1830, which paved the way for the subsequent emergence of the region as a dominant political force.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Illinois; Indiana; Jay's Treaty; Michigan; Ohio; Wisconsin Territory.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnhart, Terry A. "'A Common Feeling': Regional Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Old Northwest, 1820–1860." *Michigan Historical Review* 29 (2003): 39–70.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Peter S. Onuf. *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Susan E. Gray, eds. *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Etcheson, Nicole. *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest*, 1787–1861. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: Sharpe, 2001.

Gray, Susan E. *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

*Martin J. Hershock*

**NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST ORDI-NANCES** The Northwest Ordinance and its successor acts outlined the organization of government for the territories created from the land ceded to the U.S. government by some of the original thirteen states, allowed for the admission of new states on an equal basis with the original thirteen, and prohibited slavery in the region north of the Ohio River.

## NORTHWEST ORDINANCE

The Northwest Ordinance, passed on 13 July 1787, was the single most important act of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. It created the territorial government and outlined the progression of steps toward statehood for the region north of the Ohio River. The Ordinance served as the basis for organizing other western territories.

Under the Ordinance, Congress appointed a government for the territory consisting of a governor, a secretary, and three judges. The governor was the commander of the militia; a majority of the governor and judges were to create the laws in the territory. When the population reached five thousand "free male inhabitants," a legislature could be assembled. The Ordinance did not require that these citizens be white. The legislature was to have an upper house, the legislative council, and a lower house, the assembly. The assembly, whose members were to serve two-year terms, could be convened with a membership of one for every five hundred free male inhabitants. After the number of members of the legislature reached twenty-five, it would be allowed to determine its own size. The legislative council was to be made up of five men, selected by Congress from ten men nominated by the assembly, serving five-year terms. Legislation would then become law if passed by both houses and signed by the governor, as long as these laws were not in conflict with the Ordinance. The territory had a right to send a delegate to Congress, who could participate in debate but not vote.

The Ordinance determined that not less than three or more than five states were to be laid out within the territory. When the population of any part of the territory reached sixty thousand, that region could apply for admission to the Union as a state on an equal basis with the original states. Congress could reduce the number of citizens required for admission if it saw fit. Ultimately, five states—Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin—were created.

Congress added a series of articles to the Ordinance placing certain limitations on the territory and establishing a bill of rights. The bill of rights included freedom of worship, protection of the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, moderate fines, bail, a ban on cruel or unusual punishments, and protection of property rights. The territory was required to encourage education and show good faith toward Indians, whose land was not to be taken without their permission. It was also prohibited from taxing U.S. property or placing higher taxes on nonresident pro-prietors. The last article of the Ordinance, Article VI, prohibited slavery in the territory. By defining the North as free and the South as slave territory, this prohibition contributed to the growing divide in the young nation over the issue of slavery.

In 1789 the Congress passed an act effectively reasserting the Northwest Ordinance under the new Constitution while making a few minor changes in the reporting requirement for the territorial government by replacing Congress with the president.

## SOUTHWEST ORDINANCE

In 1789 North Carolina agreed to cede to the United States its western territory, which would eventually become the state of Tennessee. In response to such land cessions south of the Ohio River, in 1790 Congress organized the Southwest Territory in its Act for the Government of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. This act was designed to extend the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance to the South, with the important exception of allowing slavery. Georgia's cession of lands in 1802 also made reference to the Northwest Ordinance but exempted the region from the provisions forbidding slavery.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The most important provisions of the acts establishing the Northwest and Southwest Ordinances were those affecting the admission of new states to the Union and the prohibition of slavery. Other than requiring the agreement of nine states, the admissions provision of the Articles of Confederation did not outline how new states were to be admitted to the Union. The Northwest Ordinance and its successor laws outlined a process for admission of the five states of the Old Northwest Territories as well as Mississippi and Alabama in the South.

The ramifications of the slavery provision played a role in the Missouri Compromise (1820–1821), which created a balance in the Union between free and slave states. During the debates over Missouri's admission, slavery opponents used the Northwest Ordinance and its successor as proof of Congress's ability to regulate slavery in the territories and to set conditions for admission to the Union, as it had done in prohibiting the Ohio constitution from conflicting with the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance.

*See also* **Antislavery; Articles of Confederation; Continental Congresses; Missouri Com-**

**promise; North Carolina; Ohio; Pro-slavery Thought.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

*Documents from the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, 1774–1789.* A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation, American Memory Collection, Library of Congress. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw>

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*, 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

*Pathways to the Old Northwest: An Observance of the Bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Franklin College of Indiana, July 10–11, 1987.* Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1988.

Taylor, Robert M., ed. *The Northwest Ordinance, 1787: A Bicentennial Handbook.* Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1987.

*Donald E. Heidenreich, Jr.*

**NUMERACY**   *See* **Arithmetic and Numeracy.**
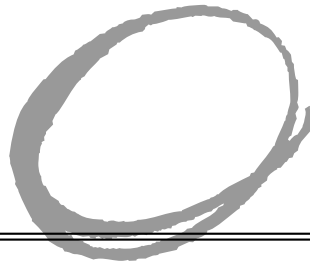
**OHIO**  In 1787 the Northwest Ordinance defined the boundaries of what became the future state of Ohio, and Congress authorized the first legal settlements there by white Americans. The Massachusetts-based Ohio Company established Marietta in April 1788, and settlement in John Cleves Symmes's Miami Purchase began in November. Vigorous and successful resistance by the indigenous tribes inhibited in-migration for several years until the United States Army under Anthony Wayne defeated them at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on 20 August 1794. By the Treaty of Greenville of 3 August 1795, the tribes conceded the title to three-quarters of the future state to the federal government, restricting their tribal lands to the northwestern quarter. The process of settlement now began in earnest and federal land sales accelerated. By 1800 the future state had acquired a population of 42,159 (of whom about 14,400 were adult), mainly clustered close to the Ohio and Scioto Rivers.

In 1798 the population of the Northwest Territory was judged large enough to justify the election of a territorial legislature, which made laws for the territory subject to the veto of the federally appointed territorial governor, Arthur St. Clair. In 1800 Congress divided the Northwest Territory by creating the Indiana Territory, and the remaining eastern division of the Northwest Territory began to debate the desirability of statehood. When St. Clair persuaded the legislature to support a further division of the territory in order to postpone statehood and perhaps gerrymander a pro-Federalist state east of the Scioto, the Republican opposition, led by Thomas Worthington, prompted a massive petition campaign and persuaded the new Republican majority in Congress to authorize the calling of a constitutional convention, even though the territory had not yet reached the mandated size of population.

Elected in October 1802, the Republican-dominated convention voted for statehood and drafted a constitution that prohibited slavery, weakened gubernatorial power, and gave control of the legislature to what in practice amounted to a white adult male electorate. After becoming a state in March 1803, Ohio proved a consistent Democratic Republican stronghold, supporting Presidents Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe, though suffering strong internal divisions over the role of the judiciary. In 1812 the state enthusiastically backed the War of 1812 against Britain, which resulted in two invasions of Ohio, in 1812 and 1813, by British troops and the Shawnee leader Tecumseh's native warriors. Security was not restored until late in 1813, with naval victory at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie in September and military defeat of the hostile forces

at the Battle of the Thames in Upper Canada (Ontario) in October. National victory made possible the treaties of 1817 and 1818 that finally expunged the title of the Indian tribes in northwestern Ohio and restricted the three thousand natives who remained to a few small reservations until the last were moved westward in 1842.

The extraordinary rate of white settlement that followed statehood gave Ohio a population of 230,760 in 1810. The interior of southern Ohio opened up, especially the Scioto, Muskingum, and Miami Valleys, which were settled mainly by people from Pennsylvania and the Upper South. The land between the Scioto and the Little Miami Rivers had been reserved to pay the wages owed to Virginia's Revolutionary War veterans, with the result that although the warrants had largely passed into the hands of speculators, settlers in this military district came disproportionately from Virginia and Kentucky. The process of rapid settlement slowed after 1809 during the years of Indian hostility and war but resumed with even greater intensity after 1813. New Englanders now flooded into northeastern Ohio, on to the lands known as the Western Reserve (or New Connecticut), which had been reserved in 1800 by Connecticut to pay off its Revolutionary War debts. At the same time German farmers from Pennsylvania settled the upland wheat-growing area south of the Reserve. The interior filled as Ohio's population doubled in a decade to 581,434 in 1820, making it the fifth most populous state in the nation. Although varied in religious character and regional origin, its people consisted primarily of white migrants born in the United States, with only a minute proportion of unnaturalized foreigners. The black population also remained less than 1 percent of the whole, thanks largely to the law discouraging black immigration passed in 1807, though numbers began to increase in the 1820s.

Essentially a land of farmers producing for their families' immediate needs, Ohio from an early date generated an agricultural surplus, mainly of corn and pork, for sale outside the state. After 1818 the state's development slowed considerably during the hardships of the Panic of 1819 and the subsequent depression. Then, in 1825, the state government embarked on an ambitious canal program, notably connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River, which duly stimulated a considerable economic recovery as commercial agriculture expanded. Many backward and frontier areas still remained as population growth now occurred mainly in the older counties, where small market towns developed rapidly. From the

start, Cincinnati had been the major commercial entrepôt, and after 1815 it began to develop some industry. Between 1824 and 1829 its population doubled in size to 24,143, more than the state's other urban centers put together. By 1830 Ohio, with a population of 937,903, was a highly heterogeneous state that supported an active and contentious public life; its voters divided evenly between the Jacksonian Democrats and their National Republican opponents, and as the state with the fourth-largest number of electoral votes and U.S. representatives, Ohio was already regarded as a critical swing state in national elections.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Cincinnati; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Stuart D. Hobbs, eds. *"The Center of a Great Empire": The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. *Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998.

———. *The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818-1828.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000.

*Donald J. Ratcliffe*

**OKLAHOMA** Located on the southern prairie-plains and intersected by the Arkansas, Red, Canadian, and Cimarron Rivers, Oklahoma was long an important crossroads. The great Mississippian city of Spiro in eastern Oklahoma dominated the region from A.D. 950 to 1450, and its burial mounds held some of the most remarkable pre-Columbian artwork north of Mexico. By 1700, Caddo and Wichita Indian villages, surrounded by immense cornfields, sprawled along the Red and Canadian Rivers, while Comanches, and later Kiowas, roamed the western regions.

Oklahoma fell within the territorial claims of France's Louisiana colony. In 1719, Bénard de la Harpe became one of the first French explorers to visit Oklahoma Indians. Soon French traders from Louisi-

ana and Arkansas were regulars in the area. Spanish Texas also claimed Oklahoma but could never exert control over it. In 1759, at the Battle of the Wichita Fort on the Red River, a Spanish punitive expedition against the Wichitas, Caddos, and Comanches was driven off with the loss of its artillery.

Oklahoma became part of the United States in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Considered to be part of the Great American Desert, politicians saw it as a place to relocate "civilized" eastern Indians. In 1824 the federal government formed what later became Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska into an official Indian Territory. At that time, Oklahoma was home to the Comanches, Kiowas, Wichitas, and Caddos, with perhaps a few Cherokees living in eastern Oklahoma before the 1830s. However, that decade would see the arrival of thousands of southeastern Indians who had been removed to Oklahoma over the Trail of Tears.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Removal.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

John, Elizabeth A. H. *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontaton of the Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540–1795.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

La Vere, David. *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Smith, F. Todd. *The Wichita Indians: Traders of Texas and the Southern Plains, 1540–1845.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000.

*David La Vere*

**OLD AGE** Three continuities and three changes characterize the history of old age in the United States between 1754 and 1829. The continuities provide a context for interpreting shifts in the meanings and experiences of being old. Having debated the magnitude of changes that occurred during the era, historians agree that it was no golden age. Developments from 1754 and 1829 set the stage for dramatic demographic, socioeconomic, and political transformations in late life during the twentieth century.

The first continuity worth noting is that throughout history, old age has been recognized as a stage of life. Unlike other stages of life like "adolescence" that were invented, almanacs, newspapers, and artifacts from this period document that scien-

tists, ministers, farmers, and popular writers put the same chronological boundaries around elderhood as had seventeenth-century settlers. Americans at the time agreed that old age began at sixty-five, give or take fifteen years.

Second, because of late life's elongated, elastic end points, older Americans collectively were the most diverse segment of the population between 1754 and 1829. Some, like Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) and John Adams (1735–1826), maintained their health and vitality well into their seventh decade. Others became increasingly frail with advancing years. Physicians and philosophers considered senescence a natural process, not a pathological disorder. Nor was mental decline deemed inevitable. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813), arguably the nation's first geriatrician, opined that a proper diet and exercise in moderation preserved the faculties. Extremes in wealth, as in health, existed in old age. A majority of the country's wealthiest men were either aged plantation owners and slaveholders or bankers and manufacturers in urban settings. That said, most elders died intestate, having managed to save little over the course of their lives.

Third, attitudes toward old age ranged from positive to negative, by turns ambivalent and ambiguous. Charles Willson Peale's luminous portraits of contented elderly gentry contrasted with images of widows and the disabled seeking refuge in almshouses or having to accept outdoor relief. Commentators between 1754 and 1829 frequently describe old people with status as "venerable," while others hurled disparaging invectives at those who were vulnerable and marginal with advancing years.

David Hackett Fischer's *Growing Old in America* (1977) sparked considerable interest in historical gerontology by arguing that there was a "deep change" in attitudes toward age and the elderly's behavior between 1790 and 1820. He cited changes in vocabulary and fashion, seating patterns in meetinghouses, and other indicators to substantiate his claim. Subsequent scholarship undermined Fischer's argument, but at least three changes took place during the period that set the stage for subsequent developments.

First, older men and women worked as long as possible between 1754 and 1829 and then relied on the (minimal) savings they had acquired. In a few instances—notably judgeships in thirteen states—sexagenarians were forced to quit the bench. These are the first instances of retirement in U.S. history. A provision of New York's 1777 state constitution set a precedent and forced Chancellor James Kent (1763–1847) off the bench; he then wrote his four-

OLIVE BRANCH PETITION

volume *Commentaries on American Law* (1826–1830). Kent did not die until he was eighty-four years old, a year after the state rescinded the rule.

Second, the longevity of Americans became a measure of the nation's health. That there was a relatively higher percentage of octogenarians on this side of the Atlantic than in Europe was considered proof that the climate, food supply, and rural values in the New World were more conducive to salubrity than was the Old World. Graybeard Uncle Sam was an apt symbol, Americans felt, for the young Republic. Historical demographers nonetheless remind us that children born in 1790 had as great a chance of attaining their first birthdays as babies born in 1970 have of reaching age sixty-five. Hence, transatlantic comparisons were more valuable as an ideological tool than as a measure of increased life expectancy at birth during this period.

Third, the vast network of public measures to protect and empower older Americans that grew after the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935 had its humble origins in the early years of the Republic. Thomas Paine and Alexander Everett in 1797 and 1823 respectively proposed nationally funded pensions to prevent old-age dependency, but they mustered minimal support. Then, building on its 1789 precedent for granting disability pensions, the federal government offered old-age pensions in 1818 to Revolutionary War veterans who had served nine months, needed assistance, and relinquished claim to any other pension. Congress liberalized benefits in the 1820s, a pattern of incrementalism that would characterize public policymaking thereafter.

*See also* **Domestic Life; Medicine.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achenbaum, W. Andrew. *Old Age in the New Land.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Cole, Thomas R. *The Journey of Life: A Cultural History of Aging in America.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Fisher, David Hackett. *Growing Old in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

*W. Andrew Achenbaum*

**OLIVE BRANCH PETITION**   Representatives to the Continental Congress in the spring and early summer of 1775 divided into two rival camps. The radicals were predominantly New Englanders led by John Adams, who favored an immediate declaration of independence. John Dickinson from Pennsylvania was the leader of the moderates, who favored reconciliation. The moderates, however, had been fighting a losing battle ever since the clashes at Lexington and Concord in April, and their support eroded with each passing act of hostility. When news of the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775 reached Philadelphia, it had a radicalizing effect on the Congress. The moderates still retained enough strength and influence, however, to keep the concept of a peaceful resolution on the table. The result was the Olive Branch Petition, written largely by Dickinson and addressed to King George III. It stated that the British monarch and his ministers had jeopardized the relationship between the colonies and the mother country by assaulting traditional liberties. It called for a truce in the fighting, repeal of the Coercive Acts, and a restructuring of imperial institutions to allow the colonists more autonomy.

Generally, historians believe that the Olive Branch Petition was less a serious attempt at averting war than a political move to satisfy moderates that the colonials had made one last appeal to the king to preserve the peace. Radicals, such as John Adams, thought it a farcical waste of time and thought more unity could be gained through an immediate declaration of independence. As Congress discussed the Olive Branch Petition, it continued the march toward war, creating the Continental Army, appointing George Washington of Virginia as commander in chief, authorizing an invasion of Canada, and adopting Thomas Jefferson and John Dickinson's *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking up Arms.*

On 8 July 1775 the Congress adopted the Olive Branch Petition. Richard Penn, a colonial agent, carried it to Britain. The plan was for the agents to present it to the king, but only Penn and Arthur Lee actually attempted to deliver the message. King George III refused to acknowledge the communication of an illegal institution and declared the colonies in rebellion. Parliament was out of session. When it reconvened on 26 October 1775, the king, in his speech opening the session ridiculed the petition in an indirect reference. The errant colonists were not the only ones petitioning the king for peace; towns and cities throughout Britain did likewise, which meant that Parliament could not ignore the issue. In November, Edmund Burke introduced a bill to revoke the Coercive Acts, grant pardons to all those involved in rebellion to that point, and grant the supremacy of colonial assemblies over Parliament regarding the right to tax the colonists. It failed by 210 to 105. This was interpreted as Parliament's agreement with the king

476   ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEW AMERICAN NATION

in rejecting the Olive Branch Petition and setting the stage for war.

*See also* **Continental Congresses.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Flower, Milton E. *John Dickinson, Conservative Revolutionary.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Middlekauf, Robert. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

*Gregory J. Dehler*

**ORPHANS AND ORPHANAGES**   Since the seventeenth century, child welfare policy in America has wavered between two principal policies: providing support to keep families together, and removing orphans from their families to care for them elsewhere. The word *orphans*, in the language of the new American nation, meant children who had lost one or both parents and who, because their families were unable to care for them, had become the public's responsibility. Although public leaders during the colonial period had relied primarily on three types of arrangements to care for orphans—outdoor relief, indenture, and almshouses—it was during the era of the new American nation that orphanages first appeared and entered their formative stage.

In 1739 George Whitefield (1714–1770), the charismatic leader of the transatlantic religious revival known as the Great Awakening (late 1730s and early 1740s), traveled to America to care for orphaned children. Inspired by the asylum of the German Pietist August Hermann Francke in Halle, Germany, Whitefield founded Bethesda Orphanage, known as the House of Mercy, in 1740. Located near Savannah, Georgia, it was the first orphanage in the British American colonies. (The first orphanage in all of the territory that would eventually become the United States was the Ursuline convent founded in New Orleans in 1727 by the French for children orphaned in an Indian raid.) Bethesda Orphanage was unique for its time, a product of Whitefield's emphasis on Christian charity and private philanthropy and of his insistence that benevolent giving was not the unique province of the elite. Of the forty-six children who entered Bethesda in 1740, eleven stayed for less than a year, and only nine remained in 1745. The vast majority of Bethesda's orphans returned to their families or were apprenticed to artisan families.

By 1801 seven orphan asylums dotted the Atlantic Coast. In 1790 the only publicly funded orphanage in the United States during the eighteenth century was founded by the city of Charleston, South Carolina, when it opened the doors of the Charleston Orphan House for 115 destitute children. Thereafter, private associations began to appear in northern urban areas. In 1797 one association founded the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Small Children in New York City to care for orphans; the following year a Roman Catholic priest established St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum in Philadelphia to care for girls orphaned by yellow fever. In 1799 St. Paul's Orphanage was founded in Baltimore for impoverished girls and, a year later, an association of women incorporated the Boston Female Orphan Asylum. In 1801 the Hebrew Orphan Asylum was established to care for poor children in Charleston.

Orphanages began to proliferate in America after 1801. By 1830 there were more than thirty orphan asylums in the United States, most located in northeastern urban areas, twenty-one under the auspices of Protestant churches, and ten established by Catholic churches. Elite and middle-class white women provided the leadership and organizational skills for these early orphanages. The Second Great Awakening (1790s–1830s) spurred them to social activism in this area and in many other public spheres of moral reform. These included interdenominational campaigns to curb drinking, end slavery, and improve the condition of the poor and insane.

The programs of the thirty-odd private orphanages differed radically in their approaches. Some, like the New York Orphan Asylum, sought the permanent removal of children from their indigent or widowed parents, while others, like the Boston Female Asylum, offered short-term facilities as well as long-term care for impoverished mothers during economic downturns. They often admitted as many as from ninety to one hundred children, boys under the age of six and girls under the age eight. All made efforts to educate their young charges. They were instructed in religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, yet also earned their own keep by knitting stockings sold to benefit the institution. Most boys and girls left the asylum at approximately age twelve (though some left as early as ages nine or ten), when they were placed under indenture. Most of the girls were bound out as domestic servants; the boys were bound out as agricultural laborers to farmers or apprenticed to trades such as cabinetmaking, shoemaking, and tail-

oring. The managers of the Boston Female Asylum placed approximately 4 percent of their charges for adoption.

For orphanages in America, the period from roughly 1754 to 1829 was a formative one. During the antebellum era, public officials and moral reformers investigated almshouses, a popular method of caring for children. They revealed mismanaged and overcrowded institutions where living conditions were squalid. As a result, they urged that "scientifically" administered orphanages replace almshouses. In the following decades, orphanages would mushroom, numbering nearly two hundred on the eve of the Civil War.

*See also* **Asylums; Philanthropy and Giving; Revivals and Revivalism; Women: Women's Voluntary Associations.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Porter, Susan L. "A Good Home: Indenture and Adoption in Nineteenth-Century Orphanages." In *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives.* Edited by E. Wayne Carp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002.

Hacsi, Timothy A. *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society*, *1700–1865.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

*E. Wayne Carp*

# P

**PAIN** As in previous eras, pain was omnipresent in the new American nation. Americans expected to experience pain and even to be debilitated by it for short or long periods of time, although expressions of this pain varied through gender conventions. By the eighteenth century, women were expected to suffer more than men, as they were considered more delicate creatures. Men who complained too loudly or long about pain ran the risk of being seen as effeminate.

People in pain had recourse to only a few pain medications. By the end of the eighteenth century, large doses of opium were common. Some physicians, called vitalists, believed that the infliction of pain would awaken the patient's vital energy and allow him or her to fight the illness causing the pain. By the early nineteenth century, morphine, a more effective pain reliever, had been isolated from opium. However, all of these attempts to relieve pain did little for most sufferers and ran the risk of creating drug-addicted patients.

For centuries, Christians understood that pain was linked with original sin, an indication of divine retribution. However, with the onset of the Enlightenment, understandings of pain were secularized. Physicians and philosophes separated pain from sin and punishment and searched for scientific understandings of the causes of pain. Some believed pain could give the physician indication of how to proceed in treating the illness.

This secularization did not lead to the abandonment of the link between spirituality and pain in the new American nation. American Christians sustained the belief that God meted out pain. While secular humanists tried to divorce understanding of pain and illness from religion, ministers continued to preach that pain originated from original sin and congregants continued to believe in the link between sin and pain. God made this world a vale of tears. Only in the next life would a man or woman be released from earthly pain.

*See also* **Drugs; Medicine.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Crane, Elaine Forman. "'I Have Suffer'd Much Today': The Defining Force of Pain in Early America." In *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America.* Edited by Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Rey, Roselyne. *The History of Pain.* Translated by Louise Elliot Wallace, J. A. Cadden, and S. W. Cadden. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Vertosick, Frank T. *Why We Hurt: The Natural History of Pain.* New York: Harcourt, 2000.

*Sarah Swedberg*

**PAINE, THOMAS**   More than any other writer of the late eighteenth century, Thomas Paine articulated the democratic aspirations of that revolutionary age. His contribution lay less in the originality of his ideas than in his ability to articulate those ideas in a style that resonated with the experiences of ordinary people. Paine's best-selling pamphlets in support of the American and French Revolutions—*Common Sense* and *The Rights of Man*—transformed this former stay maker, sailor, and tax collector into an international symbol of democratic radicalism. To his supporters, he was the heroic leader of a popular movement to eradicate artificial privilege and inequality. His many detractors on the other hand—like John Adams, who once referred to him as a "mongrel between Pigg and Puppy, begotten by a wild Boar on a Bitch Wolf"—worried that Paine's scathing attacks on all forms of traditional authority threatened to engulf the Atlantic world in anarchic mob rule. But whether they hated him or loved him, by the 1790s there were few people in the Atlantic basin who had not at least heard of Thomas Paine.

Paine was born and raised in Thetford, about seventy-five miles from London. At the age of twelve he followed his father into the trade of stay making (stays were the whalebone pieces that gave corsets their shape and stiffness). After a short stint as a sailor aboard a privateer, Paine moved to Sandwich in 1758 where he set up his own stay making shop and married Mary Lambert. Mary and their newborn child died in 1760, and for the next eight years Paine held various jobs in the south of England until finally finding steady work in 1768 as an excise officer in Lewes. That town, with its tradition of political radicalism extending back to the 1640s, transformed this disgruntled laborer into an articulate and radicalized activist.

Several strands of British oppositional thought underlay Paine's political vision. First, his Quaker upbringing taught him to distrust orthodox authorities and instead follow his own "inner light." Second, during a short stay in London in his twenties, Paine associated with a group of artisans who, in the spirit of Benjamin Franklin, regularly attended public lectures on scientific topics. At these lectures Paine was introduced to the fundamental Enlightenment tenet that the natural and social worlds operated according to a set of universal laws that any person could discover through the use of their rational faculties. The anti-authoritarian implications of this Newtonian worldview—if reason was universally shared then religious and political leaders had no special access to "the truth"—remained an unchanging feature of Paine's life's work. Finally, thanks to his participation in political debating societies in Lewes and elsewhere, Paine became steeped in Whig opposition thought, which advocated parliamentary reforms to limit the government's power and make it more responsive to the citizenry.

Arriving in Philadelphia only a few months before the battles of Lexington and Concord, Paine encountered a large community of politicized citizens who already spoke his transatlantic language of religious dissent, Enlightenment rationality, and Whig republicanism. After honing his journalistic skills for a year as the editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Paine wove these ideological threads together to produce the most widely read pamphlet of its day, *Common Sense*. As an idealistic transplant with few ties to any particular locality, Paine was perfectly situated to articulate a sweeping vision of a unified American state that had a world-historical mission to establish representative government and create the conditions for widespread economic prosperity. With rude swipes at the king, whom he referred to as "the Royal Brute," and inspirational assertions that the colonists had the unprecedented opportunity to "begin the world anew," Paine channeled the inchoate rage and unvoiced aspirations of ordinary Americans into a growing movement for national independence. When *Common Sense* was published in January of 1776 few Americans had publicly broached the issue of independence. By July of that year, however, the popularity of Paine's pamphlet and the force of its arguments played a major role in pushing a hesitating Continental Congress toward declaring independence. During the war Paine produced, at George Washington's request, a series of *Crisis* papers that boosted the morale of the Continental Army. At the same time he also worked with a diverse coalition of urban and rural radicals in Pennsylvania to write the Revolution's most democratic state constitution.

In the early years of the war, Paine succeeded because he served multiple constituencies. The leadership class needed his abilities as a publicist, and the Patriot rank-and-file appreciated his support for democratic measures that furthered their political and economic interests. By the 1780s, however, Paine found himself at odds both with many Patriot
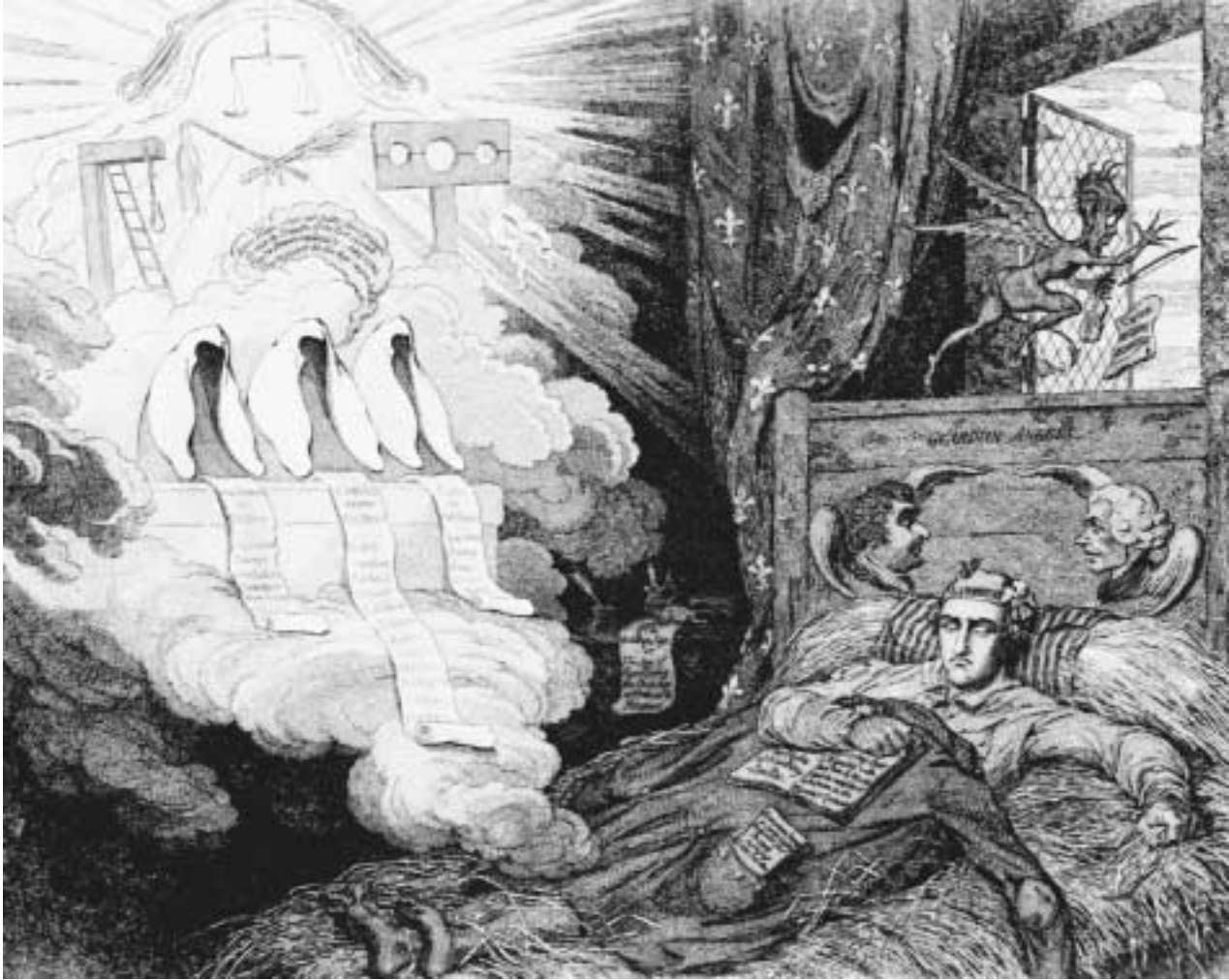
***Tom Paine's Nightly Pest.*** Paine's detractors worried that his attacks on traditional authority threatened to engulf the Atlantic world in mob rule. He was particularly despised by conservatives in England, where James Gillray produced this engraving in 1792. Paine is shown dreaming of his final judgment, when he will be punished for his revolutionary ideals. © CORBIS.

leaders and with urban radicals. Paine was unusual in the 1780s in that he endorsed both highly democratic political arrangements and free-market economics. Most supporters of the free market were established leaders who had little interest in democratizing politics, whereas most supporters of democratic politics were skeptical of the free market and advocated price controls and other economic restrictions to protect laborers from the vagaries of the market. Paine's amalgam of democracy and free-market capitalism would eventually become mainstream in the nineteenth century. When he decided to return to England in 1787, however, he left America having alienated a good number of his former allies.

Paine reemerged on the world stage in 1790 when he wrote *The Rights of Man* to defend the French Revolution against the British statesman Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* Paine's pamphlet, the second part of which was issued in 1792, sold an estimated 300,000 copies throughout Europe and America. In the context of America's heated partisan battles of the 1790s, Paine's outspoken support for international revolution made him one of the most controversial figures of the decade. Republicans used his writings to show that any true American patriot should support both the French Revolution and continued democratization at home. The Federalists, especially after Paine's attack on organized religion (*The Age of Reason*) was published in

1795, argued that the Republicans' association with Paine showed that they were too radical to be trusted with political power. In the summer of 1798, in the midst of the Quasi-War with France and immediately following passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts, some Federalists went so far as to claim that Paine was part of an international conspiracy to overthrow all religion, abolish private property, and eliminate national governments. By the time Paine returned to America in 1802, very few Americans would publicly associate themselves with him. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson was viciously criticized for granting Paine passage from France on a navy warship and warmly receiving him at the White House. Paine died in 1809, a poor and publicly reviled man.

His American detractors were right in claiming that Paine had become more radical during his time in Europe, but he was hardly the bloodthirsty, atheistic anarchist they claimed. In 1793, as a member of the French National Assembly, Paine allied himself with a moderate faction and argued against the execution of the king; when the Jacobins took power, they had Paine imprisoned for almost a year. The tract he wrote in jail, *The Age of Reason*, affirmed his belief "in one God" and his hopes for "happiness beyond this life." So although he was neither an anarchist nor an atheist, Paine's writings of the 1790s did extend his vision of democracy into increasingly radical and uncharted territory. In the second part of *The Rights of Man* he argued that the government should institute a progressive taxation system (with a top tax rate of 100 percent) to discourage great inequalities of wealth. He also advocated state pensions for poor men and their widows not as a matter "of Charity, but of right." A few years later, in *Agrarian Justice*, Paine argued that because modern commercial society had created an increasingly "hereditary" class of poor people by robbing them of their right to a portion of the earth, the state had a duty to compensate every citizen for this loss. Most of his contemporaries regarded such ideas as perversions rather than logical extensions of the democratic ideal. But future American radicals would look back to this phase of Paine's career as a source of ideas and inspiration for their own struggles to create a more democratic and egalitarian world.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Citizenship; Continental Congresses; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Government; Jefferson, Thomas; Politics: Political Thought; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Quasi-War with France; Radicalism in the Revolution.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Foner, Eric. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Foner, Eric, ed. *Thomas Paine: Collected Writings.* New York: Library of America, 1995.

Fruchtman, Jack. *Thomas Paine: Apostle of Freedom.* Four Walls Eight Windows, 1994.

Keane, John. *Tom Paine: A Political Life.* New York: Grove Press, 2003.

*Seth Cotlar*

**PAINTING**    If it can be said that there is a national artistic tradition in American painting, it is true only insofar as it is a tradition that is contentious and conciliatory, direct and convoluted, wildly independent yet eager to demonstrate its urbane and cosmopolitan European associations. How did a relatively young country that derived from thirteen fractious colonies and was physically removed from its European antecedents come to have anything that could be considered a tradition regarding art? It did so by developing a number of artistic practices in which European references were recognizable but were rendered in uniquely American terms. From the functional expressions of sign painters of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, to the grand gestures of nineteenth-century landscapes that worship nature, Americans certainly were not immune to interpreting their world through painting.

### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Early depictions of the territory comprising the British North American colonies were employed widely as visual aids to stimulate interest in the colonies across the Atlantic, or to sketch for those back in England something of the thriving port towns. Such images may have detailed the workings of systems of labor, or the interactions between Europeans and the local Indians; Indians fascinated and many were eager for their images.

In a challenging seventeenth-century colonial environment rife with uncertainties, wilderness terrified rather than delighted; its reproduction for plea-
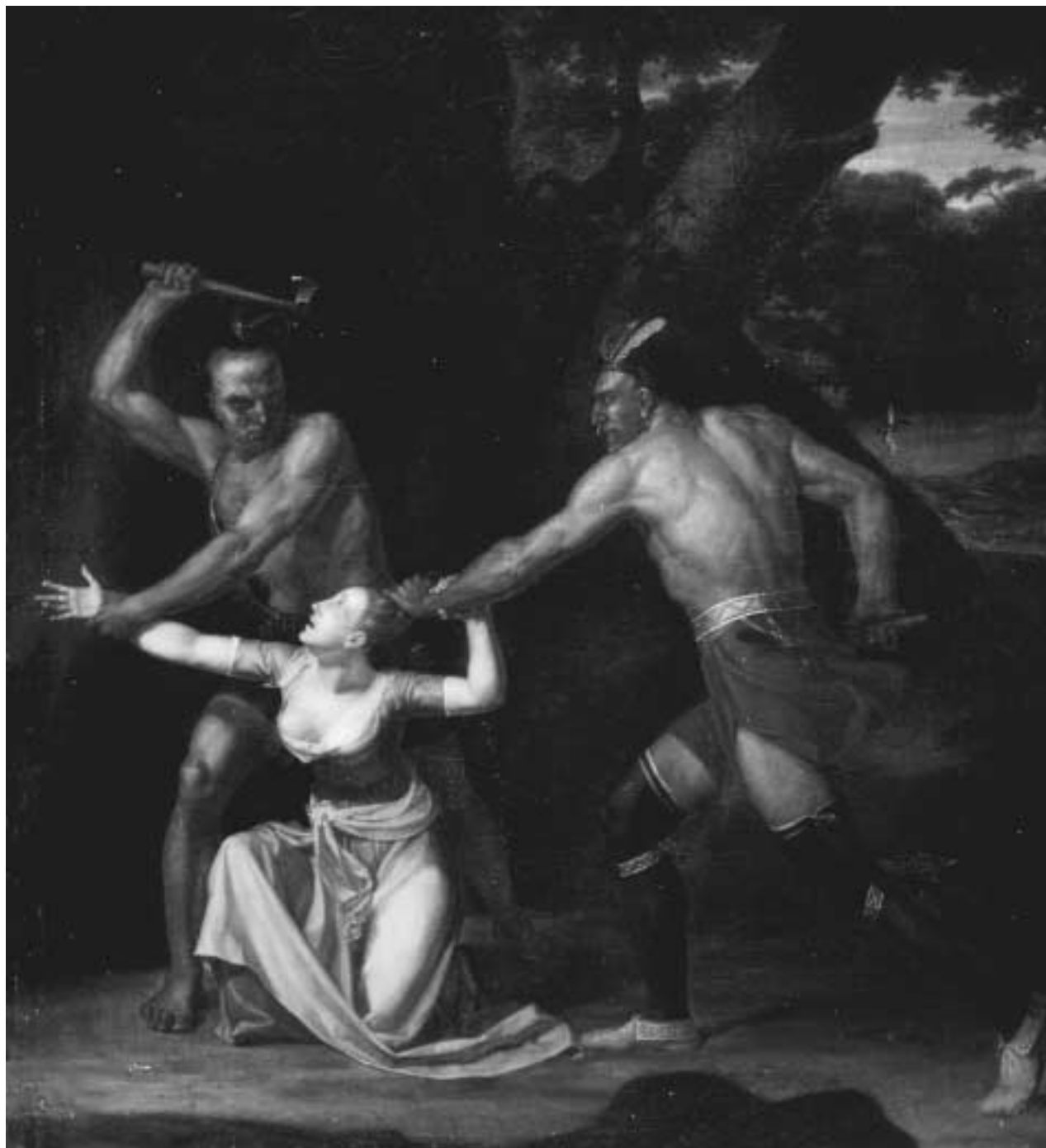
***The Death of Jane McCrea*** (1804). The death in 1777 of Jane McCrea at the hands of Indians allied with the British was rendered by several artists during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This version by John Vanderlyn portrays the murder in lurid, highly sexualized detail. The effect is to link the Revolution to a sexual threat by nonwhite males, implicitly justifying their people's fate at the hands of the triumphant Republic. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

surable contemplation was unthinkable. Thus, in the North American colonies, it was portraiture that first made an appearance in American painting, not landscape. Early portraits—such as those of John Winthrop or Pocahontas—were largely utilitarian. They were records of the sitter (including the regular practice of noting the age of the sitter in Latin within the body of the portrait) executed in a stiff, frontal

manner in which the subject gazed out at the viewer and the viewer returned the glance. Such portraits carried within them visual clues regarding the status and occupation (not to mention the sensibility) of the sitter. The style owed much to seventeenth-century European painting—notably Dutch and English—demonstrating that American painting did not develop in an artistic vacuum.

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITURE: EXPLORATION OF CURVE AND SPACE

Early practitioners of eighteenth-century portrait painting such as Robert Feke (c. 1705–c. 1750) and Joseph Blackburn (c. 1730–c. 1774) (and the ever-present Anonymous), ushered in a new age of portraiture, aspiring as they did to the style of the formally trained painters of the wealthier English classes. The placement of the sitter continued to be typically frontal and the gaze continued to engage the viewer. However, rather than the portrait being merely a useful record of the sitter, it became a vehicle for the display of the sitter's newly attained colonial wealth and status, in addition to showcasing the aptitude of the artist. The frontality and adherence to line (resulting in images that were inescapably two-dimensional), so characteristic of the limner tradition, gradually became an artistic exploration of curve, of space and of light in a three-dimensional world. (Untrained artists tended to rely on sharp outlines to delineate form.) By the middle of the eighteenth century, the dimensionlessness of decal–like figures who adhered to the surface of the canvas developed into fully rounded forms who inhabited space.

### LINE, SHADOW, AND FORM

It is in the work of John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) where fullness of form is rendered such that the eye sees it as occupying space and having substantive tactility. Although Copley retained the limner's love of line he infused his forms with three-dimensionality. Copley's ability to transcend the limner-folk tradition to which he was heir (though that tradition endured in its own right) guided American painting into a long–standing love of realism. He presided over a period of classical American painting in which the European courtly portrait tradition found its match on the comparatively rough-and-tumble North American shores some three thousand miles distant.

One of the most quintessential examples of Copley's ability to paint fully rounded form is his formal portrait of *Mrs. Ezekiel Goldthwait* (1770–1771)—a well-to-do matron whose animate hand reaches for inanimate (but nonetheless lifelike) fruit. Copley delighted in surface (the table is hard and highly polished) and shadow (the deep folds of Mrs. Goldthwait's skirts are depicted darkly), both echoes of the limner tradition. Copley's portrait of Paul Revere (late 1760s–1770) is an example of a less formal endeavor: it portrays Revere in his trade as a silversmith years before he became one of the key figures associated with Revolutionary America. (Revere was initially known as an engraver and it is his representation of the Boston Massacre in March 1770, that is familiar.) In Copley's portrait, Revere pauses to consider what he will engrave on the silver teapot resting in his left hand while his right hand, raised to his face, indents the flesh on the side of his mouth as he holds his chin thoughtfully. There is plenty of adherence to line and surface as is typical of Copley, but the portrait can be described as "realistic" or "lifelike" because Copley was a master of life breathed into line. His contemporary, Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828) known, in part, by his various portraits—finished and unfinished—of George Washington, employed a more painterly approach to his realism, eschewing hard linearity in favor of a lighter, comparatively impressionistic hand, though the weight of form and contour did not suffer. Stuart's *The Skater* from the early 1780s is a masterpiece of colonial painterliness. (It was for a time, thought to be a work by the British artist Thomas Gainsborough.) In a similar vein, Thomas Sully (1783–1872) who painted dashing figures set amid romantic landscapes owed much to the English portrait tradition. European art—long considered the chief example of artistic refinement—in short drew numerous late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century American painters regardless of their artistic style: from Copley and West, John Trumbull and John Vanderlyn to Washington Allston, Samuel F. B. Morse and Thomas Cole.

### HISTORY PAINTING AND A BURGEONING LANDSCAPE

While people never tire of having their picture painted, the work of Benjamin West (1738–1820) changed the thrust of American painting in the late 1770s from the predominance of portraiture toward landscape. Initially, in an unfamiliar land, portraits were preferable; the eye did not seek out disorderly vistas, but with the imposition (at least superficially) of colonial order upon the land, vast spaces were less frightening. Portraits contain. Landscapes expand. West clothed that expansiveness in familiar garb, looking to the classical past for inspiration. His ef-

**The Death of General Wolfe** (1776). Though he remained within the history-painting genre, Benjamin West angled away from ancient classical subjects and toward contemporary events rendered in grand style. *The Death of General Wolfe*, shown here in an engraving by William Woollett after West, depicts the death of James Wolfe at the Battle of Quebec in 1759. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

forts at biblical narrative and scenes from ancient Greece and Rome characterized him as a history painter—one who mined the past for lessons useful in the present. The advent of history painting signaled, in part, a new direction in painting as well as in the ways Americans interacted with their world. Gone was the preference for controlled and controllable interiors where evidence of the out-of-doors was either entirely excluded or relegated to a glimpse of a tame, vaguely Claudian (that is, romanticized landscape with poetic ethereal lighting) cluster of trees. Instead, landscape with all of its unpredictability became an important locus of activity. History paintings and the fact that they encompassed great sweeps of space as well as great ideas demonstrated a growing confidence on the part of Americans in their ability not only to survive but to thrive in a vast territory. However, the somewhat romanticized depictions of toga-clad figures as they reenacted scenes of vary-

ing solemnity had relatively little to do with American life in the 1770s.

Though West remained within the history-painting genre, he soon angled away from ancient classical subjects and toward contemporary events rendered in grand style. West's *Death of General Wolfe* (1770), for example, was painted after the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in which Britain vanquished the French from North America. Wolfe, relatively young and untried militarily speaking, managed to achieve victory on the Plains of Abraham—a highly defensible French field of battle made inaccessible by unscaleable cliffs. Rallying round Wolfe were contemporary figures—all of whom were recognizable types to anyone viewing the painting. Wolfe's swooning figure was both real and symbolic and his death had distinct redemptive value.

Copley, too, tried his hand at history painting as evidenced by his *Watson and the Shark* of 1778. It de-

picted a horrific event in which a young man was depicted struggling to reach the outstretched hands of his rescuers while a shark displayed ferocious rows of teeth as it bore down on the helpless, terrified form. As Americans developing an artistic idiom, it behooved artists drawn to the grand gestures of iconic, historical figures to make those figures accessible to a contemporary viewing audience.

While the grisly and frightening aspect of certain historical paintings can be said to have spun off into a direction that favored Romantic visions of the ghostly and suggestions of the supernatural—as seen especially in the paintings of Washington Allston (1779–1843) who was active in the beginning of the 1800s—the out-of-doors settings of those history paintings helped pave the way toward a visual exploration of landscape for its own sake. Too, over time, the moody, gothic depictions by a painter like Allston that capitalized on moonlight and shadow in fact showcased the land: if the land could offer such moonlit mysteries, what might it have to offer during the daylight hours?

American painters might have discarded the ghostly aspect of Allston's gothic Romanticism, but they nevertheless retained the Romantic sensibility. It was, after all, the early nineteenth century—a time in which industry-advancing inventions came to the fore. And it was those inventions, along with the advent of steam power, the development of canal systems, and the spread of railroads that contributed greatly to the rosy optimism (at least in some quarters) and the expansionist vision that was a key characteristic of the new American nation.

Although it would be some years before the Indian Removals of Jacksonian America (Jackson was elected in 1828 and Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830), and before John L. O'Sullivan wrote convincingly of America being a "great nation of futurity" (1839) or coined the phrase "Manifest Destiny" (1845), the American sensibility was nevertheless focused on the possibility of the unrestricted extension of the nation's western borders—an expansiveness that was reflected in painting.

### REVOLUTIONARY LIBERTY AND AFRICAN AMERICAN PORTRAITURE

It was during the Revolutionary period in the 1770s and 1780s that images of African Americans began to appear regularly. (However, it must be said that there were numerous images of Africans throughout western art for centuries, largely because those images pre-dated the equation of Africanness with slavery. Once the two became largely synonymous as a result of New World bound labor practices, depictions of Africans and their descendents became exceptional.) As a group of people for whom liberty was key, and as eager participants in the struggle for freedom, African Americans appeared in any number of places in the visual record. Paul Revere's engraving of the "Bloody Massacre" included the name of Crispus Attucks (c. 1723–1770) among the brief list of "unhappy sufferers," but there is no known portrait of Attucks. Nevertheless, numerous formal portraits of African Americans were painted during that time.

John Trumbull's portrait of George Washington at West Point (1780) included William Lee, one of George Washington's slaves. Lee was depicted in a turban (a popular eighteenth-century artistic conceit for French and British artists portraying Africans and those of African descent), and thus was exoticized. Nevertheless, Trumbull did not lampoon Lee. Instead, he depicted Lee as an active participant in the events of the time. Similarly, other engravings of Washington included Lee whose presence and assistance during the war campaigns Washington found indispensable. (Washington provided for Lee in his will, explicitly referring to Lee's services during the War for Independence.) Trumbull continued to acknowledge and embrace the presence of Revolutionary-period African Americans in his later work: his *Battle of Bunker Hill* (1786) included the well-known Peter Salem (one of several African Americans fighting), who participated in the fray.

Other artists depicted African Americans as valued soldiers during the American War for Independence. But the presence of those of African descent was not limited to involvement in war campaigns. While the War for Independence could be considered an incomplete revolution as far as the universal application of liberty and natural rights was concerned, the numbers of free African Americans were nonetheless on the rise post-war. There was a variety of African American clergy—including Absolom Jones, Richard Allen, and Peter Williams—whose portraits were made prior to 1820. (Indeed, a ceramic pitcher of English Liverpoolware with Jones's image on it was produced around 1808, to much the same purpose that Josiah Wedgwood's late-1780s medallion of a generic enslaved man "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" was devised: to further the antislavery cause.) Several members of the Philadelphia-based family of artists and natural scientists, the Peales (notably Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), the patriarch, and one of his sons, Raphaelle Peale (1774–1825) painted portraits of African Americans, prom-

**_Watson and the Shark_** (1778). John Singleton Copley's ability to transcend the limner-folk tradition to which he was heir guided American painting into a long-standing love of realism. In this painting Copley depicts an event that occurred near Havana, Cuba, in 1749 when Brook Watson, a young sailor, was attacked by a shark while swimming in the harbor. Watson was rescued by his shipmates, but he lost his right leg below the knee. © BURSTEIN COLLECTION/CORBIS.

inent and less so, in the 1810s. Raphaelle painted a portrait in 1810, of the cleric Jones, while Charles Willson Peale depicted an African who retained his Muslim faith—Yarrow Mamout—in 1819. His portrayal of Mamout, who was not famous, was a respectful rendering of an aged, free person of color.

Gradual manumission laws, effective beginning in the 1780s, contributed to the growing number of free African Americans in the early nineteenth century. However, political, social and economic changes in the late 1810s into the 1820s sanctioned the curtailment of African American liberties in all aspects of life: from voting, to housing and education, to occupations. Ironically, it is a period in American histo-

ry frequently characterized as one in which a strong egalitarian impulse prevailed (in part due to the Second Great Awakening). Maryland-based painter Joshua Johnson (sometimes "Johnston"), however, is an exception. Without the benefit of formal artistic training, Johnson painted local Maryland worthies in a naïve style that was charming for its directness. Nevertheless, in this period in general, the recorded artistic endeavors of African Americans were largely in the realm of the decorative arts, especially furniture making and cabinetry. Many African Americans were skilled artisans, such as cabinetmaker Thomas Day who flourished in the period between 1820 and 1860, whose creative impulse endured in three-dimensional, everyday items.

## HUDSON RIVER SCHOOL AND THE TRIUMPH OF NATURE

It is the short-lived Thomas Cole (1801–1848) rather than his slightly older and longer-lived contemporary Asher B. Durand (1796–1886), who is considered the father of the Hudson River school—the quintessential American art movement of the first half of the nineteenth century—although Cole's early paintings were tributes to the dreamy vision of the classical ideal, to Arcadia. Cole was beguiled by artistic invocations of the beautiful and the sublime; some of his works are paintings to uplift the soul and to encourage one toward the recognition and contemplation of the awesome power of God's world. His well-known series *The Course of Empire*, which outlined for the viewer the cycle of human endeavor from promising beginnings, through a decadent apex, to a desolation of man-made things left standing like a warning (covered as they were in neglect), attests to that vision.

However, in other works, Cole foregoes the contrived lessons of man's dissolute ways, concentrating instead on the grandeur of nature before him. In America, all nature is new, unsullied—or so it seems when compared with ancient European locales. It is that newness, that hopefulness (recall the "city on a hill" and the beacon of light that America was to be) that finds expression in the landscapes of the Hudson River school. With the help of a higher power (for the descendants of Puritans it is God; for someone like Ralph Waldo Emerson, it is the Universal Being), America's pristine wilderness was a vehicle for a kind of salvation. It is nature that reveals God's essence. On the occasions in which the human figure is present in the landscape, it is dwarfed by the size and sublimeness of the natural world. In contrast to the classical American portrait style of Copley in the eighteenth century (or even of Thomas Sully [1783–1872] in the early nineteenth century) where the emphasis is on the ability of artist-as-draftsman, the landscapes of the Hudson River school deemphasize the hand of the artist. Erasure of the artist is the goal; the scene is meant to be unmediated (in much the same way that photography, when new, was said to capture the "truth" of what the eye saw without editorialization). The viewer is meant to stand before the canvas—rendered with authenticity by an artist who has been vouchsafed the essence of the scene—and to commune, fully, with Nature.

Thomas Cole, despite being the father of the Hudson River school, was a transitional figure, although his sensibility lived on in the work of Robert S. Duncanson (1817–1872) who was considered one of the first recognized African American professional painters; Duncanson flourished in the mid-nineteenth century and was a true practitioner of the Hudson River mood. After Cole, the canvasses of American landscape painting became immense—their sheer size encouraging the viewer to very nearly step into the scene. That monumentality was no accident; it was both a symbol of the endless renewal that a distinctly American Nature afforded its people and a reflection of the reality of the country's generous proportions and providentially endless boundaries. It echoed the confidence with which the new nation expanded and contained within it the first fears of the result of that expansion—a vanishing wilderness. And it was an assertion—at once nostalgic and expectant—that the errand into the wilderness had been in some sense completed, yet continued to draw the nation ahead into futurity.

*See also* **Art and American Nationhood.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Flexner, James T. *American Painting: The Light of Distant Skies*, *1760–1835*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954.

———. *Nineteenth Century American Painting*. New York: Putnam, 1970.

Huth, Hans. *Nature and the American*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972.

Kaplan, Sidney. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution: 1770–1800*. New York: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1973.

McShine, Kynaston. *The Natural Paradise: Painting in America 1800–1950*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1976.

Miller, Perry. *Errand into the Wilderness*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

———. *Nature's Nation*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967.

Miller, Perry, ed. *The Transcendentalists*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Nash, Roderick. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. Rev. ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

Novak, Barbara. *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Praeger, 1969.

———. *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825–1875*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

———. *Next to Nature: Landscape Paintings from the National Academy of Design*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Wilmerding, John. *American Views: Essays on American Art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

*T. K. Hunter*

**PALEONTOLOGY** Several currents of thought converged in the 1790s to give new impetus to study

***Exhumation of the Mastodon*** (1806–1808). In this painting Charles Willson Peale commemorated the excavation of a nearly complete mastodon skeleton near Newburgh, New York. The skeleton was installed as the centerpiece of Peale's Philadelphia Museum in 1801. THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

of the natural past. Over the course of half a century, American natural historians had shifted from conceiving of the world as governed by an active God to a world governed by a more distant deity operating through immutable natural law. At the same time, the French comparative anatomist Georges Cuvier (1769–1832) capped a long and intense debate by concluding that the recently discovered remains of a gigantic aquatic lizard proved that extinction and faunal change were real phenomena. The static world, created in perfection by God and fixed for all eternity, had given way to a dynamic one in which the past was deeper and eminently more distant.

Although American fossils received little attention prior to the Revolution—and indeed were often not understood as organic remains—one fossil organism proved an exception, gaining an unusual importance as a symbol of national identity and nationalist aspiration. Fragmentary specimens of mastodons had been known from as early as 1705, when the Puritan divine Cotton Mather (1663–1728) described a tooth as belonging to a human giant. Bones and tusks discovered in Kentucky and New York garnered attention on both sides of the Atlantic as natural historians tried to discern the true identity of this "American *incognitum*," an animal likened to an elephant, but (to some) with a carnivore's heavily cusped teeth. So great was the interest that Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) had specimens sent to him in London, and when teeth were uncovered near the Hudson River in 1780, George Washington (1732–1799) took time out from the Revolution to see for himself.

With Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), however, interest in the mastodon reached its peak. As governor of Virginia, Jefferson received in November 1780 a standard set of diplomatic queries about his state from the French minister François de Barbé-Marbois (1745–1837), and he responded by writing a decidedly nonstandard meditation on his new nation. In a key section of the resulting book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), Jefferson set out to defend his country against the calumnies of Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), a French scientist who had theorized that the American climate was so cold and damp that life there would inevitably degenerate.

To Jefferson, such a judgment on the American nation could not be left to stand unchallenged. To counter Buffon, he assembled data on the size of American animals, demonstrating that American deer, skunks, and weasels were every bit as large as their European counterparts. But the *pièce de resistance* of his argument was the great American mastodon, "six times the cubic volume of the elephant," fiercer and more virile than its plant-eating kin. Still doubting that extinction could occur, Jefferson—when organizing the transcontinental expeditions of André Michaux (1746–1802) in 1793 and of Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838) in 1803—pointedly ordered them to watch for any mastodon herds the might still be wandering the trackless west.

This paleontological assault continued in 1797, when Jefferson described a giant claw and phalanges from an animal that he named *Megalonyx* (big claw) as belonging to a great lionlike beast, as much at the head of the clawed animals as the mastodon was at the head of pachyderms. It was up to his friend, the anatomist Caspar Wistar (1761–1818), to recognize *Megalonyx* as a giant ground sloth, and up to others to show that the mastodon was in fact an herbivore.

But still the mastodon remained the American star. A nearly complete skeleton excavated near Newburgh, New York, was installed as the centerpiece of Charles Willson Peale's (1741–1827) Philadelphia Museum in 1801, becoming the most popular exhibit in the foremost venue in the early Republic for the public display of American natural history.

*See also* **Deism; Jefferson, Thomas.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Paris: Pierres, 1785.

Roger, Jacques. *Buffon: A Life in Natural History.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Semonin, Paul. *American Monster: How the Nation's First Prehistoric Creature Became a Symbol of National Identity.* New York: New York University Press, 2000.

*Robert S. Cox*

**PANAMA CONGRESS** The Panama Congress, held in 1826, was intended to form a union among the newly independent Spanish American republics. Simon Bolívar issued a circular letter on 7 December 1824 calling for a meeting to frame a confederation. On 23 April 1825 a Washington, D.C., newspaper ran an article containing an agenda that included a discussion of neutral rights, the three essential principles of which are: free ships make free goods (goods belonging to a belligerent are considered neutral if in a neutral vessel); limited contraband (that is, those goods that a neutral cannot trade to a belligerent and still remain a neutral); and strict definition of a legal blockade (there must be a reasonable certainty rather than a reasonable possibility of capture). Secretary of State Henry Clay had long been an advocate of Pan American cooperation. President John Quincy Adams had been a skeptic, but he supported the idea of a neutral rights convention. The Mexican and Colombian ministers to the United States tendered unofficial invitations to the United States, mentioning neutral rights. In May the cabinet approved American attendance. In November the United States was formally invited.

In December 1825 Adams nominated Richard C. Anderson, then minister to Colombia, and John Sergeant as ministers to the Panama Congress. Martin Van Buren led the opposition in the Senate, submitting a resolution calling attendance at the Congress unconstitutional. The Senate, however, rejected the resolution on 14 March 1826. The House of Representatives approved the mission on 22 April. Clay instructed the ministers to defend neutral rights and the Monroe Doctrine and to prevent the transfer of Cuba to another power. Anderson died en route and was replaced by Joel R. Poinsett, but the legation did not reach Panama until after the Congress, in January 1827. The Congress met from 22 June to 15 July 1826. The nations present agreed to form a confederation and a combined army and navy. However, only Colombia ratified the agreements. The next meeting, scheduled for the following year in Tacubaya, Mexico, never took place.

*See also* **Latin American Revolutions, American Response to; Monroe Doctrine.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hargreaves, Mary W. M. *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire*, *1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Whitaker, Arthur. *The United States and the Independence of Latin America*, *1800–1830.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941.

*Robert W. Smith*

**PANIC OF 1819**   Those living at the time of the Panic of 1819 indicated that it was a traumatic experience for the new Republic. In one representative conversation, John C. Calhoun, discussing the situation with John Quincy Adams in 1820, said, "There has been within these two years an immense revolution of fortunes in every part of the Union: enormous numbers of persons utterly ruined; multitudes in deep distress; and a general mass disaffection to the government" (Rezneck, "The Depression of 1819–1822," p. 29).

What historian Charles Sellers has called the young nation's "traumatic awakening to the capitalist reality of boom–and–bust" was a complex combination of financial market volatility, swings in international market demand, and the financial activity of the federal government (*Market Revolution*, p. 137). The panic and the following depression saw output stagnate, exports decline 34.5 percent, imports fall 48.9 percent, and a dramatic deflation as prices fell 30.6 percent.

The panic had its origins in the War of 1812 and the boom following the end of hostilities. With the opening of British and European markets in 1815, demand for American commodities soared. As farmers benefited from increased incomes, so did the cities and towns that served them. The only sector not sharing in the boom was the nation's nascent manufacturing firms, which had blossomed during the embargo and the war. The end of the war meant America was open to British manufacturing goods, which flooded the market and drove prices down sharply. Unable to compete, American manufacturing stumbled as factories closed and unemployment in manufacturing areas rose.

In studies of the panic, the actions of the second Bank of the United States, along with those of a number of state chartered banks, has received much attention. And the monetary collapse of 1818–1819

sounded the alarm for an economy rife with speculation and brought the economic optimism that fueled such speculation to an end. Although dramatic monetary changes were an important component in generating panic across the nation and certainly made conditions difficult for businesses and farmers, ultimately two factors were responsible for the downturn. The most important was the collapse of the strong foreign markets for commodities that had fueled the American economy in the years following the War of 1812. To a lesser extent, the repayment of federal debt, much of it to foreign bondholders, was also a proximate cause of the country's first modern business cycle.

The banking system played a critical role in the events leading up to the Panic of 1819. In exchange for a return to specie convertibility by state banks, the newly formed second Bank of the United States proceeded to expand credit dramatically. This expansion, combined with a marked increase in western land sales, created a situation in which, despite large imports of specie, the bank could not continue to meet the demand for redemption of its notes. Thus, in July 1818 the directors ordered credit reduced by a total of $5 million at its Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and Norfolk offices.

Further complicating the financial picture at the time was the retirement of Louisiana bonds of 1803 scheduled to begin in 1818. Such fiscal action, on top of the over $20 million in federal debt retired during 1817, meant that substantial government revenues did not reenter the economy directly, particularly the more than half of the bond retirement that went to foreigners. This outflow from the domestic economy decreased potential spending at a critical time and placed additional strains on the second bank as Treasury deposits held there dropped significantly.

With a monetary contraction under way, along with the continued retirement of federal debt, much of it to foreigners, the collapse of the markets for American staples meant the U.S. economy was headed for disaster. Led by an economic downturn in Great Britain, reinforced by recession in Europe, and adversely affected by the operations of the British Corn Laws, the demand for American staples dropped significantly beginning in 1819. The combined circumstances of a sharp credit contraction followed by the evaporation of markets for the nation's products created hardships for Americans of all classes as businesses closed, land values plummeted, and farmers were forced to abandon their activities.

The Panic of 1819 affected the nation in a variety of complex ways. Because of its origins in contrac-

tions by both state banks and the new Bank of the United States, hostility towards banking in general, and towards the second bank in particular, intensified. Political controversy regarding the bank and its power grew, and many of the anti–bank leaders of the Jacksonian period came to their positions as a result of the panic and subsequent depression.

Also, demands for tariffs to protect American businesses were intensified by the downturn, and while efforts to increase tariffs in 1820 failed by the narrowest of margins, in 1824 protection was increased. The movement for higher tariffs led ultimately to the record high Tariff of Abominations in 1828.

Public policy regarding debtor relief also took center stage, as did concern for the rising cost of poor relief. At the federal level, Congress postponed forfeiture for debt on public lands in 1818, 1819, and 1820 before providing permanent relief in 1821. Debt relief measures were hotly debated in virtually every state as well, with many passing some form of relief. Following the lead of New York, many states also began to review their poor relief systems, which led to substantial changes in most by the 1830s.

In addition, the upheaval of the panic served to strengthen the positions of states' rights advocates and to increase calls for expanding internal improvements. It also sparked a heightened interest in economic thinking, reflected for example in the publication in 1820 of the first American book on economics.

See also **Bank of the United States; Debt and Bankruptcy; Economic Development; Manufacturing; Poverty; Tariff Politics.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

North, Douglass C. *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790–1860.* New York: Norton, 1966.

Rezneck, Samuel. "The Depression of 1819–1822, A Social History." *American Historical Review* 39 (1933): 28–47.

Rothbard, Murray. *The Panic of 1819: Reactions and Policies.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.

Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Temin, Peter. *The Jacksonian Economy.* New York: Norton, 1969.

*Clyde Haulman*

**PARADES**    While parades and processions were not unknown in the colonial era, they assumed national significance as structured expressions of group identity in the early Republic. Before independence, American festive culture often reinforced royal authority with public celebrations of English military victories and ceremonies to welcome newly appointed royal governors. Massachusetts governor Francis Bernard made his carefully orchestrated entrance into Boston in 1760 and was received, as he described it, "in a very Magnificent Manner." However, he and other crown officials would soon find themselves the targets of parades of protest. Opposition to Britain during the Revolution often took the form of public demonstrations. Some were rather spontaneous, as when a street confrontation prompted a Boston crowd to tar and feather the Loyalist John Malcolm before carting him around town. Others were meticulously planned to maximize their propaganda value for the Patriot cause. The elaborate funeral procession for victims of the Boston Massacre in 1770 represented such a spectacle. Parading was a fundamentally democratic means of political expression during the Revolution, incorporating all social ranks as participants and observers.

With independence won, the politics of parades evolved in new directions as part of the debate over the Constitution in the late 1780s. Federalists supporting a change in government found parades to be an especially effective way of promoting their cause. Organized as celebrations of a national community that transcended the locales in which they took place, these events marginalized their anti-Federalist opponents, who were slow to appreciate their utility. Parades, bonfires, and toasts usually accompanied ratification of the Constitution in each state. Philadelphia's celebration produced one of the largest parades that city had ever seen, complete with floats that featured various mechanics plying their trades. Following up their success, Federalist leaders planned a grand procession that carried the new president, George Washington, across the country in an effort to deepen nationalist sentiment. Even his birthday became a festive occasion, much to the concern of the administration's Democratic Republican critics, who feared the treatment of Washington as royalty.

In response, the Democratic Republicans developed their own celebrations that expressed their commitment to the principles of popular sovereignty against elite interests. Many of their fetes revolved around support for the French Revolution in the 1790s and were located in urban centers along the

Atlantic seaboard. Although the French Revolution initially garnered widespread support within the United States, its excesses increasingly alienated Americans. In an effort to maintain public support for the French, Democratic Republican societies organized parades that linked the French cause to America's Revolutionary heritage, especially on the Fourth of July. As relations with France continued to deteriorate, however, these activities were redirected against the rival Federalist Party and helped Thomas Jefferson defeat incumbent John Adams for the presidency in 1800.

Parades in the new nation celebrated America's triumphant past as well as its hopeful future. Those marking the end of the War of 1812 (1812–1815) reflected the sense of rebirth that would fuel the patriotic pageantry of the 1820s. Oftentimes, these parades featured Revolutionary War veterans for whom the public had gained renewed appreciation, none more so than the Marquis de Lafayette. His return to the United States at the request of Congress in 1824 sparked lavish celebrations wherever he traveled. For instance, officials in New Orleans ordered construction of a sixty-six-foot-high triumphal arch through which to parade the French hero. Local civic and military leaders participated in the procession, while commoners could only watch from amidst the crowds that lined Lafayette's route through the city. New York's festivities were typically more inclusive, especially those that accompanied the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. The canal was a source of great pride for the artisan community, which figured prominently in the parades that followed its completion. Yet African Americans could no more participate in New York's canal celebrations than they could in New Orleans's fetes for Lafayette, except as passive observers.

Parades in the early Republic were often used either to exclude blacks from the national identity or to assert a black national identity. The growth of free black communities in cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia encouraged blacks to stake a claim to the streets. Denied the franchise, they increasingly expressed their political views through pageantry. The end of the American slave trade in 1808, for example, inspired annual celebrations among northern blacks that included public marches. Ridicule from whites only strengthened their resolve and reinforced the value of parades as a means of forging collective identity in American culture.

*See also* **Fourth of July; Holidays and Public Celebrations.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Travers, Len. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fêtes: The Making of American Nationalism*, 1776–1820. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Jonathan M. Beagle*

**PARENTHOOD**   The birth and early development of the United States were accompanied by fundamental transformations in the way people thought about and practiced parenting. The political, economic, geographic, and cultural forces shaping the new nation profoundly affected conceptions about gender, and thus about motherhood and fatherhood.

### THE COLONIAL BACKDROP

In the British colonies of North America, fatherhood and motherhood were shaped by the attitudes and economic arrangements of a preindustrial and agrarian society. Especially in the New England colonies, such attitudes were also shaped by Calvinist Protestantism, which assumed the innate depravity of children. The colonial economies rested on the foundation of the independent household, which was typically headed by an adult white male and included servants and apprentices as well as blood kin. Such households, sustained through the labor of all household members, were large, with eight or more children not uncommon. Because males were

thought to possess greater powers of intellect, moral discipline, and emotional self-control than were women, fathers were recognized as the primary parents. Fathers were responsible for ensuring the physical, spiritual, and moral well-being of their dependents and for providing their sons and apprentices with education, moral values, and the skills necessary for work in farming, handicrafts, or business. Because the village workplace was typically not far from home, most fathers exercised an active role in domestic governance. Fathers also influenced their children's marital choices and helped them achieve economic security through their control and disbursement of family property. Mothers, meanwhile, were responsible for rearing young children, training their daughters in home maintenance, and performing such household tasks as cooking, washing, and spinning. Mothers were presumed to have a tendency toward emotional overindulgence of children such that their parenting was often considered dangerous to a child's spiritual and moral development. Therefore custody of children generally went to fathers in colonial America's rare cases of divorce.

### PARENTING IN TRANSITION

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a series of overlapping and mutually reinforcing political, economic, intellectual, and religious developments transformed motherhood and fatherhood. A new power dynamic emerged between fathers and mothers, resulting in the emergence of ideals and practices of parenting often called "modern." Enlightenment thinking had emphasized that the young mind was basically good, rational, and impressionable. Such ideas reshaped Western thought and challenged arbitrary patriarchal authority, pointing toward more democratic family relationships. Parental affection, the encouragement of independent judgment, and an emphasis on voluntary and reason-based filial obedience were increasingly perceived to be the bases of domestic and social stability. Similarly, republican political ideology and the American Revolution that it inspired disparaged monarchical tyranny, encouraging fathers and mothers alike to foster in their children the independence and love of virtue necessary for good citizenship in the new republic. By the early nineteenth century, Romanticism had generated a "sentimental" approach to family relations, which exalted affectionate and emotionally intense family relationships and idealized the mother-child relationship in particular. Meanwhile, a growing challenge to orthodox Calvinist theology, evident during the burst of religious revival activity that characterized the early

***The Peale Family*** **(ca.1770–1773) by Charles Willson Peale.** A painting of the artist's own large family. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/ CORBIS.

nineteenth century, discouraged the stern and emotionally reserved exercises in will-breaking often employed by traditional Calvinist fathers. The new thinking stressed that humans had an innate capacity for morality, the development of which required nurture—understood as the natural talent of women—and an overall gentler parenting style.

The changing physical and economic realities of the new nation reinforced these shifts. Ongoing population growth, out-migration to newly opening western areas, and the abandonment in American law of customary English inheritance practices reduced (though by no means eliminated) fathers' ability to enforce their authority through their control of property. The expansion of market capitalism and growth of industrial production in the early nineteenth century, especially in northern urban areas, eroded the premodern household economy, creating a new white middle class. Fathers in this emergent middle class were defined as breadwinners whose primary parental responsibility was to provide income. In pursuit of that income they were often separated physically, and therefore psychologically, from their

families for significant amounts of time. Although this development enhanced fathers' economic authority and even lent it something of a mystique, it also enhanced mothers' responsibility for day-to-day household governance. At the same time, the demise of the preindustrial economy magnified the importance of the family's psychological and emotional functions over its traditional economic ones and prompted a gradual decrease in family size (from an average of 7.04 children for white women in 1800 to 5.42 in 1850). Smaller families in turn allowed a more intensive approach to parenting. Commentators and authors of parental advice literature increasingly identified mothers, insulated from the amoral world of economic and political activity, as naturally pious beings solely able to ensure the morality of their children and husbands. Mothers remained legally subordinate to their husbands and retained many of the household tasks of their colonial forebears, but by about 1830 the Victorian apotheosis of the mother had begun and, at least for the white middle class, motherhood, morality, and homemaking had become closely identified. For both fathers

and mothers of the white middle class, parenting became—and to a considerable degree remains increasingly focused on educating children and preparing them for middle-class careers and marriages.

## REGIONAL, RACIAL, AND CLASS VARIATIONS

For Americans outside the northern white middle class, experiences of race, class, and region counteracted and muted to a considerable degree the impact of the various forces described above. Thus different patterns of fatherhood and motherhood emerged. Southern planters, for instance, shared with middle-class northerners the emerging ideals of gentle parenting, romantic sentimentalism, mothers' moral guardianship, and republican citizenship. However, the presence of slaves and accompanying ideologies of racial hierarchy perpetuated older patterns of patriarchal household leadership, gave mothers responsibility for slaves' children as well as their own, allowed white women to use house slaves to mitigate their own child rearing responsibilities (though they were often mistrustful of their black servants' care), and tied the ideal of the moral, self-sacrificing mother to the requirements of the slave economy.

For slaves themselves, parenthood was shaped by the realities of bondage and, to a degree still debated among scholars, by the legacies of their West African cultures. Many slave women, though often described by whites as lacking the nurturing instincts "natural" to white women, considered motherhood sacred and integral to their identities and mothers as central to family structure. Although some scholars have suggested that reduced fertility was common among slave women in the Caribbean islands, slave populations in the United States began experiencing natural increase by about 1750, and slave women began experiencing increased pressure to reproduce after the new nation withdrew from the international slave trade in 1808. Indeed, slaveowners' often manipulative encouragement of slave motherhood probably explains the fact that slave women tended to have their first children at age eighteen, about two years earlier than southern white women. Yet slave women also became mothers to ensure their own security, to reduce the likelihood of their being sold away from their families and friends, or to augment their family's rations of food and clothing—a point underscored by the fact that they typically had to care for their children in addition to their regular workload.

Reliable statistics on birthrates among slave women do not exist, but research does indicate that about one-third of slave families—a significantly higher proportion than among white families—were female-headed. This does not mean, however, that slave fatherhood was of negligible importance or fit the white-perpetuated stereotypes of alienation, absence, and irresponsibility. In fact, research has revealed that paternal presence, involvement, and leadership in a two-parent setting were the norm in slave families. To be sure, slave fathers lacked property rights, breadwinner status, and legal control over their children, and lived apart from their families more frequently than did white fathers; but they provided love and attention for their children, served as male role models, transmitted family customs and culture, hunted and fished to supplement their families' modest food allotments, passed on survival and craft skills to their children, and sought to insulate their families from the harshest aspects of slavery and racism.

Working-class parents were usually unable to realize the middle-class ideals of the breadwinner father and homemaker mother. Even when they aspired to achieve middle-class status, father, mother, and children alike were forced to work as a buffer against financial uncertainty. The need for income from all family members tended to perpetuate older patterns of family functioning, with large family size (although, as in the case of African Americans, precise birthrate statistics are lacking) and traditional patriarchal dominance remaining long after these characteristics had begun to fade from middle-class family life. Because men were paid more than women, fathers generally provided most of a working-class family's income. However, their economic vulnerability and the increasing obsolescence of traditional artisanal skills undermined their economic leadership and domestic authority, and the employment of mothers and children often sparked tensions and power struggles among family members. With more mothers at work, children spent more time away from direct parental supervision, preventing the working-class home from becoming the haven of sentimental nurture idealized by middle-class writers.

Yet the ideals and practices of white middle-class parenthood provided a powerfully influential model for nonwhite and non-middle-class groups in the new nation. White middle-class men and women themselves, viewing their parenting as normative and as the key to national economic strength and social stability, began by the 1820s to form voluntary organizations—and would later enlist the state—to export their standards of domestic life beyond their own race and class. Meanwhile, African Americans,

working-class Americans, and others outside the northern white middle class, although in some instances strenuously resistant to white middle-class values, gradually followed the pattern of reduced fertility and drew decisively on white middle-class domestic visions of breadwinning fatherhood and homemaking motherhood as they began in their fledgling unions and other activist organizations to define their agendas for social change in the young Republic.

*See also* **Childbirth and Childbearing; Childhood and Adolescence; Contraception and Abortion; Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Domestic Violence; Home; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Siblings; Widowhood.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Apple, Rima D., and Janet Golden, eds. *Mothers and Motherhood: Readings in American History.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997.

Coontz, Stephanie. *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600–1900.* London and New York: Verso, 1988.

Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Griswold, Robert L. *Fatherhood in America: A History.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Johansen, Shawn. *Family Men: Middle-Class Fatherhood in Early Industrializing America.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Mintz, Steven, and Susan Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life.* New York: Free Press, 1988.

Ryan, Mary. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1835.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

*Bret E. Carroll*

**PARKS AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE**
*See* **Architecture: Parks and Landscape.**

**PARLOR**  The Anglo-American parlor in the years between 1754 and 1829 was a domestic chamber dedicated to sociability, status consumption, and display. Early a material expression of genteel social status, the parlor after the American Revolution became a symbol of what the historian Richard L. Bushman, in *The Refinement of America* (1992), terms middle-class "respectability." "Parlor" is derived from the French *parler* (to speak, to talk) and referred both to the chamber created in medieval European monasteries for interaction between residents and the public and to the private room for intimate conversation set apart from the great hall in manor houses. By the mid-eighteenth century, the parlor housed both purposes and bespoke the cultural and social aspirations of its temporary inhabitants.

From the earliest British settlement in what would become the United States through the Age of Jackson, the great majority of families were housed in one- or two-cell houses. In these houses the hall was an all-purpose room, accommodating nearly all of a family's activities. The sleeping parlor, or best chamber, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served as the master bedroom and housed a family's prized furniture in the typical two-cell (hall-parlor plan) house. Spaces located in the full or half-story above these chambers were used for sleeping, storage, and other household activities. This pattern continued nationally for a majority of Americans into the early nineteenth century, but an important trend, charted through probate inventories, was the removal of beds from the parlor. This signaled the reorientation of this space. No longer accommodating to work or sleep, the domestic parlor was dedicated to leisure pursuits and entertaining.

The popular perception of the parlor is that of the formal room of a colonial gentleman's or merchant's house. Accessed directly from the outside or through an entry hall, the parlor was situated to offer the best views through its windows and to offer visitors the best of what the household possessed. In such a larger house, the parlor—with its walls, ceiling, and floor well finished; its windows curtained; its location at the front of the house—was decorated in the latest fashion and filled with the accoutrements of genteel sociability: furniture (particularly chairs), mirrors, carpets, portraits and other pictures, and books. Throughout the period the furniture was arranged against the walls, facilitating easy cleaning.

Occasion dictated the movement and use of the parlor's furniture as etiquette increasingly dictated

the occasion. Perhaps it was the heterosocial tea party ("taking tea") that best symbolized parlor culture. Taking tea was an exercise in gentility. Bodily deportment was tested by chairs that straightened posture and required that feet be planted squarely on the floor for leverage. The tea ceremony required dedicated tea tables and equipage—china pots, cups and saucers, slop bowls, sugar snips, sugar bowls and creamers, silver spoons, white linen napkins and tablecloths—all of which tested the participant's knowledge of decorum (let alone the poise). Tea parties were events dedicated to polite cosmopolitan conversation, to musical performance, and to card playing. (Card tables were another specialized furniture form arising in this era.) By the 1820s the domestic parlor had become established as a marker of class as early industrialization of textiles, furniture, and ceramics brought the material symbols of genteel culture into the economic reach of middling Americans, who in turn claimed—albeit unevenly—not only its trappings but also the cultural power of gentility.

See also **Furniture; Home; Housing; Manners.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Random House, 1992.

Cooke, Edward S., Jr. "Domestic Space in the Federal-Period Inventories of Salem Merchants." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 116, no. 4 (1980): 248–264.

Cummings, Abbott Lowell. *Rural Household Inventories, Establishing the Names, Uses and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home, 1675–1775.* Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964.

Garrett, Elisabeth Donaghy. *At Home: The American Family 1750–1870.* New York: Abrams, 1990.

Mayhew, Edgar de N., and Minor Myers Jr. *A Documentary History of American Interiors from the Colonial Era to 1915.* New York: Scribners, 1980.

Nylander, Jane C. *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1993.

Rodris, Roth. "Tea Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage." In *Material Life in America, 1600–1860.* Edited by Robert Blair St. George. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Smith, Barbara Clark. *After the Revolution: The Smithsonian History of Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Upton, Dell. "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture.* Edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Ward, Gerald W. R., and William N. Hosley Jr., eds. *The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut River Valley, 1635–1820.* Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985.

*Shirley Teresa Wajda*

**PARSONS' CAUSE** The Parsons' Cause was a Virginia legal and political dispute involving the pay of Church of England ministers. Its significance lay in eroding the religious establishment's stature in Virginia and in propelling a previously unknown young lawyer, Patrick Henry, to political prominence.

In colonial Virginia's tobacco monoculture, the vagaries of the world tobacco market affected virtually everyone. When the price of tobacco rose, times were flush; when it fell, serious disruption and suffering might ensue. The Old Dominion, as Virginia was called, suffered from a chronic shortage of specie (money in coin). As a result, in the period after 1748 the ministers' salaries were regulated by a law requiring that they be paid annually sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. Thus they experienced good economic times and bad right along with Virginia laymen. However, in 1755 and again in 1758, the General Assembly made exceptions to this system. In each of those years, a diminished harvest due to crop failure had driven the price of tobacco to notable heights. In response, the colonial legislature arbitrarily proclaimed that, insofar as meeting a parish's obligation to its minister was concerned, a pound of tobacco was to be understood to have a two-penny value—instead of its actual value of approximately twice that amount in the latter year.

Predictably, the clergymen were displeased with the Two-Penny Acts. They held a convention, appealed for help from the mother country, and asked that the General Assembly do them justice—all without much effect. The King's Privy Council, the institution responsible for overseeing royal colonies, did declare that the Two-Penny Acts were invalid because they had been adopted without the required clause suspending their effect until the king gave his approval. Yet, because the disallowance was not declared to be retroactive, this seemed a victory in name only.

In response, ministers in several counties filed suits against their local parish vestries asking that they be paid back wages to make up the difference between the market value of the tobacco they would have received absent the invalidated Two-Penny Acts and the amount they actually had received. These

suits, as a group, became known as the Parsons' Cause. In the first two damage suits to reach verdicts, the courts refused to find for the plaintiffs despite the clarity of the law.

In Hanover County, however, the court, whose presiding judge was John Henry (father of Patrick Henry), found for the plaintiff. At that point, the more senior lawyer who had tried the case turned the argument on the issue of damages over to young Patrick. To murmurs of "treason," Patrick Henry argued that a king who refused to ratify a law adopted by Virginia's General Assembly to accommodate people who faced economic difficulty (the taxpayers, in this case) thereby ceased to be a fit sovereign and degenerated into a tyrant whose will need not be respected. To the astonishment of the plaintiff in the case, and again despite the clarity of the law, the jury took just five minutes to award damages in the amount of one cent. Patrick Henry was then hoisted onto the shoulders of onlookers and paraded around the courthouse grounds.

No clergyman ever benefited from the Parsons' Cause. The argument concocted by Virginia partisans in response to it, that ultimately it was for the General Assembly to determine what was best for Virginia and that the king must ratify such determinations, would have explosive repercussions—especially as enunciated by Patrick Henry.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Beeman, Richard R. *Patrick Henry: A Biography.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Henry, William Wirt. *Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence, and Speeches.* 3 vols., 1891. Harrisonburg, Va.: Sprinkle Publications, 1993.

Mayer, Henry. *A Son of Thunder: Patrick Henry and the American Republic.* New York: Grove Press, 2001.

*Kevin R. C. Gutzman*

**PATENT MEDICINES** Patent medicines were products that claimed to cure a variety of common illnesses, including many, such as cancer and diabetes, that are still not curable. These products appeared in American homes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because access to medical practitioners was limited, especially in rural areas, and because physicians typically engaged in such frightening practices as bloodletting.

The first patent medicines to appear in America came from England. In mid-eighteenth-century Great Britain, some producers of medical preparations obtained royal patents for their products. The patents protected the owners' rights to the products and gave some prestige to the medicines. Later, the term *patent medicine* was applied to any product of this type, whether patented or not.

In the eighteenth century medical theorists believed that disease could be driven from the body only by a substance as appalling as the illness. Therefore, the worse a medicine tasted or smelled, the greater its corrective power. These foul-tasting, foul-smelling products had ingredients that had an effect on the body, thus giving the illusion of a cure in action. Bateman's Drops, Dalby's Carminative, and Godfrey's Cordial contained the sedative opium. Hooper's Pills purged the digestive system and induced menstruation. British Oil and Steer's Opodeldoc were both liniments containing ammonia that irritated the skin.

The popularity of the English remedies owed much to the fact that, though the ingredients might vary, the shape of the bottle did not. Even an illiterate could identify a favorite nostrum. This allowed enterprising American merchants to refill the familiar bottles with cheaper-selling concoctions of their own creation when the American Revolution interrupted shipments of British products. English medicines never regained their prewar sales once the end of fighting in 1782 permitted their return to the American market.

After the Revolution American physicians began a search to discover American herbs that could relieve ailing Americans of "unrepublican dependence" on European medicines. In 1793 Congress enacted a law granting patents to inventors. In 1796 Samuel Lee, Jr., of Windham, Connecticut, became the first American to obtain a patent on a medicine, for Bilious Pills, which purported to fight biliousness as well as yellow fever, jaundice, dysentery, dropsy, worms, and female complaints. Whereas most patent medicine makers kept their ingredients secret and patented the packaging, Lee revealed that he used gamboges, aloes, soap, and nitrate of potassa. More important, as he emphasized in advertising, he used no mercury.

In 1793 the prominent physician Benjamin Rush attributed all physical ailments to hypertension (high blood pressure) and prescribed bloodletting to the point of unconsciousness as a cure. Rush also recommended such tremendous purgative doses of mercury that patients lost teeth and, occasionally, jawbones. Whereas physicians embraced Rush's stringent methods, which were known at the time as

"heroic medicine," patent medicine merchants offered frightened patients a mild and pleasant mode of treatment. Such merchants regularly attacked the brutal therapy of the regular doctor while improving the palatability of their concoctions. Swain's Panacea owed much of its success to a delicious flavor, and sugar-coated pills were first introduced by patent medicine makers. The popularity of patent medicines as a treatment regiment continued to rise throughout the nineteenth century.

See also **Death and Dying; Drugs; Health and Disease; Medicine; Professions: Physicians.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Holbrook, Stewart Hall. *The Golden Age of Quackery.* New York: Macmillan, 1959.

Young, James Harvey. *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961.

*Caryn E. Neumann*

**PATENTS AND COPYRIGHTS.** Modern concern with the protection of intellectual property of authors originates in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century natural rights and mercantilist discourse. Natural rights philosophers taught that the right of individuals to property was inalienable and that they are entitled to the wealth generated by their mental creations. Mercantilism, which judged the relative strength of nations by their balance of trade, prompted rulers to find ways to encourage creativity and innovation at home as a way of besting international rivals. In theory, English law and practice covered the intellectual property of authors and inventors. In practice, however, no enforcement mechanisms to protect intellectual property existed in the colonies and colonial authorities issued very few patents.

Following the American Revolution (1775–1783), the various states tried to foster independent intellectual property policies in line with these beliefs. Noah Webster (1758–1843), author of the best-selling *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783), campaigned to make the protection of intellectual property the law of the land. Webster feared that pirated versions of the book would deprive him of profits and lobbied with each state legislature to protect his ownership. He associated his campaign with the patriotic cause of establishing the legitima-cy and distinctiveness of American English and enlisted the support of well-respected revolutionaries like Thomas Paine and Joel Barlow to speak out in support of copyright legislation. The copyright movement of the 1780s was triumphant. All states, with the exception of Delaware, passed acts that in principle established their commitment to protecting the intellectual property of authors.

The copyright campaign of the 1780s, however, demonstrated the need for a coherent national policy. Under the Articles of Confederation (1781), Congress could only recommend that the states protect the rights of authors. Whether a policy was enacted or not remained up to the states. Similarly, the right to issue patents to reward a mechanical innovation resided exclusively with the states.

**THE CONSTITUTION**

Champions of intellectual property thus backed the constitutional movement of the second half of the 1780s. Many Patriots were alarmed by the unquenchable American consumption of imported British goods, feeling that political independence was undermined by the return of economic dependence on the former colonizer. Establishing a unified and effective manner of rewarding authors and inventors promised to foster American innovation and creativity that would wean the citizens of the Republic from their addiction to English manufactures.

The Constitutional Convention (1787) did not disappoint these backers. On 18 August 1787, James Madison (1757–1836) of Virginia and Charles Pinckney (1757–1824) of South Carolina recommended that the Constitution include a clause rewarding creativity in both literary and practical realms by granting exclusive rights over intellectual creation for a specified period of time. On 5 September 1787, the convention unanimously approved Article I, section 8 of the Constitution that instructed the new government "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writing and discoveries."

The founding fathers thus provided a mechanism by which individual inventors and authors were rewarded for enriching American society with new devices or writings. Inventors and writers were the only occupational groups given special benefits in the U.S. Constitution. The intellectual property provision in the Constitution was the first legal affirmative recognition of the property right embodied in the process that produced innovation. Even anti-

Federalists rarely criticized this aspect of the proposed Constitution.

The consensus in favor of the clause suggests widespread cultural acceptance of the measure. No one in particular had to push the delegates to include it in the Constitution. The prevalence of intellectual property clauses in the states' constitutions suggests that most American leaders recognized by the 1780s the need to promote literary and industrial creativity in the new nation. In unifying the patent grants on a national scale, the Constitutional Convention created an apparatus that spared authors and patentees the chore of having secure grants in each of the individual states.

### FEDERAL INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY POLICY

In his first annual message, in January 1790, President George Washington asked Congress to enact the necessary legislation encouraging "skill and genius" at home and "the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad." Congress took up the matter and in 1790 passed bills to protect the rights of authors and inventors. The first U.S. Copyright Act followed the British one, granting literary works an initial fourteen-year term of protection, which could then be renewed for another fourteen years for a total of twenty-eight years of protection. Only citizens of the United States enjoyed copyright protection.

The Patent Act of 1790, however, broke new ground. The initial proposal followed the English system, which sought to attract superior European craftspersons to the kingdom. Those who introduced technological innovations hitherto unknown in England were rewarded with production monopolies. Likewise, the initial version passed by the House of Representatives granted introducers of pirated technology the fourteen-year monopoly privileges accorded to original inventors. The Senate, however, amended the bill to grant patent monopolies only to inventors of machines "not before known or used" and deleted the location qualifier of the House version—"within the United States." The first U.S. Patent Act, then, restricted patents exclusively to original inventors and established the principle that prior use anywhere in the world was grounds for invalidating a patent.

The 1790 Act required the formation of a patent board composed of the secretary of state, the secretary of war, and the attorney general and charged it with evaluating the merit of each application. This requirement became too burdensome, particularly for Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, who was

put in charge of the entire project. The sheer volume of applications made the first patent act an administrative nightmare. In 1793 Congress relieved members of the cabinet from examining individual patents and assigned the duty to a clerk in the State Department. A patent became a registration of a claim any persons could make provided they paid the thirty-dollar fee and that no similar claim was previously registered. Acquiring a patent depended exclusively on prompt completion of the necessary bureaucratic paperwork. The revised system maintained the dual demand for novelty and originality by requiring each patentee to take an oath that he or she was indeed the first and original inventor. The disputes likely to arise from this strictly bureaucratic registration were to be resolved by a board of arbitrators and the courts. A revision in 1800 added the requirement of an oath by all applicants to the effect that their "invention, art or discovery hath not . . . been known or used either in this or any foreign country."

Textual examination of the patent law might give the impression that the young Republic had established a new moral code of intellectual property. The statutory requirement of worldwide originality and novelty, however, did not hinder widespread and officially sanctioned piracy of both technology and literary works. American publishers printed pirated literary works without compensating authors and artisans successfully received patents for devices already in use in Europe. Moreover, the Patent and Copyright Acts explicitly prohibited foreigners from claiming copyright or patent privileges in America for works and innovations they had already patented in Europe. Intellectual property practices in the early Republic favored printers, operators, internal developers, and entrepreneurs at the expense of artists, authors, investors, and inventors.

*See also* **Book Trade; Inventors and Inventions.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ben-Atar, Doron S. *Trade Secrets: Intellectual Piracy and the Origins of American Industrial Power.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Bugbee, Bruce W. *Genesis of American Patent and Copyright Law.* Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1967.

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

MacLeod, Christine. *Inventing the Industrial Revolution: The English Patent System, 1660–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Rose, Mark. *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

*Doron S. Ben-Atar*

# PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

**PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES** Coming together, mostly as young men, to fight the Revolutionary War, the officers of the Continental Army considered themselves the essence of the nation. While enlisted men came and went, the officers had served for up to eight years, frequently without pay and at their own expense. The war had been the peak—and for the younger ones, the only—experience of their adult lives. The officers had been promised pensions of half-pay for life, later commuted to five years' full pay, but the new nation was bankrupt. To lobby for benefits and to preserve the memory of their service through meetings and correspondence, on 13 May 1783 the soon-to-be-demobilized officers formed the Society of the Cincinnati, named after a Roman general who returned to his plow rather than be rewarded for his outstanding service. Modeled on the French army's Order of St. Louis, it offered participants badges, ribbons, reunions, and hereditary membership for their descendants.

Aspiring to be a well-respected group whose members would acquire honor and office, the Cincinnati instead provoked a huge public outcry. As a hereditary society the Cincinnati smacked of aristocracy; as an organized lobby it fell under the rubric of "faction," a special interest that set itself against the general good. The public also identified it with other signs of what seemed to be impending military rule: unruly enlisted men had forced Congress out of Philadelphia when they failed to receive their wages, and many officers themselves took part in what is known as the Newburgh Conspiracy of 1783, threatening a coup d'etat (scholars argue whether they intended to carry it out) that was forestalled only by General Washington's intervention.

In response, the Cincinnati adopted a low profile. It never attained more than 2,300 members, and although President Washington and five members of his cabinet belonged, its partisanship was limited to electioneering on behalf of some Federalist candidates. Identified with the Federalists, the Cincinnati declined after the War of 1812 and by 1832 were active in only six states. They would remain moribund until the 1880s.

The Masons were another prominent society to which George Washington lent his prestige. Imported into the American colonies from Britain in 1733, the order of Freemasons still exists, uncontroversially, in the early twenty-first century. However, during the eighteenth century it was identified with Enlightenment ideas: belief in a Supreme Being rather than the Christian God (many Jews belonged) and the brotherhood and equality of mankind—all members called each other brother and were treated as equals with respect to the order. In the 1830s the prominence of many Masons in economic and civic life led to the creation of the anti–Masonic political party. Although it failed to rival the Democrats and Whigs, the anti-Masons were successful in persuading the Masons to protest that they were merely a fraternal, apolitical order, devoted to social betterment and general civic virtue.

Enlisted men, lacking a society of their own, joined the Sons of St. Tammany and, during the 1790s, Republican societies. For a time, George Washington provided an element of unity by serving as the Tammanies' president as well. During these early years, the Tammanies were a general patriotic rather than a partisan group. Unlike the exclusive Cincinnati, these forerunners of modern political clubs were open to most adult white men and produced the first modern political machine in New York under the leadership of Aaron Burr and later Martin Van Buren. In response, young Federalists formed the Washington Benevolent Societies during the early 1800s. Celebrating Washington's birthday (which only became a national holiday much later) by holding festivals and parades, they copied Tammany in many respects, although the latter favored the Fourth of July as its principal holiday. Like the Cincinnati, they too declined after 1815 and were all but extinct by 1830. Reformer societies continued, however, to seek the prestige of the first president, as in the Washingtonian Temperance Societies (Washington himself did not shun alcohol), or the use of mediums by the American Peace Society to evoke Washington's ghost to prove he had converted to pacifism.

In the early Republic voluntary associations, to which Alexis de Tocqueville called attention in *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), proliferated. Most were fiercely patriotic: volunteer fire companies, for instance, painted beautiful emblems of American heroes and symbols on their engines. In a nation that feared a standing army, private military organizations flourished. They regularly drilled in public, held competitions, and hosted holiday festivals. Entire cities would plan elaborate parades for the Fourth of July in which social groups participated, arranged by occupation—including the clergy, professionals, and artisans. Although frequently excluding blacks, Roman Catholics, or immigrants, their activities otherwise linked people of different classes and religions in a common civic culture.

In the late nineteenth century, Americans descended from the British, German, and Dutch inhabitants who fought in the Revolution feared that their nation's survival and culture were in jeopardy from the foreign influences of new immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe. John Adams's descendants, for example, included three major historians who feared that European Jewish money and the pope's Catholic minions would soon swamp the declining percentage of "real" or "hundred percent" Americans.

Beginning in the 1880s, new organizations that required members to prove descent from Revolutionary soldiers or other groups emerged as part of a general movement of the traditional elite to insulate and secure itself from the newcomers. These included the Sons of the American Revolution (1883), the Daughters of the American Revolution (1890), the Daughters of the Cincinnati (1894), attaching themselves to that reactivated order, the Society of Colonial Wars (1892), and the Society of Mayflower Descendants (1894). Looking even farther back to European roots were the Aryan Order of St. George or the Holy Roman Empire in the Colonies of America (1892), and the Baronial Order of Runnymede (1897). Other long-established immigrant groups climbed on the bandwagon to distinguish themselves from recent arrivals and to commemorate their ancestors' role in the Republic's formation: the Holland Society, for descendants of Dutch New Yorkers (1885), the Scotch-Irish Society (1889), the Pennsylvania German Society (1891), the American Jewish Historical Society (1894), and the American Irish Historical Society (1898).

Among the initiatives sponsored by these societies was the promotion of laws to prohibit activities the new immigrants imported from Europe. Games of chance (held to benefit Roman Catholic churches), entertainments and saloons open on Sunday, and aid to parochial schools all came under attack from the largely Protestant "old American" groups.

Genealogy was a major preoccupation of these societies. Organizations such as the New England Historic Genealogical Society and other research libraries expanded their publications and space. Numerous histories of towns, counties, and states appeared, most with lengthy sections devoted to biographies of ancestors whose uniform probity boggles statistical probability. The newly formed American Historical Association, after selecting five outstanding scholars as president, turned to John Jay II and William Wirt Henry, descendants of the founders whose sole notable works honored their ancestors, in 1890 and 1891, to demonstrate its approval of filiopietistic scholarship.

The traditional elite's effort to unite with its ancestors was matched by an equal determination to isolate itself from its contemporaries: exclusive boarding schools, colleges, clubs, communities, and even cemeteries ensured that long-established families did not have to associate with those whose labor made their comfortable lives possible—except, of course, to service their personal needs as clearly delineated inferiors. Although schools no longer exclude Jews or Catholics, exclusivity lives on in country clubs, secret college associations, and the still-flourishing hereditary societies. Far from being quaint or irrelevant, these are important places where the elites meet and continue to influence American history.

*See also* **Fourth of July; Freemasons; Society of the Cincinnati; Society of St. Tammany.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baltzell, E. Digby. *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy and Caste in America.* New York: Random House, 1964; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.

Cunliffe, Marcus. *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775–1865.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1968; New York: Free Press, 1973.

Davies, Wallace E. *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783–1900.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.

Fischer, David Hackett. *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1965, 1969.

*William Pencak*

**PENITENTIARIES** Standing at the epicenter of a transatlantic transformation in the practice of punishment, the emergence of penitentiaries altered the penal landscape of the early American Republic. Spreading in two separate waves, first at the turn of the nineteenth century and then during the Jacksonian period, early national penitentiaries helped reshape the theory and practice of punishment. Particularly in the northern states of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, new theories and practices of punishment took center stage. Indeed, the efforts of penal officials and theorists in the northern United States made them the objects of intense scrutiny and imitation by their European counterparts. But despite the revolutionary claims of its early proponents and the long-term effects of their penal strategies, the

practical effects of the penitentiary remained limited during the early Republic. In the north, experimental reformative practices were only implemented in larger prisons, while in the southern states the power of slavery meant that penitentiaries were of limited significance.

In the colonial period, prisons and jails had restricted importance in the criminal justice system. Small, often ramshackle affairs, prisons were largely holding areas. Courts and magistrates deployed prisons to hold prisoners awaiting trial or sentencing, to detain prisoners awaiting their actual punishments, or to confine debtors or vagrants. Imprisonment for debt was perhaps the most significant form of long-term confinement in colonial jails; rarely did the authorities employ prisons as part of criminal punishment itself. Instead, the vast majority of criminal sanctions in colonial America were corporal, capital, or financial. Nor did officials or the public expect prisons and jails to operate as reformative influences. In fact, critics consistently insisted that jails were sources of infection—both moral and physical. Although not on the scale of London's notorious Newgate or Fleet prisons, colonial jails were the sites of jail fevers and the launching pads for escapes. Jailers survived on fees for services, a system that hardly discouraged efforts to exploit prisoners and the public for personal gain.

Prisons assumed new importance during the late eighteenth century. A combination of factors provided political contexts for a reconsideration of traditional systems of public, capital, and corporal punishments: a perceived rise in crime during the late colonial and Revolutionary eras; the growing conviction among Revolutionary elites that capital and corporal penalties were unsuitable for a Republic; and a heightened sensitivity to the possible abuse of courts and penalties for political purposes. Intellectually, diverse attachments to notions of enlightened reforms and a transatlantic network of reformers (both religious and secular) helped provide the arguments to justify an increased emphasis on imprisonment and reformation. But despite the obvious importance of the search for a republican form of penalty, it is important to recognize that penal reform occurred in both America and Europe. National pride and republican ideology may have encouraged Americans to experiment with prisons—but Americans were only a part of a wider transatlantic reformation. Complicating matters further, southern states joined in the late-eighteenth-century fascination with penitentiaries, but significant experiments were focused largely in the North. Penal practice followed regional distinctiveness.

### FIRST GENERATION OF REFORM

Although Massachusetts and other northern states transformed their penal systems (and in the case of Massachusetts engaged in pathbreaking prison reform), it was New York and Pennsylvania that quickly assumed center stage in articulating the ideology and establishing the practice of reformed imprisonment. During the 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century, these two states engaged in sustained efforts to transform punishment in the direction of reformative incarceration. First at Philadelphia's Walnut Street Prison and then in New York City's Newgate Prison, prison officials and private reformers aimed to establish a new penal system that placed penitence and reform at its heart.

The new developments could be seen most clearly in Philadelphia's Walnut Street Prison. Built in 1773 under the unreformed system, the jail was used to hold prisoners during the Revolutionary War. But beginning in 1790, Pennsylvania transformed Walnut Street into a state prison dedicated simultaneously to punishing and reforming inmates through a complicated regimen of hard labor, solitude, enforced cleanliness and discipline. Then, in 1794 officials opened a house of solitary cells (known as the "penitentiary house") in the prison yard.

Although in reality Pennsylvanians were following upon a series of English experiments in solitary confinement, Walnut Street became internationally famous as a laboratory of humane penal practice—linked in the transatlantic mind with Quaker opposition to the death penalty and cruelty in punishment. Visitors from across the new nation and across the Atlantic came to sing its praises. Its efforts were copied around the Atlantic world, most directly, perhaps, in New York's Newgate Prison under the direction of Thomas Eddy. In both prisons the early years appeared promising—order was sustained, labor was imposed, officials insisted that prisoners were reformed, and humanity's claims seemed fulfilled.

**A new social regime.** In these first efforts at reformative incarceration, the emphasis lay on a social transformation of prisons and prisoners. Although new prison buildings were built (the "penitentiary house" at Walnut Street and new state prisons in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Virginia), the overwhelming focus was on creating a new social regimen that would transform the habits and characters of inmates. Reformers such as Eddy in New York and Caleb Lownes in Philadelphia were convinced that

criminality was an effect of bad habits—particularly as regarded labor. They were certain that if they imposed disciplined labor combined with regular oversight and some moral or religious instruction that they could remake inmates and produce productive and disciplined citizens. In their minds the physical plant or architecture of the prison was clearly a secondary consideration to the structure of authority and the social milieu.

**Failure.** If Newgate and Walnut Street represented the first wave of enlightened penal reform, by the second decade of the nineteenth century both projects were in shambles. Nearly all of the elements of the reformed prison had either collapsed or been undermined through prisoner resistance. The labor system was erratic, discipline was in disarray, silence and solitude were rarely enforced, and disease and death haunted the inmates. A rise in recidivism and a decline in reformation increased the strains on the prison establishments as inmate populations grew without equivalent increases in staffing or resources. Escapes and prison violence increased over time. Inmate riots and arson marked the failure of the first generation of prison reformers.

### A SECOND REFORM EFFORT

The crisis of reformative incarceration led to a dramatic reconstruction of the theory and practice of penitentiaries. In this reconstruction, Pennsylvania and New York again took the lead. In prisons (most famously at Auburn, New York, and Philadelphia) designed and constructed across the 1820s, each state laid out a new vision (and a good deal of state funds) for the proper organization of penitentiaries. These new prisons were bold efforts. Significantly larger than their predecessors, their designs were carefully calibrated for maximum discipline and control of inmates, each built around a philosophy of punitive silence. At the heart of these prisons was the effort to control communication. Prison reformers throughout the early Republic concluded that the first generation of prisons had failed because inmates were able to communicate freely with each other, undermining the authority of prison officials and transforming prisons from "schools of virtue to schools of vice." The reformers of the 1820s, however, placed less faith in the social relations of the prison and more in their architectural styles. The use of architecture to control space lay at the heart of these new prisons.

**Congregate versus solitary regimes.** Consequently, solitary confinement played a central role at both New York's Auburn Prison and Pennsylvania's East-

ern State Penitentiary. But from this shared premise the two prison systems diverged dramatically. Eastern State Penitentiary aimed to impose solitary confinement on inmates for the entirety of their confinement: each inmate had a separate, individual cell and exercise yard, labor took place within cells, food was delivered in special drawers, and contact was limited to approved prison officials. At Auburn, by contrast, solitary confinement was imposed only at night. During the day, prisoners labored in a congregate setting more akin to a factory. Silence was enforced not by separation but through the whip, while the invention of the lockstep aimed to ensure that prisoners could not communicate while they traveled from cell to workshop. If Eastern State sought to individualize in the aim of repentance, Auburn sought to discipline in the interests of production.

The debate over congregate versus solitary regimes would shape the course of prisons throughout the nineteenth century. In the United States, the congregate system quickly became the dominant prison form—it would prove more economical and productive. Interestingly, Europeans were more drawn to the solitary system developed in Philadelphia. Indeed, from the 1820s onward, leading European reformers such as William Crawford and Alexis de Tocqueville came to America to examine these new penitential systems. In the end, despite dissenters like Charles Dickens, they argued that the solitary system was more humane. The penitential imagination trumped the fiscal imagination in Britain and the Continent.

Penitentiaries transformed systems of punishment on both sides of the Atlantic. Still, their impact remained uneven. Efforts to turn prisons into penitentiaries could only occur in the largest institutions; in most local jails or secondary prisons the new penitential structures were absent. And in the United States, their importance was largely limited to the North. It is true that southern states—with the notable exceptions of the Carolinas—also constructed new penitentiaries in this period. But their importance and their populations remained constrained by the existence of slavery. Slaves continued to be punished largely on plantations, and public punishments remained ever present in the southern states. Penitentiaries were the companions of new liberal, capitalist orders. They would have to wait till after the Civil War for their day in the South.

*See also* **Capital Punishment; Corporal Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Reform, Social.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ayers, Edward L. *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Hirsch, Adam Jay. *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishment in Early America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

McGowen, Randall. "The Well-Ordered Prison: England, 1780–1865." In *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society.* Edited by Norval Morris and David J. Rothman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Meranze, Michael. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Rev. ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.

Michael Meranze

**PENNSYLVANIA** As the second most populous state in the Union from 1810 to 1860 after New York, Pennsylvania was at the center of its political and industrial development. The Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States were ratified in the "Keystone State's" capital of Philadelphia and the Continental Congress met there. As the nation's capital from 1790 to 1800, Philadelphia was the site of its most bitter political struggles between the Federalists and their Republican rivals. Because of its diverse population and active partisan press, Pennsylvania was among the first states to pioneer a modern two-party system, where each party ran a slate of candidates, had regular campaign workers, and tried to balance tickets ethnically and geographically.

With its large number of electoral votes—fifteen in 1800 (third to New York and Massachusetts) and 28 by 1828 (second only to New York), Pennsylvania was a critical political battleground during the early Republic. In the election of 1800, when Pennsylvania almost did not cast its electoral votes as a lame-duck Federalist state senate and House of Representatives could not agree. Although the Republicans had overwhelmingly won the election, Federalists still controlled the Senate. Only when Jefferson's election was clear did the state cast eight votes for him against seven for Adams. Pennsylvania also made political history in 1824 by holding the first

convention to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates: Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun were chosen to repudiate William Crawford, the last candidate officially selected by a national caucus. Pennsylvania had twenty-eight electoral votes.

Begun in 1682 as a "holy experiment" and founded by Quaker William Penn, Pennsylvania was the world's only society to date to combine pacifism with almost complete toleration of all religious groups. Penn aggressively recruited German as well as English settlers. As a result, the colony received an influx of mainstream Lutherans and Reformed Calvinists, who comprised over 90 percent of the Germans, along with pacifist groups such as the Amish, Schwenkfelders, Dunkards. Many Germans remained socially insular, continuing to speak their language even into the twentieth century. The presence of the smaller groups can still be noticed in the Ephrata Cloisters, Moravian Bethlehem, and the farm communities of Amish, who dress traditionally and do not use automobiles or electricity.

Pennsylvania prospered as the breadbasket of North America. By 1776 Philadelphia, closer to the West Indies than New York or Boston, which both had a half-century head start, was British North America's largest city, with about thirty thousand inhabitants. Dotting a prosperous countryside were iron forges, supported by the rich deposits of iron ore of the colony. Under the leadership of printer Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia developed such institutions and public improvements as the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company, paved streets, and the College of Pennsylvania.

Although Quakers numbered but a small minority, they continued to rule Pennsylvania with German support until the French and Indian War. Following the defeat of General Braddock near present-day Pittsburgh in 1755, native Americans attacked all along the frontier. These Lenape (Delaware), Shawnee, Minisink, and other groups had been dispossessed by a series of treaties made with Pennsylvania but enforced by the Iroquois, who were glad to have a pacifist society on their southern border. The Pennsylvania hinterland was devastated, and towns as far east as Bethlehem and Reading became centers of refuges. After the war ended in 1763, a confederation of native Americans led by Pontiac once again pushed back the settlers searching for fertile lands.

Aware that the province needed to defend itself, several Quakers resigned from the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756. Until the American Revolution, two

major factions blamed each other for the province's lamentable defense. Quakers and their supporters, led by Benjamin Franklin, tried to have Pennsylvania made a royal province; they were opposed by the Proprietary Faction, who blamed the pacifist Quakers for Pennsylvania's defense problems. Meanwhile, the Paxton Boys in 1763 took out their anger by massacring some of the many Christian Indians converted mostly by the Moravians. The frontier people had no use for either faction. When Britain imposed taxes and increased trade regulation in the 1760s, while the other colonies protested, the major political groups in Pennsylvania courted royal favor.

Because the governing elite of Pennsylvania was heavily Loyalist or neutral, Pennsylvanians opposed to British policy and supporting independence had to effect the most radical internal revolution of any British colony. In 1776 a coalition of representatives composed primarily of farmers, Philadelphia working people, at the prompting of a Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia, ousted the government and established a new constitution. It allowed all male taxpayers over the age of twenty-one to vote, the most liberal franchise in the country. On the other hand, a test oath, requiring voters to swear allegiance to the constitution, disfranchised perhaps half the state's population, including Quakers, who would not swear oaths. Representation favored the more radical western counties. Voters annually elected an assembly (enlarged from 30 to 74), which had to take its laws back to the people for final approval the next year. In the nation's first experiment with rotation in office, representatives could serve for only four years out of seven, to keep them from aggrandizing power. The only check on the assembly was the council of censors, which could call attention to the assembly's abuses and recommend changes in the constitution. The president merely presided over the assembly.

Pennsylvania saw considerable action during the Revolution. In September 1777, British forces from New York under General William Howe defeated Washington's army at Brandywine and then Germantown, occupying the city as the continentals suffered from cold and food shortages at Valley Forge, twenty miles up the Schuylkill River. Although the redcoats left the following year, fighting remained endemic along the western and northeastern Pennsylvania frontiers, where the British supported Indians against settlers who sought their lands. In the Wyoming Valley in the northeast, around present-day Wilkes-Barre, Connecticut settlers claiming the land for their state, with support

from the Revolutionary government, battled Pennsylvania settlers, who received aid from the British and Iroquois. Congress ultimately granted the land to Pennsylvania, but intermittent fighting and conflicting land claims continued in the region until the early nineteenth century.

Support for the radicals declined during the Revolution, as they levied high taxes and seized production to help the war effort. Riots broke out in Philadelphia to protest profiteering and toleration of Loyalists. Pennsylvania soldiers mutinied twice: in 1781 to be released from their enlistments, and in 1783 to be paid, an action that chased Congress out of Philadelphia for two years. By 1786 conservative Philadelphia businessmen were firmly in control, and in 1790 the state promulgated a new constitution: a governor, senate, and assembly checked each other, the governor appointed the judiciary, and Philadelphia returned to its colonial government—a self-perpetuating board of aldermen.

Pennsylvania ratified the U.S. Constitution in 1787, the second state to do so. Its population grew from 433,611 in 1790 to 602,365 in 1800, to 810,019 in 1810, to l,049,458 in 1820, and to 1,348,233 in 1830. In 1780 Pennsylvania was the first state to legislate the gradual abolition of slavery: children of slave mothers were born free, subject to an indenture until age 28. As a result, Pennsylvania's slave population declined from 3,707 in 1790 to 1,706 in 1800, to 795 in 1810, to 611 in 1820, to 403 in 1830, to 64 as late as 1840, and finally to none by 1850. Meanwhile, the state's free black population rose from 6,531 in 1790 to 14,564 in 1800, to 23,215 in 1810, to 30,202 in 1820, and to 37,930 in 1830. Much of this growth occurred in the southeastern part of the state because of the ease with which both free blacks and escaping slaves could cross over from Maryland and Delaware. Philadelphia had the nation's wealthiest and best established black community. When white churches there refused to admit blacks or seated them in segregated sections, the Reverend Absalom Jones began St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, and the Reverend Richard Allen founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church, both in 1794. Within a year, almost half of Philadelphia's black churchgoers belonged to these congregations. Though the 1790 constitution granted blacks the right to vote, even such worthies as businessman James Forten were intimidated from exercising their franchise before the constitution of 1838 limited voting to white males.

At the first federal census of 1790, Pennsylvania's three main ethnic groups were English and

Welsh (30 percent), Scots (7 percent), Irish (7 percent), Scots-Irish (15 percent), and German (38 percent). Some 26,000 Irish immigrants came to the state in the late eighteenth century, and more after a hiatus during the Napoleonic Wars. Still, there were only 10,000 Catholics in the entire state as late as 1830, mostly in Philadelphia, as many of the Irish were either Presbyterians or anticlerical. The population rose largely through natural reproduction, though there were a handful of German, English, French, and Italian immigrants. Most of Pennsylvania's Native Americans left the state following the American Revolution; under a thousand Iroquois led by Cornplanter lived on the state's one remaining reservation in the northwest.

By 1800 Pennsylvania was the second most populous state after New York, and it led the nation in industry, whereas New York led in commerce. Production tended to be scattered throughout the state rather than concentrated at a handful of sites, like the Lowell Mills of Massachusetts. Philadelphia, the state's largest city with 41,000 inhabitants in 1800, grew to 80,462 by 1830. Lancaster was the second largest with 4,292 inhabitants in 1800, growing to 7,704 in 1830. Pittsburgh, which had only 1,565 people in 1800, was the second largest city by 1830 with 12,568 people. Prominent sites of industry were the textile mills at Manayunk (several miles north of Philadelphia), where rapid running water provided power; Coatesville in the southeast, where Rebecca Lukens (the foremost female entrepreneur in the nation) ran Lukens Steel; Milford in the northeast, where Cyrille Pinchot made a fortune in the lumber business; and numerous rural forges that exploited the state's rich iron deposits.

Collective leadership and state funding were essential to Pennsylvania's economic rise, for the mountainous terrain in the state could be overcome only by roads, bridges, canals, and railroads. Beginning in the 1780s, when sales of Pennsylvania grain to the West Indies brought the post–Revolutionary depression to a quick close, Pennsylvania pioneered new economic institutions that were later adopted by the entire nation. In 1780 Philadelphia merchants established the Bank of Pennsylvania, followed by the Bank of North America, the first banks in the United States. While the Constitutional Convention was sitting in 1787, they founded the Society for the Encouragement of Manufacturers, which offered bounties to develop useful technology. America's first steamboat, designed by John Fitch, plied the Delaware River from 1787 to 1789. Other Pennsylvania firsts included the first turnpike, which connected Philadelphia and Lancaster with a sixty-five-mile road of macadam (crushed stone) to the first stock exchange (1791), and the first insurance company (1792). The first approximation of a labor union, the Franklin Typographical Society of Philadelphia, a printers' collective, organized the new nation's first strike in 1786. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court declared strikes unconstitutional in 1805.

For most of the 1790s, nonpartisan Governor Thomas Mifflin kept the peace between the Federalists and Republicans on the state level, greatly helped by sales of public lands, which reduced state taxes to the vanishing point. The national Federalist party, however, had not learned the art of coalition building and compromise and provoked the Whiskey Rebellion (1794) and Fries's Rebellion (1798) by imposing a tax on whiskey. In response to the Whiskey Rebellion, protestors closed courts that tried delinquents, tarred and feathered excise officers, and burned distilleries whose owners paid the tax. About five hundred men attacked the house of excise collector John Neville, a native Virginian and thus doubly hated by the western Pennsylvanians; two were killed and six wounded although Neville escaped with his life. Over six thousand "rebels" then marched on Pittsburgh, but they dispersed when President Washington led thirteen thousand federal troops to the region.

Four years later, John Fries led a mob of mostly Pennsylvania German protestors and rescued people who refused to pay their taxes from a jail in Bethlehem. Although called rebels and charged by the government with treason, the perpetrators were continuing the tradition of tax resistance that brought forth the American Revolution itself.

The 1790s were eventful in Philadelphia as well. The new Walnut Street prison sought to rehabilitate, rather than simply incarcerate, the disorderly. It introduced forced labor in a carefully regulated environment, setting a precedent for the Eastern State Penitentiary, founded in 1821, which placed culprits in solitary confinement to give them time to reflect on their crimes. Eight yellow fever epidemics, brought by refugees from the Haitian Revolution, struck the city between 1793 and 1805, killed thousands, and caused thousands more to flee. African Americans distinguished themselves by caring for the sick.

In the early nineteenth century, Pennsylvania was firmly dominated by a Republican party whose main support came from farmers. By the War of 1812, however, they too had adopted the Federalist position that the state should support vigorous economic growth. Bridges spanned the Schuylkill River

at Philadelphia and the Susquehanna at Harrisburg, which replaced Philadelphia as the state capital in 1811. At the end of the war, Pennsylvania had forty-one banks. By 1830 the legislature had chartered over two hundred turnpike companies, which criss-crossed the state with over three thousand miles of paved roads. Canals enabled the burgeoning anthracite coal industry to supply other states and Europe, especially the one connecting northeastern Pennsylvania with the Atlantic. In the late 1820s the first Pennsylvania railroads began shipping coal; in 1832 the first passenger line connected Philadelphia and Germantown. Responding to the state-built Erie Canal in New York, the legislature appropriated funds for a seven-hundred-mile transportation network of roads, railroads, and canals to assure that Pennsylvania's booming industrial and agricultural production would reach lucrative markets.

Not surprisingly, the most distinguished Pennsylvanians of the early Republic were business rather than political leaders. Robert Morris, superintendent of finance during the Revolution, founded the Bank of the United States with his partner, Thomas Willing, who directed it. Albert Gallatin, secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison, founded the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. This bank, under the capable control of Nicholas Biddle in the 1820s, successfully regulated the nation's money supply between the panics of 1819 and 1837. Writers Charles Brockden Brown and Hugh Henry Brackenridge wrote some of America's earliest novels, reflecting the merits and shortcomings of democracy in Philadelphia and western Pennsylvania, respectively. From the early nineteenth century Pennsylvania became more noted for the collective effort and economic energy of its people, and beginning in the 1830s the state would be deeply wracked by conflicts between business and labor, white and black, and immigrants and the native born.

*See also* **Franklin, Benjamin; Fries's Rebellion; Immigration and Immigrants: Germans; Pietists; Quakers; Valley Forge; Whiskey Rebellion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brunhouse, Robert. *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951.

Frantz, John B., and William Pencak, eds. *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland.* University Park: Penn State Press, 1998.

Higginbotham, Sanford W. *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800–1816.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1952.

Klein, Philip S. *Pennsylvania Politics: A Game without Rules, 1817–1832.* Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940.

Miller, Randall, and William Pencak, eds. *Pennsylvania: History of a Commonwealth.* University Park: Penn State Press, 2002. Especially chaps. 2–4.

Tinkcom, Harry M. *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790–1801.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950.

*William Pencak*

**PEOPLE OF AMERICA**  Begun in 1790, the decennial censuses of the United States provide basic information about the population. Immigration statistics were recorded by the federal government only after 1820, and data on class have been derived from tax lists. Before 1790, most "statistics" are, in fact, estimates, based on scattered censuses and estimates of population taken at the request of the British government.

### POPULATION SIZE AND GROWTH

Between 1750 and 1830, the population of what became the United States grew from 1.1 million to 12.9 million people, as Table 1 shows. When the War for Independence began, about 2.5 million people lived in the thirteen colonies; the population had increased to about 4 million shortly after the new Constitution went in to effect in 1789. Overall, the rate of growth during this period was just over 30 percent each decade, a pattern that emerged about 1700 and would continue until 1860. Two centuries after the first census, the American population totaled almost 250 million. Most of the growth occurred because of the high rate of natural increase. Life expectancy at the time, as favorable as anywhere in the world, was far below modern standards. But American husbands and wives married early and had children rapidly—in the neighborhood of 50 births per 1,000 population each year. This, coupled with a moderate death rate and some immigration, produced an annual rate of increase of about 3 percent, sufficient to double the population in just under twenty-five years. Table 1 also shows the American people were spread thinly across the land, averaging only 7.4 people per square mile in 1830, partly because of the additions of the Louisiana Territory and East Florida in 1803 and 1819, respectively.

**TABLE 1**

**Population Size and Composition: 1750–1830**

| Year | Total Population | % Black | % Urban | Median Age-Whites | Sex Ratio | Square Miles | Population per Square Mile |
|------|-----------------|---------|---------|-------------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1750 | 1,107,000 | 20.2 | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1760 | 1,593,000 | 20.4 | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1770 | 2,148,000 | 21.4 | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1780 | 2,780,000 | 20.7 | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1790 | 3,929,000 | 19.3 | 5.1 | 15.9 (m) | 103.8 | 888,811 | 4.5 |
| 1800 | 5,308,000 | 18.9 | 6.1 | 16.0 | 104.0 | 888,811 | 6.1 |
| 1810 | 7,224,000 | 19.0 | 7.3 | 16.0 | 104.0 | 1,716,003 | 4.3 |
| 1820 | 9,683,000 | 18.4 | 7.2 | 16.6 | 103.2 | 1,788,006 | 5.6 |
| 1830 | 12,866,000 | 18.1 | 8.8 | 17.3 | 103.8 | 1,788,006 | 7.4 |
| 1900 | 75,994,000 | 12.1 | 39.7 | 23.4 | 104.9 | 3,022,387 | 25.6 |
| 1990 | 248,710,000 | 16.1* | 75.2 | 36.9 | 95.4 | 3,563,388 | 70.3 |

* % non-white

**POPULATION COMPOSITION**

In considering the composition of the population between 1750 and 1830, first attention will go to age and sex. One of the striking characteristics of the population was its youthfulness, as is evident in Table 1. Starting in 1790, and in accord with many colonial censuses, the median age of the white population was about 16, rising slightly by 1830. In 1990 the median age was 36.9, over twice that of the period under consideration. This is not surprising, as high birth rates produce low median ages. At the top of the age pyramid, only about 4 percent of all Americans reached the age of 60.

One reason for the high birth rate was a relatively even balance between the sexes among whites, making marriage possible for all who wanted to marry. In the seventeenth century, the colonial population was often heavily male (about six men for every one woman in early Virginia), but by 1750 there were only 104 men for every 100 women, despite continued immigration favoring males in the eighteenth century. Among African Americans, the proportion of men would have been slightly higher, because there were more men captured and sold as slaves than women, but the decline in slave imports from 1775 to 1803 stabilized sex ratios for blacks.

Both men and children were slightly more common on the frontier than in more settled regions. In 1800, for example, the ratio of men to women in Massachusetts was 99 to 100, compared to 106 to 100 in Vermont. Similarly, while Pennsylvania's sex ratio was about 106, that in the neighboring Ohio Territory was 119. Even though women were rela-

tively scarce in frontier regions, those who lived there had large families, as is evident in the proportion of the population under sixteen. The percent under sixteen in Massachusetts and Vermont stood at 46.9 and 52.7 respectively. In Pennsylvania and Ohio, the relevant figures were 49.9 and 55.5 percent.

The cultural pluralism familiar to twentieth-century American society was evident in the early national period, before the great nineteenth-century influx of immigration. As Table 1 shows, African Americans accounted for about one of every five Americans from 1750 to 1830. Although slavery as a legal status was defined in the middle of the seventeenth century, the majority of Africans sold as slaves in the future United States arrived between 1700 and 1770. With the Revolution, the importation of slaves slowed, and in many localities stopped. Although slaves were imported into places like South Carolina and Georgia after the war, the slave trade was outlawed by Congress in 1808, as soon as permitted under the Constitution. After a surge of immigration from Europe just before independence, the white population grew mostly by natural increase until about 1820. The slight decline in the proportion of blacks from 21.4 percent in 1770 to 18.1 percent in 1830 can be explained by better life chances and higher fertility among whites, and perhaps a slight advantage in immigrants.

One might assume that because the colonies were part of the British Empire, the colonists would have been overwhelmingly English. Table 2 demonstrates that was emphatically not the case. Table 2

**TABLE 2**

**Race and Ethnicity in 1790**

(for states with surviving records)

| State | % English | % Other White | % Black |
|---|---|---|---|
| Maine | 71.8 | 27.6 | 0.6 |
| New Hampshire | 72.7 | 26.7 | 0.6 |
| Vermont | 75.0 | 24.7 | 0.3 |
| Massachusetts | 78.6 | 20.0 | 1.4 |
| Rhode Island | 70.3 | 23.3 | 6.4 |
| Connecticut | 79.1 | 18.6 | 2.3 |
| New York | 40.8 | 51.6 | 7.6 |
| Pennsylvania | 19.0 | 78.6 | 2.4 |
| Maryland | 31.0 | 34.3 | 34.7 |
| Virginia | 29.3 | 29.8 | 40.9 |
| North Carolina | 29.7 | 43.5 | 26.8 |
| South Carolina | 20.7 | 35.6 | 43.7 |

also shows that both Africans and non–English whites were not evenly distributed across the colonies and states. The data in Table 2, from the 1790 census, combine recent estimates of the ethnic origins of the white population, for those states where records with names survive, with information on the proportion that was black. Of the non–English whites, the majority were Scots or Scots-Irish, with notable presences in some localities of people with Dutch or German backgrounds. New England was, in fact, aptly named, as three of every four inhabitants traced their origins back to England. Only a few blacks (both slave and free) lived there. From Maryland to South Carolina, settlers with English roots no longer accounted for the majority of the white population, and in most southern states Americans with African origins outnumbered each of the white groups. The middle states of New York and Pennsylvania were dominated by non–English whites, with a small but significant black population, most of whom lived in or around the cities.

Although the federal government never included Native Americans in the census during this period, we must remember that they were a significant presence in 1750 from the Appalachian Mountains westward. In the South alone, there were over 55,000 Native Americans in 1750, including over 12,000 Creeks, 8,000 Cherokee, and 14,500 Choctaws. In the North, the Iroquois and their allies remained a powerful force until after the War for Independence. By 1830, however, most of the native peoples north of the Ohio River had been forced west of the Mississippi, and the Indian Removal Act of that year would lead to expulsion of most of the remaining native peoples in the South by 1838. The acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 added significant numbers of Native Americans to the United States.

The emergence of cities will be addressed more fully as part of migrations, but it is worth noting here that the proportion of the population living in urban areas (defined by the census as a place with at least 2,500 people) was only 5.1 percent in 1790. By 1830, the United States was still overwhelmingly rural, as only 8.8 percent lived in what might be called cities. An urban majority was first documented in the 1920 census, with the proportion rising to 75.2 percent two centuries after the first census.

Assessing class distinctions among the American people in this period depends on studies based on tax lists to provide some evidence into the relative wealth of Americans. In Boston, for example, the distribution of wealth, as measured in the tax lists, remained remarkably stable over the period, with the bottom third of all taxpayers holding no property and the top 10 percent owning about two-thirds of the wealth in the city. Elsewhere, increasing concentrations of wealth were common, especially in cities or settled regions. In Hingham, Massachusetts, the share of wealth held by the poorest 20 percent declined from 1.8 percent to 0.05 percent between 1754 and 1830. The share of the wealthiest 10 percent increased from 37.4 to 47.0 percent. Chester County, Pennsylvania, saw the share of wealth held by the richest ten percent rise from 29.9 to 38.3 percent between 1760 and 1802; the poorest 30 percent saw their share decrease from 6.3 to 3.9 percent. Frontier farming regions may have had more equal opportunities, as the wealthiest 10 percent of farmers in Sugar Creek, Illinois, in 1838 held only 25.0 percent of the wealth, compared to 9.7 percent among the bottom 20 percent. Cities and large towns, on the other hand, were places where wealth was often concentrated. In 1810, the richest one percent of the population in Brooklyn held property worth at least $15,000 and owned at least 22.0 percent of the wealth. By 1841 it took $50,000 to make it into the top one percent in Brooklyn, by which time that elite held at least 42.0 percent of the city's wealth.

A rare federal property tax in 1798 produced a national assessment of real property. This list shows that the average property holder held land and buildings worth $1,433, though only 49.4 percent of households held such property. The richest 10 percent held 45.0 percent, while 88.0 percent of the value of all real property was held by only half of all property owners. The average value of houses

ranged from a high of $426 in Massachusetts to a low of $41 in Tennessee in 1798. In Vermont, the average house was assessed at $84, while in Virginia the comparable figure was $190.

Any discussion of class and wealth must recognize that the system of slavery meant that about one-fifth of Americans in 1750 were considered as property themselves, not legally entitled to own anything. By 1830 there were over 300,000 free blacks in the country; but while no longer property, many were among the poorest of Americans. In fact, slavery might best be viewed as a system of caste laid over a system of class.

Of religion, there is little to say with confidence other than the country was overwhelmingly Protestant, with a few Catholics, Jews, and Muslims (mostly African-born slaves) present. Numerous Protestant denominations contended for communicants in various parts of the country, with Congregationalists remaining strong in New England, Episcopalians in the Tidewater and low-country South, and Baptists and Methodists dominating the rest of the South and the West. The middle states were, from start to finish, a mosaic of multiplying and contending Protestant faiths.

## MIGRATION

During the years from 1775 to 1830, immigration may have been slower than at any other time in American history, with the exception of the 1930s. A surge of immigrants from England and Europe after 1760 came to an end with the War for Independence. Scant records suggest only modest numbers of arrivals until after 1820s; the great surge that brought over thirty million new people to the country by 1920 did not begin in a serious way until after 1845. During the first decade after the government thought it worth recording such data, the number of recorded immigrants was about 10,000 per year from 1820 to 1826, with the total more than doubling as the decade came to a close. In 1832, the number of immigrants jumped to just over 60,000 and topped 100,000 for the first time in 1842, about one-tenth of the yearly totals in the decades before World War I. Males accounted for from 65 to 80 percent of the total, most in the prime ages for work between fifteen and forty. This pattern of immigrants being predominantly males of working age would continue until after 1930.

The low level of immigration may have allowed Americans to become a more homogeneous people during the years they were establishing their new republican experiment. The emergence of African Americans out of a multiplicity of African origins has been well documented, and presumably the same may have happened among Americans of European background, aided by public ceremonies designed to foster national identity.

The transformation of the United States from a rural to an urban society clearly began during this period. In 1750, three cities in the colonies had at least 8,000 inhabitants: Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Together, they accounted for 3.5 percent of the colonial population. By 1770, the largest city was Philadelphia, with approximately 28,000 residents. By the first census in 1790, another three cities had reached that size, though the proportion of the total population living in those places had declined slightly. The move to cities picked up noticeably after 1800, so that the census of 1830 recorded twenty-six places with at least 8,000 inhabitants, accounting for 6.7 percent of the people. New York had replaced Philadelphia as the largest city, with 202,589 inhabitants. The urbanizing trend was just getting started by 1830, as the 1890 census recorded 447 cities with at least 8,000 people. The 18 million Americans living in such places were 29.0 percent of the total.

The third great flow of migrants during and after this period was the movement from east to west. In 1750 the population of England's colonies was scattered, rarely more than 150 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. Over the next eighty years, a combination of a rapidly growing population, freedom from imperial restrictions, the acquisition of additional territory from France and Spain, and major innovations in transportation sent the American population westward. This migration is shown in Table 3. Although westward expansion is often celebrated in American history, it is important to remember that thousands of slaves were unwilling participants, and the native American population experienced contraction in the face of white expansion. The figures in Table 3 demonstrate not only the remarkable growth in the regions of the country comprised by the original thirteen states, but also the dramatic movement to new areas. Although only 109,368 lived in what became Kentucky and Tennessee in 1790, over 3.6 million people lived in the West by 1830, almost as many as in the United States in 1790. One result was the addition of eleven new states by 1821.

It is evident that, from the early years of the Revolution through the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Americans were unsure of whether they were one people or a collection of sections. No issue so clearly defined sectional differences as the presence or absence of slaves and free blacks. The end of slavery

**TABLE 3**

**Regional Population Growth: 1750–1830**

| Region | 1750 | 1770 | 1790 | 1810 | 1830 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 360,011 | 581,038 | 1,009,206 | 1,471,973 | 1,954,717 |
| Middle Atlantic | 296,459 | 555,904 | 958,632 | 2,014,702 | 3,587,664 |
| South Atlantic | 514,290 | 991,734 | 1,851,806 | 2,674,891 | 3,645,752 |
| East North Central* | | | | 272,324 | 1,470,018 |
| West North Central+ | | | | 19,783 | 140,455 |
| East South Central^ | | 19,400 | 109,368 | 708,590 | 1,815,969 |
| West South Central# | | | | 77,618 | 246,127 |

\* Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan
+ Only Missouri by 1830
^ Kentucky (1790), Tennessee (1790), Mississippi (1810), Alabama (1830)
# Louisiana (1810) and Arkansas (1830)

in the North led to an increase in the free black population, not only from slaves freed locally, but also from freed blacks moving from the South. Although the vast majority of African Americans living in the North were free by 1830, more free blacks lived in the South Atlantic region than in any other part of the country. Because of the internal slave trade, 490,024 slaves were living in the region comprised of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama in 1830, more than the total number of black colonists in 1770.

The addition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 and East Florida in 1819 brought a few French and Spanish colonists into the American population, but they were quickly overwhelmed by arrivals from the states. In these and later conquests, Native American populations nominally under the control of European empires or independent Mexico after 1821, were exposed to the expanding people of the United States, who considered it their divine destiny to populate and transform the entire North American continent.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; American Indians: American Indian Ethnography; American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: Overview; City Growth and Development; Class: Overview; Demography; Frontier; Immigration and Immigrants; Migration and Population Movement; Slavery: Overview; West.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Haines, Michael R., and Richard H. Steckel, eds. *A Population History of North America.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

McClelland, Peter D., and Richard J. Zeckhauser, eds. *Demographic Dimensions of the New Republic: American Interregional Migration, Vital Statistics, and Manumissions, 1800–1860.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

McDonald, Forrest, and Ellen Shapiro McDonald. "The Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790." *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 37 (1980): 179–199.

Nugent, Walter. *Structures of American Social History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981.

Pessen, Edward. *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War.* Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973.

Potter, James. "The Growth of Population in America, 1700–1860." In *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography.* Edited by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley. London: Edward Arnold, 1965.

Soltow, Lee. *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Thernstrom, Stephen, ed. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.

United States Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Wells, Robert V. *Revolutions in Americans' Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families, and Their Society.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.

*Robert V. Wells*

**PERSONAL APPEARANCE**   The works of itinerant portrait artists from the early nineteenth century provide some idea of what Americans in the northern states looked like. These vernacular portraits show

**William Paca.** Charles Willson Peale painted this full-length portrait of the Maryland Patriot and politician William Paca in 1772. Paca poses in an eighteenth-century gentleman's suit, with knee-length coat, waistcoat, breeches, and stockings. THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

respectable men and women—merchants, professional men, successful artisans, manufacturers and their wives—in their best clothes, the men in sober black, the women in ornamented caps and collars. They hold books, often Bibles, and sometimes other implements that signify female arts or men's trades. With rare exceptions they are gazing seriously at the beholder. This is the world of the prosperous American parlor. Occasionally there is a revealing lapse from propriety, as in the portrait of Stephen Fitch, circa 1820, that shows him holding not a book but a snuffbox and a handkerchief that he will use to clean up after he has inhaled the tobacco.

Such portraits also reveal changes in personal appearance. Men's hairstyles began to change radically at the turn of the century, along with much else. Wigs, long flowing locks, and hair tied in queues or clubs gave way to short hair—"brush heads" as they were first called. Men sat for their portraits with hair close-cropped in the Roman style, or brushed back to reveal the forehead. Beards and mustaches, which had disappeared from the American colonies in the late seventeenth century, would not begin their return until after 1830.

Caricatures provide a different view. The drawings and lithographs of David Claypoole Johnston depict men in shirtsleeves, with ill-fitting hats and soiled or missing cravats. Drunkards' bare toes stick out of their broken shoes. In Johnston's "Militia Muster" (1828), the New England citizen-soldiers are an unattractive lot. Some men wear patched and soiled trousers while others puff on "segars." Because the militia spanned class divisions in the community, at least some pictured in this all-male world of the muster are those who might have sat for portraits in their own parlors. Four of the working-class militiamen have open mouths, displaying missing and rotted teeth. This is a striking reminder of the dental difficulties that plagued many, perhaps most Americans.

### BODY LANGUAGE

One keen observer thought that the farm people of his native New England in the 1820s were facially inexpressive, "wearing all unconsciously the masks that custom had prescribed." The great physical demands of unmechanized agriculture, he maintained, made men "heavy, awkward and slouching in movement." Other observers likewise found Dutch farmers in New York and Germans in Pennsylvania "clumsy and chill," or "dull and stolid." Poorer rural folk in the South looked "disagreeable and boorish" to English travelers, their faces giving nothing away.

The newly arrived "wild Irish," on the other hand, stood out as too expressive—loud, boisterous, and gesticulating. African Americans were in a different category entirely. Their freer expressions and gestures confused and distracted observers who saw only "antics and frolics," or "savagery." Whether seen as sullenly uncommunicative or childishly merry, they also wore the masks of custom—in this case self-protective strategies for controlling what could be known about their feelings and motivations. Low status and greater physical expressiveness made both groups vulnerable to caricature; their faces were customarily portrayed as coarse and brutal.

American city dwellers, driven by the quicker pace of commerce, were reputed to be easy to distinguish from rural folk. It was already said of New York City that the men hurrying on Broadway shared a universal "contraction of the brow, knitting

*A Militia Muster.* This satirical 1828 watercolor by David Claypoole Johnston paints an unflattering portrait of the cleanliness of militia soldiers. There is a sharp contrast between the high level of personal appearance found in portraits of this period and the grittier portrayal of citizens often found in caricatures. COURTESY, AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

of the eyebrows, and compression of the lips." It was a popular American saying that "a New York merchant always walks as if he had a good dinner before him, and a bailiff behind him."

The most physically graceful of Americans were thought to be members of the planter aristocracy, who expressed the power of their class in the way they stood and moved. Accustomed to command, at ease on the dance floor or in the saddle, they could be distinguished from men hardened by toil or preoccupied with commerce. An Englishwoman visiting Washington contrasted not the politics but the posture of congressmen from the North and South. She noted the "ease and frank courtesy . . . with an occasional touch of arrogance" of the slaveholders alongside the "cautious . . . and too deferential air of the members from the North." A New Englander could be identified, she wrote, "by his deprecatory walk."

### CLEANLINESS

Until well after the Revolution, very few Americans bathed—that is, washed their entire bodies. Custom-

arily, they went no farther than washing the face and hands once a day in cold water in full view of others. Most men and women also washed without soap, reserving it for laundering clothes; instead they rubbed briskly with a coarse towel to scrub off dirt. Only those whose hands and faces were clearly dirty were considered unclean.

Elite American families with transatlantic connections to the British aristocracy first took up bathing in the 1790s in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Men and women undressed in their rooms and washed themselves using basin, pitcher, and towel—an ensemble called a "chamber set" that would become increasingly frequent in American bedchambers.

These new practices were influenced in part by considerations of health, in particular the eighteenth-century medical discovery that the skin with its pores was an organ of secretion, with its corollary that the pores needed to be kept clean and open. But the new attitude owed even more to aesthetics—a revulsion from bodily smells, a desire for smooth, un-

blemished surfaces, and a willingness to connect bodily cleanliness with virtue and refinement.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, other Americans in city and countryside followed the example of urban elite families. However, the democratization of bathing was gradual. In 1815 the family of a prominent minister in Litchfield, Connecticut, still washed in their kitchen using a stone sink and "a couple of basins." Historians know this because a young woman from New York City who boarded with them complained in a letter home that she was unable to bathe.

Advice books on health and manners began to recommend bathing, and it is likely that young people were most responsive. Most members of the older generation at the time of transition—those born before 1780, say—may never have been comfortable with it. By 1830 bathing was probably widespread among prosperous families in cities (and to some extent among plantation families as well) and coming into acceptance in rural villages. It remained relatively rare in the countryside; the northern agricultural press would not begin a campaign to encourage bathing until around 1840. Bathing did not touch the lives of the urban poor or the world of the slaves.

*See also* **Character; Clothing; Health and Disease; Manners; Refinement and Gentility; Wigs.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992; New York: Vintage, 1993.

Bushman, Richard L., and Claudia L. Bushman. "The Early History of Cleanliness in America." *Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (March 1988): 1213–1238.

Kasson, John F. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1991.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Sloat, Caroline F., and Jessica Nicoll, eds. *Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, and Society, 1790–1850.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

*Jack Larkin*

**PHILADELPHIA** Philadelphia was founded by William Penn in 1681 as the seat of government for Pennsylvania, the colony that had been granted to him by King Charles II. Penn hoped to provide a haven for fellow members of the Society of Friends, otherwise known as the Quakers. The Friends left their mark on America in many ways, but none perhaps was so great as the heritage of tolerance signified by the name Philadelphia, which means "City of Brotherly Love." The city's reputation for tolerance made it the perfect location for the cultural, as well as geographic, center of what would one day become the United States.

**TRADE**

The key to Philadelphia's phenomenal growth lay in trade. Dozens of charters for new cities were written in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but Philadelphia was uniquely situated to take advantage of a growing economic boom in export flour. Delaware Valley farms produced two wheat harvests a year. Unlike tobacco, another major export of the colonies that was shipped in its raw form and finished abroad, wheat was milled into the final product, flour, at hundreds of watermills scattered around the countryside. Barrels of flour arrived in Philadelphia by cart from as far south as Virginia and on small, flat-bottomed boats called shallops from Chesapeake and Delaware Bays.

Flour barrels reexported from Philadelphia had the added advantage of being literally branded as proof that Pennsylvania stood behind the quality of the flour inside. By the end of the colonial period, the government of Pennsylvania recognized seven different grades, the highest called "super fine" and marketed to Europe. Pennsylvania flour was sold in the West Indies, South Carolina, the sugar islands of Madeira and the Azores, southwestern Europe, and even New England.

The city's most useful product was information at a time when information from overseas markets traveled no faster than a sailing ship. News of the best prices for export flour spread even before an incoming ship had completely docked. Merchants gathered at coffeehouses in the center of the city quickly put together "ventures" to send new shipments out to the most promising market. It did not take long for Philadelphia also to become a center for the reexport of manufactured products such as cloth that was sold first in the city's hinterland and eventually to coastal cities throughout America.

**GROWTH OF THE CITIES**

From roughly 1720—around the time when Pennsylvania passed laws to certify the quality of export flour and print a local paper money supply—to the end of the century, Philadelphia grew rapidly. Influenced by the planned rebuilding of London after the

**The House Intended for the President of the United States.** The state of Pennsylvania began construction on this house in Philadelphia in 1792 in hopes that the city would be named the permanent national capital. The house was eventually purchased by the University of Pennsylvania, which demolished it in 1829. © CORBIS.

great fire in 1666, Penn had imagined a beautiful city with wide boulevards, attractive city parks, and rows of brick townhouses backing up to gardens and trees. The rapidly growing population, however, apparently wished to settle as near to the city's center at Second and Market Streets as was physically possible. Residents defied Penn's plans by crisscrossing the wide city blocks with alleys and spilling over the city's northern and southern boundaries into the suburbs of Southwark and Northern Liberties.

By 1790, forty-five thousand people lived in Philadelphia and the urbanized area around it, an area defined not by the rectangular plan of Penn's design, but rather by a semicircle two miles along the Delaware River and, at its widest point along Market Street, one mile west of the river. Warehouses crowded along the waterfront, along with tightly packed housing for tailors. Mariners stayed along the south border of the river, while the shipbuilding industry dominated the riverside to the north.

The city boasted over three hundred inns, taverns, and boardinghouses and five hundred shopkeepers and grocers. Scattered throughout the city and living in shacks along the alleys or on the top floors of sturdier buildings, common laborers (black as well as white) accounted for one in twelve city residents. The city's formal market ran the length of Market Street, which along with Second Street divided the city into identifiable sectors.

### PROMINENT PHILADELPHIANS

The city had three hundred self-identified merchants, including seven who specialized in the Chinese trade alone. Twenty-five identified themselves as brokers or dealers, thirty-one specialized in the flour trade, twenty-four in lumber, eight in iron, and eight in tea. Young merchants tended to live in or near the

warehouses on the docks. The measure of success, however, was being able to move to the category of "gentleman" and live in Society Hill.

The enclosure of Dock Street, previously a foul-smelling open sewer, created a boom in building for the upper class in an area still called Society Hill in the early twenty-first century. It was centered on its own smaller market on Second Street south of Market. Thomas Willing, Benjamin Chew, Samuel Powell, William Shippen, and Robert Wharton—all famous merchants in their day—lived on Third and Fourth Streets. Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Rush also lived nearby. Wealthy widows from the Mifflin, Wharton, Gilpin, Bartram, and Hamilton families were neighbors in this new wealthy enclave.

The role of Independence Hall on Fifth and Chestnut led other wealthy residents to begin to build finer houses along Market on the western outskirts of the city. The most notable of these new residences was that of financier Robert Morris at Fifth and Market Streets. Morris loaned his home to George Washington during the latter's two terms as president of the United States. Thomas Jefferson stayed in this neighborhood while writing the Declaration of Independence and later when he was in the new national government. New houses there and in Society Hill were built further apart than elsewhere, and so the wealthy could avoid the chaos that characterized other sections of town. When a household member was ill, for example, sawdust was spread over the cobblestones in front of the house to keep the area quiet. Even sawdust could not have shut out the din of overcrowded blocks through most areas of the city.

## OCCUPATIONS

The majority of shopkeepers and artisans operated to the northwest of Society Hill, clustering along Market Street, on Second Street, and also on Sixth Street north of Market. Approximately sixty different types of shopkeepers operated in the block surrounding the permanent market, along with numerous artisans and some professionals.

The variety of occupations offers a glimpse of the complexity of the city in 1790. There were twenty-three ministers, five sextons, twenty-eight clerks, ninety-eight schoolmasters or mistresses, fourteen university professors, fifty-five physicians, twenty-four pharmacists, five midwifes, nine bleeders, three dentists, one dispensary, and a "doctress." Thirty-one manufacturers specialized in carriages, thirty-seven as printers, twenty-four as chandlers, twenty-three as potters, fifteen as watchmakers, ten as clockmakers, thirteen as bookbinders, and ten as brushmakers. There were also comb makers, plane makers, sieve makers, soap boilers, card makers, three umbrella makers, two whip makers, seven pump makers, seven millstone makers, two engine makers, four fan makers, three parchment makers, five engravers, and glassblowers, along with a chaise maker, wire cage maker, cane maker, whalebone cutter, and pottery wheel maker. Other manufacturers made musical, mathematical, and obstetrical instruments; cigars; organs; trunks; hair powder; and hanging paper.

The city had 54 barbers, 192 innkeepers, 110 boardinghouses, 249 shopkeepers, 44 tobacconists, and 61 hucksters. In addition to 153 blacksmiths and 30 ironmongers, the city was home to 18 nailmakers, 25 silversmiths, 16 tinsmiths, 10 coppersmiths, brass founders, typefounders, block makers, gunsmiths, goldsmiths, cutlers, pewterers, and a steelmaker, wire maker, file cutter, and button mold maker. There were 131 butchers, 117 bakers, 34 brewers, and 18 sugar bakers or refiners, along with cake bakers, pastry cooks, chocolate makers, hardtack bakers, a mustard maker, and a confectioner.

To the southwest of the homes of the wealthy arose a city-within-a-city, home to a growing number of free blacks and slaves who had escaped from southern states across the Pennsylvania border to safety. Dr. Israel Butterfield, the first known African American physician and a leader in the fight against yellow fever, lived here.

City restrictions against "noxious" occupations had forced the wholesale butcher trade into a region of its own, Spring Garden, between the Northern Liberties and Germantown. Tanners and ropemakers also lived and worked outside the city proper. Carpenters lived on the outskirts of the city next to the new homes being built.

Whereas it was rare in the countryside for a woman to continue maintaining her own household after widowhood, female-headed households accounted for 10 percent of the total in Philadelphia. Wealthy widows, or gentlewomen, lived in Society Hill or the older sections once occupied by the wealthy closer to the river. Widows and women identified by a specific trade lived along with other shopkeepers and artisans in the northwest. It was standard practice in both shopkeeping and artisanal households for women to keep the books (including Debbie Franklin, Benjamin's common-law wife). After the death of a husband, it was easier for a woman to continue shopkeeping, or even directing the labor of artisans, than continuing to operate a farm on her own. There were also trades such as midwifery, cake baker, and mantua maker that were run by women.

## ENVIRONMENT AND INSTITUTIONS

The bulk of the city was crowded and noisy. At its most densely populated point, twenty-four-hundred people lived in a single city block in an era when houses could be constructed only to four stories in height. The poorest of residents squeezed into shanties along alleys in the rain, living outdoors when the weather permitted. The children of the middling and upper classes spent a lot of their time outdoors by choice; those of the lower classes ran in little packs through the streets. By the first decade of the new nation, the city had exceeded a safe rate of population density, leaving it vulnerable to the nation's first major outbreak of disease, a yellow fever epidemic.

By the 1790s Philadelphia had a university and a medical school; two banks; the nation's first fire departments, insurance companies, and free library; and Benjamin Franklin's American Philosophical Society—so named to signify the role of the city as the center of America, not just the Delaware Valley.

## THE DECLARATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

The city would become best known for the legislative hall, known as the State House, that was built in the 1730s and 1740s to house the colonial legislature. A bell on top, ordered by the governor, had the inscription "Proclaim Liberty throughout the Land." Because of Philadelphia's central location along the coast—and its noted inclusiveness with regard to religion and creed—the city became home to both Continental Congresses through most of their operation.

The Declaration of Independence was written in Philadelphia, signed in the State House—which became Independence Hall—and read to the public for the first time on its steps.

When the loose confederation of nation-states that had successfully won independence from Great Britain began to fall apart after the war, a convention was called in 1787, again in Philadelphia, to write a stronger constitution that would create by peaceful means an effective centralized government. Pennsylvania was the second state to ratify the new Constitution. Ironically, Pennsylvania was also the center of a revolt against the document, ending in a compromise by which a Bill of Rights was appended as the first amendments to the Constitution.

### IN THE NEW NATION

Had Philadelphia remained the capital of the new United States, it might have become a city with the size and prominence of Paris, as many educated residents dreamed. However, during the Revolution a group of Pennsylvania militiamen had marched on the Continental Congress, then meeting in Philadelphia, requesting (rather forcefully) that they be paid. From a distance, the request seems perfectly reasonable—but the manner, which Congress found frightening, led instead to its move across the river into New Jersey for a time. When the convention convened in the same building to write the Constitution, members remembered that particular outburst and insisted that there be a separate district for the nation's government so that the real or imagined failings of the state government would not directly impact the workings of the new federal government.

When the Constitution was approved in 1788, the mechanics of Philadelphia mounted a grand parade, by their own accounts, down a street that would forever be known as Arch Street because of the construction of a triumphant arch just for the occasion. Each artisan specialty marched, often with an accompanying float, in honor of the new nation. The first national capital under the new Constitution was New York City, where George Washington was inaugurated as president in April 1789. The following year, however, the federal government moved to Philadelphia. Briefly, the economic, political, and social centers of the new nation were all in Philadelphia. However, the federal government moved south to the new District of Columbia in 1800 and New York City gained primacy in international finance and domestic trade in the nineteenth century, particularly after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825.

The first decades of the nineteenth century were not easy for Philadelphia, but the city continued to grow nevertheless. Philadelphia merchants continued to prosper in the China and West Indies trade. The city also remained a reexporter to southern ports and, through New Orleans, parts of the Ohio River Valley. The old artisan system of master-journeyman-apprentice died out, but Philadelphia remained a center of specialized manufacture, particularly with regard to machinery and fabrics. The city was no longer the financial capital of the nation, but in a period where the major money supply came from private banks, the city did not lack for either banks or money. Finally, the city grew as a center of abolitionist thought, and as the northern terminus of the Underground Railroad, it drew slaves to the city-within-a-city of free blacks and to numerous surrounding rural African American settlements.

After an ill-fated effort to create its own Main Line Canal westward through the mountains, the city ceded the route to the newly created, private Pennsylvania Railroad, which by the 1850s would dominate inland railroad trade. In the 1840s German and Irish immigration through the port of Philadelphia led to renewed growth in the backcountry and provided a labor force of young adults willing to take on whatever work was necessary. The city's rebirth was not easy. Journeymen struggled to find a niche in the new world of wage labor, and nativist riots led to the establishment of the nation's first Catholic parochial school system. By 1850, however, the city was once again on the rise, a center of international and national trade as well as custom manufacturing in textiles and machinery. Philadelphia's particular gift then and in the future would be the ability to reshape itself as the nation changed around it.

*See also* **American Philosophical Society; China Trade; City Growth and Development; City Planning; Foreign Investment and Trade; Immigration and Immigrants; Pennsylvania; Social Life: Urban Life; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bridenbaugh, Carl, and Jessica Bridenbaugh. *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin.* New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Foner, Eric. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America.* Updated ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Jensen, Arthur L. *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963.

Klepp, Susan E. *Philadelphia in Transition: A Demographic History of the City and Its Occupational Groups*, *1720–1830.* New York: Garland, 1989.

Lapsansky, Emma Jones. *Neighborhoods in Transition: William Penn's Dream and Urban Reality.* New York: Garland, 1994.

Nash, Gary B. *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania*, *1681–1726.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Newman, Simon P. *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Ryerson, Richard Alan. *The Revolution Is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia*, *1765–1776.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.

Schweitzer, Mary M. *Custom and Contract: Household*, *Government*, *and the Economy in Colonial Pennsylvania.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

———. "The Spatial Organization of Federalist Philadelphia." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (1993): 31–57.

Smith, Billy G. *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People*, *1750–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Thompson, Peter. *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Tolles, Frederick Barnes. *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia*, *1682–1763.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

Tully, Alan. *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania*, *1726–1755.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Wulf, Karen A. *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.

*Mary Schweitzer*

**PHILANTHROPY AND GIVING**   Since the arrival of the *Mayflower* on North America's shores in 1620, millions of Europeans have set sail for the new continent to find a better life. The settlers created communities, organized a social and cultural infrastructure, and—after some time—even established philanthropic networks. None of these structures was entirely new; the settlers often recreated institutions they had already known from their European home. According to historian Robert A. Gross, there were some two thousand benevolent institutions in New England by 1820. German immigrants, for ex-

ample, established aid societies for fellow migrants who had just arrived in New York City or New Orleans and needed assistance in finding a place to live and work. One such association was the German Society of the City of New York, founded in 1784 to relieve the local German churches of their charitable burdens and to take effective steps to deal with problems emerging from the influx of German immigrants.

In the South, philanthropy followed the color line and played its part in preserving a racist society. Visiting the poor and caring for orphans was, according to Gross, at the heart of Southern philanthropy and reaffirmed a patron–client relationship. Philanthropy by free and wealthy blacks for slaves and blacks in need, however, challenged this society. Henriette Delille, a wealthy offspring of one of the oldest families of free blacks, supported by several other women, established the Sisters of the Presentation (later renamed Sisters of the Holy Family). The members of this Catholic order worked among the poor, the sick, the elderly and also among slaves. Delille also founded a school for girls and opened a hospital for needy blacks in New Orleans. When Alexis de Tocqueville toured the United States in 1831, he was impressed by the wide array of these associations, which had been founded to support the poor, build schools and colleges, organize hospitals, and create libraries.

Dartmouth College was such a privately founded college in New England. Chartered in 1769 by Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, it became the center of a legal fight between the state legislature of New Hampshire and the trustees of Dartmouth College—a struggle that defined American philanthropic culture. Since the college received state aid and fulfilled a public task (education), William Plumer, the state's governor (1812–1813, 1816–1819), asserted that the state government had a right to interfere in the administration of the college and its curriculum. The ensuing legal conflict, culminating in the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), resulted in the reassertion of the trustees' rights and the clear separation of state and private spheres in the provision of public services. After the *Dartmouth* decision, philanthropy's place in American society was defined. State legislatures could no longer expect to interfere into the operations of private associations. Subsequently, state governments evaluated the importance of certain fields such as education and social welfare and decided to leave aspects of these fields to private and religious associations. The *Dartmouth* decision also ac-

counts for the nation's reliance on philanthropy rather than a comprehensive, state-organized system of social welfare. Private associations, as the legal scholar Mark D. McGarvie has pointed out, did not assume responsibility in matters that would otherwise have been government functions; they occupied spaces left vacant by the local, state, and federal governments. The clergy seized this opportunity and filled the emerging void by creating a dense network of church-affiliated philanthropic institutions. In the early years of the American Republic, clergymen lost the status and political authority that went with representing a state church. But in philanthropy they recognized the potential for the realization of a religiously inspired vision of social organization.

Thus, philanthropy became a force for social change. Some historians go even further in their assessment of philanthropy by suggesting that it constituted some form of "counter-government" to political authority. This aspect of philanthropy was not lost on persons excluded from civil society because of their religion or gender. Long before women received the right to vote, they organized, financed, and ran voluntary associations. For example, they established the Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed in Philadelphia (1795) and the New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children (1797). Within society, philanthropy assumed an exclusionary as well as an inclusionary function. It gave women an opportunity to step out of the domestic sphere and gain a voice in dealing with society's most pressing issues. It even allowed women to shape society. On the other hand, however, it also allowed for excluding Catholics and Jews from Protestant establishments and promoted the creation of ethnically and religiously defined philanthropic spheres in American cities.

See also **Dartmouth College v. Woodward; Education: Education of African Americans; Welfare and Charity; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

McCarthy, Kathleen D. *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849–1929.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

———. *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830–1930.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Hall, Peter Dobkin. *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Jaher, Frederic Cople. *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.

Friedman, Lawrence J., and Mark D. McGarvie, eds. *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

*Thomas Adam*

---

**PHILOSOPHY**   Philosophy engages people in dialogue and dispute, seeking insights to questions both compelling and unsettled about human nature and divinity, about what the world is, how we know it, and how to live within it. Philosophical pursuits are common across the generations, but the context of early America shaped these questions and their answers in distinctive ways. The emergence of modern science, the American Revolution (1775–1783), and the creation of representative government blossomed within a nation built on religious foundations. This mix between science, politics, and religion has a rich and distinctive American cast and forged the new American nation.

### RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

From the 1750s to the 1830s, American philosophical dialogue was framed primarily by divinity school theologians. They sought to understand the human being's personal relationship to God within a Christian worldview, drawing on the Bible and theological reflection. They also sought to make sense of the new science of Englishmen John Locke (1632–1704) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727). They affirmed the supremacy of the Bible but were committed to reconciling modern science with traditional theological beliefs. Later philosophers would integrate science and speculative thought without Christian theology, but a religious orientation dominated early America.

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) is often described as America's first philosopher and most influential theologian prior to the Civil War. Edwards inherited a Calvinist background and breathed new life into its doctrines. He defended basic Puritan beliefs in his writings and sermons, beliefs such as original sin (all humans are born depraved), grace (only God can save people from this condition), and predestination (God determines every aspect of our fate). Edwards confronted the most puzzling theological challenges, including an account of free will and responsibility in a predetermined world.

His writings sustained intellectual speculative conversation from the mid-eighteenth through the

early nineteenth century, creating a distinctive tradition of American thought, often called the New England Theology. Competing theologies emerged at the leading seminaries, such as the New Divinity at Yale, the closest heir to Edwards's ideas. The New England disputes were intense, but they largely shared a religious orientation that all learning is based on theology. History, ethics, philosophy, science: everything is God's work, and so the attainment of knowledge is only possible when it is joined with religious reflection, based on the Bible.

The intellectual debates were fueled significantly by the writings of Isaac Newton, who offered an interpretation of all physical happenings as motions of material points, synthesizing scientific learning into a framework that guided intellectual progress in America for over two hundred years. Newton's science made belief in God seem increasingly unnecessary to explain what happens around us. Further, it raised a puzzle about how to reconcile the seeming impersonalism of a Newtonian universe with belief in the immanence of God.

Edwards's solution was idealism, a philosophical perspective attracting American philosophers ever since, many of whom also drew from a European idealist tradition that included Irishman George Berkeley (1685–1753) and Germans Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831). If the world is the motion of material points, then one might infer that reality is material. (Thomas Jefferson embraced this view.) But Edwards's idealism says that atoms, or whatever else science reveals as part of nature, are expressions of God. Ultimately, the world is in fact God, and the motions and movements contained within it are God's Ideas. The implication is that our personal daily experiences of the world are experiences of God. Another implication for Edwards is that the world we observe should be studied with intensity for all of its (divine) insights. Like Puritans before him (especially Cotton Mather [1663–1728]), New England theologians actively embraced science and were scientists themselves.

Leading intellectuals also debated the first Great Awakening (1739–1740) and other religious revivalisms of the time. How does one distinguish authentic religious experience from emotionalism? How does one come to know God (or anything else for that matter)? What is the best method for interpreting the Bible? Divisions over these and other questions led to the American Unitarian movement, committed to the rational appraisal of Christian beliefs.

One distinctive characteristic of early American philosophy is that intellectual thought from the beginning was deeply religious and communal and yet friendly to science and its investigations. Science tells us how God operates; reason and biblical revelation tell us why and provide further clues about God's purposes. This compatibility was important for supporting the industrial and technological development of the new nation.

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

It is astounding that this religious orientation existed alongside America's founding documents, which so carefully draw a separation between church and state. Explaining this incongruity is a deep task, but there are two initial remarks often made: first, that those who created the founding documents saw the terrible violence from a European history that did not separate church and state, and they learned from that experience; and second, that they were influenced by Enlightenment values apart from the orientations of theologians.

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) is often contrasted with Jonathan Edwards to symbolize these divergent American sensibilities. A statesman and scientist throughout the Revolutionary period, Franklin abandoned his Calvinist upbringing while a teenager and, after an initial foray in metaphysics, steadfastly refused to be a speculative philosopher. Instead, Franklin emphasized practical achievements and used the tribunal of experience to guide his scientific, moral, and religious beliefs. Thinking was a means to action rather than reflective meditation.

The American statesman Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was more interested in speculative thinking, but these speculations led him away from Calvinist beliefs and toward an impersonal Deism. Jefferson was influenced by the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, with its ideas of humanism, scientific discovery, and morality as a natural science rather than applied theology. He and his political contemporaries absorbed the natural rights and utilitarian traditions of England's John Locke and Scotland's Adam Smith (1723–1790) and David Hume (1711–1776). For these statesmen, the design of political institutions became a matter of debate and rational argument disassociated from biblical interpretation.

The constitutional designers are often called classical liberals. They believed in limited government, its authority resting with the people it serves rather than divine right. Government should secure a basic rule of law that allows people to lead their own lives in accord with their own religious conceptions. Reason showed that people were born free and equal and

that they were endowed with natural rights. Freedom was thought the best means for securing individual happiness. As recounted most famously in Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), Americans both believed and lived these ideas, in contrast to European aristocracies. The great American exception was slavery.

American views about representative government spring from a particular conception of human nature at once optimistic and pessimistic. On the one hand, people left to themselves will create reciprocal and cooperative relations with others that improve the world and themselves. Individuals through their own efforts will foster community, cooperation, and good will. On the other hand, those who wield political power over others are likely to abuse this power. The solution was to devise a system of checks and balances and limited government that they hoped would allow individual efforts to flourish for the good while minimizing despotic tendencies.

Debates in political philosophy in early America were held in newspapers and pamphlets by famous public leaders and local citizens. The essays constituting *The Federalist* (1787–1788) were published in a New York state newspaper. Written variously by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, they are the most extended defense of the federal Constitution and one of America's great documents of political philosophy. The anti-Federalists (those who opposed the ratification of the Constitution) shot back, and the battle of intellectual ideas took place as pamphlet wars in the public square. Only after the 1830s did the movement of these debates turn to an increasingly smaller circle of university scholars. In early America the location of most philosophical debate was the public.

Remarkably, the greatest political leaders were also the greatest political philosophers. The ideals of liberty and equality were not distinctive to America, but the close relations between philosophical thought and the creation of America's system of government is one of the remarkable developments in human history.

### EMERGING AMERICAN TRADITIONS

Early American intellectuals looked to Europe for their sources and then made them their own. The European Romantics emphasized freedom of expression and the greatness of nature, important currents in American politics and religion during the early to mid-nineteenth century. Transcendentalism and pragmatism emerged as America's most distinctive philosophical schools of thought in the nineteenth century, supplanting the earlier New England Theology. The transcendentalists emerged in the 1830s from the Unitarians, who had reacted against the Calvinists. The pragmatists came after the Civil War (1861–1865) and Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859). They reshaped the exchange between religion and science and combined elements of Benjamin Franklin's (distinctively American) no-nonsense approach and Jonathan Edwards's idealism. These traditions are the beginning of a long arc from a religious to a secular orientation in American philosophy. The exception was the growth of Catholic institutions of higher education from the mid-nineteenth century onward, with intellectual roots in Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).

Philosophy in early America had another lasting influence by creating two distinctive paths of philosophical thought. One path has a spiritual orientation that focuses above all on one's inner life and personal relationship to the world, a connection to America's religious foundations. The Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century was an important religious revival, leading to the establishment of many colleges and seminaries and a distinctive history of camp meetings—associations of thousands of people who camped out in search of spiritual renewal. These camp experiences developed into the American Chautauqua movement in the late nineteenth century. Another lasting historical legacy of religious revivals and their spiritual orientation was their association with and support of the abolitionist, suffragette, and temperance movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Another path of philosophy has an empirical and secular orientation that addresses problems of philosophy significantly through the lens of science in disassociation from any religious tradition. This path traces a connection to Enlightenment values of the eighteenth century and is found throughout academic philosophy. But whichever path one traces, the philosophical pursuit is the same, exploring compelling questions about ethics, religion, knowledge, and existence, from one generation to the next.

*See also* **European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalist Papers; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Politics: Political Thought; Revivals and Revivalism; Science; Theology.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY
Flower, Elizabeth, and Murray G. Murphey. *A History of Philosophy in America.* 2 vols. New York: Capricorn, 1977.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist*. Edited by Benjamin Fletcher Wright. New York: Metrobooks, 2002.

Kuklick, Bruce. *A History of Philosophy in America: 1720–2000*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.

Menand, Louis. *The Metaphysical Club*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001.

Needleman, Jacob. *The American Soul: Rediscovering the Wisdom of the Founders*. New York: Tarcher/Putnam, 2002.

Scalet, Steven, and David Schmidtz. "State, Civil Society, and Classical Liberalism." In *Civil Society and Government*. Edited by Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

*Steven Scalet*

**PHRENOLOGY** Phrenology, the practice of reading character from bumps on the skull, has enjoyed a long career as a sideshow amusement, but its origins are rooted in the most advanced currents of late-eighteenth-century neuroanatomy and psychology. Though seldom seen as a product of Enlightenment rationality, it represented a serious attempt to systematize human behavior and provide a material basis for theories of mind.

The founder of phrenology, the Austrian neuroanatomist Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), argued that the brain was divided into a number of discrete organs, each correlated with a single mental, behavioral, or physiological function. He assumed that the larger the region, the more strongly expressed that behavior would be. Gall made one additional assumption that was critically important for the popular success of phrenology: he conjectured that the skull conformed precisely to the shape of the brain beneath. In this way, Gall developed a system for using the external signs of the body to read the internal state of the mind, the bumps on the skull precisely reflecting the size and shape of the mental organs.

Gall was not the first to interpret the mind through the body. Before Gall, the physiognomist Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801) claimed that all truths were "truths of the surface" and that all parts of the body reflected all others. Unlike his precursors, however, Gall adopted a rigorously empirical approach to mapping and identifying mental organs. Gall and his followers systematically recorded instances of individuals with pronounced talents to determine whether they displayed any distinctive features of the skull and delved into pathology to record instances of persons who had suffered traumatic head injuries associated with alterations in character. Eventually they mapped as many as forty-two discrete organs with coordinating behavioral traits, including alimentiveness (appetite, relish, greediness), amativeness (sexual love), veneration (worship, adoration, obedience), and vitativeness (clinging to life, resisting disease).

From the time of its introduction to the United States in the 1790s, phrenology found both a ready audience and a steady opposition. Objections to phrenology centered, in part, on its materialism and its implicit reduction of mind to little more than a product of physical conditions. But physicians such as Charles Caldwell (1772–1853) (a student of the preeminent early national physician and theorist of the mind, Benjamin Rush [1745–1813]) adopted phrenology as a centerpiece of an overarching medical view of society.

Indeed, the entertainment value of phrenology should not mask the fact that many Americans believed it held profound implications for American society. A raft of social reformers saw in phrenology a means of self-interpretation (resonant, many wrote, with the Protestant right of self-interpretation) and an opportunity to identify and overcome personal limitations. On the other hand, however, a starkly determinist strain emerged in which the phrenological organs were seen as inborn reflections of an unchanging character, and in characteristically American fashion, such deterministic readings became deeply inflected by considerations of race. Caldwell, for example, used phrenological analysis to support his contention that Africans were intellectually and morally inferior to Europeans. Phrenological thinking also underlay the work of craniologists such as Samuel George Morton, who quantified and compared the size of brains among the races while arguing for separate origins for the races. Gall's theory of the localization of cerebral function was a foundational concept in early psychology, but its cross-fertilization with conceptions of race and social hierarchy made it a remarkably resilient discipline for almost a century more.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cooter, Roger. *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organization of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Richards, Graham. *Mental Machinery: The Origins and Consequences of Psychological Ideas, Part I: 1600–1850*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Young, Robert M. *Mind, Brain, and Adaptation in the Nineteenth Century: Cerebral Localization and Its Biological Context from Gall to Ferrier*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

*Robert S. Cox*

**PIETISTS** Pietism refers to a Protestant reform movement that originated in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the term itself actually was coined by opponents of the movement. Viewing the Protestant churches as legalistic, dead, and unconcerned with personal piety, individuals such as Philip Jakob Spener (1635–1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) laid out what became the foundational ideas of Pietism. Spener's *Pia Desideria*, published in 1675, advocated the formation of groups or conventicles that stressed personal and group Bible study, the priesthood of the believer by which individuals offered themselves to God as personal sacrifices, an increased effort at harmony among Christians, and the expression of faith through social actions. Spener, who often is referred to as the father of Pietism, elevated personal religious experience over dogma.

As a movement, Pietism influenced individuals who chose to remain within their denominational settings (usually referred to as Church Pietists), as well as those who decided to break with their established churches and form other groups. The latter were known as Radical Pietists, and Francke was particularly influential among many of them. Radical Pietists distinguished between true and false Christianity (usually represented by established churches), which led to their separation from these entities.

In the United States, Pietism affected many religious expressions. The Moravians came under pietistic influence through the leadership of Spener's godson, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. By 1722 Zinzendorf had given refuge to the Moravians (also known as the Bohemian Brethren or the Renewed Unity of Brethren) from persecution in Europe. Under his leadership, the Moravians became an aggressive international missionary force and eventually the most significant Pietist group. By the 1730s the Brethren were colonizing places in Europe and North America, and by the next decade they had established colonies in Pennsylvania and Georgia. In the early 1750s a group of Moravians under the leadership of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg began new settlements in North Carolina on a tract of land called Wachovia. In their new society, which sought freedom from persecution, the Brethren also held slaves. In Salem, Wachovia's main settlement, all slaves were considered church property, while in outlying areas individuals could own slaves. Yet the emphasis on universal salvation that included their African and African American slaves, while not leading immediately to their embracing of abolition, did mark a small move toward white recognition of the humanity of blacks.

The Moravians of Wachovia, however, struggled with the implications for freedom raised by the American Revolution. Following Zinzendorf's views that freedom meant, among other things, submitting to church authority, the church owned all property and administered a strict discipline. African Americans participated fully as members in the life of the church, but remained unequal in social relations with whites. In the early nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Moravians ceased holding slaves, while North Carolina Moravians increased their slaveholdings. By 1822 blacks and whites in Wachovia worshiped separately amid rising racial tensions. Pietism, therefore, in Moravian communities took on varying expressions as it developed in different chronological, social, and geographical environments.

The pietistic influence also manifested itself in other religious traditions. Conrad Beissel (1691–1768), the founder of America's first major communitarian group, the Ephrata Cloister, was particularly affected by Radical Pietism's emphasis on personal experience and separation from false Christianity. The emphasis on an individual spiritual rebirth and piety touched Methodism through the Moravians. While traveling to and working in Georgia in the 1730s, John Wesley (1703–1791) was exposed to Moravian religious understandings. He subsequently adopted and modified many of their ideas related to personal devotion, which then shaped Methodism during the early national period.

Other German pietistic groups such as the Mennonites, Dunkers (Church of the Brethren; Dunkards), and Schwenkfelders had come to America in search of religious freedom. The Mennonites first settled as a group in Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century and established the settlement of Germantown. Dunkers and Schwenkfelders followed within the next few decades. Acting in part from beliefs that stemmed from pietistic thinking, these groups embraced pacifism and denounced the signing of oaths. During the American Revolution the

Mennonites refused to take an oath of allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania and to pay war taxes. They, however, consented to sell grain and other supplies to the American government and to pay fees in place of military service. Dunkers and Schwenkfelders also took similar actions. Not long after the Revolution groups of Dunkers began moving west and established several settlements in Ohio and Indiana.

Moravians in Pennsylvania transmitted pietistic ideas to Native Americans while America was emerging and developing as a nation. Pietism's emphasis on personal experience over doctrinal understanding allowed Native American Christians to develop a distinctive religion. Furthermore, the pietistic stress on ecumenism facilitated relationships between Jews and German Pietists in colonial and national America, although Pietism itself was unable to obliterate prejudice against Jews. These examples illustrate that Pietism transcended denominational boundaries and shaped how many Americans conceived of God, their relationship to God, and their attendant social responsibilities. At the same time, Pietism was shaped by the many contexts in which it arose, and therefore its adherents might develop contradictory expressions of it. Its emphasis on personal experience and ecumenism, along with its experience of persecution and resistance to established religious authority, produced dynamic interactions with the various environments existing in Revolutionary and early national America.

*See also* **Methodists; Moravians; Religion: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Erb, Peter C., ed. *Pietists: Selected Writings.* New York: Paulist Press, 1983.

"*Forum*: Jews and Pietists in Early America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (October 2001): 849–912.

Merritt, Jane T. "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania." *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (October 1997): 723–746.

*Records of the Moravians in North Carolina.* 12 vols. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton, 1922–2000.

Sensbach, Jon F. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

*Scott M. Langston*

**PIONEERING**   In the first half of the eighteenth century, large Indian populations and the Appalachian Mountains limited the Euro-American population outside the eastern colonies to a mélange of French, British, and American fur traders and small military outposts. Then in 1750 the famed Cumberland Gap in northeastern Tennessee was discovered and by the 1770s it became a route for pioneers through the mountains. In 1775 Daniel Boone marked off the Wilderness Road through the Gap into the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. Concerted American expansion into the region followed, with migrations from east to west along lines of latitude. In addition to Chesapeake natives who followed Boone into Kentucky and Tennessee, New Englanders moved through Pennsylvania into the Ohio River Valley into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and later, Michigan and Wisconsin. White and black Southerners formed a third migration stream from the Carolinas and Georgia west into the Black Belt of northern Alabama and Mississippi, so named for the dark, rich soils of the region.

Because western routes crossed tremendously rugged terrain, wagons were an impractical method of travel. Instead, pioneers took to the river courses that traversed the frontier. The intricate network of rivers meant that goods and settlers could eventually travel from Pittsburgh to New Orleans and all points in between by water. In the early decades of westward expansion, numerous flatboats and canoes plied trans-Appalachian rivers, and after 1815 the introduction of the steamboat on inland waterways facilitated and spurred migration. Rivers afforded not only routes of travel but the only supply and communication link with the East.

Numerous Indian peoples lived across the entire Trans-Appalachian frontier. The fear of Indian hostilities did much to shape the character of migrations, as whites faced the threat of reprisal from the formidable Shawnees in the Ohio Valley and the Creek Confederacy in the Lower South. One form of defense was for families to travel in groups, and it was not uncommon for armed guards to join them for extra security. Once they arrived at their destination, frontier militias were organized to protect early settlements, giving rise to an innovative community structure known as a station—a fortified village designed for defense against Indian attacks.

Regardless of their destination, pioneers were interested in one thing: good agricultural land. The earliest settlers established subsistence-level farms, but commercial agriculture eventually blossomed

**A Pioneer Family.** Members of a Missouri pioneer family perform chores, including cleaning game and churning butter, outside their log cabin in 1820. © CORBIS.

throughout the Trans–Appalachian frontier. This was particularly the case in the South, where Eli Whitney's cotton gin gave rise to an empire of commercial cotton growers following its introduction in the 1790s. Once a location was chosen, settlers set about the arduous task of turning a forest into a field. The first step was the removal of trees, stumps, and other impediments. Burning the new opening often followed, which both cleared away brush and provided a nutrient-rich base of ash and soil. The first crop planted was typically corn, as it grew well with minimal care. Wheat and other vegetable crops rounded out early pioneer farms. In addition to feeding and clothing themselves, pioneers drew on the cultural hearths of their Eastern origins to establish laws, schools, churches, and a structured social order in the West.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Appalachia; Cotton Gin; Expansion; Exploration and Explorers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aron, Stephen A. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Faragher, John Mack. *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer.* New York: Holt, 1992.

Hinderaker, Eric. *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *The Trans–Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

*Bradley J. Gills*

**PIRACY**   Piracy, defined here as larceny at or by descent from the sea, figured prominently in the formative years of the United States. Piracy was associated first with English colonization in an Atlantic world dominated by Iberian powers, then with indiscriminate poaching by colonial outcasts and rebels on the growing plantation economy at large. By the

1660s, Atlantic piracy constituted a seaborne variety of organized crime. Alongside these developments, piracy came to be closely associated with the transatlantic slave trade and with imperial warfare "beyond the line." Some pirates were former slavers, some were former slaves. Nearly all made frequent stops in West Africa in the course of their plundering voyages. With regard to war and legality, the line between piracy and privateering, or state-sponsored paranaval plundering, could be quite thin. A spate of diplomatic incidents related to privateering abuses in peacetime and against allies led not only to disastrous conflicts such as the War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–1743), but ultimately to the formation of professional navies and coast guards throughout the Atlantic.

As the United States came into being in the late eighteenth century, piracy was almost universally regarded as a crime not unlike terrorism in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. No one wished to be called a pirate. As with terrorism, the use of the term piracy in legal and journalistic circles was broadened substantially to help promote a range of causes. These included the early-nineteenth-century suppression of the transatlantic slave trade and the more effective anticorsairing campaigns of 1801–1805 along the Barbary Coast of North Africa.

Reaching back to early colonial times, Elizabethan corsairs were among the first Englishmen to reconnoiter and settle North America's eastern seaboard. Their successors, the seventeenth-century buccaneers, found hideouts, markets for stolen goods, and occasional plunder from Cape Cod to Cape Canaveral. By 1700, ports such as Providence, New York, Norfolk, and Charleston served as prime recruiting grounds for Anglo-American raiders, some of them disgruntled and overworked merchant seamen. The so-called Great Age of Piracy (c. 1660–c. 1720) only ended following a concerted and bloody campaign of extermination prosecuted by English admiralty courts both at home and in the American colonies. Governors of Virginia and Massachusetts figured prominently in this process. Captain William Kidd (c. 1645–1701) of New York was an early casualty, dying by execution, and North Carolina–based "Blackbeard," or Edward Teach (d. 1718), a late one, dying in battle.

### PRIVATEERING

Though much reduced as a result of this campaign—and with it the general rise of the British navy—Anglo-American piracy and privateering continued throughout the eighteenth century. Privateering, in some ways comparable to the extensive military subcontracting of later times, was an accepted if unconventional means of complementing formal naval power. Admiral Edward "Old Grog" Vernon's failed 1741 siege of Cartagena de Indias, in what would become Colombia, was typical in its blend of formally trained European and colonial paranaval combatants. The policy of commissioning privateers continued through the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and well beyond, playing a significant role in the American War of Independence (1775–1783) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815). From the merchant-victim's perspective, being robbed by privateers was much like being robbed by pirates.

Hundreds of privateers were commissioned by U.S. authorities during the American War of Independence, and they met with some success. New England–based raiders were particularly active off the coast of Nova Scotia, but others ranged as far as the English Channel. American privateers had an early advantage against their British adversaries, as Parliament was reluctant to issue letters of marque and reprisal against a state that it preferred not to recognize. After 1777, when such letters were issued, British privateers found few vulnerable colonial vessels; most were themselves armed and dangerous. Instead, British predators focused on the tacit—and later open—allies of the fledgling U.S.: France, Spain, and the Netherlands. French shipping suffered most: whereas 183 American vessels taken by British privateers were condemned by London's Prize Court between 1777 and 1783, French vessels numbered 872.

Privateering remained a conveniently cheap buttress to overextended naval forces on both sides during the War of 1812. Outstanding U.S. privateers such as Johnston Blakely and Otway Burns ranged throughout the Atlantic, pillaging and destroying whatever British shipping they could find. British privateers responded in kind. French-born Jean Lafitte, a privateer and smuggler based in the labyrinthine Barataria bayou of Louisiana's Gulf Coast, eventually sided with U.S. forces under Andrew Jackson in the decisive 1815 Battle of New Orleans. Multinational privateers such as Lafitte switched sides often, taking advantage of the chaos generated by Latin American independence movements (1810-1824) and shifting post–Napoleonic alliances. After the War of 1812, Lafitte smuggled slaves, some stolen from Spanish vessels, into the southern U.S.

### SLAVE TRADE

Piracy was also intimately linked to slavery. The same Elizabethan corsairs who had founded Virginia

and other colonies first entered the transatlantic economy as contraband slavers, illegally supplying Spanish Caribbean planters with Africans kidnapped and purchased in Upper Guinea. The trend continued; the first Africans brought to Virginia in 1619 were carried by Dutch corsairs who had stolen them from the Portuguese (who had in turn bartered for them in Angola). The later buccaneers were also familiar with the growing transatlantic slave trade, some as victims, others as professional slavers. Though not known for their scruples, pirates of the Great Age, such as Blackbeard, occasionally freed slaves or incorporated them into their crews. More often they sold them to planters and merchants. An often-forgotten fact is that England's early-eighteenth-century suppression of Atlantic piracy enabled the rapid expansion of the slave trade that marked the post–1760 period.

Yet the same empire that benefited most from the slave trade eventually turned against it. Although economic reasons such as the industrial revolution have been cited, this British turnabout was in large part due to the efforts of prominent religious figures, many of them Quakers. British and U.S. abolitionists of several religious persuasions agreed that the slave trade was an outrage and must be universally suppressed. Interestingly, both U.S. and British legislators chose to elide slave trading and piracy in the first decades of the nineteenth century, making the former a capital crime for the first time. By 1814 the British were able to commit substantial, war-hardened naval forces—some fresh from epic battles with Napoleon and his allies—to the cause of slave trade suppression. They requested and received help in patrolling West African waters, albeit intermittently, from the infant U.S. Navy.

The United States formally declared slave trading a variety of piracy in 1820. It is often forgotten that this declaration came amidst a wave of widely reported and vicious Caribbean piracy, mostly executed by Spanish Americans rebelling against their colonial overlords. Although Cuba itself remained "faithful," as the Spanish put it, Cuban renegades-turned-pirates in this era were said to have invented the legendary practice of walking the plank, among other tortures much publicized in the U.S. press. Some such miscreants were also said to be slavers. Still, application of the law proved difficult. Many American jurists regarded the Atlantic slave trade as a legitimate, if unsavory, business, and viewed the 1819 law as part of an emotionally driven, moral crusade to undermine slavery. Defenders of the slave trade were not rare, since slavery itself still figured prominently in the U.S. economy. Throughout the era of suppression, contraband slaves reached southern plantations through ports in Texas and Louisiana.

The crux cases linking piracy and the slave trade, however, involved mostly British interdiction of U.S. and foreign vessels engaged in trading slaves to Brazil, Venezuela, and Cuba. Since Cuba was nearest at hand and because it remained a colony of Spain, the U.S. embargo of slaving vessels inevitably produced significant international incidents. Under Pinckney's Treaty (1795) and other agreements, the United States had promised to respect Spanish laws, vessels, and cargoes—and also to help Spain fight piracy. Thus, seizures and mutinies, including those of the *Amistad* (1839) and the *Creole* (1841), tested the will of U.S. courts to enforce the letter of the 1819 law. On-board rebellions were particularly troublesome for judges and diplomats. Was slave mutiny aboard a foreign vessel piracy or self-liberation? Ultimately, the latter definition prevailed, but suppression of the slave trade as a form of piracy was never seriously pursued by the U.S. Navy or courts and remained a point of considerable friction between North and South.

## BARBARY WARS

Perhaps better known than the West African slave trade's links to piracy during America's formative years was U.S. suppression of the so-called Barbary pirates of North Africa between 1801 and 1805. This campaign, also pursued by the U.S. Navy—and the fledgling marines—aimed to secure U.S. commercial access to the Mediterranean Sea. Pursued at first reluctantly by President Thomas Jefferson, the campaign sought to end the long-established Algerian and Tripolitan practices of hostage taking and tribute extortion in exchange for free passage beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Despite setbacks, the effort proved mostly successful, and it gained popular support in part from a growing literature alleging enslavement of white Americans, some of them women, in Muslim "pirate" compounds. Once again, matters of captivity and redemption crossed over with changing interpretations of piracy and its suppression.

After 1840, sporadic acts of piracy occurred in U.S.-claimed waters and against U.S. vessels abroad, but no significant cycle of piracy would emerge to match those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Instead, piracy would become firmly ensconced in U.S. literature and other forms of popular culture. Edgar Allan Poe's short story, "The Gold-

Bug" (1843), is an early example. Since then, the fascination has persisted.

*See also* **Barbary Wars; Slavery: Slave Trade, African.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Butler, Lindley S. *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders of the Carolina Coast.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

DuBois, W. E. B. *The Suppression of the Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1896.

Earle, Peter. *The Pirate Wars.* London: Methuen, 2003.

Eltis, David, and James Walvin, eds. *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981.

Kitzen, Michael L. *Tripoli and the United States at War: A History of American Relations with the Barbary States, 1785–1805.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1993.

Parker, Richard B. *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Pennell, C. R., ed. *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader.* New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Rediker, Marcus. *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age.* Boston: Beacon, 2004.

Ritchie, Robert C. *Captain Kidd and the War against the Pirates.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Starkey, David J. *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century.* Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1990.

*Kris Lane*

**PLANTATION, THE**  "The plantation" figures among American icons. Like "the cowboy" or "the New England village," both the word itself and the imagery associated with it seem to tell something fundamental about being American. One element is stability, projected in the balanced architecture of the great plantation houses that line the James River in Virginia, the Ashley and Cooper Rivers in South Carolina, or the Mississippi and its lower tributaries. A second element is patriarchal hierarchy. Plantations require planters, and all plantations were organized around the principle that their planters presided over communities with no pretense at equality. White and black alike, a plantation's denizens occupied different rungs on a social ladder, with the planter at the top. A third element is remoteness from the driven, ceaseless transformations of the capitalist world.

Planters carefully cultivated such imagery. The emergence of a permanent, resident planter class had a great deal to do with early Virginia's transformation from a violent, volatile society to a place where white people's lives could be comfortable and stable. Virginia planters developed ways of imposing themselves on the land and on the land's other inhabitants that provided a social template from Chesapeake Bay to east Texas. The notion that the southern ruling class was descended from the cavaliers of Stuart England and that it carried their gracious ways to America acquired great cultural strength and is not completely dead.

Unlike their West Indian counterparts, who often lived in England rather than on their plantations, North American planters tended to be resident. That meant committing themselves to their own communities—a commitment that bore fruit when they persuaded large numbers of nonplanters to go to war in 1861 in order to protect the planters' way of life. To that extent, the received imagery of plantations as organic communities has an element of truth. But for the most part the reality was otherwise. From their beginning, plantations were in fact part of the emerging capitalist world, partaking of all that world's capacity for disruption, profit seeking, and change. Never was that more true than in the early nineteenth century.

The historian Peter Wood has suggested that, whatever their degree of refinement, plantations are best described as "slave labor camps." Robin Blackburn has pointed out that, in its combination of race as a sign of permanent degradation, slavery as a condition of life and work, and large-scale production for distant markets, "the slave plantation complex" of the Western Hemisphere was unique in the history of the Western economy. Any resemblance to the manors of England or mainland Europe was superficial.

### PLANTATIONS IN A BOOMING REPUBLIC

The conventional criterion for planter status was the ownership of at least twenty slaves. This was the minimum number necessary to relieve the owner and the owner's family of manual field work. A planter with a slave force of that size was not able to maintain anything like the grand style of conventional plantation imagery. Rather than a "big house," such a person probably occupied a dwelling of only moderate refinement. Rather than a small army of "house slaves," there might be one slave adult and a few slave children to aid in domestic work, and even they would be dispatched to the fields

**Destrehan Plantation.** Established in 1787 near New Orleans, Louisiana, Destrehan is the oldest documented plantation home in the lower Mississippi Valley. © MARK E. GIBSON/CORBIS.

at sowing or harvest time. Even a very large operation, such as Pierce Butler's rice plantation in 1830s Georgia, might lack most of the symbols of refinement, as Butler's English wife Frances Kemble found when she insisted on visiting it in 1837.

Prior to American independence plantations were characteristic of two separate zones, the tobacco-growing Chesapeake and the rice and indigo-growing Carolina and Georgia lowlands. These were very different places. Tobacco planting meant dividing slaves into separate "quarters" of about twenty-five slaves, the number depending on the size of the holding. The characteristics of the crop required gang labor. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Chesapeake no longer needed the African slave trade to sustain and grow its servile population. Carolina, however, required the trade because of the more demanding conditions of the rice crop and lowland life. Holdings in the rice zone tended to be much larger, in terms of slave numbers, than in the tobacco zone. Because periodic flooding renewed the soil, rice planters, their families, and their slave forces stayed in one place. Slaves generally worked under the task sys-

tem, which limited a day's work and allowed the possibility of free time.

After independence, however, "the South" emerged. The major reason was three new slave crops: hemp, in Kentucky; sugar, in southernmost Louisiana; and, foremost, cotton, because of Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793. Prior cotton production was limited to the sea islands of the Georgia and Carolina coast, where the long-staple variety could thrive. Long-staple seeds are easily separable from the lint, but the short-staple variety that could grow inland was another matter. Production shot up, from 10,000 bales the year Whitney invented the gin to 209,000 in 1815, when the European wars of the French Revolution finally ended. Now England's mills and the emergent mills of the American Northeast could take all the cotton that the South's plantations could produce. In 1830 the total reached 732,000 bales, with far larger totals to come.

Some of this ever-burgeoning crop came from small farms that produced a few bales for cash in-

come. Most came from plantations, as the Cotton Kingdom spread across South Carolina and Georgia, Alabama, into Mississippi, and beyond the Mississippi River. Most of these took shape on formerly public land, which their owners bought as Indians lost it, cleared with slave labor, and put into production with a view to catching a rising market.

### THE SPREAD OF PLANTATIONS AND THE TRADE IN SLAVES

Opening a plantation required capital, for purchasing land, for buying equipment and machinery, and often for purchasing slaves. Some cotton plantations amounted to far-flung branches of existing enterprises, as the younger generation of a tobacco or rice family took part of an older slave force westward onto new land. But expanding the plantation South required a lively slave trade. Most of the founding states banned the African slave trade after the American Revolution, but at the insistence of South Carolina and Georgia the Constitution forbade Congress to do so until 1808. South Carolina reopened the legal African trade in 1804.

What followed was not peripheral to the story of forced African migration to North America but rather a major part of it. The historian James McMillin estimates that about 170,000 enslaved Africans entered the United States after the Revolution, nearly double the previously accepted figure. The demand for these people came directly from the rapid growth of plantation agriculture. An illegal trade from Africa went on after Congress's ban, both to serve small farmers who wanted to become planters and to meet the needs of cotton and sugar production.

Congress did act to close the trade as soon as the Constitution permitted. But unlike the British West Indies, where the plantation economy began to die when Parliament closed the trade about the same time, the plantation system in the American South grew and prospered. As soon as the trade in enslaved Africans dropped off, a trade in American-born slaves began to flourish. Between 1790 and 1799 most came from Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, where the pre-Revolutionary tobacco economy was yielding to the production of wheat, a crop that required less labor. By 1820 the two Carolinas and Kentucky also were exporting slaves. Some traveled by coastal vessel to Mobile or New Orleans, others overland to the Southwest in coffles. Between 1810 and 1829, when Alabama was opening up to cotton production, it imported roughly 90,000 slaves. During the same two decades Virginia exported more than 150,000. The expansion of the plantation system required the forced disruption of slaves' lives on a massive scale.

Either way, the experience emulated what the slaves' ancestors had undergone leaving Africa. The original trade underpinned the founding of the Western Hemisphere slave plantation complex. The domestic trade underpinned the expansion of that complex across the southern United States. In the Louisiana sugar zone, the demography of the trade was much the same as it had been to the sugar regions of the West Indies and Brazil. Sugar planters wanted young males whom they could work at a very hard pace. In the colonial-era West Indies the combination of cheap African slaves, a tropical disease environment, and high profits on sugar had created a demographic catastrophe. Planters brought in slaves and worked them to death. Jamaica imported about one million Africans over that period. But it had a population of only about 300,000 in 1800. Louisiana sugar production was demanding, but the high price of slaves gave planters an incentive to treat them better.

But both in the sugar region and on the cotton frontier, the early stages of plantation expansion were likely to lead to a skewed population structure, with adolescents and young adults heavily overrepresented. Census records of the mid-nineteenth century, which make comparative analysis possible, show that this was particularly so in highly fertile areas close to water transport, where land values were high and where high productivity could be expected. Planters moved into such areas in the 1850s in order to grow as much cotton as possible as fast as possible, not to create patriarchal communities. There is no reason to think that the cotton frontier thirty years earlier was different. Slaves being moved by the domestic slave trade into the cotton zone did have one advantage over Africans: they moved in roughly equal numbers of males and females, which permitted the founding of families, assuming that a couple was not separated by a subsequent move. In 1830 white men outnumbered white women in Alabama, 100,846 to 89,560, but the number of male slaves (59,170) and the number of female slaves (58,379) were virtually even.

### PLANTERS AND PLAIN FOLKS

Throughout the history of American slavery, the planter class formed a small proportion of slaveholders and an even smaller proportion of white society. The 1790 census is the only count that gives slaveholdings. It was taken prior to the cotton gin and it excludes Virginia, but it provides some sense of the

planter class's dimensions. In South Carolina 5,657 slaveholding families had fewer than 20 slaves. Only 1,267 families had more than 20. Of these, 859 had 20 to 49 slaves; 285 had 50 to 99; 96 had 100 to 200; 21 had 200 to 300; and only 6 had more than 300. In North Carolina there were 10,122 nonplanter slaveholding families and only 804 in the planter category. Of those planters, 701 had 20 to 49 slaves; 90 had 50 to 99; 11 had 100 to 199 slaves, and 2 had more than 200.

The actual difference between a "farmer" or (as Mississipians would come to say) a "second planter" who held seventeen or eighteen slaves and a supposedly "real" planter with twenty-five slaves cannot have been great. Even a large-scale planter who intended to lead his county had to win his fellows' consent, not impose himself on them. When James Henry Hammond, who married into the South Carolina elite, returned *nouveau riche* from Europe in 1837, his neighbors refused to be impressed by the works of art he had acquired and by the gaudy houses he built in Columbia and on his plantation at Silver Bluff.

Whether a plantation had twenty slaves or two hundred, it is best described as a "factory in the fields." Large or small, a plantation produced much of its own food and on a large operation many other day-to-day goods as well. Fields were planted in corn, for human and animal feed, as well as in cotton or rice. This was not "mixed farming" of the sort nonslaveholders and northern free-labor farmers practiced. A plantation's purpose was to produce commercial commodities at the lowest possible cost for a highly competitive market. It required heavy investment and reinvestment in a capital market that did offer other possibilities. Really sizable planters could invest in other activities, or even out of the South. South Carolinians sponsored the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad, completed in 1833, which was the first long-distance line in the United States. Nonetheless, in the early nineteenth century, while the "Old South" was developing, plantations, their owners, and their mode of production dominated southern life, just as in the decades before the Civil War.

*See also* **Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement; Agriculture: Agricultural Technology; Alabama; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Emancipation and Manumission; Georgia; Louisiana; Mississippi; North Carolina; Slavery: Slave Life; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; South; South Carolina; Virginia.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blackburn, Robin. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800.* London and New York: Verso, 1997.

Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839.* Edited by John A. Scott. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984.

McMillin, James A. *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783–1810.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.

Moore, John Hebron. *The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest: Mississippi, 1770–1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Morris, Christopher. *Becoming Southern: The Evolution of a Way of Life, Warren County and Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1770–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Oakes, James. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders.* New York: Knopf, 1982; London and New York: Norton, 1998.

Tadman, Michael. *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, 1996.

Wood, Peter H. "Slave Labor Camps in Early America: Overcoming Denial and Discovering the Gulag." In *Inequality in Early America.* Edited by Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999.

*Edward Countryman*

**POETRY**   Like politics, poetry was everywhere in the years from 1754 to 1829. And like politics, poetry had both public and private meanings. Americans turned to poetry to amuse themselves and their friends, to pursue and publicize arguments, and to claim membership in real and imagined collectivities. The resultant verses offer a window onto a world of poetic purposes and pleasures that has often been overlooked.

### THE COLONIAL ERA
During the late colonial period, educated Americans gathered in formal and informal circles to read and exchange original manuscripts, including poetry. They modeled their works on those of neoclassical English poets, particularly Alexander Pope, and they often signed compositions with pseudonyms such as Leander and Amynta. Women as well as men were prominent in these circles, and for all involved the writing and enjoying of such poetry was a way of proclaiming membership in two communities: the intimate circle of friends who were one's immediate readership, and the larger, Anglo-American commu-

**Phillis Wheatley.** This engraving by Scipio Moorhead served as the frontispiece for Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773). Wheatley, an African-born woman living in slavery in the colonies, penned neoclassical verse that followed English models.

nity of sensibility to which one's mastery of the forms granted membership.

Participants in literary circles wrote poetry to nurture and commemorate their own relationships, as well as to memorialize the occasions of their gatherings. Poets of the day also took on explicitly public themes. Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson, who was an admired poet and conversationalist in both her own mid-Atlantic region and in England, penned poetic responses to both John Dickinson's *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* (1782) and to Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). John Maylem's "Conquest of Louisburg" described the siege and battle of that fortress during the French and Indian War. And Philip Freneau and Hugh Henry Brackenridge's "The Rising Glory of America," delivered on commencement day at the College of New Jersey in 1771, offered a vision of a prosperous and expansive future for America:

> The *Ohio* soon shall glide by many a town
> Of note; and where the *Mississippi* stream,
> By forests shaded, now runs weeping on,
> Nations shall grow, and STATES not less in fame

Than Greece and Rome of old!

Poems such as "The Rising Glory of America" claimed a place for the colonies on the world stage. They also asserted, implicitly or explicitly, that their authors deserved a place on that stage, too, and were not simply rude provincials. These entwined public and personal, emulative and assertive meanings of poetry took on added significance in the verse of the era's best-known African American poet, Phillis Wheatley. Wheatley, an African-born woman living in slavery in the colonies, penned neoclassical verse that followed English models. Yet Wheatley's identity, which was revealed in the published volumes of her work, made her successful adoption of English conventions a challenge to contemporaries who assumed blacks were intellectually inferior. The content of Wheatley's poetry, meanwhile, continues to inspire debate among scholars, who disagree over the extent to which Wheatley challenged Christianity and the social and political mores of her day.

### IMPERIAL CRISIS AND REVOLUTION

In the years leading up to the Revolution, political arguments and emotions were often cast in verse. Benjamin Franklin counseled colonists to have patience with England and confidence in the colonies' eventual dominance: "We have an old mother, who peevish has grown," he wrote in the mid 1760s: "She snubs us like Children that scarce walk alone; She forgets we're grown up and have Sense of our own." Such verses made political argumentation more accessible and quotable, and those on both sides of the impending conflict also went further, setting their rhymed disagreements to music. John Dickinson's "Liberty Song"—which began, "Come join hand in hand brave Americans all / And rouse your bold hearts at fair liberty's call"—was published in the *Boston Gazette* in 1768, and it spawned a quick parody, published in the same newspaper and sung to the same tune: "Come shake your dull noodles ye pumpkins and bawl," the parody began, "And own that you're mad at Fair Liberty's call." Not all the poetry of the war years, however, was doggerel. Philip Freneau, ship captain and man of letters, sought to commemorate the events and people of the Revolution in often-ambitious verse, and he movingly evoked the horrors of his own wartime captivity in "The British Prison Ship."

### POETRY IN THE NEW NATION

After the Revolution, Americans of all political stripes and social stations wrote poetry celebrating and critiquing the new nation's culture and politics. Philip

Freneau published a revised version of "The Rising Glory of America" in 1786 and continued to pen new works. Also among the era's best-known practitioners of the arts were the Connecticut or Hartford Wits, who included Joel Barlow, John Trumbull, David Humphries, Lemuel Hopkins, Richard Alsop, and Timothy Dwight. Amateur men of letters who had begun their literary involvement before America's independence, the Wits combined a serious devotion to literature with careers that included diplomacy and the ministry. Barlow's work ranged from "Hasty Pudding," a humorous celebration of that dish and of Barlow's New England region, to the more ambitious "Vision of Columbus." Greeted with admiration in its original version, Barlow's expanded and revised epic, *The Columbiad*, fell with a thud when published in 1807. Timothy Dwight's 1794 "Greenfield Hill," meanwhile, offered a vision of New England's past, present, and future, and copious poetic commentary on its landscape, people, and customs. Such poetry combined nationalist ambitions with a wholehearted embrace of English poetic conventions, and the Wits saw no shame in that. In their view, achieving excellence in established poetic forms brought more honor to America than would have the attempted creation of a self-consciously new "American" style.

Freneau and the Wits were perhaps the best-known poets of the early national period, but many other Americans also tried their hand at the form. Women as well as men offered their verses to the public; in 1790, Mercy Otis Warren published cerebral verse on political and religious themes, and the same year saw publication of Sara Wentworth Morton's "Ouabi, or the Virtues of Nature, an Indian Tale in Four Cantos." Newspapers of the day often kept a spot on their back page for original and extracted verse, and readers eagerly sent in their offerings. One of the more widely circulated newspapers of the era, Joseph Dennie's *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, published a variety of poetry, including satiric treatments of American rustics, odes to beautiful maidens, and gently needling lines on the subject of the editor himself: "His flowery road you may rely on," wrote one correspondent, "is but a crooked path to Zion." And although poetry was a particular passion among young Federalist-leaning literati such as Dennie, Jeffersonians, too, expressed themselves in verse. The *Kentucky Gazette*, for example, published poetry that celebrated France and Jefferson, and the Fourth of July regularly inspired poetical commemorations in partisan newspapers of all kinds.

Among poets both well-known and obscure, satire was a favored mode of poetical communication in the early national period; its popularity reflected both the continued influence of the English Augustan poets and the mixture of intimacy and publicity that characterized American uses of verse. Satirical treatments of everything from religious orthodoxy to New Englanders' gift to Thomas Jefferson of a "mammoth cheese" found their way into print, and poetic styles themselves—particularly the rather florid Della Cruscan mode—also became the subject of archly mocking lines.

Even as satires, "occasional" poetry, and nationalist verse thrived in the early Republic, however, other forms were gaining popularity. Like their predecessors, these were influenced by English models, although they were put to what were intended as distinctively American uses. Moving beyond their love of Pope, Americans came in the early national period to admire the poetry of authors such as Thomas Gray, William Wordsworth, and Samuel Coleridge, and they began to write poetry that explored inner states and evoked intense connections to nature. This was not a rejection of all that had come before; Americans had written poetry about nature throughout the colonial and Revolutionary periods, and Freneau's melancholic "The Wild Honeysuckle" had in fact foreshadowed the way in which, in later years, a contemplation of nature would become a contemplation of the observing self. It is the case, though, that what had once been a minor strain was becoming a dominant idiom, and the early verse of perhaps the era's best-known practitioner of the new style, William Cullen Bryant, suggests the changing style and tone of American poetry. Bryant's 1808 "The Embargo" was a poetic attack on Thomas Jefferson's policies. Despite its familiar subject, the poem had an unexpected emotional intensity that, in Bryant's own words, "darken'd satire's page." By the time of Bryant's first significant work, "Thanatopsis," which he began in 1814 and completed in 1821, the poet had more completely left behind Augustan forms and themes for strains both older and newer: "Thanatopsis," written in a meditative blank verse, merged a Calvinist sense of death's dominion with a reverence for nature that feels distinctively nineteenth century:

> When thoughts
> Of the last bitter hour come like a blight
> Over thy spirit and sad images
> Of the stern agony, and shroud and pall,
> And breathless darkness, and the narrow house,
> Make thee to shudder, and grow sick at heart;—
> Go forth under the open sky, and list

To Nature's teachings, while from all around—
Earth and her waters, and the depths of air,—
Comes a still voice.

"No one, on this side of the Atlantic," insisted the author Richard Henry Dana on reading the original published version, "is capable of writing such verses." But someone had, and he would be far from the last American poet to venture forth "under the open sky."

*See also* **Authorship; Autobiography and Memoir; Fiction; Fourth of July; Nonfiction Prose; Print Culture; Romanticism; Satire; Theater and Drama; Women: Writers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dowling, William C. *Poetry and Ideology in Revolutionary Connecticut.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.

Ellison, Julie. "Race and Sensibility in the Early Republic: Ann Eliza Bleecker and Sarah Wentworth Morton." *American Literature* 65, no. 3 (1993): 445–474.

Gilmore, Michael T. "The Literature of the Revolutionary and Early National Periods." In *The Cambridge History of American Literature.* Edited by Sacvan Bercovitch. Vol. 1: *1590–1820.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Grasso, Christopher. *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Hayes, Edmund M. "The Private Poems of Mercy Otis Warren." *New England Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1981): 199–224.

Mulford, Carla J. "Political Poetics: Annis Boudinot Stockton and Middle Atlantic Women's Culture." *New Jersey History* 111, no. 1–2 (1993): 67–110.

Nickels, Cameron C. "Federalist Mock Pastorals: The Ideology of Early New England Humor." *Early American Literature* 17, no. 2 (1982): 139–151.

Richards, Phillip M. "Phillis Wheatley and Literary Americanization." *American Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1992): 163–191.

Shields, David S. *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Shields, John C. "Phillis Wheatley's Subversive Pastoral." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27, no. 4 (1994): 631–647.

Wertheimer, Eric. "Commencement Ceremonies: History and Identity in 'The Rising Glory of America,' 1771 and 1786." *Early American Literature* 29, no. 1 (1994): 35–58.

*Catherine O. Kaplan*

**POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT**   Between 1754 and 1829 the institutional structure of American policing changed little. As in England, justices of the peace (JPs) bore the chief responsibility for keeping order, hearing complaints, and jailing malefactors. But for the most part American communities policed themselves.

Night watchmen guarded city spaces, but JPs expected citizens to identify criminals. Grand jurors sometimes informed themselves, identifying the persons they wanted indicted and thereby acting as a kind of citizen police force. State statutes authorized sheriffs and constables to keep the peace, especially in cases of riot or a major crime committed before their eyes. An 1812 New York digest of laws for sheriffs, coroners, and constables compiled by Joseph Backus explained that "when any felony shall be committed," and notice given, "fresh pursuit shall be forthwith made after every such felon, by sheriffs, coroners, constables, marshals, and all other persons who shall be by them commanded and summoned." New York also expected sheriffs and constables to suppress gaming, implying that they might actively seek out gamblers. More often, legislators expected ordinary citizens, acting as a *posse comitatus* or individually, to run down felons. Backus wrote that in cases of forcible entry, justices of the peace should go to the scene of the crime and offer a reward. "And all the people of the county" shall assist the JP in making arrests. Sheriffs and constables most often acted as process servers.

In the early national period, a more secular understanding of crime and misconduct changed how Americans viewed the detection of criminality. Colonials saw crime as sin, and all persons as sinners. Printed crime narratives came in the form of sermons, looking not at the crime or the judicial process but on the criminal's spiritual condition. Ministers asked what small sins, the sort committed by everyone, had led to the bigger sin? The clergy searched for clues not to identify the sinner/criminal, but to reveal the condition of his eternal soul. Americans after the Revolution set apart criminals from the larger population. Ministers' moral policing declined in importance. Published crime stories, especially murder narratives, now invited readers into secret worlds and treated the crime as a mystery with clues and motives to be unraveled. This new view of crime as mystery practically cried out for policing and detectives; but outside the South cities did not organize professional police forces until the antebellum era.

Nonetheless, the roots of modern policing can be discerned in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Institutionalized policing has its roots in American slavery. In seventeenth-century South

Carolina, white colonists had passed laws against bartering with slaves and established a curfew for their slaves. Needing a police force to enforce these statutes, white South Carolinians created a night watch of constables and citizens to watch for fires, attacking Indians, and slave gatherings. Virginia organized slave patrols in the eighteenth century. Other states followed.

After the Revolution, the states regularized their patrol procedures. In most, county courts appointed patrollers. Town officials worried that patrols appointed by county government would not adequately patrol urban areas. Columbia, South Carolina, petitioned its legislature for an appropriation for a city "guard." Some towns incorporated so as to organize a "proper police," as Pearisburg, Virginia, officials put it. Historians have traditionally described patrollers as "poor white," but freeholders (estate owners) and slaveholders filled the ranks of these early police forces; from 1805 to 1830, New Orleans used free blacks in its city guard and patrol forces.

Slave patrols policed their jurisdictions. They stopped and interrogated suspects. They entered private homes, searching for evidence. They broke up gatherings they deemed unruly. They administered what a later generation might call "street justice": an unrecorded beating on the spot. They particularly looked for contraband and stolen objects. In rural areas patrollers made their rounds on horseback, in urban areas on foot.

Creation of a federal court system in 1787 changed American policing but little. Federal judges did not believe their jurisdiction included common law crimes. U.S. attorneys and federal marshals identified violators of the revenue laws. In 1802, when three white men murdered three Indians in the Northwest Territory, ordinary citizens identified the killers when the culprits boasted of their acts and displayed the dead Indians' property. As in state cases, detection of malefactors depended largely on the willingness of ordinary citizens to step forward. The appearance of an unaccountably dead body, or any crime committed with the assent of the neighborhood, rarely led to a warrant or an arrest.

In 1829, London established its police department, heralding a new age in crime control. Thereafter Boston, New York, and other cities put their own officers on patrol. Constables had collected fees by serving writs and warrants, acting only in response to citizen complaints. The new officers received a salary and sought out crime and criminals for arrest.

*See also* **Crime and Punishment; Law: Federal Law; Law: Law of Slavery; Law: State Law and Common Law; Legal Culture.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hadden, Sally E. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Halttunen, Karen. *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Hoffer, Peter Charles. *Law and People in Colonial America*, rev. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Lane, Roger. *Policing the City: Boston*, *1822–1885*, *New York*. Boston: Atheneum, 1975.

Rousey, Dennis C. *Policing the Southern City: New Orleans*, *1805–1889*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997.

*Christopher Waldrep*

## POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS  *See* **Politics: Political Culture.**

## POLITICAL REFUGEES  *See* **Immigration and Immigrants: Political Refugees.**

## POLITICS

The entry consists of ten separate articles: *Overview*, *Party Organization and Operations*, *Political Corruption and Scandals*, *Political Culture*, *Political Economy*, *Political Pamphlets*, *Political Parties*, *Political Parties and the Press*, *Political Patronage*, and *Political Thought*.

### *Overview*

By the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the colonies of British North America had relatively mature political systems. Most were royal colonies whose governors and (often) governor's councils were appointed by the imperial government. Proprietors—the Penn family, for example—appointed the governors of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. Only in the corporate colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, were they elected. The colonial assem-

were often the only elected officials in the colonies, and those chosen by the voters were invariably men of wealth and power within their colony. The rituals of politics, such as treating—the practice of providing liquor and food for the voters—and the fact that the legislators were not paid meant that candidates had to be wealthy. Viva voce and other open voting procedures heightened the pressure of the "better sort" on the voters of lesser means. Thus, colonial elections revolved around reputation on the one hand and deference on the other.

Intracolonial politics involved questions of money and credit, internal improvements, taxes, land, Indians, and ethnic and religious conflict. Sectionalism, rooted in differences between coastal areas and the backcountry or simply East Jersey and West Jersey, and the various—often associated—ties of family and kin generally determined the ways men in the assemblies responded to these local issues. There were no real parties in the assemblies. In fact, the political culture of these years, as can be seen clearly in the debates leading up to the Revolution, reflected a commitment to the form of republicanism which had emerged in mid-eighteenth–century England that condemned parties. Most states, however, had fairly stable factions, such as those associated with the Livingston and the De Lancey families in New York or the followers of Samuel Ward (1725–1776) of Newport and Stephen Hopkins (1707-1785) of Providence in Rhode Island. The elites of Virginia and South Carolina, because of the nature of their economic and social structure, had an exceptional degree of unity on the eve of the Revolution.

The American Revolution was a revolt of the already empowered. As Parliament attempted to reassert its imperial power following the Seven Years' War through a series of taxes and other actions such as the Intolerable Acts (1774), the colonists resisted. While resistance was sometimes violent or marked by the fake-violence theater of the Boston Tea Party (1773), most often the colonists made use of the normal tools of redress in the imperial system of politics. The members of the colonial assemblies led this resistance and then a rebellion, designed at first to preserve their rights as Englishmen. In a lawyerlike fashion Thomas Jefferson, trained in colonial politics and representing the extralegal Continental Congress, put forth the case against the illegal actions of King George III in the Declaration of Independence. Most of the colonies, over a period from 1776 to 1792, wrote and rewrote republican constitutions for the new states. In 1781 the states were joined in a very loose national government under the Articles

blies often found themselves in direct conflict with the governors. In the course of the eighteenth century, these assemblies—whose members were popularly elected—expanded their legislative role at the expense of both the governors and the imperial government.

## PROVINCIAL POLITICS

All of the British North American colonies had relatively large electorates made up of white male freeholders, men who owned their own land. Because of the wide distribution of landholding, common men voted in greater numbers than anywhere else in the world. Outside of New England, the assemblymen

of Confederation. During the 1780s, congressional politics under the Articles of Confederation witnessed divisions between the original federalists, who supported a weak central government, and the nationalists, who wanted to give the federal government greater power.

The unstable factions in the Continental and Confederation Congresses were, except perhaps in the case of Pennsylvania, unconnected with the factions in the state legislatures, which focused on local issues. The new constitutions notoriously limited executive power and emphasized the role of the state legislatures. They also expanded the electorate by allowing taxpayers to vote and lowered the requirements for officeholding. Yet the old colonial politics, a "politics without party," based on family connections and intrastate geographical divisions, continued. The Revolution stripped off royal appointees, and many of the most conservative Loyalist elements fled. A revolution of expectations among those who had stood and fought, or watched cautiously from the sidelines, led to an increase in voter turnout and a change in the nature of the political elite. More common men became involved and more people at the middle levels of the economic structure gained office. The Revolution had brought neither a democratic political system nor a democratic order, but clearly the new American nation was, in its politics, moving toward a more democratic interpretation of republicanism.

### THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The writing of the Constitution in 1787 and the fight over its ratification the following year brought a crucial change in the politics of the early Republic by creating for the first time a national stage for political action. The politicians in the states, who had carried out the Revolution and who were arguing among themselves about various economic questions, had to decide what approach to the Constitution was in their interest. Historians disagree in their interpretations of the conflict between the Federalists, who favored the Constitution, and the anti-Federalists, who opposed its adoption. Was it a matter of ideological conflict or economic self-interest? The obvious answer is that it was a bit of both. Ideologically, Federalists and anti-Federalists mixed together liberal and republican ideas along with long-standing Protestant religious convictions. Clearly, the more commercial and cosmopolitan elements of the society disagreed with those whose local perspective grew out of their reliance on subsistence agriculture and only a modest connection to the marketplace. Yet it is nearly impos-

sible to put even a majority of the men at the time into these categories, and some of the anti-Federalists were very wealthy "men of little faith." The ideological arguments did have a similarity from state to state, but the economic conflicts did not. As a consequence, neither the Federalists nor the anti-Federalists had the degree of organization associated with modern political parties. The Federalists were led by two very young men, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, who—along with the slightly older John Jay—wrote *The Federalist* in 1787–1788 and managed the ratification of the Constitution in two of the three most populous states, New York and Virginia. In the end the Constitution was ratified through a system of state conventions and never voted upon nationally. The elections for the state conventions drew only one-quarter of the white adult men.

Through a very complicated process that extended over six months from 1788 into 1789, George Washington was chosen as the first president and John Adams as vice president. While Washington was popular the election was not a democratic affair, the modes of selecting electors varied widely from state to state and turnouts, where white men of property were allowed to vote were low. It is nearly impossible to imagine what the two hundred and twenty men who ran for elector in Massachusetts had in mind or explain why thirty-five electors cast votes for candidates other than Adams for the second (and possibly the first) office or why twelve electors chose not to vote at all.

The critical problem faced by Washington's new administration was not only to create a government, but also to build a nation. The administration included men who had emerged during the Revolution. When Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, refused the post of secretary of the Treasury, Washington chose Hamilton for the post, and then the president called back Thomas Jefferson from France to be secretary of state. The anti-Federalists and their demands for a new constitutional convention passed from the scene, although some were in the First Congress and one of them, James Monroe, would eventually become president.

In the 1790s two issues separated the American people, or at least the political elite. One was related to the old fight over how strong the national government needed to be, and the other involved how the country should align itself internationally, particularly after the outbreak and radical turn of the French Revolution. How would the new government respond to the French Revolution? In Washington's

cabinet, Hamilton was pro-British and Jefferson pro-French, although they agreed with the president that the best position for the new nation was neutrality. Hamilton created a set of economic policies designed to handle the Revolutionary debt and put the country on an even keel while strengthening the federal government. The Virginians, Jefferson and Madison, who were not happy with the growing power of the federal government, led the opposition in the cabinet and Congress.

Although there were numerous battles on individual issues, it took almost six years before clear and consistent pro- and anti-administration blocs appeared in Congress. In the election of 1796, Jefferson came out of retirement to challenge Adams. In a closely contested election, Adams won the presidency and Jefferson became vice president. Clearly, modern parties did not exist. Over the next four years, however, fairly stable coalitions emerged in Congress. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 showed how clearly the lines were being drawn. In the states, newspapers reflected the contrasting positions of the Federalists and the Republicans.

In 1800 Jefferson won the presidency in what he called "The Revolution of 1800," which began the rule of the Virginia Dynasty of presidents—Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Jefferson, who is every modern American democrat, did not win his office because of his great popularity with the American people, but because of the nature of the presidential electoral system. Ten of the sixteen states let the their legislatures pick the electors. He won in the electoral college, helped crucially by the fact that the three-fifths clause in the Constitution enlarged the electoral vote in the slave states and the fact that the vote was both close and clearly sectional. The result was a product of elite manipulation and backroom negotiations in the state legislatures, particularly that of South Carolina. If there was a Revolution of 1800, it came in the congressional elections of 1800–1801, during which the Republicans gained twenty-seven seats in Congress and six in the Senate to go from being a minority in both bodies to a clear majority in both. When Jefferson became president, he had a friendly Congress to work with. He took advantage of this fact during his first administration (1801–1805) to replace as many Federalists as he could in the bureaucracy and to realign the federal courts.

Jefferson began his first term decrying partisanship. He declared in his Inaugural Address, "We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans," and he truly believed that he was a president above party. His war

against the North African pirates, his purchase of Louisiana (1803), and his often-ignored Indian policy made Jefferson extremely popular. By the election of 1804, his supporters controlled most of the state governments (even in New England) and held overwhelming majorities in both houses of Congress. Jefferson won a second term against what was only a shadow opposition. Politicians continued to come predominately from the "better sort," or what might be called upper middle class, but the "middling sort" of mechanics, manufacturers, and editors entered the fray and often won.

Jefferson's second term caused grave problems for the Republicans. In response to the return of war in Europe, Jefferson in 1807 pushed Congress to institute an embargo on American foreign trade. This created economic problems in much of the country and, along with its enforcement legislation, produced a Federalist revival. The opposition, led by a younger generation, developed new organizations that addressed voters more directly than before and encouraged them to come out in larger numbers. To add to their appeal, in several areas they took on the name "American" and accused the administration supporters of being the "French" party.

The Federalists became a significant minority during James Madison's administration, which was embroiled in an ongoing foreign policy crisis that led to the War of 1812 (1812–1815). The election of 1812 and the war brought on a high point in American partisanship, affecting both Congress and the electorate. When the war went poorly, the Federalists gained further support. Yet the presidential election of 1812 was one of the most sectional in American history and the "Federalist" candidate was a New York Republican, DeWitt Clinton.

### THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

Hostility to the war led a group of New England Federalists to meet in Hartford in 1814–1815 to suggest amendments to the Constitution designed to limit Congress's power to make war and to eliminate the three-fifths clause. Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans in January 1815 and the Peace of Ghent (December 1814), which ended he war, doomed the Federalists. In 1816 the Republicans pressed an aggressive set of economic policies. After these were approved by Madison, his secretary of state, James Monroe, was elected president. Early in his presidency, a Boston newspaper referred to the postwar period as an Era of Good Feelings. Later, historian Charles Sydnor called the decade between 1815 and 1825, "The One Party Period of American History." The

presidential election of 1820 was the dullest and least interesting in American history and signaled the end of the First American Party System, which off and on involved the contention of Republicans and Federalists. By this time, nearly everyone claimed to be a Republican. Monroe ran virtually unopposed and received all of the electoral votes save one, cast for his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams. The decade of the 1820s was, however, an era of "ill feelings" in which fierce intrastate sectional and factional politics prevailed. "Connections" such as the Albany Regency in New York, the Richmond Junto in Virginia, the Nashville Junto in Tennessee, and Ambrose "Sevier's Hungry Kinfolk" in what became Arkansas, along with barbecues and stump speeches, began to dominate state politics, while sectionalism dominated national affairs.

The postwar era was characterized by conflicts among the Republicans over the economic policies that Henry Clay termed the American System. The sectional nature of these issues was exaggerated by the Panic of 1819, the debate over Missouri's entrance into the Union as a slave state in 1819–1820, the emergence of the industrial revolution in the North, and the spread of the cotton culture across the Lower South. The effects of these events were clearly seen in the fragmentation of the Republican establishment in the election of 1824. All of the contenders were Republicans. John Quincy Adams was the secretary of state, William Harris Crawford the secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun the secretary of war in Monroe's cabinet. Henry Clay had been Speaker of the House for a decade and General Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, was a U.S. senator from Tennessee. Ironically, this is the most impressive array of candidates ever assembled for an American presidential election. Calhoun withdrew and became the overwhelming choice for vice president.

Jackson won the most popular and electoral votes, but not a majority of either. Thus, the election went into the House of Representatives, which chose Adams in what Jacksonians called, "the corrupt bargain" because Clay influenced his supporters to vote for Adams and Adams then appointed Clay secretary of state. While this laid the basis for the development of the Second American Party System, the most important aspect of the election was its sectional nature. Two-fifths of Jackson's popular votes came from three states. In this election, each of the candidates represented a separate part of the American electorate and, with a few ethnic overtones, such as the fact Jackson was Scotch-Irish, there was also a generalized sense of regional economic self-interest. During Adams's administration, the congressional factions that had supported the various candidates in 1824 came together into pro- and anti-administration coalitions to prepare for the next presidential election.

The states tended to be dominated by one faction or the other. There was much talk about organized "political machines." More important probably was the expansion of the newspaper network dedicated to the future candidacy of Jackson. The Virginia editor, Thomas Ritchie, and the New York lawyer-politician, Martin Van Buren, wanted to revive the old Republican Party and use General Jackson's "great popularity" to reunite "the Planters of the South and the plain Republicans of the North." And to a great degree they did. The Old Hero, as Jackson was called, won handily in both 1828 against Adams and in 1832 against Clay and the third party anti-Mason candidate, William Wirt. All of the these men with good reason described themselves as Republicans. The election of 1832 led to the development of the nominating convention, initiated in 1831 by the anti-Masons, who had begun as an organization opposed to secret societies.

Jackson's election victories in 1828 and 1832, which have been described as being about democracy and class conflict, were most clearly sectional. The popular vote from 1824 to 1832 shows a clearly correlated and consistent pattern. Certainly New York, and still more so Pennsylvania, yielded Jacksonian majorities, as did New Hampshire, which voted for Jackson in two out of the three elections. But Jackson was overwhelmingly popular in the slave states. What is more important is that while the strands of party were being woven together, the whole cloth did not yet exist.

The same patterns can be seen in Congress during the 1820s and even the early 1830s. The major votes on the important issues of Indian policy, land policy, the Bank of he United States, and of course, the tariff, revealed that section trumped party. There were as yet no clear partisan labels, nor truly national organizational structures. However, the average American voter seemed more interested in politics, a newspaper network that was intensely partisan was growing, more common men were running for office, and the rhetoric of American politics had become much more distinctly democratic.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Democratization; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Federalist Party;**

Hamilton, Alexander; Hartford Convention; Political Parties: Overview; Presidency, The.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Origins of American Politics.* New York: Knopf, 1969.

Beeman, Richard R. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Fischer, David Hackett. *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Formisano, Ronald P. "Deferential-Participant Politics: the Early Republic's Political Culture, 1789–1840." *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 473–487.

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

Greene, Jack P. "Changing Interpretations of Early American Politics." In *The Reinterpretation of Early American History: Essays in Honor of John Edwin Pomfert.* Edited by Ray Billington. New York: Norton, 1968.

Henderson, H. James. *Party Politics in the Continental Congress.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780–1840.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

McCormick, Richard P. "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics." *American Historical Review* 65 (1960): 288–301.

Pasley, Jeffery L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Rakove, Jack N. "The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George Washington." In *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity.* Edited by Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. *Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998.

Remini, Robert V. *The Election of Andrew Jackson.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1963.

Risjord, Norman K. *Chesapeake Politics, 1781–1800.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Shankman, Andrew. *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

*William G. Shade*

## Party Organization and Operations

The founding fathers accepted the conventional wisdom that political parties or factions are inherently undesirable. Parties, they thought, set one part of the community against the rest and prevented attention to the general good. James Madison and the other framers believed that the U.S. Constitution would prevent any party or faction from taking control of all parts of the new government and would thus encourage interest groups to compromise. The founders were, however, thinking of the political groupings they had experienced, which modern historians see as either unstable leadership factions or broader movements held together only by an immediate crisis or a single pressing issue. What developed in the 1790s were parties of a quite new kind: more organized and coherent; based on the secure loyalty of ordinary voters; and capable of surviving changes of leadership or the passing of the issues that had led to their formation. Ironically, these new formations were a consequence of the Constitution: it had created a center of national power capable of capture through the electoral process at a time when most states had already granted the right to vote to most adult white males, while the complexity of the new constitutional structure ensured that only the broadest coalitions could hope to succeed.

### PROTO-PARTIES

Parties did not seriously develop, however, until George Washington's impending retirement produced the first contested presidential election in 1796, after six years of growing disagreement over domestic policy, the French Revolution, and the Anglo-French war had aroused deep passions. The long-drawn-out debates over Jay's Treaty (1794) produced a deep cleavage within Congress and polarized the political classes. Supporters of the Washington administration kept the old name "Federalist" and backed John Adams, while their opponents, calling themselves "Republicans," supported Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists exploited their command of the federal government and its patronage, whereas the Republicans had to develop extraconstitutional means of organization, though in some states they did command the state government. For the Republicans, John Beckley, the clerk of the House of Representatives, corresponded with opposition elements in the various states and ensured the nomination of party tickets. After Adams's narrow victory in 1796, partisanship intensified as the growing international crisis made each side believe that the future of the Re-

public was at stake in the coming presidential election of 1800.

Though at this stage the groupings are best described as proto-parties, the electoral battle of 1800 took on characteristics that were qualitatively different from earlier factional struggles. All participants accepted that the contest was between two distinct groupings. Despite bitter rivalries within each party, the internal factions recognized the need to back the party's candidate, however much they disapproved of him. Both sides saw that it was necessary to organize support in the wider public and stimulate voter turnout, especially in the six states where the electorate chose the members of the electoral college. The Republicans were the more energetic, even intervening in New York in the state election that would affect the makeup of the legislature which would choose the presidential electors, but the Federalists began to develop comparable techniques. In their creation of a committed party press, their use of nominating procedures to unify the party's vote, and their belief that they possessed committed popular support, these political formations were taking on some characteristics of mass parties.

### FIRST PARTY SYSTEM, 1800–1824

Taking power in 1801, President Jefferson buttressed Republican predominance by distributing office on a partisan basis, and his supporters in Congress regularized the use of a congressional caucus to maintain party unity there. The effectiveness of the Federalist opposition gradually diminished as Jefferson won overwhelming reelection in 1804 and the Republican majority in the House grew from 69 to 36 between 1801 and 1803 to 118 to 24 between 1807 and 1809. Factionalism among Republicans seemed at times more important than the party contest, and many historians have deduced that the Jeffersonian parties were not well-established, deep-rooted institutions. However, the economic dislocations and social discontent created by Jefferson's Embargo of 1807 revived the opposition party and reinvigorated the party contest. In all the seaboard states north of Virginia, Federalist voters who had been disheartened since 1800 reappeared at the polls and challenged Republican control at the state and local levels. In 1808 the Federalists contested every congressional seat north of the Potomac as well as some in the South and then built up their electoral position impressively, especially after the outbreak of war in 1812. In that year's presidential election, they backed the dissident New York Republican DeWitt Clinton and would have defeated Madison's reelection bid had

they carried Pennsylvania. Similarly, their position in Congress improved, and through the 1813–1815 Congress their 68 members showed far greater cohesion than the 112 Republicans.

**Party competition.** Even during their revival, the Federalists never seriously challenged the Republican predominance because they could not break into the South and West. In these areas the overwhelming support for the Republicans inhibited party development and politics remained elitist, personal, and informal. By contrast, the intense rivalry in two-thirds of the states, from New Hampshire through Maryland and even reaching Ohio, made this period one of intense partisan experience for many Americans. As Philip Lampi's collection of election data at the American Antiquarian Society reveals, voter turnout increased between 1808 and 1814. Over 70 percent of adult males were voting in states as various as New Hampshire and Pennsylvania.

In New England the Republicans mounted an effective challenge after 1800, using legislative caucuses and local meetings to nominate their candidates and backing them with a committed local press. The Federalist revival sharpened party competition and saw the Federalists adopting Republican techniques. The conflict became so sharp in some states, notably Massachusetts, that each year it seemed control of the state government might change hands.

The middle states were throughout the period the most competitive and politically innovative. In the 1790s the Republicans in Pennsylvania and New Jersey developed a party organization that enabled them to nominate tickets, coordinate action, arouse the electorate, and dictate a strict party line. After 1807, in the area from New York through Maryland, the Republicans—who increasingly called themselves Democratic Republicans or even Democrats—began to encourage the popular election of delegates to meet in local and county conventions to nominate candidates for local office, the state legislature, and Congress, and in some states by 1812 in state conventions to nominate gubernatorial candidates. Similarly, the Federalists, eager to harmonize the party, occasionally resorted to delegate conventions, though they usually met in secret because of their public disapproval of Republican "dictation" to the voters. In presidential elections the Republicans either backed the incumbent or, as in 1808 and 1816, used their wide representation in Congress to name a successor through a congressional caucus. The Federalists, for their part, had to look beyond Congress and, in both 1808 and 1812, called secret meetings

in New York that some have seen as, in effect, the first national nominating conventions.

**The acceptance of parties.** One consequence of this experience of party contest was that publicists began to develop theoretical justifications for party organization. In the 1790s most Republicans regarded themselves not as a party but as a band of patriots coming together to overthrow the selfish interests that had captured the federal government. After 1800 Republicans continued to regard their party as embodying the general interest, though some argued that voters owed loyalty to party nominations only if the people could influence nominations to office through delegate conventions. The Federalists ostensibly maintained a traditional scorn for parties, but during the War of 1812 they defended the right of constitutional opposition, arguing that an opposition was essential to protect civil liberties against an overbearing government. Only as the Republican Party began to lose its unity and cohesion after the war did its publicists start to argue that a two-party conflict was good in itself.

**Federalist demise.** The party battle lost its heat and purpose when news of the Treaty of Ghent (December 1814) and the Battle of New Orleans (January 1815) transformed the Federalists from the prudent critics of a foolish war into traitorous obstructionists. As the presidential election of 1816 demonstrated, the Federalist Party now found it impossible to attract new support, and it ceased formal opposition to the new Republican president, James Monroe. In many localities, however, party activists ignored calls for partisan differences to be dropped and tried to organize elections along party lines, though it became harder to maintain unity behind a single candidate. Close state elections returned some Federalist state governments into the early 1820s, and members of the U.S. House of Representatives continued to be categorized as Republicans or Federalists down to 1824.

### PARTY REALIGNMENT, 1824–1832

The old party system was finally destroyed by the sectional feelings generated by the Missouri crisis of 1819–1820 and the depression of the early 1820s. In 1824 the Democratic Republican Party could not agree on a single candidate, and four Republicans found strong bases of voter support. The need to find a president obliged John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay—and their supporters—to come together in 1825 to elect the former in the House election and form an administration, prompting their disappointed rivals to raise the banner of opposition. By 1827

these opposition groups had accepted Andrew Jackson as their presidential candidate, and they began to appeal to voters in a manner entirely reminiscent of the late 1790s. Some of their leaders, notably Martin Van Buren, specifically saw this campaign as the re-creation of the old Democratic Republican Party, which they argued was the best means of restoring the rule of sound political principle. In this process the Federalists also divided, though most supported Adams. Old political friends now separated, old enemies joined together, and new newspapers were founded in what was in effect the greatest political realignment in American history.

The election of 1828 produced a turnout unprecedented in presidential elections, though not in earlier state or congressional contests. Jackson and his supporters responded to victory as had Jefferson's Republicans thirty years before, moving their own men into office and using the federal government to consolidate their position. The former Adams men maintained their opposition and adopted the new name of National Republicans. The electoral basis of this new party contest was confirmed when the election of 1832 saw most voters voting the same way as they had in 1828.

In this new party competition, the election devices that had been created over the previous thirty years were adopted again, only more systematically, by both sides. If anything, the Adams men of 1828 proved the more innovative in their use of state conventions and the creation of a national campaign newspaper. Once again, overwhelming sectional preferences—for Jackson in the South and the frontier West, for the National Republicans in most of New England—made the adoption of thoroughgoing party techniques unnecessary. Partisan organization advanced at the state level only in states and districts that were competitive. But in battleground states like New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, the parties used all possible devices, swaying public opinion with scurrilous pamphlets and broadsides, introducing national party divisions into state elections, and using delegate conventions to name tickets at all levels, including congressional elections. Finally, in 1831 and 1832, the Democrats, National Republicans, and a third party, the anti-Masons, all used a national delegate convention to nominate their candidates, the beginning of a practice that became the particular hallmark of American electoral politics.

*See also* **Anti-Masons; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Election of 1824; Election of 1828;**

**Federalist Party; Jay's Treaty; National Republican Party.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chambers, William Nisbit. *Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience, 1776–1809.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Chase, James S. *Emergence of the Presidential Nominating Convention, 1789–1832.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Cunningham, Noble E. *The Jeffersonians in Power, 1801–1809.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1963.

Fischer, David Hackett. *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Age of Jeffersonian Democracy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Formisano, Ronald P. "Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture, 1789–1840." *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 473–487.

Hoadley, John F. *Origins of American Political Parties, 1789–1803.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1790–1840.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. *Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

*Donald J. Ratcliffe*

## Political Corruption and Scandals

Political corruption and scandals have been recurring themes throughout American history. From Samuel Argall's plundering of the Virginia Company in the early seventeenth century to the Credit Mobilier, Watergate, and countless lesser scandals, each generation of Americans has had its share of public officials who were charged with abusing their positions in the pursuit of money, power, or both. Far from being timeless, however, definitions of corruption and scandal have evolved alongside broader changes in American society and politics.

### POLITICAL CORRUPTION AND THE REVOLUTION

For Americans of the Revolutionary generation, corruption connoted much more than private or individual crimes and misdeeds. Influenced by English political debates and by republican ideology, colonial Americans associated corruption with executive dominance over legislatures through the improper use of patronage and other favors for the benefit of private interests at the expense of the public good.

Following the Glorious Revolution, English politics and government were transformed by the growth of state power and public debt, the emergence of new financial interests and institutions, a proliferation of public offices, and newfound political stability. Most Englishmen attributed that power and stability, and the liberty that accompanied it, to the balance of king, lords, and commons in the English constitution. Simultaneously with these developments, however, there emerged an informal system of "influence" through which the king's ministers dominated parliamentary deliberations through the adroit distribution of appointments, contracts, honors, and the like. Opposition spokesmen viewed this crown influence, especially during Robert Walpole's ministry, not as the source of English political stability but as another chapter in the age-old struggle between power and liberty. As the court party solidified its control over the House of Commons through "influence," radical Whigs such as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon and old Tories like Bolingbroke and other leaders of the country party charged the king's ministers with attempting to corrupt and subvert the mixed and balanced constitution.

This view of politics—with its emphasis on the dangers of corruption and the need for constitutional balance—shaped the colonial response to British imperial policies prior to the Revolution. By 1750 provincial politics had assumed many of the characteristics of British practice. Royal governors used patronage and influence to impose crown authority over newly assertive colonial assemblies, while crown-appointed officials and placemen proliferated, depriving colonial elites of political opportunity and reinforcing oppositional political beliefs. In this context, apprehensive colonials came to view the new British imperial policies of the 1760s and 1770s not as a legitimate attempt to reform the empire but as an extension to the colonies of a corrupt ministerial plot to subvert liberty.

### CORRUPTION IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

Such concerns provided a justification for independence and the basis for a vision of a republican society founded on a virtuous citizenry free of corruption. During and after the Revolution, new state constitutions sought to limit undue executive influence over the people's representatives, and some states passed laws to promote virtue and prevent vice. But the fear of corruption was not abated by independence. Believing that successful republics depended on the citizens' selfless subordination of private interest to the public good, many Americans

worried that greed, speculation, profiteering, and the unrestrained pursuit of private gain threatened the moral reformation promised by the Revolution. When some members of the Confederation Congress charged that Silas Deane, Robert Morris, Samuel Chase, and other public officials misused their positions for personal enrichment, such doubts were reinforced. The burgeoning public debt, a source of corruption in the English system, added to the fear that America might yet suffer the fate of past republics brought low by the loss of virtue and by corruption.

The new federal Constitution adopted in 1788 did not immediately allay concerns about the corrosive influence of corruption. Proponents argued that a stronger national government founded on the principle of separation of powers would remedy the "vices of the system" so prevalent in the 1780s. Opponents predicted that such a system would only create new opportunities for corruption. Alexander Hamilton's fiscal program—with its permanent debt, national bank, and federal subsidies of manufacturing—seemed to confirm the anti-Federalists' worst fears. Hamilton's intent was to strengthen the central government and stabilize the nation's finances by forging an alliance between government and business, exploiting the latter's self-interest to that end. But to Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others of the emerging opposition, Hamilton's hidden purpose was to impose a system of government in America à la Walpole, with executive dominance over the legislature solidified through patronage, influence, and favoritism to business interests. In the increasingly divisive politics of the 1790s, rampant speculation in government securities and unseemly ties between government officials and public creditors reawakened old concerns about the threat posed by corruption in a republic. The involvement of some of Hamilton's closest associates—William Duer (sent to jail for his role in the highest-level financial scandal in the history of the Treasury Department), James Duane, Rufus King, and his own father-in-law, Philip Schuyler—fueled such fears. Although Democratic Republicans tried to link Hamilton to such activities and even pushed for congressional censure in 1793 for his alleged misuse of foreign loans, there is no evidence that he ever benefited personally from his policies.

The traditional rhetoric of "ministerial corruption" persisted through the late 1790s and beyond, but its resonance waned. Despite its initial excesses, the Hamiltonian program remained in place. Unsubstantiated charges of soliciting a bribe from the French government forced Secretary of State Ed-

mund Randolph's resignation in 1795, and questions were raised about House Speaker Jonathan Dayton's handling of his accounts; but there were no serious instances of corruption in the Washington and Adams administrations. By the late 1790s, moreover, laws had been passed prohibiting many kinds of corrupt practices. Although politically charged in their own way, the two most sensational scandals of the period were of an entirely different nature. In 1797 Hamilton's opponents revealed that he had earlier had an affair with a married woman, Maria Reynolds, and had submitted to blackmail to conceal it. Five years later, Jefferson's intimate relationship with Sally Hemings, one of his slaves, was exposed, setting off a firestorm of opposition criticism.

Land speculation was at the heart of two major scandals involving misconduct by state and national officials. In 1797 the U.S. Senate voted overwhelmingly to expel Tennessee senator William Blount for conspiring with western settlers and the British to forcibly oust the Spanish from Florida and Louisiana. Blount, a prominent North Carolinian who became the first territorial governor and first senator from Tennessee, had become deeply involved in land speculation and saw the removal of the Spanish as a way to enhance his investments. His illegal interference in U.S. foreign policy for private gain prompted his expulsion from the Senate and the initiation of formal impeachment proceedings in the House of Representatives. A second scandal involved the Georgia legislature's sale of 35 million acres of land in the Yazoo River district of present-day Mississippi and Alabama to the Yazoo Land Company for below-market prices. When it was revealed that the 1795 law was the result of rampant bribery and corruption, a new legislature rescinded the sale, whereupon private investors who had purchased Yazoo lands demanded relief and protection of their property rights. After years of controversy, the Jefferson administration settled speculators' claims with federal funds in 1802, and, in 1810 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the original land sales in *Fletcher v. Peck.*

### CORRUPTION IN THE AGE OF JEFFERSON AND JACKSON

With the Jeffersonian-Republican ascendancy in 1801, the eighteenth-century view of corruption became increasingly anachronistic. Jefferson did replace most (but not all) Federalist officeholders with loyal partisans; but in the new world of party politics, patronage appointments were viewed not as traditional corruption but as an essential ingredient of party government. Apart from the activities of General James Wilkinson and some graft and profiteer-

ing during the War of 1812, the era was mostly free of major scandal. The charge of corruption, however, continued to be an effective political tool in the factional politics of the 1820s. Most notably, Andrew Jackson and his supporters echoed older notions of corruption when they charged John Quincy Adams with having won the presidency in 1825 by means of a "corrupt bargain." Because no candidate had received a majority of the electoral votes, the election of 1824 was thrown into the House of Representatives. Henry Clay, himself eliminated from consideration by the Twelfth Amendment, threw his support to Adams, ensuring the latter's election. When Adams subsequently appointed Clay as his secretary of state, outraged Jacksonians charged that Adams had subverted the will of the people through political intrigue and corruption. The Jacksonians' appropriation of the Revolutionary-era rhetoric of corruption served them well and laid the foundations for Jackson's electoral victory over Adams in 1828. By that time, however, the nation was already undergoing fundamental social, economic, and political changes that would, among other things, transform the meaning, extent, and character of corruption in American society.

*See also* **Anti-Federalists; Blount Conspiracy; Burr Conspiracy; Cabinet and Executive Department; Concept of Empire; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Law; Crime and Punishment; Election of 1800; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Federalists; Government: Overview; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Jefferson, Thomas; Land Speculation; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benson, George C. S., Steven A. Maaranen, and Alan Heslop. *Political Corruption in America.* Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978.

Eisenstadt, Abraham S., Ari Hoogenboom, and Hans L. Trefousse, eds. *Before Watergate: Problems of Corruption in American Society.* Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn College Press, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1979.

Loth, David Goldsmith. *Public Plunder: A History of Graft in America.* 1938. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970.

Miller, Nathan. *Stealing from America: A History of Corruption from Jamestown to Reagan.* New York: Paragon House, 1992.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* New York: Norton, 1972; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

*L. Ray Gunn*

## *Political Culture*

Political culture, a concept popular among scholars, takes an anthropological approach to political life. In other words, rather than concentrate on systematic political theories, the study of political culture is attuned to cultural symbols and "unstated premises." Studies of political culture often boil down to identifying the implicit rules of political behavior in a given context—the boundaries of legitimate, effective political action. Political culture has been particularly useful for studying the early Republic because only at the end of this period did anything much resembling the familiar U.S. party system take shape.

### CONSPIRACY THEORIES

The books often said to have inaugurated the study of political culture among historians of early America were Bernard Bailyn's *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967) and its companion volume, *The Origins of American Politics.* Locating the sources of American political thought in a then little-read collection of tracts from the fringes of British politics, Bailyn exposed the founding fathers as conspiracy theorists whose campaign against the British imperial regime was full of hysterical rhetoric and outlandish beliefs, most of them revolving around a secret British design to impose an unconstitutional tyranny on the American colonies—or, as worried American slaveholders tended to put it, to reduce America to slavery. Living far from the centers of a British authority that was rarely exercised before the 1750s, Americans came to regard power itself as a fearsome, evil, hungry thing with an "endlessly propulsive tendency to expand itself beyond legitimate boundaries."

Colonial Americans still considered themselves Britons, but their reading and often limited experience of the mother country led many of them to believe that the free British constitution had been corrupted by what historians now know were the beginnings of the modern parliamentary system: the consolidation of power in the hands of a "prime" minister who controlled a majority in the House of Commons. Many came to see America as the last bastion of British constitutional liberty and their own local governments as reflecting the "true" British constitution. When the British tried to tighten up

**The Gerry-mander.**  In 1812 Elkanah Tisdale created this famous woodcut showing the new voting districts in Essex County, Massachusetts, as a winged lizard. The term *gerrymander* is derived from the last name of Massachusetts governor Elbridge Gerry, a Democratic Republican who forced a partisan redistricting bill through the state legislature. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the governance of the empire a bit, seriously enforc-ing their languishing customs laws and asking their now-wealthy colonies to contribute some tax reve-nue for the first time, Americans saw something far more sinister at work. Building on what by 1776 was a long tradition of over-the-top charges against the British, Thomas Jefferson made the Declaration of Independence into a long conspiracy theory about

the king himself, charging him with introducing slavery and causing America's racial problems with both blacks and Indians.

The success of conspiracy theories in recruiting popular support for the Revolution, and the lurid fears of political power that underlay the theories, made such scare-mongering a permanent part of American political culture. Nearly every major social and political development of the period would generate such theories, which were often central to the political messages and methodologies of major movements in this period and all the early national political parties from the Federalists and Democratic Republicans to the anti-Masons, Whigs, and Know-Nothings. The major conspiracy theory "villains" in the early Republic included the French revolutionaries, the Masons, both the Jeffersonian Republicans and the opposing Federalists, the Irish, the Catholic Church, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, the Bank of the United States, the abolitionists, southern slaveholders, and more. It often seemed that an all-out plot to subvert liberty was the only thing that could motivate large numbers of Americans to political action.

Historians have differed over whether conspiratorial thinking should be considered a psychological problem, a genuine political philosophy, or something else. What can be said with certainty is that, from the very beginning of American political history, Americans have been notably moralistic and Manichean in their approach to political debate, tending to see politics as a war between the forces of light and darkness, order and chaos, good and evil.

### REPUBLICAN VIRTUE, POLITICAL CHARACTER, AND ANTIPARTYISM

Directly related to the outsized fears of conspiracy and corruption was a somewhat paradoxical set of political ideals that many historians have come to label "classical republicanism." These notions had their origins in a certain idealized view of classical antiquity that was encouraged by many of the favorite political texts. Classical republican thought was communitarian in orientation, holding that representative government and republican liberty were safe only when both leaders and citizens virtuously abstained from self-interested behavior and acted for the common good. In terms of political culture, however, republican virtue demanded individualism, more commonly rendered in this period as "independence": a virtuous statesman could never submit his own political conscience to interest, ambition, or external pressure if his actions were to have legitimacy or influence.

Virtuous citizens were also necessary in a republic, and citizens showed their virtue by always putting self-interest and passion aside and choosing virtuous "characters" to lead them. During and after the Revolution, there was much concern among the Patriot leaders about the possible corruption of the citizenry. The anti-British protestors of the 1760s organized boycotts of British luxury goods out of a desire to pressure British merchants, but from that time on there were recurrent campaigns against luxurious living in general, as Patriot agitators like Samuel Adams sought a moral and political regeneration they believed went hand in hand. The first Continental Congress proclaimed a moral code for the new nation that banned theaters, horse racing, and cockfighting, and local controversies over luxury items and frivolous entertainment broke out periodically thereafter. Dr. Benjamin Rush proposed a system of public education that would "render the mass of the people more homogeneous, and thereby fit them more easily for uniform and peaceable government."

Obviously these conformist political values were not especially friendly to the later American ideal of participatory democracy. The ideal of republican virtue affected political behavior, especially among the members of the Virginia dynasty. A virtuous republican could never actively seek power: candidates did not "run" for office, they were asked by others to "stand." Though lifelong politicians almost to a man, the founders went to great lengths to convey their utter disinterest in political power or financial gain to any who would listen.

The quest for republican virtue made early American political culture rather schizophrenic concerning such basic elements of democratic politics as parties and campaigning. Though many parts of America had experienced vigorous political competition along clear partisan lines since colonial times, most early American leaders did not regard this as a normal or acceptable state of affairs. Thomas Jefferson expressed the feelings of many early American leaders about the idea of joining a political party: "Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all." Nevertheless, Jefferson soon became the figurehead of the country's first political party. And antipartyism remained a common sentiment even as parties became the norm. Americans congratulated themselves on the seeming collapse of national party divisions during the "Era of Good Feeling" in the 1810s, then promptly rejoined them with renewed fervor in the decades that followed while always remaining open to re-

formers' attacks on the corruption and divisiveness of parties. The contradictions are symbolized by the fact that one of the most organizationally aggressive and innovative national parties, the anti-Masons, had antipartyism as a major part of its message.

Antipartisanship shaped actual political behavior as well as attitudes. Candidates for high office could not be seen as active public participants in their own campaigns during this period. (Even the nakedly ambitious Aaron Burr, who campaigned aggressively for the Democratic Republicans in 1800, had to stand for office in a district far away from the scene of his campaign activities in New York City.) Presidential candidates made no national speaking tours until the middle of the nineteenth century, and even then the practice was widely criticized. High officeholders had to rely on friends and surrogates, including newspaper editors, if they wanted to seek broad public support for their actions or win a higher office.

While newspapers, congressional debaters, and other partisans carried out public battles over ideology and policy, American statesmen themselves operated in a highly pressurized environment in which political battles seemed to be more about personal character and "honor." In the absence of any agreed-upon standards or mechanisms for dealing with questions of personal integrity, like ethics laws, aspersions on a statesman's character, and many other political quarrels, were settled according to prevailing social mores. Aaron Burr's killing of Alexander Hamilton in a duel was only one of many political duels and near-duels in the early Republic, though it was somewhat unusual in ending with an actual death. The political duel was largely limited to a subculture of gentlemen politicians who had once been military officers. If someone beneath that station insulted a gentleman or tried to issue a challenge, he was more likely to get "cowhided" in the street than to be dueled.

Violence, however, remained an important part of American political culture throughout this period. Teams of thugs at polling places were an integral part of the "get out the vote" (or keep down the vote) efforts in many cities. Rioting mobs were also an occasionally critical political factor, and at several key points, a tool. The Sons of Liberty encouraged mobs to intimidate local British officials during the Stamp Act crisis, a campaign of terror that included the dismantling of Massachusetts Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson's mansion. During the 1830s prominent politicians in the North and South helped organize mobs that shut down abolitionist meetings and destroyed abolitionist newspapers and pamphlets. Ab-

olitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered during one of these riots in 1837.

### CELEBRATORY POLITICS

Although classical republican virtue was a deep strain in American political culture, it was hardly universal. The "disinterestedness" it required could be practiced only by the wealthiest, best-placed politicians in any case, and it had little to say about the more active and democratic forms that early on became a basic part of American political life. Governments that were in the end based on public opinion and popular voting inevitably spawned practices that sought to marshal those forces one way or another. It was only at the end of this period that the familiar institutions of the American party system really took shape.

In the early Republic, therefore, popular political culture was necessarily creative, adaptive, and variable. Because the early political parties were organizationally almost nonexistent, the work of building support for them was conducted by scattered groups of local activists, with little centralized direction or funding. Necessarily reliant on local resources and personnel, these typically self-appointed activists simply made partisan use of whatever existing traditions, institutions, and practices they could, including many that were long-standing features of Anglo-American culture. Among these were holiday celebrations, parades, taverns, toasts, songs, town meetings, petitions, militia company training days, and various products of local printing presses, including broadsides, handbills, almanacs, poems, pamphlets, and, especially, the small-circulation local and regional newspapers that sprang up everywhere after the Revolution.

Some of the most interesting political artifacts of this type are the plethora of songs published on the back pages of partisan newspapers and sometimes as sheet music or in songbooks, many of which were presumably sung in taverns or at partisan gatherings. The musical output included not only "Jefferson and Liberty" and "The People's Friend," but also such unlikely numbers as "Adams and Liberty," "Huzzah Madison Huzzah," and even "Monroe Is the Man." Especially popular among local partisans were innumerable sets of new lyrics to popular tunes such as "Yankee Doodle," "Hail Columbia," and the "Anacreonic Song," better known today as the United States national anthem.

Each region of the country had its own particular local practices that were drawn into partisan politics and became part of a distinctive regional political

culture. In the South, the famous court-day barbecues were transformed from rituals of noblesse oblige into competitive partisan debates, initiating the Southern stump-speaking tradition. In the cities and larger towns, fraternal orders, voluntary associations, and militia companies were politicized, with the so-called Democratic Republican societies and the Tammany Society being two of the best-known examples on the Republican side. These groups formed the beginnings of the highly disciplined neighborhood-based political organizations that would in time become known as urban political "machines."

In New England, where churches and the clergy had always played an unusually prominent role in public life, many aspects of religious culture were adapted to partisan use. The Congregational establishment was heavily and intemperately Federalist, and its members did not hesitate to put partisan political instructions into their sermons. At the same time, the traditions of the jeremiad and the publication of sermons gave rise not only to a large number of published political sermons and books by the clergy, but also the practice of secular politicians giving and publishing formal orations that often took on a distinctly homiletic tone.

Although always locally controlled and thus highly varied in tone and content, certain practices were nearly universal in this political culture. Among the most important were the holiday celebrations that dotted the civic calendar, each of which brought many of the elements mentioned above together into a single political event. For Republicans, the most important day was the Jefferson-centric Fourth of July, which they had championed as a more republican and democratic alternative to Washington's birthday or government-mandated thanksgiving and fast days. The highlights of such banquets were the toasts, drunk at the end and accompanied by cheers or cannon blasts if possible. Afterward, an account of the celebration would be published in a sympathetic local newspaper, including a verbatim transcript of the toasts. No mere drinking game, political banquet toasts served, and were intended to serve, as informal platforms for the community, party, or faction that held the gathering.

One form of political statement that was unique to Jefferson's Democratic Republicans and befit a party claiming to champion ordinary farmers and mechanics was the creation and presentation of an outsized foodstuff. As the city's Democratic Republicans prepared for their first March 4th celebration (the anniversary of Jefferson's election to the presidency) in 1801, "a monstrous large ox" was festooned with flowers and ribbons and the logo "Jefferson and Burr" between its horns and then processed through the streets, "followed," as one outraged Federalist lady remembered it, "by such a despicable rabble as you never saw." The Baptists of Cheshire, Massachusetts, established the mature version of the fad with the half-ton mammoth cheese that Elder John Leland had delivered to Thomas Jefferson on New Year's 1802, bearing the inscription: "THE GREATEST CHEESE IN AMERICA, FOR THE GREATEST MAN IN AMERICA." Be they edible or tuneful, all of these homely, locally produced tributes were part of a significant, democratizing shift in the culture of American political leadership that occurred after 1800. The imagery and iconography surrounding Washington depicted a stern patriarch bestride a warhorse, lifted to heaven by choirs of angels, or enrobed and enthroned in the clouds like Zeus. The images of Jefferson that circulated, however, were simple portraits, and the language used to praise him often strikingly intimate. As one song put it in 1801: "Invited, by the friendly voice, / Of freemen, in a prudent choice; / Kind JEFFERSON, with love replete, / Accepts, th' *important* helm of state."

This was not "merely" a verbal or linguistic change; it reflected and authorized concrete changes in the way that politics was conducted at the local, retail level. Even some Federalists learned to approach voters in a different way after Jefferson's accession. Following the Republicans' lead, it was now imperative for all political activists—whether in how they wrote, spoke, or personally behaved when they encountered citizens in taverns, public meetings, polling places, or homes—to approach the people as friends and equals, not as children or subjects to be guided.

*See also* **Almanacs; Congregationalists; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Era of Good Feeling; Federalist Party; Fourth of July; Holidays and Public Celebrations; Jefferson, Thomas; Liberty; Music: Patriotic and Political; Newspapers; Poetry; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Press, The; Print Culture; Revolution: Social History; Rhetoric; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Taverns.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Origins of American Politics.* New York: Vintage, 1970.

———. *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Enlarged ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

Baker, Jean H. *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983; New York: Fordham University Press, 1998.

Beeman, Richard, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II, eds. *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Formisano, Ronald P. "The Concept of Political Culture." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (winter 2001): 493–526.

———. *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s-1840s.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

Gendzel, Glen. "Political Culture: Genealogy of a Concept." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (1997): 225–250.

Goldberg, Robert Alan. *Enemies Within: The Culture of Conspiracy in Modern America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780–1840.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Horn, James, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Ketcham, Ralph. *Presidents Above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. "Conspiracy Theory and American Exceptionalism from the Revolution to Roswell." Paper read at Bernard Bailyn festschrift, Harvard University, May 21, 2000. Available at http://conspiracy.pasley brothers.com/CT_and_American_Exceptionalism_ web_version.htm

———. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Pasley, Jeffrey L., Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds. *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Rosenbaum, Walter A. *Political Culture.* New York: Praeger, 1975.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Withington, Ann Fairfax. *Toward a More Perfect Union: Virtue and the Formation of American Republics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

*Jeffrey L. Pasley*

## Political Economy

The concept of "political economy" has a long and varied history. Aristotle wrote about the allocation of household resources and the relationships of individual producers to each other in the city–states of ancient Greece. Modern scholars often employ the term when investigating how larger systems of authority create the means to satisfy the wants and needs of particular groups of people. In the British Atlantic system that developed from the early 1600s to the early 1800s, "political economy" became an important conceptual tool for policymakers, economic agents, and intellectuals concerned with shaping the imperial expansion of competing nations, their control over the people and resources of far-flung colonies, and the production and distribution of wealth within European nations. Among British writers of that era, ideas about political economy coincided with the broad transatlantic appeal of republicanism in political thought, and with the general tenets of the era's moral philosophy.

### A TRANSFORMATIVE ERA

The acceleration of Britain's economic transformation toward an industrial revolution was aided by imperial commercial expansion and North American colonists' agricultural prosperity. As a result, the state and social classes underwent dramatic alteration throughout the empire. Rising, ambitious groups of commercial farmers, entrepreneurs, merchants, and manufacturers in England clamored for promotion and protection of their modern interests against traditional interests, often including landed aristocrats and families protected by the patronage of the monarchy. Writers stood back and observed the long view of this transformative era, and what they saw was a paradox: although the British people at home and in the colonies enjoyed relief from the deep structural economic insecurity brought by plagues, scarcities, and protracted wars during previous centuries, the fruits of their expansion and development were uneven and unpredictable in the 1600s and 1700s. The violent disorder that erupted locally, as well as the revolutions and civil wars of the era, often had underlying economic causes, which in turn pointed toward the need for more active government intervention into the nation's—and empire's—economic affairs. "Political economists" in the British Atlantic saw this state of affairs as their particular challenge, just as republicans, or "commonwealthmen," grappled with questions of freedom and obligation. While republicans rediscovered (and reshaped) much older theories explaining that rulers walked a precarious path of wisdom, reason, and virtue, on either side of which lay tyranny and licentiousness, political economists tried to secure social order and material prosperity with a network of pol-

icies addressing economic activities, goods, and services.

## THE ART OF MANAGING A STATE

Early modern political economy was at once political and ethical. Before the early nineteenth century, economics was not a pure science, though writers claimed to be investigating or formulating "laws" of economic behavior or development. It was, rather, a branch of moral philosophy and contained numerous assumptions about human nature and the appropriate ethical relationships advancing peoples should exhibit. Just as a republican citizen needed to live virtuously, the political economy of a nation needed to embody economic justice. Of course, abstract principles translated only haphazardly into practice, and more often than not the unfolding litany of mercantile legislation passed by British imperial authorities served one or another special economic interest. By the late eighteenth century, British Americans understood political economy as the art of managing a state, or the means by which a government allocated resources and protected various interests of its citizenry. The Scottish writer Adam Smith defined political economy as "a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator" the primary goal of which was to "enrich both the people and the sovereign." Smith and other writers believed political economy was directly derived from policies and directly influenced the economic lives of all groups within a state. And although Smith is probably most closely associated with a targeted assault on the mercantilist state (the term first used in Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776), even Smith believed that there was an important role for government in furthering the economic development of a nation. Government and citizens of a republic were interdependent; as in republican belief, the state could not survive without striving to preserve the well-being of society.

As American Revolutionaries discovered, once they had secured their political independence, their need to secure an economic foundation that would preserve Americans' republican character evinced a similar patchwork quilt of legislation. How newly independent Americans would create a viable political economy was by no means clear. Optimists and skeptics debated the qualities of the republican character. From the 1780s to 1810s, they also engaged in a vibrant public and legislative discussion about whether there were sufficient resources—people, skills, capital—to launch a republic that could enter the "world of nations" as an independently productive people, and on what basis productivity should unfold at all. A bewildering array of voices joined this discussion about how to shape the new nation's political economy.

## HAMILTONIAN AND JEFFERSONIAN VIEWS

Scholars tend to cluster the many different ideas and policies of the era, and the numerous shifting alliances of Americans who promoted them, around two poles. One, the nationalist or Federalist or Hamiltonian political economy, was more intimately associated with British development, urban cosmopolitanism exhibited in the American North, and rising entrepreneurship and manufactures. Its adherents identified with many of the economic ideas that gave rise to the mercantilist policymaking of the British Empire; mercantilism was, if nothing else, defined by its reliance on government legislation to secure the most desirable economic activities and to thwart those that were undesirable. Following other British precedents, Hamiltonian political economists also supported such federal institutions as the Bank of the United States and policies designed to raise revenue to fund the central debt.

The other pole, a localist or Jeffersonian political economy, contrasted American simplicity with the degeneration and corruption—concepts inherited from republicanism—of the developing British state, banking system, and industrial revolution. They emphasized the abundance of natural resources in North America, the potential for westward expansion, and the virtues of continuing to exist as primarily an agricultural people. Jeffersonian political economy was associated with "free trade" among southern planters and took a view of international affairs premised on America's role in nurturing the "natural virtue" of agricultural expansion and the exporting of staples. In this view, Americans would not only provide sufficiency and modest comfort for themselves, but would also enter commerce as the provisioners of war-torn and hungry peoples elsewhere in the world.

Scholars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century argue that, though such a polarization of views may have appeared in Americans' spirited discussions during the post-Revolutionary generation, it did not reflect reality. Neither Hamiltonian nor Jeffersonian political economy was a static body of ideas and policies. Both persuasions were more pragmatic than dogmatic in their approaches to shaping the economy; both embodied a range of contentious views; both accepted various degrees of governmental involvement in facilitating economic development; and both anticipated an American future

of economic growth and widespread individual material comfort. Indeed, post-Revolutionary Americans readily adopted many mercantilist measures to stabilize and develop the economies of states and nation, and few of them believed in the efficacy of "economic naturalism" or free-market agrarianism, ideas that had been touted by eighteenth-century French political economists. In reality, individuals and groups throughout America clamored for economic policies at the local and state level that would channel resources, regulate particular privileges, and set the parameters of an economic interest's activities; the policies were passed in legislatures that combined representatives of Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian views in myriad ways during the early Republic. In reality, too, most Americans lived on the land or very close to farming activities, and most technologies and economic infrastructures reflected preindustrial arrangements for at least two generations after independence.

When differences did emerge among Americans about their economy, they tended to be about how much government intervention in the economy was good to foster; how big the new economic institutions should be; to whom certain economic policies should be addressed; and whether the basis of political authority for economic development should rest at the local, state, or national level. Indeed, the transition from the Federalist presidency of John Adams to the Democratic Republican presidency of Jefferson in 1800, preceded by the political transformation of many local and state legislatures, was more political in nature than economic; Jeffersonians adhered to most of the economic principles and policies laid down by Federalist officeholders in the preceding generation.

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF ECONOMIC IDEAS

In important respects the contentious discussion among shifting groups of Americans who struggled to stabilize and develop their economy was not the result of political independence or the initiation of concerns for a new nation's economic future. It was, rather, the continuation of the more fundamental transformation of economic ideas throughout the Atlantic world during the eighteenth century. Slowly, large numbers of people across imperial boundaries and oceans had begun to understand that the source of value lay not only in accumulating gold and silver, but in the people—who represented the labor and reproductive potential—of a nation; that money could as effectively be made of paper as of specie (gold and silver coin), and that so long as people accepted it, paper money could provide a valuable (though temporary) substitute for specie in exchanges.

All along the Atlantic, people began to shed their fear of debt and embraced a tangled web of debt and credit expanding without artificial (government) restraints. Although they distrusted "luxury," they grew generally less fearful of consuming new, unessential, and foreign goods. Having put the long eras of dire scarcities and unemployment far behind them, great numbers of free white Atlantic peoples began to abandon their long-held notion that the world's wealth was relatively fixed in quantity (and its corollary that a nation's wealth increased only by decreasing the wealth of another). In its place they developed an exuberant faith in their ability to transform limitless natural abundance into usable and desirable commodities and to tame the wilderness holding that abundance into valuable real estate and productive farms; moreover, they accepted that government could play some role in bringing all this about. Although they continued to deplore the "bubbles," or excesses of speculation in the public debt, that developed in eighteenth-century England and during the American Revolutionary War, by the 1780s few citizens doubted the benefits of locally controlled banks and a larger, more widely circulating currency.

The delineation of rights and obligations between rulers and ruled that had provided the basis for many economic concepts before the 1700s was breaking down rapidly during the Revolutionary generation. Increasingly, the growing number of brokers, bankers, insurers, retailers, specialists in commercial services, and representatives of many new trades who functioned in the interstices of the economy, linking small investors to emerging institutions or providing services where economic connections were still tenuous, had to be incorporated into the "system of political economy" that Americans embraced. By the 1820s the Republic had entered another era of its political economy.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Banking System; Economic Development; Economic Theory; Government and the Economy; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Industrial Revolution; Jefferson, Thomas; Material Culture; Merchants; Revolution: Finance; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Appleby, Joyce. *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s.* New York: New York University Press, 1984.

Matson, Cathy, and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interests: Economy and Politics in the Revolutionary Era.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

McCoy, Drew. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* New York: Norton, 1980.

Rezneck, Samuel. "The Rise and Early Development of Industrial Consciousness in the United States, 1760–1830." *Journal of Economic and Business History* 4 (1932): 784–811.

Riesman, Janet. "Money, Credit, and Federalist Political Economy." In *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity.* Edited by Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

*Cathy Matson*

## *Political Pamphlets*

In the American colonies of Great Britain and the early United States, printing was of course the only form of mass communication available. With at least one press in every sizeable colony by 1750, the mechanism for an extensive exchange of opinions and information was ready to be tapped when the Crown began in the 1760s to bring the American colonies into "due subordination" to the mother country. The colonists responded to changes in trade regulations and revenue laws by noting the presumed harm to colonial prosperity and imperial trade; but they also argued that the changes violated the British constitution, especially the prohibition against taxing persons not represented in Parliament. In a pamphlet titled *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (Boston, 1764), the American Revolutionary statesman James Otis gave his opinion on the proper definition of the constitution and its applicability to the colonists. Later John Dickinson wrote a more extensive treatment of this topic, *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer . . .* (Philadelphia, 1768) in which he dismissed the difference asserted by some in Britain between "internal" (the Stamp Tax, e.g.) and "external" taxes (import tariffs, e.g.), the former forbidden to the British, the latter permitted. Dickinson argued that both were equally onerous and equally forbidden; taxation without consent was "slavery." In 1774, Thomas Jefferson's *A Summary View of the Rights of British America. . . .* (Williamsburg, 1774) denied the existence of little more than a ceremonial tie with Great Britain. Its near assertion of independence was too advanced for the time, but
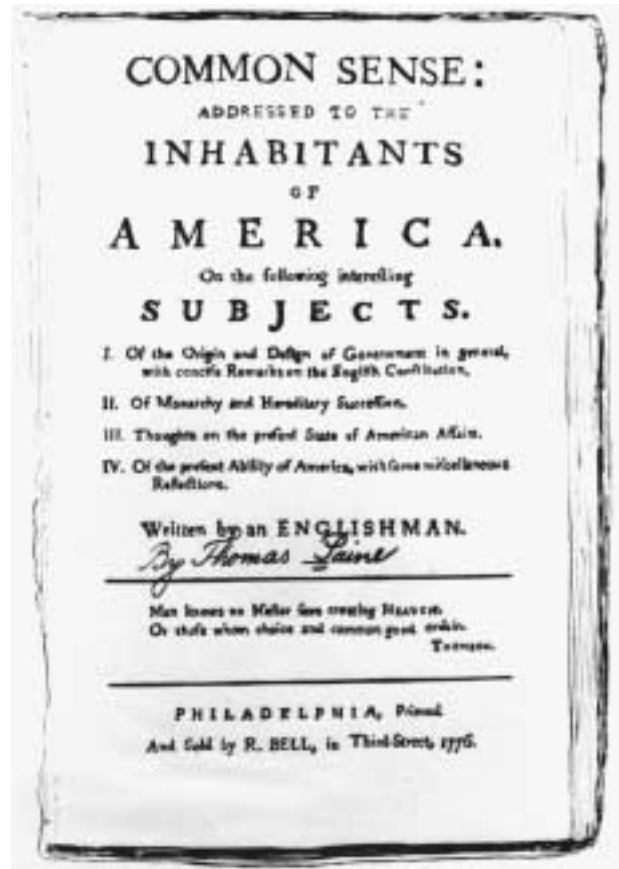


**Common Sense.** The title page to the pamphlet *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine's violent diatribe against British control. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

it served to put Jefferson's name before the general public both in the colonies and Britain. Pamphleteers, often using pen names from ancient Greek or Roman history, presented their arguments as gentlemanly dialogues, buttressing their arguments with references to classical or Enlightenment authors.

### THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE

With the outbreak of fighting between royal forces and colonists at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the controversy moved to a more consequential question: Did Great Britain have *any* power over the colonies? While a fledgling Continental Army besieged British forces in Boston and royal governors everywhere lost effective power, the Continental Congress moved toward independence. In January 1776 a recent emigrant, Thomas Paine, signing himself "Common Sense," published a violent diatribe against British control, arguing that there was no alternative to independence. Echoing popular arguments, he asked what logic there was in an island

governing a continent; he derided George III as a "royal brute" and urged a simple republican government for the colonies. This pamphlet was immediately popular, selling more than 150,000 copies through 1778 when the sale of a few hundred copies was remarkable. In addition to a readership, many pamphlets reached even wider audiences when read aloud in gathering places; Paine's crude and harshly expressed language was well suited to oral proclamation. After Paine, other writers dropped their mannerly tone.

### STRENGTHENING THE UNION

After independence was declared and until it was won, the principal subjects of pamphlets and newspapers were the conduct of the war, congressional politics, and controversies over state constitutions. After the end of the war, a steady stream of pamphlets and newspaper essays argued for and against the strengthening of the Articles of Confederation. The publication of the draft constitution in the fall of 1787 opened the floodgates of conflicting opinions about ratification. Some of the most widely known essays of the controversy, especially those by the anti-Federalists, who opposed ratification, received only limited circulation. One exception was Melancton Smith's *Observations . . . the Federal Farmer.* Printed in their entirety only in the Poughkeepsie, New York, *Country Journal* (1788), the observations were later collected into a pamphlet printed four times, for a total of about four thousand copies. Deliberations of the state ratifying conventions were sometimes printed in pamphlet form. The best known of these essays, *The Federalist*, went directly from individual newspaper publication to collection in book form in 1788. Another set of Federalist arguments was in the satirical essays and verses of some of the "Connecticut Wits," a group of Yale graduates who poked fun at those opposing the new constitution in *American Antiquities* and *The Anarchiad*, appearing intermittently in 1786–88. One particular object of their scorn was the governor of New York, George Clinton, probably the most notable anti-Federalist in the North.

### THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1789–1800

Following ratification of the Constitution, the new federal government began operating in March 1789. By the end of Washington's first term as president in March 1793, conflict between the Federalists and an opposition group, the Republicans, had become public. New, fiercely partisan newspapers and numerous pamphlets argued points of public policy, printed

orations and sermons, and marked events such as political anniversaries. The events of the first three presidential administrations, especially those dealing with foreign policy, polarized public opinion, bringing partisan feeling to extraordinary heights. During a foreign policy crisis with France, from 1798 to 1800, at least twenty-nine pamphlets were printed on the Alien and Sedition Acts. At the height of the crisis in 1798, statements in support of President John Adams were frequently printed and widely distributed. Controversialists did not always confine themselves to political questions. In 1797, Alexander Hamilton revealed his adulterous relationship with the wife of a speculator in *Observations on Certain Documents . . .* (Philadelphia, 1797). The speculator was blackmailing Hamilton, resulting in suspicious payments of money. The payments had led to accusations by a scandalmongering journalist, James Thomson Callender (*The American Annual Register . . .* [Philadelphia, 1797]) that Hamilton had dealt illegally in government securities while secretary of the Treasury. Rather than have his public character smeared, Hamilton chose to smear his private reputation and embarrass his wife. Callender later was the first to publish assertions that Thomas Jefferson had fathered children by one of his slaves.

### ELECTION OF 1800

The first strongly contested presidential election was that of 1800. A flood of campaign literature issued from both sides—the Federalists, in support of John Adams, and the Republicans, in support of Thomas Jefferson. The Republicans were particularly vocal, criticizing the administration's measures restricting freedom of press, speech, and assembly. The Federalists decried Jefferson's presumed atheism and his intellectual predilections, particularly his "unhealthy" interest in foreign philosophies. This was illustrated by a satirical pamphlet by David Daggett, *Sun Beams May Be Extracted from Cucumbers . . .* (New Haven, 1799). Alexander Hamilton made a curious contribution by writing a pamphlet highly critical of Adams, *Letter from Alexander Hamilton Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams . . .* (New York, 1800). Somewhat illogically, he concluded by strongly advising that readers vote for Adams. After Jefferson and the Republicans won the White House and control of Congress, Republicans focused on organizing the party to ensure future power, printing the proceedings of county and state committees as much to inform voters about Republican leaders as to put forward party policies and achievements, such as the Louisiana Purchase (1803).

During the War of 1812, the Federalists became identified with antiwar, pro-British policies. When the war ended in 1815 with apparent American success, the Federalist Party began to collapse as a national party. Republican propaganda efforts slackened and so did political publishing of all kinds. However, other topics surfaced, and pamphlets presented discussions on slavery and religious questions.

### THE NO-PARTY PERIOD, 1816–1828

After Monroe's election in 1816, with only nominal Federalist opposition, the Republicans were able to put forward the notion of a no-party state. Monroe toured New England in the summer of 1817 and later saw to the publication of *A Narrative of a Tour . . . by James Monroe . . .* (Philadelphia, 1818). Implicitly, the Yankees' acclaim showed the death of Federalism. Monroe's reelection in 1820 with no formal opposition and only one negative electoral vote seemed to confirm it. However the disputed election of 1824 started new political divisions.

Although Andrew Jackson of Tennessee received the highest number of electoral and popular votes, he did not have the necessary majority. The House of Representatives elected the runner-up, John Quincy Adams. Immediately Jackson's supporters protested what they saw as a stolen election. During the four years of his presidency, Adams was subjected to negative propaganda, stressing the supposed corruption and undemocratic character of his election. His presumed aristocratic background was emphasized in pamphlets such as *Who Shall Be President? The Hero of New Orleans* [Jackson], *or John the Second, of the House of Braintree. . . ?* (Boston, 1828). Jackson supporters also penned many pamphlets in common language and illustrated with crude woodcuts calling for direct election by the popular vote. In the months leading up to the election of 1828, when Jackson challenged Adams, pamphlets (and broadsides) accused both candidates of the grossest personal acts in addition to their supposed public crimes. Pamphlets helped bring forth a voter turnout estimated at near 80 percent, electing Jackson. In the succeeding years, the role of pamphlets would wax and wane depending on the needs of the parties.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Anti-Federalists; Constitutional Convention; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; Paine, Thomas; Press, The.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard, ed. *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Davidson, Philip. *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763–1783*. New York: Norton, 1973.

Ferling, John E. *Adams vs. Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*. Vols. 1–10, 13–20. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–2004.

Kerber, Linda K. *Federalist in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Remini, Robert F. *The Election of Andrew Jackson*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1963; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Storing, Herbert J., ed. *The Complete Anti-Federalist*. 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Robert F. Jones*

## *Political Parties*

The emergence of political parties in the United States in the 1790s was anything but preordained. The nation had risen from a colonial structure fearful and mistrustful of formal institutions of political power. James Madison's famous *Federalist* No. 10 (1787) was an indictment of political parties, or "factions," and his sentiment was shared by all major political figures of the day, regardless of ideological predisposition, from Thomas Jefferson to George Washington and John Adams, and even to Alexander Hamilton. The common belief was that parties produced political divisiveness and a general distrust in government, elements that had no place in a free society, especially a nascent one struggling to survive in a world of Great Powers.

At the time of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, these early American leaders believed that the source of good government lay in the creation of sound formal institutions. Specifically, a national Constitution, with explicit powers being granted to legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, along with clear checks and balances, was key. Hard lessons had been learned under the Articles of Confederation, with the national government given little meaningful authority over state governments, a sce-

nario that hindered the collection of taxes, the payment of the postwar debt, and the stability of the nation's defenses, all of which threatened the viability of the great experiment in American democracy. The founders believed that the new federal system, with its allocation of greater authority to the national government, would be sufficient to generate sound and stable policy and produce the sort of good government that was preferred by all.

### INSTABILITY IN THE FIRST CONGRESS

Unfortunately, this optimistic view was not to be realized. Upon the convening of the First Congress under the new Constitution in 1789, it became clear that legislative policymaking was anything but stable. Decision making was extremely difficult, as legislative initiatives waxed and waned because of significant instability in voting. Put simply, the nature of policy proposals could be altered easily by the inclusion of amendments, which would change either narrowly or broadly the general thrust of the legislation. This substantive alteration of proposals would then reshape the respective coalitions in support or opposition. Thus, a bill might appear close to passage at one moment; however, after its provisions were altered with an amendment, it would then be defeated. Moreover, decisions themselves were reversible; that is, some bills were in fact passed but were subsequently revisited, altered, and then defeated. Thus, instability reigned in the legislative process. The only way that stable policies were produced was via "vote trades," whereby coalitions would trade support (and votes) across policy areas and agree that eventual decisions were in fact final (and thus not to be revisited). One such case was the famous Jefferson dinner party of 1790, to which Jefferson invited Madison and Hamilton to discuss and finalize a vote trade on the location of the nation's capital and a federal assumption of state debts incurred during and after the Revolution. Yet vote trades were a highly inefficient way of conducting legislative business, since a significant amount of time and effort was needed to negotiate deals on a case-by-case basis.

Underlying the instability in the First Congress was a growing ideological rift on the primary issue dimension that had structured legislative debate and voting, namely the preferred size and scope of the new federal government. While most major political leaders in the early 1790s had been Federalists in the prior decade, supporting stronger national institutions than those under the Articles, differences in perspective existed, and these differences grew over time. Two coalitions subsequently formed, one around the views of Madison and Jefferson and the other around the views of Hamilton and Adams. The Madison–Jefferson coalition held that the apportionment of authority between the federal and state governments under the Constitution struck the right balance, believing that the increase in centralization was necessary but also that the rights and authority of individual states should remain predominant. The Hamilton-Adams coalition felt the Constitution did not go far enough in centralizing power at the national level, believing that an activist federal government was necessary to build and protect a burgeoning nation. The Hamilton–Adams coalition possessed a majority in the First Congress, but it was unable to realize its policy goals. Whenever a pro-federal majority was close to passing a legislative proposal, members of the Madison–Jefferson coalition tacked on an amendment, adding a local or regional dimension, that upset the fragile majority coalition. Assumption of state debt, which eventually became part of the "dinner party" vote trade, was one such case where the Hamilton–Adams coalition was thwarted. This pattern played itself out across the first session of the First Congress, generating constant instability and frustrating the will of the profederal majority.

### THE FIRST PARTY SYSTEM

Eventually, Hamilton devised a plan to overcome the antifederal resistance. His strategy was to adopt a set of informal mechanisms that together would eventually form the structural basis of a political party. At the time, however, Hamilton had no grand scheme of party development in mind; rather, he acted pragmatically in hopes of achieving the more modest goal of organizing the profederal majority into a consistent voting bloc. If this could be accomplished, Hamilton believed, a consistent stream of legislative victories would follow. His strategy took two forms. First, he set up an informal caucus system so that members of the profederal group could come together, discuss strategies, and learn the benefits of coordinating their behavior. The caucus message was that if they organized and acted collectively, they would win more often. Second, Hamilton established floor leaders in both chambers of Congress to further institutionalize the organization. Their role was to prevent the opposition from introducing sectionally based amendments to split his profederal majority, as well as to serve as protowhips, keeping members of the coalition informed as to goals and strategies and assuring that they would act in concert. By the second session of the First Congress, his plan was in full swing, and by the third

session, the benefits were clear. Specifically, Hamilton pushed through a set of financial measures—a system of taxation, a mint, and a national bank—that expanded the federal system. The first two measures were adopted rather easily, but the bank bill encountered significant opposition. Nevertheless, Hamilton's profederal majority hung together, staved off amendments, and passed the bill. Organization had led to stability, and stability had yielded legislative victories.

The success of Hamilton's coalition became abundantly clear to Madison and Jefferson, and by the Second Congress (1791–1793) they had begun to organize an opposition. Moreover, clear labels began to be used to define the individual coalitions, with Hamilton's group adopting the "Federalist" label and Madison and Jefferson's group taking on the "Republican" (or "Democratic Republican") label. Madison, who had once eschewed political parties, now framed them as democratic devices, egalitarian in nature, that could be used for achieving a greater good. More clearly, he framed his Republicans as the "people's alternative" to the more aristocratic Federalists. Parties, to Madison, were now an essential part of the American experience, crucial to giving diverse groups an equal voice in the political process.

Thus, by the Third Congress (1793–1795), a political party system was in full bloom, specifically an *institutional* party system. That is, a party-in-Congress had developed, with other national features such as a mechanism for presidential nominations (through congressional party caucuses). The other aspects of a modern party system—a party-in-elections, with clear partisan campaigns and mass party identification and linkages, and a party-in-government, with organized and integrated party-based units at the local, state, and national levels—were still decades from developing fully. Still, by the mid-1790s, the beginnings of such aspects were present, such as the emergence of party press organs, the use of party labels in electoral politics, and the rise of party organizations at the national level (like the New York–Virginia alliance).

For the remainder of the 1790s, the partisan schism between the Federalists and Republicans increased steadily. Events such as Jay's Treaty (1794), the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), and the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798) continued to firm up partisan voting blocs in the Fourth (1795–1797), Fifth (1797–1799), and Sixth (1799–1801) Congresses. In terms of majority control, the Federalists reigned supreme for the first dozen years of the federal system, except for losing the House of Representatives briefly to the Republicans in the Fourth Congress. This Federalist domination changed in 1800 and 1801 as Jefferson was elected president (after an electoral stalemate and a thirty-six-ballot election in the lame-duck Sixth House) and the Republicans swept the elections to the Seventh Congress. The Federalists would continue to vie with the Republicans throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century, but their influence would wane substantially. The Federalists' electoral strength was in the Northeast, a section that became less influential politically as the nation's population grew and shifted toward the West and South, which were heavily Republican areas. The reapportionment after the 1800 census captured these population trends as the size of the House increased by nearly one-third, with the seat additions occurring almost entirely outside of the Northeast. Nevertheless, the Federalists maintained their organization and continued to serve as the major opposition party to the Republicans through the mid-1810s.

The ending of the Federalist–Republican system, or the First Party System, can be traced to events surrounding the War of 1812 (1812–1815). This second war with Britain was initiated by the War Hawks, a new group of nationalistic Republicans from the West led by House Speaker Henry Clay. The Federalists, on the other hand, with their historic ties to the British, operated as the antiwar party during this period. As such, they actually saw their numbers in Congress and state legislatures increase substantially, thanks to the growing antiwar sentiment in the nation and an uncertain political-economic environment. In December 1814 and January 1815, the Federalists met in Hartford, Connecticut, and denounced the Madison administration and the war with Great Britain. Unfortunately, the Hartford Convention was ill timed, as General Andrew Jackson won the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815, turning the tide of public sentiment toward the war. Very quickly, the Federalist Party was framed as the anti-American Party, as stories of near-treasonous events at Hartford, such as (unfounded) claims of secession proceedings, were reported in the Republican press. The Federalist organization, which had been relatively weak for more than a decade, could not overcome these accusations and slowly disappeared as a viable national party.

### AN UNSTABLE ONE-PARTY ERA
Shortly after his election to the presidency in 1816, James Monroe predicted that the country was entering a new period, an Era of Good Feeling. His belief

was that political battles would cease and that cooperation and concession would be the rule, since the Republicans would be operating as the sole national party. Monroe's prediction proved to be inaccurate, however, as this period of one-party rule was anything but amicable. With the Federalists no longer operating as a serious national party, the Republicans lacked a clear foil against which to organize and coordinate. As a result, regional and sectional issues were placed above national issues, leading to rifts within the Republican coalition. In particular, younger Republicans from the West, many of the War Hawk mentality, championed expansionism and a more activist national government (ironically echoing sentiments expressed by the Federalists), putting them at odds with older Republicans from the South, who supported the traditional party positions of states' rights and limited federal power. Congressional voting during this period was highly unstable, stemming from the lack of party discipline, the constant influx of sectional issues, and the general fluidity of members' policy positions. Indeed, the years between 1816 and 1824 have been called the most unstable period in congressional history, with voting patterns often bordering on chaotic.

In time, groups of these Republicans began coalescing around individuals who would become candidates for the presidency in 1824: John Quincy Adams, the secretary of state; William Crawford, the secretary of the Treasury; Henry Clay, the Speaker of the House; and Andrew Jackson, the war hero and U.S. senator from Tennessee. While Crawford would eventually receive the presidential nomination of the congressional caucus in 1823, this mattered little by that time. That is, the caucus nomination had been criticized as undemocratic for more than a decade, leading the other three potential candidates to reject it as politically definitive. Rather, they turned to "the people" for their nominations, as the Tennessee legislature nominated Jackson, the Kentucky legislature nominated Clay, and various groups in New England nominated Adams. As a result, the lead-up to the presidential election of 1824 was significant in opening up the political process, establishing fresh connections between citizens and candidates, and encouraging new and greater participation throughout the nation.

In the end, the presidential election of 1824 was thrown into the House of Representatives, as no candidate received a majority of electoral college votes. The House ballot was held in February 1825, and John Quincy Adams won a bare majority on the first ballot. Adams's winning coalition combined states loyal to him with states loyal to Henry Clay (who had finished fourth in the popular canvas and thus was excluded from the House ballot). In short order, charges of a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay were reported in the press, made all the more compelling when Adams tapped Clay as his secretary of state. In reality, Adams and Clay were quite close ideologically, leading to a natural (and rational) joining of forces. Moreover, most of the conspiracy charges were manufactured and distributed by Jackson's cronies, with an eye toward the presidential election of 1828. Between 1824 and 1828, the Republican Party would split into Adams and Jackson wings, as Jackson's coalition began building the nation's first mass party organization. Jackson would go on to win the presidential election of 1828, and the Adams-Clay wing of the party would lead the anti–Jackson opposition for the next decade. By the late 1830s, the large group of nominal Republicans would finally split into two mass parties, the Democrats (the former Jackson wing) and the Whigs (the former Adams-Clay wing), and form the Second Party System.

*See also* **Articles of Confederation; Congress; Constitutional Convention; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Era of Good Feeling; Federalist Party; Hartford Convention; Madison, James; Monroe, James.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aldrich, John H. *Why Parties?: The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Dangerfield, George. *The Era of Good Feelings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952.

Dunn, Susan. *Jefferson's Second Revolution: The Election of 1800 and the Triumph of Republicanism.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hoadley, John F. *Origins of American Political Parties*, 1789–1803. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986.

Jenkins, Jeffery A., and Brian R. Sala. "The Spatial Theory of Voting and the Presidential Election of 1824." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (1998): 1157–1179.

Livermore, Shaw. *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party*, 1815–1830. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Martis, Kenneth C. *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress*, 1789–1989. New York: Macmillan, 1989.

Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosenthal. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting.* N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1997.

*Jeffery A. Jenkins*

## Political Parties and the Press

While it became common in the late century to complain about the news media inserting itself into the political process rather than just observing it, this complaint would have been nonsensical in the early American Republic. From the 1790s through the Civil War and after, the press was in the thick of politics, not just influencing the party system through its coverage habits, but acting as a basic working component of that system, directly accountable for its outcomes. To a very large degree, party politics in this period was newspaper based.

### THE PRESS'S INSTITUTIONAL ROLE: FILLING THE PARTY SYSTEM'S GAPS

One reason for this is obvious: party politics requires communication with the electorate, and newspapers and other products of the printing press were the most significant means available technologically in this period. Another reason may be less obvious: the uneven development of the antebellum party system. In one sense, nineteenth-century political parties were far more popular than today's models—voter turnouts were huge, campaign events were a major form of popular entertainment, and people identified with their parties to the point of regularly naming children after presidents, Speakers of the House, and even failed candidates. On a more concrete level, the antebellum parties were almost nonexistent, despite the fact that they competed fiercely in every town, county, and state. Parties were not legally recognized by government, meaning there were no voter registrations, official ballots, national party offices, or formal party leaders in Congress. The parties possessed no permanent institutional structures, to say nothing of the large office buildings, permanent staffs, and wads of money that they acquired later. Formal party institutions like national conventions and committees were late innovations. National, state, and local campaign committees might be formed for a particular campaign, but these tended to go dormant or disappear once the campaign was over and so were unable to shape the party's response to events as they unfolded between elections. Partly because of their institutional insubstantiality, antebellum parties came, went, and radically transformed themselves with alarming frequency.

Newspapers filled the party system's many gaps, providing a fabric that held the parties together between elections and conventions, connected voters and activists to the larger party, and linked the different political levels and geographic regions of the country. Outside of election time, the party organizations themselves consisted of little more than the citizens, politicians, and newspapers that supported them. In this situation, the local party newspapers were the only corporeal or institutional form that the parties had in many communities. A subscription to a partisan newspaper, or regular readership of one in a tavern or reading room, was the only real form of party membership that existed in this age long before voter registration. Newspaper offices often served as the unofficial clubhouses and reading rooms of local parties, and newspaper columns were the major source of party doctrine and strategy for activists and voters alike. No politician, party, or faction believed that they could accomplish anything without a newspaper, and the first sign of a factional split in a party was usually the founding of a new newspaper. Similar observations could be made not just about parties, but about political associations of all kinds, including religious groups, moral reform movements, ethnic communities, and even the Cherokee Nation. Thus, one should think of the early political parties and the political press as not just intimately associated, but fused together as constituent elements of the same system.

The use of newspapers to accomplish political ends had roots in America going as far back as the 1730s, but the press gained its reputation for tremendous political efficacy during the American Revolution. The leading Revolutionaries firmly believed that newspapers were a crucial tool in their efforts to build opposition to the British in the 1760s and 1770s. After the war, the press was crucial in the selling of the new Constitution to the nation in 1787 and 1788. The pro-Constitution newspaper articles by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay became famous as the Federalist Papers. The early Congresses wrote the founders' reliance on newspapers into national policy when they created favorable postage rates for newspapers, arranged to pay certain newspapers to reprint the laws of the United States, and codified the long-standing custom of allowing newspaper printers to exchange newspapers with each other through the mail without charge. This latter practice allowed a host of small weekly newspapers, each with a circulation from a few hundred to a few thousand, to form together a kind of national network. Each printer needed to supply relatively little original material himself, but

anything he did originate had a potentially large audience extending far beyond his local area. When newspapers began to identify with the Democratic Republicans or Federalists, what was in essence a subsidized national system of political communication sprang into being, with each party, and often each faction within each party, eventually gaining outlets in almost all significant places.

### THE ORIGINS OF THE PARTY PRESS: THE 1790s

Though the founders set in place many of the policies that made it possible, they certainly did not intend to create a system of partisan journalism. (In fact, they were opposed to political parties in general.) They knew, as George Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights put it, that "the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty," but the particulars of how such a bulwark should function were hazy or nonexistent. John Adams, Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and others had made heavy and often sensationalistic use of the press in the movement for independence from Great Britain. Yet despite their experience rousing the rabble with newspapers and pamphlets, the founders do not seem to have envisioned agitprop as the future of the American press.

Instead, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and his "aegis," President George Washington, began their government under the new Constitution in 1789 with the assumption that all they needed to do regarding newspapers was provide the people with basic information about the government's activities such as laws that had been passed and a presidential speech or two. Thus, it seemed more than enough when Boston businessman John Fenno showed up in the national capital and started the *Gazette of the United States*, a would-be national newspaper intended to "endear the general government to the people" by printing documents and congressional proceedings, along with letters, essays, and even poetry hailing President Washington and Vice President John Adams as gods among men.

Anyone who remembered the vicious newspaper wars of the Revolution, the kind that still occasionally broke out in local politics, might have predicted that the U.S. political press would not remain so gauzy and one-sided. When fundamental disagreements broke out among the leading members of the cabinet, it was only natural that the combatants reached for journalistic weapons. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson became convinced that Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton was leading the administration in a dangerously pro-British and an-

tidemocratic direction. Jefferson, however, could not lead the opposition himself and still remain within the administration or retain his status as a respectable statesman. He needed a surrogate, so he and James Madison helped create a newspaper, Philip Freneau's *National Gazette*, to lead the public charge against Hamilton's policies. It was in the *National Gazette*'s pages that the idea of an opposition political party was first floated; when exposed as the *National Gazette*'s sponsor and confronted by President Washington, Jefferson claimed that Freneau's paper had "saved our constitution" from Hamilton.

The *National Gazette*, which folded in 1793, set a precedent that would be followed again and again in the following century as politicians and parties looked to newspapers as their primary public champions in the bruising battles that followed the Jefferson–Hamilton split. The Philadelphia *Aurora*, founded by Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, took over as the leading Jeffersonian paper and around it developed a loose national network of local newspapers that spread the opposition movement's ideas around the country by copying from each other. The Adams administration tried to crush this network with the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798, but the attempt backfired. So many printers, politicians, and citizens were outraged by this blatant attempt to destroy press freedom for political gain that the Jeffersonian newspaper network got even bigger, despite the fact that all the most prominent opposition papers were hit and numerous editors jailed or ruined.

Unlike the media of the late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first centuries, early American newspapers usually did not claim to be "fair and balanced," especially after the Alien and Sedition Acts. Firmly believing that their political beliefs were right and the other party's was wrong, editors refused to run their newspapers as though those differences did not matter: the press was too powerful a medium to allow evil ideas to pass through it unchallenged. The New York *American Citizen*, one of the new papers that appeared in the wake of the Sedition Act, editorialized that it could not be impartial in the battle between Adams's Federalists and Jefferson's Republicans: "If by impartiality, it is intended to convey an idea of equal attachment to aristocracy as to republicanism, then this paper rejects an impartiality so ruinous to the best interests of mankind."

### NEWSPAPERS AND POLITICS AFTER 1800

Jefferson's victory in the election of 1800, by some measures the first peaceful transfer of power be-

tween ideologically opposed parties in world history, was a watershed in the growth of press-based politics. People at the time were deeply impressed with what the Republican press network was able to accomplish, often flatly attributing to the newspapers not only Jefferson's victory, but also some kind of deeper democratic awakening of the people to the defense and exercise of their rights. "Had it not been for the patriotic exertions . . . of Republican Papers," declared the Trenton *True American*, "the People would have indulged their love of peace and quiet, until the yoke of tyranny would have been insidiously fixed on their necks." From 1800 on, it was more or less accepted that no serious political movement or candidacy could afford to be without a newspaper network like Jefferson's. Without newspapers, a group of politicians or activists were nothing but "uninfluential atoms," one of Aaron Burr's supporters wrote, with "no rallying point" or visible public presence.

As valuable as newspaper networks were, financing them was always a problem, since the basic purpose of seriously partisan newspapers was building political support rather than making money. Party supporters were urged to buy subscriptions (the main way that most newspapers were sold), but this was rarely enough to keep outlets going in every small town. The difference was made up by politicizing the process of printing government documents. There were no public printing agencies, so the work was contracted out—often at generous rates—by party officeholders to allied newspaper publishers.

After the election of 1800, the first business of any party, faction, candidate, or movement was to establish newspapers or recruit existing ones. For instance, when the New York City mayor DeWitt Clinton sought control of New York state politics (with designs on the presidency), he raised $27,000 to start Clintonian newspapers all over the state. Martin Van Buren's Bucktail faction eventually won the state back, partly through assiduous efforts to develop a Bucktail newspaper network. Within a few years, the Bucktails had forty-nine journals in their camp.

In the chaotic race to succeed President James Monroe in 1824, all five major hopefuls banked on newspaper support. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun had an "understanding" with the *Washington Republican*, while Secretary of State John Quincy Adams looked to the *National Journal*. Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford had the *Washington Gazette* in his camp, in addition to several of the most widely read papers in other regions, including the New York *National Advocate* and Thomas Ritchie's

*Richmond Enquirer*, the "national" newspaper of the South. Speaker of the House Henry Clay tried to start his own Washington paper but failed, relying instead on a network of papers back home in the Ohio Valley and the partial support of the *National Intelligencer*, the major organ of the Jefferson and Madison administrations.

## A MEDIA-MADE PRESIDENT

If there was ever a media-made president, it had to be Andrew Jackson. A popular biography and song ("The Hunters of Kentucky") about his war exploits first brought Jackson to prominence, and Pennsylvania newspaper editors John McFarland and Stephen Simpson invented Jackson as a serious presidential candidate in 1823. When Adams won the election of 1824 over Jackson through an alleged corrupt bargain in Congress, Jackson supporters mounted a newspaper campaign that surpassed even what had been done for Jefferson. Thomas Ritchie's *Enquirer* threw in its support, and a new Jackson journal, the *United States Telegraph*, appeared in Washington. By 1828 every major city and town had a Jacksonian paper, and many new journals appeared, even in obscure places like Easton, Pennsylvania, and Vevay, Indiana, especially for the campaign.

Jackson's presidency marked a major turning point in the history of media politics. Understanding exactly the role that newspaper editors played in his campaigns, Jackson publicly expressed his gratitude to the newspapers that supported him by appointing at least seventy journalists to federal offices and allowing several key editors to play crucial roles in his administration. Among the leading members of Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet, the group of unofficial advisers that some historians have called the first White House staff, were three newspaper editors, including Kentucky editor Amos Kendall, who wrote many of Jackson's speeches and later became postmaster general, and Francis Preston Blair, a Kentuckian brought in to edit a new administration paper, the *Washington Globe*, when the *Telegraph*'s loyalty came into question. Blair became one of nineteenth-century Washington's preeminent political figures, spanning decades and administrations much like the lawyer-lobbyist-fixers of the twentieth century.

After Jackson, more and more newspapers became involved in each succeeding campaign, and more and more editors in each succeeding administration, with similar trends occurring in most states. By the 1830s, journalists were starting to run for office in their own right. Hundreds would serve in Con-

gress, and thousands more in positions from postmaster and state legislator to the highest posts in the land. This convergence of parties and the press was most evident between the turn of the nineteenth century and the Civil War, but it remained strong in many rural locations until the twentieth century.

Though always remaining close, the media-politics relationship nevertheless changed a great deal over that period. Like everything else in American life, newspaper politics was severely affected by the industrial and corporate revolution that began during the 1830s and 1840s and reached its peak at the turn of the twentieth century. Vast amounts of money flowed into the political system as campaigning expanded and businessmen sought the myriad benefits that government had to offer. Banks, real estate speculators, and transportation companies (especially railroads) led the way, seeking land grants, financial aid, lenient laws, and favorable decisions on their interests.

The new campaign money flowed especially into the newspaper business. It became increasingly common for local party leaders to publish special newspapers that were wholly devoted to politics and existed only for the duration of the campaign, typically from the early summer to November of a presidential election year. The practice began in 1828 with a few pro- and anti-Jackson papers, including *Truth's Advocate and Monthly Anti-Jackson Expositor*, which spread the tale of Jackson's allegedly bigamous marriage that the president believed killed his wife. The trend exploded during the infamous "Log Cabin Campaign" of 1840, when the new Whig Party, armed with generous funds from the business interests that tended to favor it over the Democrats, created nearly one hundred campaign newspapers across the country as part of their effort to give their candidate, Virginia-born aristocrat William Henry Harrison, the image of a hard-drinking, hard-fighting frontier Indian fighter like Andrew Jackson.

### THE MYTH OF THE PENNY PRESS

Despite their focus on news reporting, the new mass-circulation papers that emerged in the 1830s—the so-called penny press—were just as partisan as the party journals, and often much more so because their financial independence from party politics relieved their publishers of any real accountability for their editorial policies. These new journals were sold on the street rather than only by subscription, at a much lower price point that allowed sales of hundreds of thousands copies. Print runs of this magnitude were made possible only by new steam-driven presses. Outrageous political rhetoric became one more way to entertain readers and boost circulation, and the political independence that penny press lords like James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* preened themselves over often amounted only to the ability to support violently a president or policy one week and then turn around and bash it just as hard the next. The New York penny press also spawned a crop of millionaire celebrity editors who were considerably better known than most of the high-ranking political officeholders of the day. Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune*, a printer, U.S. representative, and presidential candidate as well as the country's most influential publisher, is the best remembered of these celebrity editors.

The new mass-circulation papers bragged that they had opened up newspaper reading to the masses for the first time and made the press a greater force for political and cultural democracy than ever before. But there was one important way in which this was not true at all: the role of money. Local weekly newspapers were relatively cheap and easy to start; with a one-room shop and some basic equipment, a lone printer and one or two boy apprentices could manage it, and start-up costs could stay in three figures, within reach of an ordinary workman who saved a little money or borrowed from local politicians. The local partisan press thus could be an avenue for relatively ordinary young men to pursue their political beliefs and ambitions. Mass-circulation newspapers, on the other hand, required millions of dollars to start, and that meant banks, investors, and a fundamentally profit-oriented mentality. Though the press was still the only means that the government and politicians had to communicate with the mass of voters, at the highest levels this political role was no longer its reason for being. Grassroots democracy probably suffered as a result.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Papers; Federalists; Newspapers; Printers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, John K. *The Selling of the Constitutional Convention: A History of News Coverage.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1990.

Bailyn, Bernard, and John B. Hench, eds. *The Press and the American Revolution.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Baldasty, Gerald J. *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Cole, Donald B. *A Jackson Man: Amos Kendall and the Rise of American Democracy.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.

Davidson, Philip. *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763–1783.* New York: Norton, 1973.

Humphrey, Carol Sue. *The Press of the Young Republic, 1783–1833.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Knudson, Jerry W. "Political Journalism in the Age of Jefferson." *Journalism History* 1(1974): 20–23.

Leary, Lewis. *That Rascal Freneau: A Study in Literary Failure.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1941.

Leonard, Thomas C. *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

———. *News for All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Miles, William, comp. *The People's Voice: An Annotated Bibliography of American Presidential Campaign Newspapers, 1828–1984.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Nerone, John. "The Mythology of the Penny Press." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 376–422.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

———. "1800 as a Revolution in Political Culture: Newspapers, Celebrations, Democratization, and Voting in the Early Republic." In *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Edited by James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Phillips, Kim Tousley. *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Garland, 1989.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764–1776.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1980.

Schudson, Michael. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers.* New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Sloan, William David. "'Purse and Pen': Party-Press Relationships, 1789–1816." *American Journalism* 6 (1989): 103–127.

Smith, Culver H. *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977.

Smith, Elbert B. *Francis Preston Blair.* New York: Free Press, 1980.

Smith, James Morton. *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Stewart, Donald H. *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969.

Tagg, James D. *Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia "Aurora."* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

*Jeffrey L. Pasley*

## Political Patronage

Political patronage was an ageless institution, well developed even in the American colonies' earliest years. The British crown routinely appointed court favorites and family to positions of place, power, and emolument. Lord Cornbury, the cross-dressing cousin of Queen Anne in the early eighteenth century, was appointed royal governor of New York, a way for the politically embarrassed monarch to put an ocean between herself and a source of scandalous behavior.

### PLACEMEN IN THE COLONIAL ERA

It was a commonplace occurrence by the time of the American Revolution for "placemen" to be appointed to lucrative positions to further political ends. A notorious example, but not an isolated one, was the designation in 1765 of Andrew Oliver as Massachusetts Bay's collector of the new and despised stamp tax. He was named to this post of vast potential profit by Governor Thomas Hutchinson; Oliver was his brother-in-law and a key figure in the Bay Colony's "Court" interest, a designation for Massachusetts's political elite.

When one of the earliest Revolutionary-era crowds reacted to the stamp tax by burning Oliver's house to the ground and then torched Governor Hutchinson's when he reacted by calling out the militia, the events stood as a symbol of many things, one of them being the mob's reaction to entrenched political power rewarding those close to it with lucrative patronage. The Revolution, and then the ensuing U.S. Constitution, which completed the establishment of the new nation, did not end this species of maintaining political privilege through high appointive office. By 1789, in fact, patronage was already a way of life in establishing a new governing network under the just-implemented Constitution. Alexander Hamilton, as secretary of the Treasury and the leader of the Federalist Party, brilliantly adapted the old patronage system to the workings of a self-governing Republic dependent on popular support. The new two-party system inaugurated in the 1790s would include party patronage as an important foundation of political control, regardless of which party was in power. This system operated in the states individually as well as in the federal government. The 1790s, then, saw the new incarnation of an old system, one that would endure for a century.

## AFTER THE REVOLUTION

President George Washington was implicitly a supporter of Hamilton's Federalist Party patronage initiatives, and the second president, John Adams, was overtly complicit. Over five hundred party men found their way into federal offices in the respective states in the 1790s, and dozens more held official positions in Philadelphia, the nation's first capital. Both the U.S. Customs Service (1789) and the first Internal Revenue Service (1791) were homes to hundreds of party operatives. As the newly inaugurated President John Adams said in 1797, "if the officers of government will not support it, who will?" The appointees were politically active Federalists, members of the elite, and often veterans of the Continental Army. They worked in their home port cities for Customs and in smaller towns and villages in the backcountry for Internal Revenue in all states.

**Postmasters.** The most overtly political placeholders were postmasters. The number of weekly newspapers multiplied from less than one hundred in 1789 to more than eight hundred by 1800, a response to the needs of both emerging parties. The Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans both lined up printers in the states to establish gazettes overtly aligned with party. The Federalists had the upper hand initially, so perhaps fifty Hamiltonian printers were made postmasters. Party support of partisan newspapers was tangible. Under federal laws, for example, printer-postmasters could frank (send free of postal charge) their papers to subscribers each week, and post offices in print shops created built-in custom—in the form of those who picked up their newspapers weekly—by acting as booksellers and stationers as well as printers.

The nationally renowned printer and publisher, Isaiah Thomas, editor of the Worcester, Massachusetts, *Spy*, was a case in point. His printing establishment was made a federal post office in 1789. Already a local Federalist Party figure, he was able to expand his publishing business, and from his shop he issued a stream of Federalist-oriented publications. The business also trained journeymen printers who apprenticed with Thomas and went on to found party newspapers of their own in various towns in the Northeast; four of them were rewarded in turn with postmasterships to help them as they began their careers.

**The Jeffersonian sweep.** In 1801 the newly elected president, Thomas Jefferson, having turned the Federalists out of office, needed no prodding to both remove entrenched Federalists from the civil service and replace them with Republican Party men in their stead. Despite Jefferson's inaugural moderation ("We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists") he displaced scores of opponents in the federal establishment and filled the posts with his own party supporters. President Jefferson even took political patronage a giant step further, unhinging the judiciary and transforming the federal bench at all levels from entirely Federalist-oriented to a slightly more Jeffersonian character. He started with John Adams's last-minute ("midnight") appointees to the new U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals sitting in the several states. The new president was able to get away with the removals of judges appointed for life because the Federalist-dominated U.S. Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall felt it lacked the political clout to oppose Jefferson.

Jefferson also swept the Customs Service clean of Federalists, and did the same with the Internal Revenue Service and the Post Office. He even removed one of the nation's most skilled and experienced diplomats, John Quincy Adams, from federal service. Jefferson brought political patronage to a new level of both sophistication and scope. The Jeffersonian Republicans' "Virginia Dynasty," which ruled for the next quarter century into the Age of Jackson, firmly maintained its principle of using federal office for party purposes. Needless to say, the states, cities, and even small communities across America did the same. Jacksonian Democratic Party men at the end of the 1820s may have coined the term "spoils system," conferring on institutionalized political patronage a new national visibility, but they did not invent the party-oriented use of jobs as political rewards.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Post Office; Presidency, The: John Adams; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Prince, Carl. *The Federalists and the Origins of the U.S. Civil Service.* New York: New York University Press, 1978.

Prince, Carl E., and Mollie Keller. *The U.S. Customs Service: A Bicentennial History.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Customs Service, 1989.

White, Leonard Dupee. *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History.* New York: Macmillan, 1948. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

*Carl E. Prince*

## *Political Thought*

American political thought during the era of the Revolution and early Republic was provincial and derivative. No major theoretical works were produced in this period, with the possible and problematic exception of *The Federalist Papers*, newspaper essays by "Publius" (Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay) designed to influence the outcome of the debate over New York's ratification of the federal Constitution. An enormous amount of political writing flowed from American presses, largely in the short, polemical, ad hoc form of newspaper essays and broadsides, and much less frequently as more sustained arguments in pamphlets or books (and these often appeared originally in newspapers). Because this writing was intended to shape public opinion and promote political and military mobilization, it rarely challenged the conventional wisdom or "common sense" of the people. Even when American writers such as Thomas Paine or Thomas Jefferson pushed for radical action, they invoked "self-evident" truths. The Revolutionaries' conceit was that they were bridging the yawning gap between progressive public opinion—codified in the great treatises of Enlightenment political science—and the benighted institutions and practices of a corrupt old regime. Their success depended on exaggerating the people's wisdom—and on suppressing and disguising their own originality.

Yet the prevailing view that the Revolutionaries were conservative, practical-minded statesmen is misleading. As Americans justified the break with Britain, constituted new polities on the basis of popular consent, and sought to perfect a federal system that would serve as a peace plan for their state-republics, they developed a new political science that would have a profound impact on thought and practice throughout the West. That provincial Anglo-Americans should derive so many of their ideas from European sources generally and British sources particularly is hardly surprising. The novelty and significance of their contributions to political thought and practice pivoted on that provincialism: in reconceptualizing relations between center and periphery, metropolis and province, the European world and the world beyond Europe, Revolutionary Americans precociously addressed the fundamental problems of modern politics. Rejecting traditional monarchical, hierarchical, and corporatist conceptions of authority, they developed a new conception of popular sovereignty and national self-determination. Revolting against metropolitan despotism, they linked the defense of provincial liberties—the traditional bastion of entrenched aristocratic privilege—with the radical expansion of popular political participation. Freed from the shackles of imperial rule and the constraints of mercantilism, they devoted their best and most original thinking to interstate relations, within and beyond their new republican empire.

### METROPOLITAN INFLUENCES

The major source of political thought for pre-Revolutionary Americans was the British constitutional tradition. Anglo-Americans basked in the reflected glory of a constitution that secured the rule of law by separation of powers and limitations on executive prerogative. But their favorite British writers, oppositionist critics of ministerial corruption, taught that a free people must always be vigilant in defense of their liberties. The tension between the oppositionists' self-consciously "classical republican" conception of citizenship and modern political realities was particularly acute on the provincial periphery of the British Empire. As the imperial crisis deepened, Americans discovered that they had no effective voice or influence in the British government: because the empire had no true "constitution," American subjects of George III were powerless to secure their rights. Patriots thus seized on the radical writings of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (who published a series of letters, signed only "Cato," in a London newspaper), Lord Bolingbroke (Henry St. John), and other "real Whigs" who suggested that the ultimate source of legitimate authority was in the "people" themselves. Real Whigs warned that the "sovereignty" of king-in-parliament jeopardized traditional British liberties. American patriots took real Whig logic to another level, arguing that royal and parliamentary efforts to reform imperial administration would subvert colonial "constitutions" that secured the rights of their respective "peoples" to liberty, property, and self-government. A great debate over the constitution of the empire as a whole thus gave rise to corporate constitutional claims in the separate colonies, and this is where the Americans diverged from even their most sympathetic metropolitan friends. British radicals (unsuccessfully) pushed for parliamentary reform, seeking to make the national legislature more representative and responsive—and never questioning the unity of the British nation. American radicals moved in the opposite direction, distinguishing the sovereign people—or peoples—from their governments and securing the corporate integrity of distinct state-republics.

Americans remained indebted to the English common law tradition after independence, but could

draw little practical inspiration from British constitutionalism. The very idea that a constitution could be written (and revised) was itself a bold departure from the British constitutional tradition. At best, the idealized misrepresentation of the British constitution in the works of opposition writers and Enlightenment savants such as Montesquieu (Charles de Secondat)—whose *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) exaggerated the separation of powers—offered a set of general principles that could guide the work of American constitution writers. The most influential body of political and constitutional theory for the Revolutionaries came out of the Scottish Enlightenment. In addition to the seminal work of the great English theorist John Locke, whose *Second Treatise on Government* (1689–1690) was the classic statement of "liberal" social contract theory, the Revolutionaries built on the continental natural jurisprudence of Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf, Frances Hutcheson, Lord Kames (Henry Home), David Hume, Adam Smith, and other Scottish moral philosophers. These theorists provided a broad theoretical and historical framework for the formation of new political societies on the western side of the Atlantic.

The Scots shared the Americans' provincial perspective, and their experience since incorporation in the United Kingdom (1707) showed how enterprising people on the periphery could prosper in an expanding Atlantic economy. Unlike the Scots, the Americans would not be incorporated in a greater Britain (though Adam Smith urged such a union in his *Wealth of Nations* [1776]). But they would find Scottish Enlightenment ideas about human nature, political economy, and historical progress congenial. Dependent on a vigorous foreign trade for their very existence, Americans eagerly embraced the idea that commercial exchange and the resulting progress of politeness offered a new template for social and political relations grounded in reciprocity and consent. The Americans' political and constitutional experiments depended on the demystification—and destruction—of traditional, organic, and hierarchical conceptions of legitimate authority. The Enlightenment generally, and Scots theorists particularly, helped eager American readers clear away the conceptual rubbish and locate the American Revolution in the broader context of the history of civilization. The Scots' conception of progress through time was critical for provincial Americans who sought to overcome the traditional liabilities of their remote peripheral position, far from metropolitan centers of civility and authority.

Smith and other Scottish writers argued that history was marked by progress through four successive stages of development, from primitive societies of hunters and gatherers, to pastoral, agricultural, and advanced commercial societies. Movement across the Atlantic brought civilized Europeans into contact with savage Native Americans, still living under primitive conditions. Enlightened students of natural history such as the Frenchman Charles LeClerc, Comte du Buffon, concluded that the persistence of New World savagery—and the alleged "degeneracy" of Creole (people of European descent born in the West Indies or Spanish America) populations—indicated that the American environment could not sustain advanced civilization. Mobilizing empirical data on the size of animals to refute the degeneracy thesis, Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787) offered a much more optimistic reading. If provincial American civilization had not yet reached the metropolitan standard, the future prospects for a fertile and bountiful New World were boundless. Revolutionaries contrasted this potential with the obstacles to further progress in Europe, where corrupt and avaricious regimes and vast disparities in wealth and privilege stifled enterprise. If America's native peoples represented the human race's primitive, yet still uncorrupted past, the continent's infinite bounty augured a brilliant future: there was land enough, Jefferson claimed in his First Inaugural Address, for the "thousandth to the thousandth generation."

Enlightenment writers enabled provincial Americans to locate their new societies at the cutting edge of history and so overcome their distance from the centers of political and cultural authority. Commentators on the law of nations provided a more concrete set of guidelines for claiming an independent place in the world. In 1776 Europe constituted the civilized world, and distant and dependent colonies could participate in that world only through membership in European empires. But law of nations writers such as the Swiss Emerich de Vattel, whose *Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law Applied . . . to the Affairs of Nations* (1758) was the most influential treatise, showed how legitimate governments, acting on behalf of their respective nations or peoples, could gain recognition from other governments, negotiate alliances, and promote the rule of law for an expanding society of nations. The Revolutionaries' first great challenge was to destroy monarchical authority and constitute new republican regimes. But leaving the British Empire did not mean turning away from the European world; to the contrary, in claiming a "separate and equal station" among "the powers of the earth" (to quote the Declaration of Indepen-

dence) the new nation would move closer to civilized Europe.

## AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS

The most enduring American contribution to the history of political thought grew out of constitution writing in the Revolutionary years. Controversy over the provisions of state constitutions and over procedures for implementing them raised and resolved fundamental questions of political legitimacy in the new American republics. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, drafted by John Adams, provided the template for subsequent charters: specially chosen delegates, meeting in convention, drafted a document that was submitted to the people (organized within their respective towns) for their approval. The genius of this approach—dictated by the failure of a previous effort to ratify a state constitution in 1778—was to implicate the people in each stage of the process while clearly distinguishing constitution writing from ordinary legislation. In the great treatises in the social contract tradition, the "state of nature" was merely notional, a time out of mind when society was first formed: for all practical purposes, the existence of the "people" thus constituted could be taken for granted. But the dissolution of monarchical rule in America threatened anarchy and disorder, compelling Americans to form new polities on the basis of explicit consent. Paine and other Enlightened republicans claimed that "society" was natural and spontaneous and that the elimination of a corrupt imperial government would clear the way for self-government. Such bold pronouncements could not allay fundamental anxieties about the Revolutionary assault on legitimate authority, nor did they explain precisely how the "people" would govern themselves or define exactly who the people were (as separatist new state movements in Vermont and elsewhere made painfully clear). The state constitutions resolved these dilemmas by a combination of transparency and mystification: on one hand, constitution writing became a kind of spectacle as the people observed themselves enacting their new republican regimes; on the other, in a mystifying circularity, constitutions constituted the very peoples who enacted the constitutional spectacle by specifying state boundaries and defining civic communities.

State constitution writers followed more familiar scripts in organizing new governments. John Adams provided an influential primer for constitutionalists in his *Thoughts on Government* (1776), recommending bicameral legislatures and the functional separation and balance of governmental powers.

Authors of new state constitutions invoked the precepts of Enlightenment political science as they elaborated the relationship between citizens, their legislative representatives, and executive authority. The first great American treatise on politics, Adams's massive *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1786–1787), located the state constitutions within the long European constitutional tradition, implicitly downplaying the radicalism of the Revolutionary assumption of authority. Adams's compendium of historical sources, leavened by his astute, often mordant commentary on human nature, won him few readers, but it did capture the practical, even antitheoretical spirit of American constitutional statecraft.

The state constitutions' chief novelty was their very existence as written documents, subject to the people's ratification and amendment. By making this consent foundational, the new republican regimes replaced the traditional subject, who owed lifelong allegiance to his sovereign in exchange for protection, by a new kind of active, consenting citizen who, with his fellow citizens, was himself the source of legitimate authority and who retained the right to move from one country to another. In a famous letter to James Madison (6 September 1789), Jefferson drew the logical conclusion, that "the earth belongs to the living" and that each generation was like "an independent nation" with respect to others, preceding and succeeding. In other words, every generation—that is, every people, bounded in time as well as space—should draft its own constitution. The tension between Adams's conception of constitutional continuity and Jefferson's bold articulation of popular sovereignty—and constitutional discontinuity—provided the framework for the subsequent development of American political thought.

State constitution writers drew on colonial experience as well as Enlightenment political science. The state charters in turn provided the delegates who convened in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 with models for a new federal Constitution. But establishing "a more perfect union" required the framers to meet new challenges. If the demands of collective security required a more "energetic" central government, the separate state-republics sought guarantees of their respective rights and interests. The sorry history of Congress under the Articles of Confederation suggested that a weak alliance would ultimately collapse into an anarchic system of sovereign states, thus Europeanizing American politics. But most Americans were equally wary of the opposite extreme, the consolidation of authority—and the

destruction of the states—in a new American version of British imperial despotism or "universal monarchy." During the ratification debates, Federalist supporters of the new regime celebrated the framers' "miraculous" achievement in avoiding these disastrous extremes. American federalism represented a breakthrough in the history of political civilization, a radical improvement on the European balance of power that guaranteed peace among the states by substituting appeals to law for appeals to arms and by promoting the development of harmonious, interdependent interests. The authors of *The Federalist Papers* offered the most comprehensive analysis of the new regime, asserting that this "compound republic" (*Federalist* 51) system met the highest standards of constitutionalism, as developed in the state charters, while best securing the fundamental interests of the states. But anti-Federalists, fearful of encroachments on states' rights and individual liberties, were skeptical. When the new government was initiated in 1789, their skepticism took the form of a vigilant strict constructionism: the Constitution might be as "perfect" as its advocates had claimed, but it would remain so only if the administration scrupulously observed the letter and spirit of limited constitutional government.

### UNION

Federalism constituted the boldest departure in Revolutionary American political thought and practice. The new federal Union enabled Americans to combine the advantages of responsive, local, decentralized government with the concentration of power in a central government that could keep the counterrevolutionary great powers of the Old World at bay. Montesquieu had argued that a virtuous republican government could only survive in a small polity. American Federalists countered that the republican principle was equally applicable to a *community* of republics, and that, as Jefferson claimed in his Second Inaugural Address, there was no limit to "the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively." According to the most enthusiastic Revolutionaries, the Americans' new federal regime, with republican governments at every level, offered a model world order. Thus in 1799 Joel Barlow, a political ally and confidant of Jefferson, urged the European states to follow the American (and French) example by establishing republican regimes and creating a federal union that might appropriately "assume the name of the United States of Europe." Such hopes for the political regeneration of the Old World were hard to sustain in a period of chronic warfare that constantly jeopardized the New

World's peace and security. But Americans of all political persuasions learned to cherish the Union as a bulwark against foreign threats—and as the only effectual curb on centrifugal tendencies that otherwise threatened to unleash "the dogs of war" at home.

Yet it was by no means clear in practice what the survival of the Union required. On one hand, Alexander Hamilton and fellow Federalist state-builders sought to construct a powerful fiscal–military federal state capable of defending and projecting American interests in an increasingly dangerous, war-torn world. In response, oppositionist Republicans warned that the preponderance of federal power and the threat of coercion against recalcitrant states would weaken the Union. Montesquieu taught that the genius of a large unitary state was necessarily despotic, and his teachings took on the aura of prophecy during the Adams administration's military mobilization against France in the Quasi-War (1798–1800). Only by fully embracing the republican logic of consent and eschewing conventional conceptions of state power could the American experiment survive and prosper. Only then, as Jefferson asserted in his First Inaugural Address, would the United States fulfill its promise as "the strongest Government on earth."

Jefferson had a point. His emphasis on the consensual foundations of the Union pointed to the future of modern nation-states with homogenous populations of (legally) equal citizens willing to make the ultimate sacrifice. But his anti-statist, libertarian tendencies also gave a powerful impetus to fearful defenders of provincial rights who, with the anti-Federalist Patrick Henry, "smelled a rat" in all efforts to strengthen the central government. After the embarrassments of the War of 1812, Henry Clay and other reform-minded National Republicans sought to square neo-Hamiltonian prescriptions for energetic federal government with Jeffersonian scruples about concentrated power. In doing so, however, they provoked an orthodox Jeffersonian, or Old Republican, reaction. The irascible agrarian theorist and Virginia politician John Taylor, known as John Taylor of Caroline, produced the most sustained and influential works in the history of American political thought since *The Federalist*, including *An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy and Government of the United States* (1814), *Constitutions Construed* (1820), *Tyranny Unmasked* (1822), and *New Views of the Constitution* (1823).

Over the remaining decades of the antebellum period, American political thinkers focused their energies on narrowly construed and polarizing ques-

tions of constitutional interpretation. The framers' optimistic hopes for the union as a new order for the ages—and as a model world order—gave way to an increasingly bitter debate about the distribution of costs and benefits along sectional and sectoral lines that ultimately led to the Union's destruction.

*See also* **Adams, John; Anti-Federalists; Articles of Confederation; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutionalism: Overview; Constitutionalism: American Colonies; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalism; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Natural Rights; Newspapers; Paine, Thomas; Popular Sovereignty; Quasi-War with France.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

———. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Cooke, Jacob E., ed. *The Federalist.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961, 1982.

Edling, Max M. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Gilbert, Felix. *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Greene, Jack P. *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald S. Lutz, eds. *American Political Writing during the Founding Era, 1760–1805.* 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Press, 1983.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Writings.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Library of America, 1984.

Kruman, Marc W. *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Onuf, Peter. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Onuf, Peter, and Nicholas Onuf. *Federal Union, Modern World: The Law of Nations in an Age of Revolutions, 1776–1814.* Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1993.

Stourzh, Gerald. *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

———. *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969, 1998.

*Peter S. Onuf*

**PONTIAC'S WAR**    While the official dates of Pontiac's War are listed as from 1763 to 1776, the conflict emerged out of a tangled web of economic, cultural, and diplomatic issues that extended as far back as the arrival of the first European settlers and lasted, effectively, until 1813 with the death of Tecumseh. The web was spun from the struggles enfolding English, French, and various Indian groups in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the expulsion of the French in the wake of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the British were faced with a pan-Indian uprising that stretched all the way from the Great Lakes region to South Carolina and that challenged British control of the land between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian Mountains.

While there are numerous long-term causes, the immediate reasons for Pontiac's rebellion lay in English diplomatic blunders as well as in deep-seated Indian religious beliefs. In the aftermath of the French and Indian War, initial efforts by the English to establish a relationship with the former Indian allies of the French failed horribly. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, director of British efforts in North America, allowed British colonists to flood westward, thus violating the policies of the Proclamation of 1763 designed to protect Indian lands. Additionally, Amherst simultaneously scaled back British aid to Native Americans in an effort to cut costs and to make these native groups more self-sufficient.

In the face of ongoing English failings and increasing land pressures, Pontiac—an Ottawa "great chief"—began to agitate against the European presence. Drawing on the anxiety of the people and on the religious teachings of Neolin, a Delaware prophet, Pontiac called for a rejection of all things European in an effort to purify the peoples of North America, claiming that continued reliance on European goods would lead to the destruction of Indian peoples. Pon-

tiac's message called not only for the rejection of European goods, but also for the expulsion of the British Americans themselves from North America.

Pontiac's forces met with a great deal of success in the early stages of the conflict, destroying almost every British outpost in the Great Lakes region and forcing British American settlers back across the Appalachian Mountains. The planned opening of Pontiac's War was a surprise attack on Fort Detroit in April of 1763. News of this plan was leaked, however, and the British forces were prepared for Pontiac's arrival. When his initial plan failed, Pontiac laid siege to the fort, destroying outlying farms hoping to starve out Fort Detroit's occupants. Despite an eight-month siege, the British held onto the fort for the duration of the conflict. Although successful in defending Detroit, the English forces did not fare as well throughout the rest of the Great Lakes region. Pontiac's forces managed to capture British forts Sandusky and Presque Isle on Lake Erie, Fort Michilimackinac at the junction of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan and Fort Miamis (present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana). The conflict was extremely brutal on both sides, and it was only through exploiting tribal divisions that the British were able to bring an official end to the conflict in 1766. The terms of the peace settlement, provided Pontiac with amnesty in return for acknowledging the authority of the British government. Following the agreement, Pontiac settled near the Mississippi River, only to be murdered a short time later. Despite the settlement with the various tribes, the British government found itself deep in debt and unable to control its colonists as they continued to clamor for western lands. These pressures, as the British attempted to stand between the Indians and the colonists, contributed significantly to the coming of the American Revolution. Ultimately, the American victory over the British in that war left the Indians with a new adversary—the United States government. In the decades following the Revolution, the experience of the American government echoed that of the British during Pontiac's War as a new pan-Indian uprising led by Tecumseh challenged the authority of the new nation.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indians: British Policies.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of the British Empire in North America*, 1754–1766. New York: Knopf, 2000.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity*, 1745–1815. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

———. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Nester, William. *"Haughty Conquerors": Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, 1650–1815. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*David Dzurec*

**POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY** Few Revolutionary concepts are expressed as succinctly as the principle contained in the first three words of the United States Constitution: "We, the people." By this simple phrasing the federal Constitution institutionalized the "revolution principle" that had rejected the sovereignty of king-in-parliament and replaced it with a structure embodying the sovereignty of the people assembled in conventions and implemented in republican political institutions. Trying to condense his lectures on American law into basic principles, the lawyer and politician James Wilson (1742–1798) found it in popular sovereignty. "Permit me to mention one great principle, the *vital* principle I may well call it, which diffuses animation and vigor through all the others," he explained. "The principle I mean is this, that the supreme or sovereign power resides in the citizens at large." From—or upon—that principle rested the justification for the major achievements of the Revolution: a government that was limited, whose representatives were directly responsible and accountable to their constituents, and in which powers were checked and balanced by function as well as between the states and a central authority.

In its initial practical application in the newly independent states, however, the theory of popular sovereignty had created unanticipated political crises that endangered the survival of republican government. With suffrage expanded, residency required of representatives, and frequent elections, the reformed state legislatures claimed to be a faithful reflection of the popular will. Thus legitimated in their assumption of unmediated political authority based on popular sovereignty, they exercised their powers often erratically and without restraint, threatening property and civil liberties and generating fear for the future of republican government. The cure for the ex-

cesses of popular sovereignty was actually more popular sovereignty, though reconstituted in a federal framework that used the concept as a foundation for changes in the structure of government as revolutionary as anything attempted in 1776. Federalists urging ratification of the Constitution thus rallied behind the maxim, "All power is in the people, and not in the state governments."

In so doing, however, they were not simply redistributing political authority between national and local units, but rather simultaneously enhancing and limiting it at both levels. Vesting all power in the undifferentiated "people" and then shaping political institutions to embody their will constituted the American revolution principle. British government was vested in the king-in-parliament, a structure that embodied the body politic as three distinct "orders," the king, the aristocracy, and the democracy. In a system of "mixed government," each order protected its interest, or estate, against the others. This arrangement did not check power, however, because the actual institutions of government operated without effectual restraint. It was against such a concentration of effectively indivisible sovereign authority as achieved by king-in-parliament that Americans had rebelled, and in place of which they had vainly sought to implement popular sovereignty since 1776.

It was the achievement of the Philadelphia Convention to put this concept into practical form in 1787 and to embody the previously amorphous principle of popular sovereignty in a written structure. Wilson tried to assure doubters that all political authority was limited by what he called the "great truth . . . that in the United States the people retain the supreme power" and reserve the right to restrain or empower government as they see fit. To skeptics who demanded a Bill of Rights, James Madison responded with a proposed declaration that included language "that all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people." Madison's suggestion was not used, but it had correctly identified the means of putting Revolutionary ideas into practice. Reiterating the American revolution principle that founded all power in all the people, the framers produced a government in which each functional branch of government possessed clearly delimited authority but drew it directly from the sovereignty of the people. The result was government of balanced and limited powers derived from all the people rather than government of mixed social and legal orders possessing ill-defined powers. As "Publius," the pseudonymous author of *The Federalist* explained, the new

American nation was a "compound republic" in which "the power surrendered by the people is first divided between two distinct [state and federal] governments, and then the portion allotted to each subdivided among distinct and separate departments." To each only a portion of the people's sovereignty was allotted, and each was subject to the people. In justifying judicial review, for example, Alexander Hamilton rejected the criticism that it assumed "a superiority of the judicial to the legislative power. It only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both." Popular sovereignty had established fundamental law, which the courts were to interpose to restrain other branches from exceeding the will of the people.

The legitimizing of government as the genuine expression of popular sovereignty, however, subtly but significantly changed American constitutionalism. In his Farewell Address, George Washington lauded a government as resting on popular sovereignty. But he spoke in a political atmosphere of conflict and challenge to many of the actions of his Federalist Party. Washington's words (written for him by Hamilton) testified to the new mantle of popular sovereignty claimed by government in the new Republic—a claim not accepted by all, and even opposed with violence by some. The sovereignty of "the people out of doors," the collective acts of groups deemed mobs by the British but championed as constitutional expressions of the popular will in the 1770s, now lacked the legitimacy of the people as embodied in formal constitutional institutions created under the mantle of popular sovereignty. Washington thus went on to explain that "the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government." With popular sovereignty ratified and given form in written constitutions, the conflict of power and liberty was transformed into contests over politics, government, and law in the new nation.

*See also* **Constitutional Law; Constitutionalism: Overview; Federalist Party; Government; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Thought.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Morgan, Edmund S. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America.* New York: Norton, 1988.

Novak, William. *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Wills, Garry. "James Wilson's New Meaning for Sovereignty." In *Conceptual Change and the Constitution.* Edited by Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969, 1998.

*David Konig*

---

**POPULATION**   *See* **Migration and Population Movement.**

---

**PORNOGRAPHY**   *See* **Erotica.**

---

**POST OFFICE**   "Among the improvements in the United States, there is, perhaps, no one that has advanced more rapidly, or proved more extensively useful, than that of the transportation of the mail." So wrote a contributor in 1810 to the *Port Folio*, a Philadelphia-based literary magazine. Elaborating on his claim, the essayist credited the Post Office Department with an indispensable role in the creation of a geographically extensive public sphere. "In point of public utility, it holds a rank but little inferior to printing. Copies may be multiplied at the press, but, without this establishment, how limited must be their distribution!"

The essayist's observations highlighted a dimension of public life in the United States during the early Republic that is sometimes overlooked. In the decades following the adoption of the federal Constitution, the United States underwent a communications revolution that had enduring consequences for American public and private life. This revolution was predicated on the elaboration of the long-distance information infrastructure: the postal system, the stagecoach industry, and the periodical press. It was fostered by innovative legislation that included the Copyright Act of 1790, the free press guarantees in the federal and state constitutions, and the federal Land Ordinance of 1785. And it was set in motion by the Post Office Act of 1792, a landmark in American communications policy and one of the most far-reaching pieces of federal legislation to have been enacted in the half-century following the adoption of the federal Constitution.

### GROWTH OF THE POST OFFICE

In 1788 the Post Office Department boasted a mere sixty-nine offices, only two more than the sixty-seven offices maintained by the royal postal system in 1765. Most were located in a single seaboard chain on what is today the "Old Post Road," just as they had been prior to the break with the crown. No periodical received a government subsidy and few circulated in the mail. Although postal administrators sometimes permitted printers to trade copies of their newspapers, this practice was merely customary and lacked the force of law. The Post Office Department, as one postal administrator explained in 1788, had been established by Congress "for the purpose of facilitating commercial correspondence," and, as such, had, "properly speaking, no connection with the press."

In the great constitutional debates (1787–1788), few contemporaries regarded the limited character of long-distance communications as a major problem. James Madison articulated the conventional wisdom when, in his *Federalist* essays, he presumed that ordinary Americans would receive the bulk of their information about public affairs when their representatives returned to their home districts to meet constituents face-to-face. In *Federalist 10*, Madison went so far as to hail poor long-distance communications as a safeguard for minority rights. The enormous geographical extent of the country, he conjectured, prevented majoritarian factions from organizing across state boundaries to tyrannize the few.

Madison took for granted the limited facilities for long-distance communications then in existence. At that time, ordinary Americans living far from Philadelphia learned only sporadically about the activities of their congressional delegates. When information did arrive, it often came courtesy of individual delegates, who had the right to transmit or "frank" through the mail an unlimited number of items, making them de facto news brokers for the public.

The only public figure in the 1780s to propose a significant augmentation in the facilities for long-distance communications was the physician Benjamin Rush. To adapt the "principles, morals, and manners of our citizens to our republican form of government," Rush proclaimed in a widely circulated essay published shortly before the Constitutional Convention, it was "absolutely necessary" that the

government circulate "knowledge of every kind . . . through every part of the United States." Rush hailed the Post Office Department as the "true non–electric wire of government" and the "only means" of "conveying light and heat to every individual in the federal commonwealth."

With the passage of the Post Office Act of 1792, Rush's vision acquired a legal imprimatur. To expand access to information on public affairs, Congress admitted every newspaper into the mail at extremely low rates. To ensure that the news was broadcast far and wide, it established an administrative mechanism that guaranteed the rapid extension of the postal network into the hinterland. And to safeguard the sanctity of personal correspondence, it proscribed its surveillance by postal administrators, ending a practice that remained common in Great Britain and France.

No issue proved more contentious than the designation of new post routes. Some wanted to retain this power in the executive, others to shift it to Congress. In the end, proponents of congressional control prevailed. By retaining control, Congress established a legislatively mandated entitlement that was broadly egalitarian and easily adjusted to keep pace with the expansion in the area of settlement. From 1792 onward, popular pressure ensured the expansion of the postal network well in advance of commercial demand. No single piece of legislation did more to create a geographically extensive public sphere.

### THE PROLIFERATION OF PRINTED MATTER

Government newspaper subsidies gave printers ample reason to increase their supply. By 1794 newspapers made up fully 70 percent of the weight of the mail, while generating a mere 3 percent of postal revenue. By 1832 newspapers accounted for an astonishing 95 percent of the weight of the mail, but only 15 percent of postal revenue. Without this substantial federal subsidy for the press, the United States could not have emerged in the early Republic as the leading publisher of newspapers in the world. Federal postal policy was particularly instrumental in spurring the rise of the rural or "country" press, which had been virtually nonexistent before 1792.

After 1794 magazines enjoyed an analogous subsidy and received a parallel boost. By the 1830s postal patrons enjoyed a wide range of reading matter that ranged from learned essays in the *North American Review* to fashion tips in the *Lady's Book.* Writers of imaginative fiction like Edgar Allan Poe, Catherine Sedgwick, and Nathaniel Hawthorne took

advantage of this new literary venue to invent the modern short story. Though fiction-writers preferred to publish books, the steady influx of British imports reduced their marketability in urban centers, as did the proscription of books from the mail in the hinterland. Not until 1851, after the coming of the railroad, was this ban relaxed.

Federal postal policy also encouraged the proliferation of pamphlets, congressional speeches, and government reports. In any given year, public documents constituted approximately one quarter of all the imprints published in the United States. During presidential campaigns, electioneering tracts made up a substantial fraction of the total weight of the mail.

The only form of literary production that postal policy discouraged was letter-writing. The cost of postage on a single letter, which was customarily paid by the recipient, could easily total 50 cents, a substantial sum at a time when a laborer might make one dollar a day. Prior to the 1830s, the high cost of letter postage troubled few Americans, since correspondents (the vast majority of whom were merchants) were presumed to be able to cover the cost. Personal correspondence, of course, was by no means unknown. As one country curate noted in 1820, "a few days carries a communication with mathematical certainty from one point of the Union to the other. Distance is thus reduced to contiguity; and the ink is scarcely dry, or the wax cold on the paper, before we find in our hands, even at a distance of hundreds of miles, a transcript of our dearest friend's mind." Judging by lists of unclaimed mail that newspapers routinely ran, women posted as many as 20 percent of all the letters in the mail. Yet if an ordinary American received anything in the mail in the period between 1792 and 1840, it was more likely to have been a newspaper than a letter.

Just as postal policy favored certain literary forms, and not others, so too it hastened the creation of a particular kind of informational environment. In 1800 the postal network included 903 offices; in 1810, 2,300; in 1820, 4,500; in 1828, 7,641. The resulting informational environment was more decentralized—and less biased toward major commercial centers—than its counterpart in Great Britain or France. After 1800 the national capital ceased to be a major newspaper–publishing center, a situation inconceivable in Europe. By 1828 the United States had seventy-four post offices for every 100,000 inhabitants, as compared to seventeen in Great Britain and four in France. Even some hinterland congressmen concluded that the postal network was complete. Yet

Congress opted not to improve mail delivery in urban centers, which remained rudimentary, but instead to press for even better stagecoach service in the South and West. To boost the stagecoach industry, Congress encouraged the postmaster general to lavish generous contracts on stagecoach proprietors.

Throughout the early Republic, it remained illegal for any public officer to open personal correspondence. (The only exception was undelivered mail, which could be opened by a special class of postal administrators known as dead-letter clerks.) The prohibition on government surveillance extended, at least initially, to newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines. Had Congress found it possible in 1798 to enlist government functionaries to police the mailbags—a practice common in Europe—it would have had less need to pass a sedition act to check the spread of malicious ideas. Critics of the Alien and Sedition Acts, such as Thomas Jefferson, preferred to leave the regulation of printed matter to the states.

### THE IMPACT ON TRADE AND PUBLIC LIFE

Nowhere were the implications of the communications revolution more fundamental than in the conduct of American trade. Long before the railroad created a national market for goods, the federal government established a national market for information. To move crops to market, merchants relied on the Post Office Department to transmit orders and even banknotes, all of which went uninsured. The high-speed transmission of market information was such a priority that Congress refused to suspend the transportation of the mail on the Sabbath, or even to permit localities to suspend the opening of the post office on this day, an incursion into local autonomy that troubled many, and that prompted the first large-scale petition effort in American history.

Equally far-reaching were the consequences of the communications revolution for public life. After 1792 the public sphere was no longer limited to the relatively small number of people located close to the seats of power, such as Philadelphia or a New England town; rather, it came to be located in the minds and hearts of millions of people. Party strategists relied on the improved facilities for long-distance communications to build the mass party; Evangelicals established voluntary associations on a nationwide scale. When Madison published his *Federalist* essays in 1788, public opinion had yet to emerge as a major category in political theory. By the time the French political theorist Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in 1831, it had become a keystone of the new "science of politics" for a democratic age. As

Tocqueville observed in *Democracy in America* (1835; 1840), "there is no French province in which the inhabitants knew each other as well as do the thirteen million men spread over the extent of the United States." This new, disembodied public sphere was dramatized by painters like John Lewis Krimmel, whose *Village Tavern* (1814) portrayed a crowd awaiting the arrival of the mail at a village post office during the War of 1812.

The principal beneficiaries of this new informational environment were the white men who dominated the electorate. Losers included women, slaves, and free blacks. Discouraged from participating in public affairs, they risked harassment every time they ventured into the post office to pick up their mail. Still, by empowering ordinary white men to join together in countless post offices to discuss public affairs, the federal government had helped establish a national community that a generation of men would fight and die for in the Civil War. Long before the advent of the steam railroad and the electric telegraph, the postal system, the stagecoach industry, and the periodical press had prepared the way for the emergence of the United States, in the twentieth century, as the most powerful media empire in the modern world.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; American Character and Identity; Book Trade; Democratization; Federalist Papers; Fiction; Madison, James; Magazines; Newspapers; Nonfiction Prose; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Press, The; Print Culture; Public Opinion; Religious Publishing; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; Women: Writers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Headrick, Daniel R. *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700–1850.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

John, Richard R. "American Historians and the Concept of the Communications Revolution." In *Information Acumen: The Understanding and Use of Knowledge in Modern Business.* Edited by Lisa Bud-Frierman. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

———. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Kielbowicz, Richard B. *News in the Mail: The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700–1860s.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Pred, Allan R. *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Informa-tion: The United States System of Cities, 1790–1840.* Cam-bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Starr, Paul. *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Mod-ern Communications.* New York: Basic Books, 2004.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* 1835, 1840. Ed-ited by J. P. Mayer. Translated by George Lawrence. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.

*Richard R. John*

**POVERTY**  Historians have disagreed since the 1960s about the extent of poverty in early America. Social historians have eroded the traditional vision of colonial America as a land of opportunity with grim demographic studies of the widening gap between rich and poor in the eighteenth century and detailed examinations of the lives of ordinary people, inden-tured servants, and slaves. Late-twentieth-century scholarship has offered a vision of early America in which increasing population decreased the size and viability of landholdings, and promoted impover-ished tenancy, especially in the South, as a lifelong state rather than a temporary condition to be cor-rected by hard work and frugality or moving to the frontier. Ideological conflict among historians is not dissimilar to colonial and early republican ambiva-lence about economic and political independence, civic responsibility, and the possibility of economic mobility and social advancement for the new coun-try's citizens. The concern of early Americans about the proper shape and character of colonial and early republican society was reflected in debates about the moral character of applicants for poor relief and in-creasing interest in making distinctions between the poor worthy of support ("worthy" or "deserving" poor) and those who required moral reform as well as public assistance ("vicious" or "unworthy" poor).

When English people first moved to the colonies, the problems of helpless poor citizens, unemploy-ment, and the transient poor moved with them, as did ideas about addressing these difficulties. The colo-nies modeled their earliest relief practice on the En-glish Poor Laws. Township boards of overseers ad-ministered relief, and while relief legislation and administration policies were fairly uniform across counties and within regions, individual communities tended to administer relief on a case-by-case basis, with considerable range in the extent to which they enforced residence and conduct requirements, al-lowed visitors, and allowed inmates to leave the grounds. In addition to variation between communi-ties, individual towns and townships sometimes switched from "putting out" paupers individually to boarding them collectively and then back again, de-pending on how many paupers required support.

### COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL APPROACHES

In the collective system all paupers not receiving "outdoor" relief (assistance in cash or goods given to paupers or the relatives caring for them) were boarded in a house rented or purchased by the town-ship. A member of the township board or someone hired for that purpose, usually the individual provid-ing the lowest bid for cost of the paupers' support for the year, administered the almshouse. In exchange for a set sum, the steward or overseer provided all food, clothing, and shelter for the town's paupers for the year. In some cases medical care was contracted for separately. The able-bodied generally worked on the almshouse premises or on the overseer's farm. Amounts to be refunded to the local government should any of the paupers die during the course of the year were agreed upon in advance.

Under the "putting out" system the paupers were assigned individually to private households, preferably to those of relatives or friends; some households boarded two paupers at once. These "putting out" agreements were renegotiated every year, which could result in individual paupers being shifted from household to household. These arrange-ments existed side-by-side with cash payments to in-dividuals or to their families on a quarterly basis as outdoor relief.

### GROWING NUMBERS OF POOR

By the mid-eighteenth century, poverty was becom-ing a matter of increasing public concern: increasing numbers of poor people receiving public assistance in cities were joined by growing numbers of dependent poor in nonurban areas. While private charity of-fered by individuals and by benevolent and religious organizations continued to grow in the eighteenth century, such aid could not keep pace with the grow-ing number of poor people in need. Worse still from an administrator's perspective, many of the people swelling the relief rolls (and prompting increased poor taxes) were not the traditional "worthy" poor (widows, orphans, the sick, the elderly, the disabled, the insane); instead, they were able-bodied but un-employed. Many of these able-bodied unemployed were members of a growing class of landless men who had failed to inherit or acquire land and were forced to hire themselves out as tenants or unskilled laborers. Because women's ability to own property

and act as independent economic entities was restricted by both custom and law, and because women were primarily responsible for child rearing, women were more vulnerable to destitution than men. Thus, another growing category of applicants for relief was women whose husbands had died or abandoned them and who were unable to secure work or subsist on assistance from friends and relatives. Transients in need presented a growing problem for overseers of the poor in both cities and non-urban communities throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The care of transients strained existing relief resources, especially in periods of epidemic disease such as the yellow fever that devastated Philadelphia in 1741 and 1793, and ravaged Philadelphia, Boston and New York periodically through the 1790s. The inadequacy of existing social welfare resources, especially in urban areas, prompted the creation of poor relief policies that stressed legal residence as a requirement for receiving relief. Paupers who did not qualify as residents could be warned out of town in rural areas, or transported to their counties of residence in order to make room for qualifying members of the community or destitute immigrants. Conflicts like King William's War (1689-1697), the Seven Years' War (1755-1763), and the American Revolution temporarily slowed high rates of immigration, but produced widows, orphans, and veterans that needed care and contributed to the instability of local economies.

### AN INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE

By the late seventeenth century, cities such as Boston (by 1685) and New York (1730s) began to turn to institutions as a more effective way to care for the growing numbers of urban poor. Communities adopted institution-based relief for two reasons: first, because institutional care could be more easily monitored for efficient administration, and second, because institutions offered a setting within which (ideally) the lives and characters of relief recipients could be shaped according to prevailing ideas of appropriate behavior. The first almshouses were usually houses rented or purchased with money from the poor taxes, and poor people were housed there under the care of an overseer and matron. In many communities (New York City's surrounding counties, for example) these poorhouses coexisted with the older "outdoor" relief system.

Poorhouses were important parts of the political, economic, and social lives of their communities. In addition to aiding the poor, poorhouses served as employers for many of the working poor who would otherwise have become inmates, conducted business with their neighbors, and were lightning rods for controversies over the expenditure of public funds, the outcome of local elections, responses to epidemics, and other issues of public concern.

By the mid-1830s, larger cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia and the towns and cities in their environs had moved to almshouses as their primary response to the problems of poverty in an economically and socially unstable environment. Almshouses occupied an important place in the imaginations of communities throughout the nineteenth century, and they played an important role in the definition of community identity. As places of refuge and employment, sources of object lessons and the temporary homes of objects of pity, almshouses appeared in paintings amid bucolic rural scenery, were embroidered on children's samplers, and were both praised and vilified in the local press. Visitors conducted personal business with the institutions' overseers, evaluated the standards of care for inmates, observed the expenditure of public funds, and contemplated the fragility of material prosperity.

The shift to institutional care for the poor coincided in much of the country with a shift to institutional care for the insane and the construction of the first state penitentiaries. An institution-based system would remain the standard for poor relief for the rest of the nineteenth century and beyond.

*See also* **Orphans and Orphanages; Wealth; Widowhood; Work: Indentured Servants; Work: Slave Labor; Work: Unskilled Labor.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, John K. *Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760–1800.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

Cray, Robert E., Jr. *Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700–1830.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Katz, Michael B. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America.* Rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 1996.

Smith, Billy G. *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Smith, Billy G., ed. *Down and Out in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

*Monique Bourque*

ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF THE
*New American Nation*

# Editorial Board

# ENCYCLOPEDIA
## OF THE

*New American Nation*

*The Emergence of the United States,*
*1754-1829*

3

PRESBYTERIANS *to*
YORKTOWN, BATTLE OF

PAUL FINKELMAN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

# THOMSON

★

™

# GALE

**Encyclopedia of the New American Nation**
**The Emergence of the United States, 1754–1829**

Paul Finkelman

**PRESBYTERIANS** Presbyterianism in early America traced its origins to the Reformed wing of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, and particularly to the teachings of the Swiss theologian John Calvin (1509–1564). Reformed Protestants believed that God was in control, or was "sovereign," over all of his creation; that human beings by nature were sinners or "depraved"; and that God, as an act of grace, chose to save, or "redeem," some of his sinful creation through the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ. The Reformed tradition taught that human beings, because of their depravity, were incapable of obtaining salvation apart from a sovereign God who, before the creation of the world, predestined or elected those who would be saved and those who would be damned.

In opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, Presbyterians, like most Protestants, reduced the number of sacraments from seven to two, namely infant baptism and the Lord's Supper, or communion. Unlike Catholicism, which taught that baptism regenerated an infant by washing away original sin, British Presbyterians believed baptism served as the infant's initiation into the community faith in the hopes that God would regenerate the child at a later time. Presbyterians rejected the Catholic Mass, affirming that communion was a memorial of the death of Christ, not a sacrament in which the bread and the wine actually became the body and blood of Christ.

What distinguished Presbyterians from other Reformed Protestants were their views on how the church should be governed. Unlike early New England Puritans who invested power in individual congregations, Presbyterians placed religious authority in the hands of presbyteries. Presbyteries consisted of the clergy and appointed lay representatives from a particular geographical region. A presbytery was responsible for appointing ministers to vacant pulpits, enforcing church discipline, monitoring the financial state of congregations, and educating ministers and laymen and -women. While presbyteries presided over the regular activity of Presbyterian life, they were held accountable by synods (made up of all the presbyteries in a geographical region) and, after 1789, the General Assembly (made up of all American synods).

### COLONIAL YEARS

Though Presbyterians could be found throughout the British American colonies, they were concentrated in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In 1706 eight ministers, led by Francis Makemie, the so-called father of American Presbyterianism, met in Philadelphia to establish the first American presbytery. Dur-

ing its first two decades, this presbytery was faced with the task of merging two distinct forms of early American Presbyterianism into a unified religious body. The earliest Presbyterian congregations in America were made up of clergymen and settlers who migrated to the New Jersey–Philadelphia region from New England. Many of these Presbyterians were descendants of New England Puritans who had adopted a presbyterian form of church government. The other group of Presbyterians was Scots-Irish in ethnic makeup. These were Presbyterians who migrated from Scotland to Ireland and then migrated again from Ireland to America searching for new land and opportunity or else fleeing persecution under the Test Act of 1704, which prohibited all dissenting (non-Anglican) forms of Protestantism in Ireland. The Scots-Irish, or Ulster Presbyterians, would dominate the church in America well into the nineteenth century.

New England–style Presbyterians, who were prevalent in the New Jersey congregations at Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Fairfield, tended to stress personal piety and an adherence to the teachings of the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice. Scots-Irish Presbyterians, while not neglecting the importance of piety and the Bible, required that ministers subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism (1647)—a statement of Presbyterian belief that served as a theological litmus test for membership in Scotland's national church (the Church of Scotland). These differences resulted in several controversies within the early American Presbyterian Church until they were resolved by a compromise between the two groups in 1729 called the Adopting Act.

In 1716 two new presbyteries had been formed at Long Island and New Castle, and the seventeen Presbyterian clergymen then ministering in America formed the Philadelphia General Synod one year later. With the controversy over subscription largely alleviated, early American Presbyterians now became divided over the issue of revivalism. As the first Great Awakening—an evangelical Protestant revival that stressed immediate conversion and aggressive evangelization—made its way throughout the colonies, Presbyterians debated how the church should respond to this new religious phenomenon. Some ministers, known as New Siders, emphasized the importance of personal conversion or the "new birth" as an essential element of the Christian life. William Tennent (1673–1746), the Presbyterian minister at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, began training clergymen at his Log College to take up the mantle of this

evangelical form of Christianity. His son, Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764), the minister of the New Brunswick, New Jersey, church, traveled throughout the region informing fellow clergy members of their spiritual "deadness" apart from a "born-again" experience.

Not all Presbyterians, however, embraced this Great Awakening. Known as the Old Side faction, Presbyterians such as Francis Alison (1705–1779), who ran an academy in New London, Pennsylvania, believed that this new emphasis on immediate conversion and personal piety undermined the historic Presbyterian commitment to a rational brand of Protestantism informed by the teachings of the Westminster Confession. They criticized the Log College men for making religious experience, rather than the strict adherence to theological standards, the most important qualification for those seeking ordination in the church. In 1738 the Old Side gained control of the Philadelphia Synod and three years later expelled the New Side New Brunswick Presbytery for its continued ordination of clergymen (many of them Log College men) who did not have formal degrees from a European college or from Yale or Harvard. As a result, the nearly one hundred congregations of the Presbyterian Church in British colonial America would remain formally divided between Old Side and New Side factions until they were reunited in 1758.

The first Great Awakening resulted in an increased demand for clergymen who upheld the New Side commitments to the importance of the new birth and experimental piety. Several New Side clergymen sought to alleviate this demand by establishing a college in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1746. Jonathan Dickinson, the minister at Elizabethtown and a New Side sympathizer, was chosen as the first president. Dickinson died in 1747; the second president, Aaron Burr (father of the future vice president), moved the college to Princeton, New Jersey. The College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) would be the first major institution of higher education in the mid-Atlantic region and, under the direction of New Side presidents, would serve as a bastion of eighteenth-century evangelical Presbyterianism.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

As some in the British colonies began to rethink their relationship to England after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Presbyterians became some of the most outspoken proponents of American independence. Official Presbyterian pronouncements on the American Revolution stressed the defense of liberty—

especially religious liberty—against an English government which, they believed, was undermining freedom. Presbyterians understood the American Revolution in moral terms. They believed that for the Revolution to be successful, the American colonists needed to be willing to sacrifice their own self-interest for the greater good of the Revolutionary cause. Presbyterian ministers urged their congregations to confess personal sins and, more broadly, to repent of public sins that might hinder God from answering their prayers for independence and religious liberty.

The College of New Jersey at Princeton became the primary center of Presbyterian Revolutionary activity. In 1768 the college appointed John Witherspoon as its sixth president. Witherspoon transformed the college into a school focused on the training of statesmen and politicians for leadership roles in the new American Republic. During the 1770s students at Princeton (with Witherspoon's approval) engaged in a variety of responses to supposed British tyranny. They wore homespun robes at commencement ceremonies to protest the importation of British-made clothing and staged a tea party similar to the one that occurred in Boston Harbor in 1773. Witherspoon was an outspoken clerical voice in support of revolution, publishing sermons and tracts connecting religious liberty with political independence from England. He was an active member of the Continental Congress, serving from 1776 to 1782, and was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence.

With the American victory in the War for Independence, Presbyterians began plans to construct a national church. In 1780 the church maintained over 400 congregations under the umbrella of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which had been established in 1758 after the New Side–Old Side reunion. With Presbyterian churches forming throughout the new Republic, including many in the southern states and on the frontier, administrative changes were essential. In 1789 the First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met in Philadelphia. The General Assembly would serve as the unifying agent for four newly designed synods—New York–New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas—sixteen presbyteries, 177 ministers, and 419 congregations.

### THE EARLY AMERICAN REPUBLIC

Presbyterians entered the nineteenth century with a new governmental structure in place and a renewed vision for spreading their Reformed faith throughout the frontier regions of the American Republic. In 1801 the church joined with the Congregationalists of New England in a Plan of Union designed to share the burden of missionary activity in the West. They were also influential in the early years of a new national revival often referred to as the Second Great Awakening. James McGready, a Presbyterian clergyman from Kentucky, led several religious revivals at frontier gatherings known as camp meetings. These revivals, the most famous of which was held in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801, gained a reputation for the religious enthusiasm of the participants. Reports described new converts falling down, "jerking," and even barking under the influence of evangelical preaching. In the North, the Second Great Awakening was spread by Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875), another Presbyterian minister. Finney challenged the traditional Calvinist understanding of a religious revival by suggesting that all human beings had the potential, if they performed the correct procedures, or "measures," to initiate an awakening of God's people.

Like the first Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening also bred controversy. As an increasing number of converts embraced the evangelical gospel, it became clear that for many American Protestants a conversion experience was now becoming a more important sign of authentic Christianity than rational assent to the particular confessional beliefs of a specific denomination. Presbyterian critics of the revival pointed to the 1801 Plan of Union and the ecumenical flavor of the frontier camp meetings as an example of the broad evangelical cooperation that undermined the distinctive beliefs of traditional Presbyterianism.

Moreover, Presbyterian revivalists such as Finney were advocating a theology of conversion that celebrated individual free will. The idea that human beings had the potential to choose whether to accept or reject the gospel meshed very well with the democratic values that were beginning to define the nation in the early nineteenth century, but it largely undermined the traditional Calvinist idea that individual salvation and corporate revival were the works of God, not men or women. Divisions over these issues would eventually lead to another major split in the Presbyterian Church in 1837. New School Presbyterians were those who supported the revivals and cooperation with other evangelical denominations in the spread of the Awakening. Old School Presbyterians opposed the revivals and became staunch defenders of traditional Presbyterian orthodoxy as articu-

lated in the Westminster Confession of Faith and other Reformed confessions.

Early national Presbyterians also began establishing theological seminaries. The number of ministerial students at the College of New Jersey had diminished considerably since the American Revolution, and Presbyterian leaders saw the need to develop a separate theological school designed solely for ministerial preparation. In 1811 the General Assembly approved the opening of Princeton Theological Seminary. Archibald Alexander became the first professor at the new seminary and Princeton would develop a reputation throughout the nineteenth century as a theological stronghold of Old School Presbyterianism. Shortly after the founding of Princeton, the General Assembly opened Auburn Theological Seminary in New York, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, and Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina.

As the Presbyterian Church entered the pre–Civil War era, it remained divided over how to preserve a historically confessional faith defined by limits, order, and subscription to the Westminster standards in an American religious culture becoming increasingly defined by individualism, opportunity, freedom of choice, and democracy. In addition to these theological and cultural differences, regional divisions over the institution of slavery would also rack the church. Many of these theological, moral, and regional disagreements would not be resolved until the twentieth century.

*See also* **Congregationalists; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism; Theology.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fea, John. "The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian's Rural Enlightenment." *Journal of American History* 90 (2003): 462–490.

Landsman, Ned C. *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683–1765.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Marsden, George M. *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970. Best treatment of Presbyterians in early national America.

Noll, Mark A. *Princeton and the Republic, 1768–1822: The Search for a Christian Enlightenment in the Era of Samuel Stanhope Smith.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989. Best intellectual history of Presbyterians in the age of the American Revolution.

Nybakken, Elizabeth. "New Light on the Old Side: Irish Influence on Colonial Presbyterianism." *Journal of American History* 68 (1982): 813–832.

Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Trinterud, Leonard J. *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949. Remains the standard work on colonial Presbyterianism.

Westerkamp, Marilyn J. *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625–1760.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

*John Fea*

# PRESIDENCY, THE

This entry consists of seven separate articles: *Overview*, *George Washington*, *John Adams*, *Thomas Jefferson*, *James Madison*, *James Monroe*, and *John Quincy Adams*.

## Overview

The first sentence of Article II of the Constitution (1787) states, "The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." The nature and scope of the presidency depends, in large measure, on the meaning and connotations of the words "executive power." The discussion of the executive department early in the Federal Convention of 1787 resulted, James Madison recorded, for the only time during the convention, in a "considerable pause." The topic was so important, and so unsettled, that the convention seemed "unprepared for any decision on it." What was there, in the previous understanding and experience of the members, that might have caused such uncertainty about the executive? How was this unpreparedness resolved in order to form Article II of the Constitution? And how did the conduct and understanding of the first six presidents (through 1829) give shape to the office that, at the start of the twenty-first century, is generally acknowledged to be the most powerful and important in the world?

### TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP

Leaders, those who exercised executive power, in the eighteenth century and for ages before that, were ordinarily monarchs or chieftains who were supposed to rule in the interests of all "their" people and to be above factions, regional or special interests, and aristocratic family privilege. Instead, they were to be guided by wise moral precepts defined as natural

law, God's word and will, the mandate of heaven, immemorial custom, or some other version of higher law. The biblical prophet Samuel or his anointed King David, Pericles of Athens, the Roman emperor Trajan, Queen Elizabeth I of England, and King Henry IV of France were the often-praised and -studied exemplars in the West. Each was deemed great and good, and his or her realm blessed, because each was seen as disinterested, intent on ruling according to the welfare of the polity as a whole, eschewing factional bias, dynastic ambition, personal gain, or any other corrupt (partial, selfish) motive. Jezebel, Alcibiades, Catiline, the emperor Nero, and Richard III of England were for opposite reasons reviled as bad rulers. Thus, nearly all political philosophy and nearly all history teaching by example before the eighteenth century judged political life qualitatively by results, not procedurally by the number who ruled.

At the time of the American founding, moreover, the word "democracy" still had its Aristotelian connotations of demagogy, mob rule, and inevitable decline first to anarchy and then to tyranny. The fondest hope for improving the lives of the people of a nation rested in a benevolent despotism of the sort upheld by Frederick the Great of Prussia or Catherine the Great of Russia. Since government could best be improved through the good character and wisdom of the ruler, much attention was given to the education of the prince who would hold power. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other early American leaders were familiar with famous books on that subject by St. Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus, Cicero, and rather oppositely and perversely, Machiavelli. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* served the same purpose.

In the minds of those who fashioned the executive office at the Federal Convention of 1787, then, were long-admired examples of good leadership and learned works explaining how such leaders might be obtained or cultivated—as well as equally long-hallowed arguments that democracy, any sort of direct government by the people, led inexorably to opposite results. The task of the convention, and of government in the new nation, was to resolve this dilemma: Could self-government somehow be organized to achieve good government? The footprints of this question are all over the efforts of the convention to frame executive power and the attempts of the first six presidents to conduct their new office.

### THE REVOLUTION AND EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP
The immediate context of the quandaries over executive authority was the struggle with its exercise by King George III, his ministers, and the colonial gover-

nors that led to the American Revolution (1775–1783). When George III seemed to persist in tyrannical measures despite Patrick Henry's warning that he might thus share the fate of the tyrants Caesar and Charles I, when Lord North and other ministers manipulated Parliament to ignore utterly colonial interests, and when governors such as Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts and Lord Dunmore of Virginia prorogued legislatures and called in occupying British soldiers, the North American colonists saw arbitrary executive power as the very face of tyranny. Fear of executive power in general, and emphasis on legislative power as an antidote, were thus the monitory lessons of Revolutionary struggle. As a result, many of the constitutions of the newly independent states created very weak governors, hemmed in by councils, legislative election, and severely limited function, while the Articles of Confederation (1781) provided for no executive authority at all except that formed by statute of the Continental Congress itself and thus of course subordinate to the Congress.

Along with the widespread disgust regarding arbitrarily exercised executive power, however, a powerful tradition of respect for active, public-spirited leadership persisted in Anglo-America. It was conveyed, Alison G. Olson has noted, in a pattern of thought in England "stretching from the country gentlemen of the 1630s through Shaftesbury, the Tory writers of Queen Anne's time, and Bolingbroke, to Jefferson" that emphasized both a "country agrarian populism" and a need for patriot leadership to stand above the commercial spirit, favoritism, and factionalism (*Anglo-American Politics*, *1660–1775*, p. 174). Robert Walpole, Britain's first real prime minister, was generally understood to embody this rule by parties. Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, condemned him as "the Minister [who] preaches corruption aloud and constantly, like the impudent missionary of vice" as he manipulated Parliament and the king to exalt the interests of the Whig oligarchs then making Britain into the world's richest and most powerful nation. By "corruption" Bolingbroke meant not only bribery, theft, and so on, but any intention that sought, deliberately or otherwise, the selfish benefit of any person, class, or group rather than the public good; the opposite, to seek the public good, was what eighteenth-century political thinking meant by virtue, the essential quality of good government whether by one, the few, or the many.

In a tract entitled *The Idea of a Patriot King* (1738), Bolingbroke condemned Machiavelli explicitly for requiring of the prince "no more than the appearance of virtue" rather than possession of real vir-

tue and for extolling not genuine wisdom, but merely its counterfeit, cunning. Bolingbroke insisted that a patriot king would "purge . . . the crowds of spies, parasites, and sycophants [who] surround the throne under the patronage of [corrupt] ministers." After choosing virtuous advisers, the king would "govern like the common father of his people," as in a patriarchal family where "the head and all the members are united by one common interest and animated by one common spirit." Such a monarch could "renew the spirit of liberty" in the minds of his people by banishing "corruption [as] . . . an expedient of government, [and] . . . set the passions of their hearts on the side of liberty and good government." The public good and the welfare of the people, Bolingbroke explained, might come from good executive leadership that could overcome the corrupt and factional tendencies of ministerial and parliamentary government. Under such a patriot leader, "concord will appear, brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land, joy sitting in every face, content in every heart, a people unoppressed, undisturbed, unalarmed, busy to improve their private property and the public stock." Americans connected this idealized model with their hopes (soon shattered) on the accession of George III in 1760 that he might be the patriot king who would banish ministerial misrule of the colonies. Present at his coronation in London, Benjamin Franklin hoped the new, young king's "virtue and . . . sincere Intentions . . . [would] make his People happy; will give him Firmness and Steadiness in his Measures." Thinking of the good such a monarch might accomplish, Franklin recalled an old Latin saying, *"Ad Exemplum Regis, etc.,"* meaning, in a full version, "the manners of the world are formed after the example of the King; nor can edicts influence the human understanding, so much as the life of the ruler." John Adams, reading George III's first speech to Parliament in 1761, noted his promise to "patronize Religion, Virtue, the British Name and Constitution, in Church and State, the subjects' Rights, Liberty, Commerce, Military Merit—these are the sentiments worthy of a King—a Patriot King." Fourteen years later, on the eve of the Battle of Bunker Hill, General George Washington scorned the redcoats as "Ministerial Troops, [not] . . . the King's Troops," while Sons of Liberty, beginning to shift allegiance, toasted "A patriot King or none, over the British colonies." Abigail Adams expressed the final shift two weeks after the Declaration of Independence: "We have in George a match for a Borgia or a Catiline, a wretch callous to every Humane feeling." Such sentiments, both the aspirations for an active, virtuous executive and the condemnation of

corrupt ones, remained powerful in the minds of Americans after the Revolution (even though George III was by then thoroughly disqualified) as they sought to reshape executive authority. Abigail Adams again expressed the sentiment writing to her husband in 1783: the nation needed "a Solomon in wisdom, to guide and conduct this great people . . . at this critical era."

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

As the Convention of 1787 began its discussion of the executive, uncertainty prevailed. When it took up the resolution in the Virginia Plan that "a national Executive be instituted, to be chosen by the National Legislature," James Wilson "moved that the Executive consist of a single person." After discussion stalled for a while, one delegate supported Wilson's motion as likely to secure responsibility and efficiency in the executive. Another opposed it in order that Congress be empowered both to elect the executive and to determine the number to compose it. After Wilson again supported a single executive to achieve "energy, dispatch, and responsibility," another delegate proposed to "annex a Council to the Executive," and yet another condemned a single executive as "the foetus of monarchy." The motion was then postponed, James Madison noted, because the convention seemed "unprepared for any decision on it."

The convention resumed debate on the executive after the contentious decision to make the states equal in the Senate had been taken. Gouverneur Morris argued that election of a single executive by Congress would "be the work of intrigue, of cabal, and of faction" and make it a "mere creature of the Legislative." Instead, election by "the citizens of the United States" would "never fail to prefer some man of distinguished character." Roger Sherman still thought legislative election best because "the people at large . . . will never be sufficiently informed of characters," a point reinforced by George Mason, who declared such an election was like referring "a choice of colours to a blind man." A few days later, after Morris, Wilson, and others had again argued that, despite Mason's caution, election by the people, for a relatively long term, with reeligibility, was the most purely republican form of election, Madison analyzed the problem. The alternatives were election by the people themselves, by some existing body or group, national or state, or by "some special authority derived from the people." Election by some existing authority, whether Congress, state legislatures, or even state governors collectively, was, as many delegates argued, sure to be hopelessly entangled in

cabal and intrigue, foreign and domestic, like the elections of the king of Poland or the Roman pope. After approving the idea of an electoral college as less subject to cabal and more likely to seek good characters than other modes, Madison nonetheless supported election directly by the qualified part of the people (under state law) because the Convention seemed not to countenance the electoral college idea. However, the first draft of the Constitution, presented on 6 August, returned to the earlier mode: a single executive would be elected by Congress for a term of seven years, but could not be elected a second time. With many delegates still undecided, and relatively wide powers conferred on the executive (though not to make treaties or to appoint ambassadors or judges of the Supreme Court), the convention left many questions to be resolved in the clause-by-clause debate of the draft.

In arguing for both broader powers and a more direct election of the executive, James Wilson again explained that the previous association of tyranny with a king and "really formidable" executive power was no longer relevant in a constitution where the executive was elected, directly or indirectly, by the people and was carefully restrained by constitutional authority. Under such circumstances, especially in a constitution with a powerful legislature partly "aristocratic" (i.e., the Senate), the danger of tyranny might come from it rather than the president. The presidency, on the other hand, might advocate for the people and be itself a center of the republican principle of government by consent of the governed. As the force of this understanding more and more impressed other delegates, the election and powers of the president were in the last days of the convention gradually revised to assume the configuration in the final document. Election would be by an electoral college (weighted largely in accord to population) to avoid legislative cabals. In the absence of a majority in the college for any candidate, the matter would be decided in the House of Representatives (voting by states) to avoid too much Senate power. Also, a shorter term and reeligibility were established to bring elections closer to the people. Furthermore, the president was given treaty-making and appointive powers with the Senate relegated to providing "advice and consent," in order to enhance his standing as a republican rather than a monarchical authority. The office, though modeled in some degree on the relatively strong governors of Massachusetts and New York and even on the prerogatives of the rejected British king, was in fact perhaps the most creative part of the convention's work, a new office for a new frame of government, resting, as "Publius" noted in

*The Federalist* No. 1, not on "accident and force," but on "reflection and choice."

### ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENCY

As the convention finished its work, it became clear that the presiding officer, George Washington, would almost certainly be the first to fill the executive office. Indeed, the delegates had often shaped its dimensions with the expectation that the Revolutionary hero before them, without monarchical ambitions, would be the first president. Though there was some worry about whether the considerable powers thus conferred would be safe in the hands of his successors—whoever they might be—Washington's universally acknowledged patriotism, good judgment, understanding of public affairs, and republican vision were often behind the convention's decisions. The same proposition loomed through the ratification debates: if Washington would almost surely be the first president, then anti-Federal complaints about the commander-in-chief's powers, the veto, making appointments to office, and so on were all blunted by the question "Can Washington be safely trusted with these powers?" Alexander Hamilton's vigorous defense of the mode of election and the powers of the executive in *The Federalist* Nos. 67–77 carries the implicit assumption that Washington would first fill the office—and the hope that his successors would learn from his understanding and conduct of the presidency. There was widespread agreement that the United States did not want a king (thanks to the reviled George III), but an almost equal agreement on wanting somehow to gain for the polity the admired ideals of monarchy: an above-party, energetic, morally respected, principled, and visionary executive, mindful of the other branches of government but nonetheless himself providing firm, active leadership.

A critical test of understanding of executive power came when Congress faced the question of removal from office: Did the Senate have to "consent" to removals as well as appointments? Or was removal, by implication, only possible through impeachment? Or should Congress, in defining each office, also define a removal procedure? Or did the "executive power" vested in the president by the Constitution implicitly leave removal to the discretion of the president? In arguing for the president's implicit removal power, members of Congress first rejected any senatorial role in removal power as limiting and confusing necessary executive responsibility and opening the door for "cabal" and "discord." It would "reduce the power of the President to a mere vapor,"

Representative James Madison stated. Members pointed out that while the legislative power was in Article I limited to powers "herein granted" and the judicial power in Article III "shall extend to" only enumerated cases, the executive power was simply "vested," implying a breadth and discretion in some ways similar to the prerogative given to the British monarch, even under Lockean definitions of distribution of powers. Fisher Ames observed that "the executive powers are delegated to the President, with a view to have a responsible officer to superintend, control, inspect, and check the officers necessarily employed in administering the laws." He should be able, then, to remove officers "he can no longer trust with safety." Madison added that under such an understanding, with the president elected at least indirectly by the people, "the chain of dependence . . . terminates in the supreme body, namely in the people." When the views of Madison, Ames, and others prevailed in the fashioning of the executive departments, it was clear that even Congress had in mind an exalted, responsible executive power exercised independently of partisan legislative contentions and protective of the public good—always the role of the good ruler from Plato and Cicero to Erasmus and Henry IV of France.

### THE FEDERALIST PRESIDENTS

Washington sought to maintain this active, nonpartisan approach to his office, but was soon surrounded by intense conflict, especially in his own cabinet between Hamilton and Jefferson. The president was appalled, and he begged his secretaries to cease. Without a willingness to subordinate differences to the public good, Washington warned, "every thing must rub; the Wheels of Government will clog," and he feared that "the Reins of government [could not] be managed, or . . . the Union . . . much longer preserved." Though Washington, because he came to believe Federalist policies best for the country, was himself drawn into partisan politics, he continued to resist any enshrinement of partisanship in the presidency (in contrast to presidents from Andrew Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt and George W. Bush, who would proudly tie the presidency to extreme partisanship). In his Farewell Address (1796), ironically a form of partisanship itself, Washington warned against "the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally" and noted that already "the alternate domination of one faction over another . . . has perpetuated the most horrid enormities, [and] is itself a frightful despotism." Instead, he urged the public to support "consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels and modi-

fied by mutual interests." Washington began and ended his presidency believing this was the essential role of the national executive.

When John Adams became the second president in 1797, he proclaimed his

> wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of people . . . as the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments.

These are sentiments with which neither his predecessor nor his successor would have disagreed. Adams intended to be an active, above-party leader, respectful of the legislature and mindful of the needs of the people and in charge to defend and seek the public good. In his lifelong compulsion to list good and bad leaders, even before the Revolution he had "warmly recommended" Cicero, Demosthenes, the duc de Sully, Sir Robert Cecil, and the elder William Pitt as model public servants, while he condemned Tiberius, Iago, and Richard III as unworthy leaders—a list to which he later added Napoleon Bonaparte, Hamilton, and Aaron Burr. The distinction in every case was not mode of election nor extent of power, but rather service to the public good, not corrupt power lust, dynastic ambition, nor factional intrigue.

With these standards in mind as president, Adams retained what he regarded as honorable public servants, left over from the previous administration, in his own cabinet despite policy and political differences with them, encouraged militant patriotism in response to the XYZ affair, and most notably, sent off a peace mission in 1799 to end the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800) that, by damping war fervor in the country, probably cost him and his party electoral victory in 1800. (This and other public-spirited actions so angered Alexander Hamilton, the de facto leader of the Federalist Party, that he published, during the 1800 election, a vicious pamphlet condemning Adams so severely that it too contributed to Adams's electoral defeat.) Long after leaving office, reading again the works of the author of *The Idea of a Patriot King*, Adams reflected that patriotism included

> piety, or love and fear of God; general benevolence to mankind; a particular attachment to our own country; a zeal to promote its happiness by reforming its morals, increasing its knowledge, pro-

moting its agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, improving its constitution, and securing its liberties; and all this without the prejudices of individuals or parties or factions, without fear, favor, or affection.

Since Adams understood the president to be a patriot leader, he had defined as well the guidelines for that office.

### THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS

When Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801, he declared, in his to-become-world-famous Inaugural Address, that "we are all Republicans—we are all Federalists," that "though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable," that he sought to "restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things," and that he believed the republican government he had been chosen to lead, rather than being too weak to rule or even survive, was "on the contrary, the strongest government on earth" because of the willing support of its citizens. Though Jefferson set about to reverse or reduce some Federalist programs (for example, taxes, military preparedness, expansion of the judiciary, and the Alien and Sedition Acts [1798]) in order to create "a wise and frugal government" and "compress [its powers] within the narrowest compass [it] will bear," he also pledged to preserve "the general government in its whole constitutional vigor." He wrote a friend at the same time that since it was "impossible to advance the notions of a whole people suddenly to ideal right, we see the wisdom of Solon's remark, that no more good must be attempted than the nation can bear." Though Jefferson thus urged a certain patience in his conduct of the presidency and insisted that it be in accord with public understanding, he just as clearly signaled the president's responsibility to discern the nation's "ideal right" (natural law; the public good?) and to lead toward it. (Theodore Roosevelt, a century later, would make the same point more bluntly: "I simply made up my mind what [the people] ought to think, and then did my best to get them to think it" [Hughes, *Living Presidency*, p. 166].) He thought this could be done in accord with standards of "wise and frugal" government held to a "narrow" rather than an expansive sense of national and presidential power. His cabinet members (James Madison and Albert Gallatin at State and Treasury, respectively, were especially important) were generally likeminded. Administrative actions, diplomatic dispatches, and especially, leadership of Congress carried out through meetings and presentation of pro-

posals to friendly legislators, thus carried the stamp of Jefferson's guidelines for the executive.

The signal events of his administrations, the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the embargo (1807–1809), reveal his understanding of constitutional leadership. Jefferson believed that under a proper "narrow" understanding, Congress and the president needed a constitutional amendment to make such a purchase. He had, however, no hesitation in moving ahead rapidly to resolve the diplomatic crisis leading up to the purchase treaty and then in carrying through on it with Congress, even without an amendment (both Madison and Gallatin thought it was unnecessary anyhow); active executive leadership required such.

Then, as the injustices and depredations of the world war between France and Britain increased dramatically after the Battles of Trafalgar (1805) and Austerlitz (1805), Jefferson sought almost desperately to avoid the war in order to avert its inevitable anti-republican features: the dangerous aggrandizing of both federal and executive power. With Madison's urging and support, Jefferson asked Congress to close American borders to trade with belligerents and to require American ships to leave the high seas where their presence seemed certain to involve them, and American naval vessels, in strife sure to mean war with Britain or France or possibly both. He and Madison saw the Embargo Act of 1807 as a peaceful way to persuade the belligerents, whom he thought needed American trade, to stop their depredations; that is, they saw it as a republican (unwarlike) means of national defense. Jefferson was quite willing to exercise huge powers, carried out by the executive branch, when he thought the common defense required it, but almost as readily he asked Congress to rescind the embargo when he saw its deeply divisive effect in the country and recognized that harsh measures were needed to enforce it. Both the divisions and the harsh measures were deeply antithetical to what for Jefferson were hallowed republican principles of public harmony and mild government.

One can understand the Jefferson and Madison administrations as divided into three periods: (1) 1801–1805, when a fortunate, relatively peaceful interlude in the Napoleonic Wars allowed the president to lead and govern in a principled but "mild" way; (2) 1805–1815, when the clamored demands of world war intruded on all efforts at republican government; and (3) 1815–1817, when Madison had the opportunity again to exercise executive power in ways he and Jefferson had designed before the war crisis. In 1809, then, Madison entered the presidency

facing desperate international circumstances with a republican, constitutional system little geared to a world at war. Saddled with a weak cabinet because of the intricacies of politics, with constitutional restraints that required deference to Congress, and with assaults from both belligerents that demanded forceful response, Madison struggled to sustain republican guidelines while also defending the nation. He gradually strengthened his cabinet, persuaded Congress to enact some preparedness measures, and exhausted diplomatic channels for peaceful resolution. Though he did not, in the style of an Andrew Jackson or Winston Churchill (or even an Alexander Hamilton), find ways to be a commanding, inspiring war leader, he managed to conduct the war, finally successfully, while maintaining the forms and spirit of republican government. French minister Louis Sérurier, in Washington throughout the War of 1812, asserted that "three years of warfare have been a trial of [American republican] institutions to sustain a state of war, a question . . . now resolved to their advantage." Secretary Gallatin had noted the need, as the war began, to avoid "perpetual taxation, military establishment, and other corrupting or anti-republican habits or institutions," while retired President John Adams observed simply at the end of the war that "notwithstanding a thousand Faults and blunders, [Madison's] Administration has acquired more glory, and established more Union, then all his three Predecessors Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, put together." Madison emerged from the war not a dictatorial republican executive, but rather an executive convinced of the need for active leadership and of the president's authority to do so within the republican forms defined in the Constitution. With the dangers to those forms presented by Hamilton's domination in the 1790s of the executive (and what Jefferson and Madison regarded as its corrupt influence on Congress) now allayed by fifteen years of republican experience, Madison led confidently. He proposed recharter of the National Bank, an equitable commercial treaty with Britain, a mildly protective tariff, a small but high-quality defense establishment, a national university, and a program of internal improvements—but this last only by constitutional amendment.

## THE RISE OF PARTIES

James Monroe's accession in 1817 to the presidency—deserved, he and his two predecessors thought, for his patriotism in war and peace and for his long service in government—marked the culmination in practice of the executive office's standing above party. Virtually unchallenged entering office (he lost only 34 of 217 electoral votes in 1816 and 1 in 1820), Monroe declared in his first Inaugural Address that "the American people . . . constitute one great family with a common interest" and hoped the nation might "soon attain the highest degree of perfection of which human institutions are capable." He asserted his intention as "Chief Executive to . . . not be the head of a party, but of the nation itself." His model was Washington, under whom he had served heroically in the Revolution; thus, Monroe was "the last of the cocked hats," guiding the nation, he hoped, to peace, prosperity, and harmony. His able secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, negotiated an 1817 treaty providing that no warships or forts be on either side of the Canadian border (still in effect today), negotiated another that acquired Florida and for the first time drew a transcontinental boundary between Mexico and the United States (1819), and promulgated with British support the Monroe Doctrine (1823) forbidding expansion of European despotism in the Americas. Despite this remarkable foreign affairs record, Monroe generally was bypassed in the nation's public life by zealous partisanship both in the legislature and within his own cabinet. Bitter sectional battles in Congress, especially over the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and incessant quarrels and maneuvering in his cabinet over the presidential succession clouded the scene at Monroe's retirement in 1825. Noting what was going on, Jefferson wrote "do not believe a word that there are no longer parties among us; that they are now all amalgamated." Monroe still hoped there might be "sufficient virtue in the people to support our free system of republican government" (that is, transcend the corruption of party), but Madison—no longer "sanguine" that an "engendered and embittered spirit of party" could be avoided in the United States—wrote his predecessor that he hoped only that it might be "so slight or so transient as not to threaten . . . permanent [damage] to the character and prosperity of the Republic." After twenty-four years of earnest effort by Jeffersonian Republican presidents to fulfill a nonpartisan ideal in the presidency (and in fact, twelve years of effort by Federalist presidents before that), it was moribund in practice and under increasing challenge ideologically.

In a presidency that can only be called paradoxical, however, John Quincy Adams—child of the Revolution, son of John and Abigail Adams, master of half-a-dozen languages, the United States' premier diplomat for thirty years, and in American public life through his post-presidential service in the House of Representatives where he was a colleague of Abraham Lincoln's—sought doggedly to remain a nation-

al president even as all the forces around him, in the country, in Congress, and even in his own cabinet, had become aggressively partisan and sectional. His first annual message to Congress in 1825, with, as he thought, liberty won and Union assured, proposed a broad program in the public interest. He asked Congress (echoing his father) for laws to promote "the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanic and of the elegant arts, the advancement of literature, and the progress of the sciences, ornamental and profound, . . . [including] a lighthouse of the skies" (a national observatory). The proposals, offered so earnestly and fulfilling, he thought, his duty as a republican leader above party, went nowhere, ridiculed and lost amid personal and sectional controversies seething everywhere. Virtually ignored in the White House as the political vitalities of a free and democratic nation burgeoned in all directions, Adams lost the presidency to Andrew Jackson overwhelmingly in the 1828 election.

In fact, the nature and authority of the presidency was undergoing a basic shift as the very idea of democratic leadership altered in the 1820s and 1830s. Martin Van Buren and others began to articulate a new, positive conception of party and of its relationship to presidential leadership far different from the purposes of the first six presidents. Their upholding of nonpartisanship, the new view asserted, generally had the effect of maintaining an elitist status quo against changing and more democratic ideas of the needs of the country. Instead, those who aspired to leadership, especially the presidency, should draw strength from new and diverse forces and form or work with a political party to organize and give effect to what it saw as the public good. This organization, a political party proudly called such, giving voice and coherence to the will of the people, would become a permanent, ongoing presence and would itself embody democratic processes. It would then support a president who in office would be the leader of the party, carrying out its purpose and policies; a real fulfillment of the idea of government by consent, not a counterfeit as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison would have thought. Such partisan activity would, argued Martin Van Buren, "rouse the sluggish to exertion, excite a salutary vigilance over our public functionaries, . . . [and by] the very discord which is thus produced, may in a government like ours, be conducive to the public good." The president would be both the beneficiary of this partisan activity and the leader and perpetrator of it in executing his office. In forming what became the Democratic Party in the 1820s, in helping to elect Jackson

in 1828 as its first president in office, in supporting him while president (1829–1837), and then in succeeding him in office as the next leader of the party (1837–1841), Van Buren reconfigured the place of both political parties and the presidency in American public life. The first American presidency, from 1789 to 1829, above party in conception, was over; the second, party-based presidency, from 1829 to 1901, was beginning; and the third, active or imperial presidency, from 1901 to 1981, and the fourth, managed and less active presidency, beginning in 1981, were in the future, with signs of a return to the first, above-party conception nowhere in sight.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Government: Overview; Politics: Political Thought; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Parties.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Corwin, Edward S. *The President, Office and Powers: History and Analysis of Practice and Opinion.* New York: New York University Press, 1940.

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Process of Government under Jefferson.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* 4 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1937.

Hamilton, Alexander, John Jay, and James Madison. *The Federalist Papers.* Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: Mentor, 1961.

Hughes, Emmet John. *The Living Presidency: The Resources and Dilemmas of the American Presidential Office.* New York: Coward, McCann, and Geohagen, 1973.

Ketcham, Ralph. *Presidents above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden. New York: Modern Library, 1993.

Madison, James. *James Madison: Writings.* Edited by Jack N. Rakove. New York: Penguin Putnam, Library of America, 1999.

McCullough, David. *John Adams.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

McDonald, Forrest. *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985.

Olson, Alison G. *Anglo-American Politics, 1660–1775: The Relationship between Parties in England and Colonial America.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973.

Rakove, Jack N. *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution.* New York: Knopf, 1996.

Richardson, James D., ed. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897.* 10 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896–1899.

St. John, Henry, Lord Bolingbroke. "The Idea of a Patriot King." In *Political Writers of Eighteenth-Century England.* Edited by Jeffrey Hart. New York: Knopf, 1964.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Wallace, Michael. "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815–1828." *American Historical Review* 74 (1968): 453–489.

White, Leonard D. *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History.* New York: Macmillan, 1948.

*Ralph Ketcham*

## George Washington

George Washington, the first president under the U.S. Constitution of 1788, was sworn into the new office on 30 April 1789 after being elected to that post, created with him in mind, by a unanimous electoral college.

Washington took unique prestige into the presidency. Since early 1775, he had been the living embodiment of American nationality. The Continental Army was the first national organization, and Washington was from the beginning its commander in chief. Washington insisted throughout the war that American military officials must defer to their nominal superiors in Congress. It is to him more than to anyone else that America owes its tradition of subordination of the military to the civilian authorities. The immortal illustration of this was Washington's voluntary surrender of his sword and commission to the Confederation Congress at the Revolution's end.

Washington also had presided over the Philadelphia convention which drafted the Constitution. As James Monroe put it in 1788, Washington's prestige had been the key to the ultimate ratification of the new federal charter, especially in his native state of Virginia—the most populous, most extensive, and wealthiest state.

### ESTABLISHING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Once elected president, Washington had his choice of all the leading men in American politics to fill positions in his cabinet and in the new federal judiciary. Employing three tests for office—eminence, geographic diversity, and support for the ratification of the Constitution—Washington selected a "who's who" of American leaders to fill the new government's top posts. Thus, his friend John Jay of New York became the first chief justice of the United States. Others appointed to the Supreme Court included John Rutledge of South Carolina, a leading framer of the Constitution and his state's most significant politician, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, who had played key roles both in the Philadelphia convention and in the ratification contest.

As in the days surrounding the Philadelphia Convention, Washington's foremost adviser in the early months of his first term was James Madison of Virginia, a newly elected member of the first House of Representatives. Besides drafting Washington's inaugural and first annual addresses, Madison also assisted Washington in assembling his cabinet. Madison persuaded Thomas Jefferson to serve as secretary of state and suggested his recent fellow contributor to *The Federalist* (1787–1788), New York's Alexander Hamilton, to be the first secretary of the Treasury.

The First Congress adopted several measures of enduring significance. Of most immediate importance was its creation of the major executive agencies: the departments of the Treasury, of state, and of war. Besides the heads of these agencies, the original cabinet also included Attorney General Edmund Randolph, the former attorney general, then governor, of Virginia.

Also of lasting importance was the Judiciary Act of 1789, which fleshed out the sparse provisions of Article III of the Constitution by creating a three-tiered judiciary very similar to the one that existed two-hundred-years later. Where Article III provided for a U.S. Supreme Court with a chief justice and such inferior courts as Congress cared to create, the new law established a six-member Supreme Court, at least one district court in each state, and six circuit courts of appeal.

The Judiciary Act of 1789 had two other provisions that bear mention as well. One, section 25, said that questions of federal law decided in state supreme courts could be appealed to the federal Supreme Court. Therefore, in matters of federal law the U.S. Supreme Court would have a supervisory role over all state courts, which would allow it to police the interpretation of federal law in all the state systems, thus theoretically ensuring that federal law would have a uniform meaning throughout the country. The other provision said that cases brought into federal court under federal diversity of citizenship jurisdiction would be decided according to the law of the forum state (the state in which the court sits); thus, there would be no federal common law of torts, contracts, or other everyday matters; making policy in

these important areas would be reserved to state governments.

**Bill of Rights.** Madison had only narrowly been elected to the House of Representatives, and that after seeing his candidacy for the Senate defeated in Virginia's General Assembly. In order to ensure his election to the House, Madison had assured his constituents that he would pursue adoption of constitutional amendments as a congressman. Thus, to the consternation of many of his colleagues, Madison repeatedly drew their attention to the idea of adopting a bill of rights. He had opposed this idea when it was bruited by moderate Federalists and anti–Federalists during the ratification contest. Yet Madison had concluded that this politically expedient step might have the positive effect of winning the Constitution the support of men who might otherwise oppose it.

Anti–Federalists, including Virginia's two U.S. senators and Patrick Henry, the eminence of the General Assembly, wanted amendments that would more carefully define and limit the federal government's powers. Madison had no interest in that, but wanted simply to offer moderate men a harmless placebo of amendments to quiet their fears on the question of the new government's threat to individual liberties. He also futilely attempted to win approval of an amendment allowing federal courts to enforce select individual rights against state governments, thus inverting anti–Federalists' hopes for amendments limiting federal power.

Ultimately, Congress referred twelve amendments to the states. Ten of those amendments were ratified in 1791, and an eleventh—the Twenty-seventh Amendment—won ratification two centuries later, in 1992. Virginia's senators expressed their disappointment in the proposed amendments, saying that they would do nothing to limit federal power. The First Congress's amendments were rarely the subject of litigation in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, and even more rarely did they affect the outcome of a case or the interpretation of a law, state or federal.

**Formalities.** The First Congress and President Washington were uncertain precisely how a republican government should behave. Washington, for his part, believed that he should be more accessible than was George III, yet he realized that his own fame made it impracticable for him to maintain the open-door policy of the presidents of the Continental and Confederation Congresses. One result was the famous levees, stilted social affairs held by Washington at his house in order to keep in contact with members of Congress and local notables. If the description of Pennsylvania's sardonic senator, William Maclay, is to be believed, the levees were so formal as to serve no purpose other than making Washington and his invited guests alike uncomfortable and impressing extreme democrats with the monarchical tendencies of the new government.

For its part, Congress could not even decide how the president should be addressed. In Europe at the time, monarchs—their countries' chief executives—commonly were addressed with long strings of titles indicating God's role in selecting them to reign and the territories over which they ruled. Vice President John Adams insisted that Congress should address Washington in a similar way, to ensure that his new office, and thus the new government of which it was the most visible symbol, received the proper respect.

This seemingly innocuous, not to say trivial, matter tied up the Senate for several days. Wags referred to the short, corpulent vice president as "His Rotundity." Finally, Madison led the House in refusing to accede to the Senate's desire to give Washington a title other than "President of the United States." For both Madison and Washington himself, as the president had confided, that was enough.

### HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL POLICIES

Constitutional reformers of the 1780s had desired to strengthen the central government chiefly to empower it to raise armies and taxes without the states' cooperation. The first concerns with which the fledgling government had to deal were financial. Hamilton believed that the United States needed to provide for the prompt repayment of its war debt. Since the states had amassed substantial debts during the Revolution as well, Hamilton also recommended that the Congress move to assume those debts. His goal was to concentrate responsibility for and power over those debts in the federal government.

One instrument for the management of the federal debt was to be the Bank of the United States, established in 1791, in which the federal government would be the most substantial, but still only a minority, shareholder. Hamilton believed that the United States could follow the British example in funding its debt, thus tying the economic interests of holders of debt instruments throughout the country to the success of the new federal government. Virginia's preeminent representatives, Madison and Jefferson, drove a hard bargain, however: in exchange for allowing the assumption bill to pass the House in 1790, they secured the permanent site of the federal capital on the Potomac River, Virginia's northern

boundary, and a very favorable system of calculating the states' debts that ultimately made the Old Dominion a creditor of the federal government instead of—what it deserved to be—a significant debtor.

Secretary Hamilton differed from the other significant officers of the executive branch in having been born abroad. Since he had no felt affinity for any particular state, but was instead a patriotic American, Hamilton could see the interests of America generally in a way that few other Americans of his day could. Thus, the idea of having the federal government assume the states' debts, an obvious expedient for improving the country's creditworthiness, did not strike him as especially dangerous; localism or particularism simply did not factor into his mental makeup.

Once the federal government had assumed the state debts, a question arose concerning the extent to which the government debts should be repaid. Hamilton argued in favor of redeeming the government's debt instruments at face value, because to pay less than face value likely would affect American credit adversely. Hamilton's opponents, led by Representative James Madison, called this proposal unfair, and they said that only the original holders of wartime debt instruments should be able to redeem them at face value. Hamilton called his opponent's schemes for discriminating among debt holders impractical, besides potentially ruinous to the new government's fiscal reputation, and he won the debate in Congress.

Hamilton also wanted to follow the British government in funding the government's debt—that is, in providing a perpetual stream of government income dedicated to payment of the interest on the government's debt. His opponents considered this a maneuver to give the Treasury influence over the financial markets, thus over the Congress, and argued against the idea.

### CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, SLAVERY, AND REBELLION

For some other leading players in American politics, the vector of Hamilton's policies seemed dangerous. Thus, when his bank bill came before Congress, Madison stood up in the House to argue against its constitutionality. There was no clause of the Constitution granting Congress power to charter a bank, or indeed a corporation of any kind, Madison noted. Madison said that only the enumerated powers were granted. Thus, he concluded, Congress had no power to charter a bank.

When the matter came before President Washington, he expressed his doubts on the question of constitutionality. Having Madison's objections in mind, the president asked his cabinet for written opinions. Jefferson, in a classic "strict constructionist" essay, essentially repeated his friend Madison's argument. Washington passed it on to Hamilton.

In his response, which subsequently formed the basis of Chief Justice John Marshall's opinion in the crucial Supreme Court case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Hamilton spelled out the "broad constructionist" reading of the Constitution. If the ends were clearly constitutional, Hamilton counseled, and the means were not prohibited, the means were permissible. Thus, he concluded, Congress's bill to charter the bank was constitutional. Washington, who sympathized strongly with Hamilton's financial goals for the government, signed the bill into law.

Hamilton also proposed that the federal government should adopt various excise taxes as part of its fiscal plan. Among the items he proposed to tax were carriages and whiskey. Both would become significant flash points.

Lurking behind the growth of organized opposition to the Washington administration, which historians generally date to 1793, was concern about the effect of Hamilton's approach to the Constitution on the future of slavery. As early as the First Congress, southern congressmen expressed grave concerns about slavery's future in the federal Union. Virginia pamphleteer John Taylor of Caroline linked the issue to concerns about the excise on carriages.

The carriage tax, Taylor said, was unconstitutional and unjust. He rested his claims concerning the tax's unconstitutionality on Madison's reasoning in the bank bill debate: there was no express grant of power to levy a carriage tax in the Constitution, and the Tenth Amendment stated that all undelegated powers remained in the states; therefore, only the states could tax carriages. His claim of injustice reflected the tax's sectional incidence: significant planters throughout Tidewater Virginia owned carriages, he said, but only two people in the entire state of Connecticut owned taxable carriages. Thus, Congress had chosen an item possessed almost entirely by people in one region to tax. If this precedent were allowed to stand, Taylor warned, there was another type of property whose owners lived principally in one part of the country; he did not have to say that he was referring to slaves.

In July 1794, opposition to federal excises took a far less refined form. The Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania saw violence launched against

federal excise agents. In response Washington, at Hamilton's urging, amassed a force of fifteen thousand militiamen to enforce the federal law and mounted his horse at their head. Hamilton's purpose, besides cowing the opponents of what remained an experimental federal government, was to prove to European observers that the United States would take energetic measures, even use the military, to enforce its taxes.

The Whiskey Rebellion dissipated quickly in the face of Washington and, once the army had reached some distance from New York, Hamilton, but its effects were long lasting. It cemented for the administration's opponents what they had long suspected: that the Treasury secretary wanted to convert the Republic into an empire.

### FOREIGN POLICY

Understanding that suspicion requires understanding the international context of the Washington administration. In 1789, the same year the new Constitution took effect, the French Revolution began. At first, Americans sympathized with what they understood to be a move toward constitutional monarchy in the country that had aided them indispensably in securing their independence. Soon, however, the French king was overthrown, then executed; his wife and thousands of noblemen and clergymen followed him to the guillotine; Christianity was outlawed in France; and the new republic attacked all of its neighbors.

The chief dividing line in American politics, namely over constitutional interpretation (especially federalism), coincided with a principled division over foreign policy. In general, advocates of an energetic federal government, like Washington and Hamilton, favored neutrality in the European wars, while those who tended to favor the idea that legislative powers had been reserved to the states favored the French.

Hamilton's advocacy of neutrality had two bases: growing revulsion with the French Revolution and recognition that the financial prospects of the new government rested on a stable relationship with Britain, America's chief trading partner. On the other hand Madison, Jefferson, and their fellows believed that America owed France a moral debt for its assistance in the Revolution, considered the treaty of alliance signed in 1778 legally binding despite France's change of government, and sympathized with French efforts to establish a republic over first the objections, then the violent opposition, of other European nations.

Hamilton did not help matters with his repeated observations, in private settings and in political gatherings (most notably the Philadelphia Convention of 1787), concerning the great merits of the British Constitution. Jefferson, on the other hand, maintained an astounding equanimity as a number of his friends suffered death at the hands of French revolutionary authorities. Vice President Adams, too, told the two Virginia senators that the United States would soon find it necessary to establish a monarchy, fanning the flames of Republican suspicion.

For Jefferson, then, Hamilton's financial measures, explicitly modeled on those of Britain, smacked of monarchism; for Hamilton, Jefferson's and Madison's opposition to the Washington administration was "Jacobinical" (after the most radical, bloodiest, most warlike faction in the French Revolution). Hamilton had his way in 1793, when the European conflict elicited Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality over Jefferson's vociferous objections. Despite the treaty of 1778, any American who assisted either side would be prosecuted. Republicans were furious.

**Jay's Treaty.** Reactions to the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 perfectly summed up the situation on both sides, as Jefferson brooded concerning Hamilton's militaristic intentions for America and Hamilton gloried in the opportunity to employ the federal government in intimidating lawless Jeffersonian tax dodgers. The following year, Chief Justice John Jay returned from England with the treaty that soon would be known by his name. Passed on by President Washington to the Senate in secret, then ratified in executive session, Jay's Treaty seemed to implement the program Jefferson had feared of making the United States the tail of the British dog. Americans had chafed over British restrictions on American trade and over impressments of American sailors into the Royal Navy, and the treaty that Jay brought home did nothing about those complaints. It also forswore any American intention to use differential tariff rates to coerce Britain economically—a favorite scheme of Madison's.

What Jay did achieve, on the other hand, was a firm British commitment instantly to withdraw from military bases in the Old Northwest, along with a binding mutual obligation to maintain peace in an international environment that bade fair to draw the two Anglophone countries into armed conflict. From Washington's point of view, as from Jay's and Hamilton's, the essential point was that America remain aloof from European wars for an-

other fifteen to twenty years, after which it could—to borrow a phrase—bid defiance to all the world.

The Democratic Republican opposition staged popular protests throughout the country upon learning the particulars of Jay's Treaty. Washington's acceptance of it made even him anathema to his administration's opponents. Although Jefferson and Hamilton had long since left his cabinet, only to be replaced by far lesser figures, they remained the guiding lights of their respective parties. Jefferson was happy to see the Democratic Republican clubs that supported him mushroom in the days after Jay's Treaty, and John Jay said that he could have walked from Charleston, South Carolina, to Boston by the light of his burning effigies.

### FAREWELL ADDRESS

The partisan press, launched by Jefferson and Madison and somewhat effectively countered by Hamilton and his supporters, tore into Jay's Treaty. Washington, who had thought of retirement in 1792, determined that he had certainly had enough by 1796. He went to Hamilton for assistance in composing a farewell address.

That address, published in September 1796, served as a valedictory. Americans must maintain a strong union of the states, Washington wrote. Sectionalism in politics threatened the breakup of the United States, according to the retiring president. Washington also cautioned against entanglement in foreign alliances; neutrality was the best policy for a weak young country that must soon wax very strong. He also averred that the proper role of the average person in republican politics was to help in electing officials, then to let them run the country.

Washington's administration was very successful. The federal government's three branches were organized on lasting bases. The financial system established by Washington, with Hamilton's able assistance, made America fiscally stable and put the federal government at the financial center of what had always been a state-centered political culture—and would remain so for many decades to come. The Washington administration's policy of neutrality in international affairs was prudent, despite the heated insistence of Secretary of State Jefferson that America lend its slight weight to the feckless and sanguinary course of the French Revolution. Most important, Washington left office voluntarily, thus establishing a precedent that all of his successors have been bound to follow, whether they wanted to or not.

*See also* **Adams, John; Bank of the United States; Bill of Rights; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Judiciary Act of 1789; Madison, James; States' Rights; Washington, George; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ben-Atar, Doron, and Barbara B. Oberg, eds. *Federalists Reconsidered.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Brookhiser, Richard. *Gentleman Revolutionary: Gouverneur Morris, the Rake Who Wrote the Constitution.* New York: Free Press, 2003.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Flexner, James. *George Washington.* 4 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965–1972.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison: A Biography.* New York: Macmillan, 1971.

Leibiger, Stuart. *Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

McDonald, Forrest. *The Presidency of George Washington.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1974.

———. *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography.* New York: Norton, 1979.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Waldstreicher, David. *In The Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Walling, Karl-Friedrich. *Republican Empire: Alexander Hamilton on War and Free Government.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999.

*Kevin R. C. Gutzman*

## John Adams

On 1 May 1812, as the nation teetered on the brink of war with Great Britain during the Madison administration, John Adams penned a letter to his "founding brother" and former vice president Thomas Jefferson, chastising the Democratic Republican policies imperiling the moment. "In the Measures of Administration I have neither agreed with you or Mr. Madison," Adams wrote. "Whether you or I were right posterity must judge. . . . You and Mr. Madison had as good a right to your Opinions as I had to mine, and I must acknowledge the Nation was with you. But neither your Authority nor that of the Nation has convinced me." The two had resumed

their correspondence only a few months earlier, breaking a silence that had spanned a dozen years. During the hiatus Jefferson acknowledged to Abigail Adams that partisanship, not personality, had driven the wedge between them. "The different conclusions we had drawn from our political reading and reflections were not permitted to lessen mutual esteem, each party being conscious they were the result of an honest conviction in the other." Their warm and lively correspondence that revived over the last fourteen years of their lives testified to the competing philosophies of their presidential administrations, but also to their admiration for one another.

John Adams met Thomas Jefferson when they were delegates to the Continental Congress. Staunch advocates for separation from the crown, they served together on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence and joined again in Paris to negotiate the peace. Together they began and ended the American Revolution, and in 1796 they were elected president and vice president of the nation they had founded. Theirs could have been the most remarkable administration in history were it not for the partisanship and international developments of the intervening years. During the administration months passed—once even more than a year—when the two men could not speak or even write to one another.

### THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

During the Washington administration, for which Adams had served as vice president, Jefferson, as secretary of state, along with James Madison in Congress, had opposed the economic schemes of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, in which the federal government assumed the state's debts and funded it with a national bank. They also opposed the president's Proclamation of Neutrality during the Anglo-French War, demanding that the United States honor the Franco-American Treaty of Alliance to support France's democratic revolution as France had supported America, and the Jay Treaty, which they believed would unfairly assist the British in their war against France and tie the economic interests of the United States back to the imperial monarchy. Citizens siding with Jefferson and Madison issued petitions, remonstrances, and toasts in clubs they called Democratic Republican societies. By 1796 this opposition to the Washington administration galvanized into the Democratic Republican Party, with Jefferson at its head voicing the rhetoric of liberty and democracy while decrying monarchy and aristocracy. Devotees of Washington, including

Adams, championed the need for order that a vigorous federal government could provide. Federalists, as they called themselves, wanted to save the nation from a descent into democratic licentiousness. Adams, a Federalist, and Jefferson, a Democratic Republican, would form the only presidential administration in American history split between two parties. Partisanship, and the foreign policy that underlay it, would define the Adams administration.

In the election of 1796, Adams in republican fashion refused to campaign, and though he was a faithful supporter of Washington administration policies, he was determined to stay above the partisan fray. As vice president he had been an active member of the Senate, casting deciding votes on thirty-one occasions, most often in support of his president. Yet powerful Federalist insiders, particularly Hamilton and then Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, distrusted Adams. Hamilton was the spokesperson for a conservative wing of the party known as High Federalists, who feared the expanding democratic threat of the French Revolution, demanded closer economic ties with Britain, and called for the formation of a permanent, professional fifty-thousand-man standing army. Some High Federalists also clamored for war with France. Although Adams supported the Jay Treaty, he was suspicious of "standing armies" and favored the "wooden walls" of naval protection. In the election Hamilton and Pickering worked behind the scenes to support rival Federalist candidate Thomas Pinckney from South Carolina. Although Adams secured enough electoral votes to narrowly defeat Democratic Republican rival Thomas Jefferson as well as Pinckney, the split in his party would dog his presidency.

### TENSIONS ABROAD AND AT HOME

When Adams took office on 4 March 1797, the French navy was busy attacking American commercial vessels in the Atlantic and the Caribbean in retaliation for the Jay Treaty. This undeclared conflict was known as the Quasi-War. In February the French had refused to receive the American diplomat Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Adams's cabinet called for stern action. Adams had retained the four department heads from the Washington administration: Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, Secretary of Treasury Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of War James McHenry, and Attorney General Charles Lee. The first three were High Federalists who took marching orders from Alexander Hamilton. But Hamilton wanted to avoid war and favored the dispatch of a so-called Extraordinary Commission to negotiate

with France, whereas Pickering and Wolcott thought such a move would tarnish the national honor. It was one of their few disagreements.

In May Adams addressed the Fourth Congress and called for a vigorous preparation for defense and for negotiations. Over the summer, Federalists C. C. Pinckney and John Marshall of Virginia, along with Democratic Republican Elbridge Gerry, left for France to bargain for peace. Meanwhile, Congress struggled over the nature of defensive measures. The president and his moderate congressional allies, known as Adams Federalists, favored a massive and expensive naval program. High Federalists demanded even more expensive and dangerous plans for a standing army and war, and Democratic Republicans pushed for less expensive fortification of ports and harbors and at least neutral trading relations between France and England. What resulted was a compromise combination of the three visions. Congress approved the funding of the three warships *United States*, *Constitution*, and *Constellation*, approved an act to fortify the country's ports and harbors, authorized private vessels to arm themselves for protection against French predators, and consented to call the states to be ready to supply eighty thousand volunteers for armed duty in the event of war. All this came at a cost. Treasury Secretary Oliver Wolcott drafted reports to suggest methods of taxation for Congress to consider. Congress passed a stamp tax in the summer of 1797, an indirect tax on legal papers and documents relative to international trade, and began discussing the implementation of a direct tax on the property of U.S. citizens to fund a $6 million loan from the Bank of the United States.

During this time the president and vice president stopped communicating. Jefferson vehemently disagreed with the borrowing, taxing, and militarizing policies; the disagreement would only intensify in 1798 when word came that the French Directoire, the five officials who governed France from 1795 to 1799, refused to receive the American Extraordinary Commission without a payment of tribute, a bribe demanded by three French officials identified in code as X, Y, and Z. When news of the so-called XYZ affair broke in March in the Federalist press, Democratic Republicans dismissed it as Federalist propaganda intended to fan the flames of war, and they demanded release of the "XYZ Dispatches." Adams complied in a 19 March address to Congress, and much of the American public responded with outrage.

In Congress, High Federalists clamored for war and an army, but the president and his moderates, working with Democratic Republicans, staved them off. They created a provisional army of ten thousand men, about half the size Hamilton wanted, and at Adams's instigation they created the Department of the Navy and approved funds to raise his "wooden walls." All told, the mostly naval defense measures of the Fifth Congress cost over $10 million, more than 60 percent of the budget and almost $4 million more than all other normal expenditures for the year. To fund these measures Congress passed and Adams signed the Direct Tax Act, the federal government's first attempt to lay direct levies on the property of its citizens, their lands, houses, and slaves.

## NATIONAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

Congress passed and Adams signed other national security legislation. The Naturalization Act extended from five to fourteen years the length of time necessary for immigrants to naturalize, and the Alien Act and Alien Enemies Act gave the president the authority to deport legal and illegal enemies at his own discretion. The Sedition Act, prohibiting the utterance or publication of "any false, scandalous, or malicious writing . . . against the government of the United States or the President . . . with intent to defame . . . or to bring them into contempt or disrepute," was perhaps the darkest moment of Adams's presidency. Although clearly an affront to the First Amendment rights of "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press," the law did, for the first time, admit truth as a defense. Many Democratic Republicans went along with these laws, collectively known as the Alien and Sedition Acts, though some like Jefferson foresaw that the Federalist-dominated Congress and administration would use the laws as political clubs to thump their partisan adversaries. Indeed, Federalist prosecutors zealously prosecuted Democratic Republican newspaper editors to silence their critics. Hamilton had agreed with the Alien laws but worried that the Sedition Act could create a partisan backlash that might dash his hopes to build his army. He was right.

## CLASHING POLICIES AND PERSONALITIES

In the fall of 1798 Adams worked feverishly to avoid war with France and, against the near unanimous advice of his cabinet, sent a second delegation of three Federalists, the Ellsworth Commission, to negotiate peace. Democratic Republicans were pleased with the overtures for peace but concerned that they had no representation on the commission. Furthermore, in response to Federalist prosecution of the Sedition Law, Jefferson vehemently attacked the president and his party by authoring the Kentucky Resolu-

tions, a series of resolves advocating the states' right to nullify federal laws violating the precepts of the Constitution, and calling on other states to ratify them and follow suit. Madison helped author the Virginia Resolutions, less strident measures appealing to states for a nationwide petition campaign to repeal the Alien and Sedition Acts. Most states rejected the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, but petitions with thousands of signatures poured into Congress from all across the nation demanding repeal of the acts.

Meanwhile, Adams had appointed George Washington to lead the Provisional Army, and Washington, who had no desire to take the field, suggested Alexander Hamilton as his second in command. Adams, fearing Hamilton's zeal to create an army, instead appointed his son-in-law. Washington and McHenry responded with outrage, and Adams appointed Hamilton under pressure. Adams's dispatch of the Ellsworth Commission was meant in part to undercut Hamilton's military ambitions.

But Hamilton would get the chance to flex the muscle of his "New Army" in the winter of 1799, when Pennsylvania German farmers—who raised liberty poles, burned mock copies of the Alien and Sedition Acts, petitioned for repeal, and opposed the professional army—obstructed the assessment of the Direct Tax on their lands and houses less than fifty miles from the nation's capital in Philadelphia. When a federal marshal arrested and jailed some of the farmers in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, an armed force of four hundred led by Revolutionary War veteran John Fries first offered bail and then threatened violence to secure their release on 7 March 1799. President Adams issued a proclamation demanding that the insurgents "cease their treasonable activities," and he authorized the activation of the "Eventual Army," a law he had signed five days earlier to federalize state militia in the event of a French invasion or French-inspired insurrection. Secretary of War McHenry, acting on advice from Hamilton, overstepped the president's order and added Provisional Army troops to the volunteer force. Adams, as was his custom, had withdrawn to his home in Quincy, Massachusetts, and left his secretaries to manage the country. In April thousands of soldiers were mobilized in and around the Delaware and Lehigh River valleys. Scores of resisters were arrested and charged with sedition and obstruction of process. Taking the cue from the president's proclamation, Federalist prosecutors charged John Fries and two others with treason, and after two sensational trials convicted and sentenced them to death.

Following Fries's Rebellion Adams conducted his own investigation and determined that the offenders were guilty only of a "most unreasonable riot 'n rescue" and were not traitors deserving of the rope. On 21 May 1800, following the lead of his predecessor (Washington had pardoned those convicted during the Whiskey Rebellion), Adams, against the unanimous advice of his cabinet, issued full pardons to all convicted. Pickering and McHenry railed against the president; he fired them both. Hamilton believed that the move was politically calculated to win Democratic Republican votes in the fall, and that there was a "coalition" between Adams and Jefferson in which the two planned to reverse positions after the upcoming election, an unfounded charge. Hamilton decided to cut his losses with the Adams Federalists and worked to elect the rival Federalist candidate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Hamilton published a twenty-seven-page letter, "Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams," excoriating the president for "deviating from the high road of Federalism" with his resistance to the army, his dispatch of the Ellsworth Commission, his firing of Pickering and McHenry, and "the pardon of Fries . . . the most inexplicable part of Mr. Adams' conduct." In the election, Democratic Republican candidates Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied for first place in electoral votes, shutting the Federalists out of the executive office once and for always. The House of Representatives would decide for Jefferson in what Democratic Republicans called "the Revolution of 1800." It took thirty-six ballots and concluded just two weeks before the scheduled inauguration.

### THE FINAL YEAR

Adams's last year in office was one in which he could take pride. In February 1799, despite critics' fears that he would encourage slave uprisings at home, he received a representative from the new republic of Haiti, which had just overthrown French rule in a slave insurrection. Of great importance to Adams was his stewardship of the United States Navy; he also in this year signed the bill creating the Library of Congress and became, when the capital moved to its current site, the first resident of the President's House, later called the White House.

In signing the controversial Judiciary Act of 1801, he doubled the number of circuit courts to six and increased the power and independence of the federal judiciary. Democratic Republicans claimed that Adams rushed to appoint Federalists to the court before he left office. He appointed numerous men to local offices in the newly created federal city, includ-

ing William Marbury as a justice of the peace. Jeffersonians called all these appointments "midnight judges." Secretary of State Madison's refusal to honor Marbury's appointment not long afterward led to the Supreme Court decision *Marbury v. Madison*. Under Chief Justice John Marshall, an Adams appointee whom Adams called his "gift" to the American people, the Court further increased the power and independence of the judiciary by establishing the precedence of judicial review.

To Adams, no achievement surpassed the news that he received on 7 November 1800 from the peace convention at Mortefontaine. A treaty with France had been negotiated a month earlier. By remaining a president above party, Adams had kept the nation at peace, rebuffed the military machinations of the Hamiltonians, and yet still provided for the nation's security. Although Jefferson later pardoned all those prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Acts, secured the repeal of the Judiciary Act, and dismantled the Federalists' tax structures, Adams believed that he was leaving the country better than he found it, "with its coffers full" and "with fair prospects of peace with all the world smiling in its face, its commerce flourishing, its navy glorious, its agriculture uncommonly productive and lucrative." He left Washington at 4:00 A.M. on the morning of 4 March 1801, refusing to witness Jefferson's inauguration and missing his successor's famed pronouncement that "we are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

More than a decade later, with both of their presidential administrations behind them, Adams and Jefferson resumed their correspondence and their friendship in a series of letters that are perhaps the most instructive debates about the philosophy of republican and democratic forms of government ever recorded. In one of his last letters to Adams, Jefferson referred to himself as Adams's "amicissimi," his dearest friend, to which Adams replied that he would be Jefferson's "friend to all eternity." On 4 July 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of their Declaration of Independence, Jefferson and Adams died within hours of one another. It was reported that Adams, unaware that his colleague had preceded him in death, uttered, among his last words, "Thomas Jefferson survives."

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Fries's Rebellion; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Quasi-War with France;** **Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Washington, George; XYZ Affair.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cappon, Lester J., ed. *The Adams–Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Dauer, Manning J. *The Adams Federalists.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Ketcham, Ralph. *Presidents above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

McCullough, David G. *John Adams.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

Newman, Paul Douglas. *Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Smith, Page. *John Adams*, Vol. 2: *1784–1826.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963.

*Paul Douglas Newman*

### Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson's inauguration as the third president on 4 March 1801 marked the first successful transfer of power in the new nation's history. The previous Federalist administrations were dominated by proponents of "energetic" national government, including department heads appointed by George Washington (1789–1797) and kept in office by his successor John Adams (1797–1801). As the candidate of the increasingly well organized Republican opposition, Jefferson promised a radical transformation of men and measures. Incumbent Federalists, anticipating a massive purge, warned that Jefferson's election would undercut their state-building efforts, unleashing centrifugal forces that would destroy the Union. The new president signaled a moderate course in his conciliatory First Inaugural Address, however, and his performance in office reassured most rank and file Federalists that the federal regime would survive.

The tie in the electoral college between Jefferson and his putative running mate, Aaron Burr of New York, set the stage for the transfer of power. Before passage of the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution in 1804, votes for president and vice president

were not distinguished; because Republican electors, anxious to secure their fragile interstate alliance, failed to withhold one of Burr's votes, the two candidates each tallied seventy-three votes. When, as the Constitution required, the election was thrown into the lame-duck, Federalist-controlled Sixth Congress, Federalists sought to exploit the impasse by cutting a deal with Burr or gaining concessions from Jefferson on Federalist officeholders. While the outcome remained uncertain through thirty-five ballots, rumors circulated that Jefferson's enemies planned to steal the election and thus thwart the people's will. By raising the specter of a High Federalist coup, the electoral crisis of 11 to 17 February—finally resolved by Jefferson's election on the thirty-sixth ballot—underscored the moderation of the new Republican administration. Jefferson's most obdurate opponents finally capitulated, recognizing that their further resistance would jeopardize the survival of the regime they so ostentatiously sought to preserve.

### PARTISAN PRESIDENT

Jefferson's status as party leader proved crucial in smoothing the transition. The new president demanded unswerving loyalty from his subordinates on the basis of subscription to party principles, the "federal and republican" values he sketched out in his Inaugural Address. Jefferson would thus eschew the more personal mode of leadership that secured support for the great Washington—but not for Adams—and the "corrupt" appeals to personal interest that marked Alexander Hamilton's tenure as secretary of the Treasury (1789–1795). Jefferson's new cabinet, led by his close political ally James Madison at the State Department and Albert Gallatin, a leading Pennsylvania Republican, at Treasury, epitomized the new regime of principled partisan "friends." Madison and Gallatin remained in place through both Jefferson administrations, providing stability and continuity that had eluded preceding Federalist administrations. (Less important appointees, such as Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts at the War Department, also stayed the course with Jefferson.)

The demands of party loyalty were more modest at lower levels of the bureaucracy and at a greater distance from Washington. On one hand, Jefferson had to satisfy demands of party functionaries for a share of the loaves and fishes that had long been denied them; on the other, it made sense to placate suspicious Federalists and recruit as many as possible into the Republican coalition. Jefferson's policy therefore was to purge Federalist officeholders who would not trim their sails, relying on the resulting

vacancies to provide his followers with a fair share of federal patronage. This prudent approach could not make everyone happy: some disgruntled Federalists believed that Jefferson had (at least tacitly) agreed during the electoral crisis to leave the bureaucracy largely intact, and Republican loyalists were distressed to see so many of their former enemies still in office. But Jefferson succeeded in keeping most of his troops in line while preempting the development of an effective Federalist opposition party.

The most serious challenge to the Republican ascendancy came from entrenched Federalist judicial appointments who were beyond the new president's control and therefore immune to his emollient appeal. The Republican Seventh Congress moved quickly to repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801, a blatant attempt by lame-duck Federalists to secure control of the judiciary by reducing the number of Supreme Court justices to five (so preempting Republican appointments) and establishing sixteen circuit courts, with federal judges and other personnel (the "midnight appointments") named by the outgoing Adams administration. Jefferson and his congressional followers also launched impeachment proceedings against the most obnoxiously partisan (or incompetent) federal judges, including John Pickering of New Hampshire (convicted and removed from office in March 1804) and Supreme Court judge Samuel Chase of Maryland (acquitted in March 1805). The outcome of the Republican war against the judiciary was ambiguous: Chief Justice John Marshall of Virginia (Jefferson's distant cousin) and his Federalist-dominated Court survived but kept a low profile, avoiding further risky political confrontations. For his part, Jefferson remained deeply hostile to an undemocratic and unresponsive Court that would remain a bastion of Federalism—and a threat to states' rights—long after Jeffersonian Republicans had consolidated their control over the rest of the federal government. The war against the judiciary revealed the limits of Republican party-building, thus sustaining the ideological animus against counterrevolutionary enemies that inspired Jeffersonian oppositionists in the 1790s. The much exaggerated threat of the Marshall Court served to counter centrifugal tendencies within an increasingly tenuous Republican coalition that may have been too successful for its own good.

Jefferson was most successful managing Congress during his first term when the threat of a Federalist revival remained most compelling. Jefferson's "friends" in Congress—including Virginians John Randolph, William B. Giles, and Wilson Cary Nicho-

las, and Caesar Rodney of Delaware—kept Republican troops in line as they orchestrated majorities for administration measures. Jefferson led with a light hand, reinforcing commitment to party principle by cultivating his political friends and promoting the inspiring fiction that the administration truly represented—and spoke for—the American people. Jefferson's famous White House dinner parties where he entertained guests with fine food and wine and dazzling conversation strengthened bonds between Republican congressmen and the administration while neutralizing—or at least blunting the edge of—hostile Federalist partisans. Strengthening the link between the executive and the legislature served simultaneously to limit, though not altogether preempt, the emergence of hostile Republican factions in Congress. High turnover in Congress also mitigated against factionalism, as did the tenuous links among highly volatile Republican factions in the states.

The key to Jefferson's success was a unified cabinet. Jefferson dispensed with weekly cabinet meetings, thus minimizing conflict and collusion among his subordinates. Department heads' primary relationship was with Jefferson, not with cabinet colleagues. Secretaries were thus less likely to combine to influence, or undermine, Jefferson, and they were also secure against the kind of humiliation Jefferson had experienced at Hamilton's hands during his unhappy years in Washington's cabinet (1789–1793). Jefferson's Circular Order of 6 November 1801 was important in setting up procedures that guaranteed good behavior and preempted ministerial turf wars. Directing all executive correspondence to flow through his secretaries to his own desk, Jefferson could be assured that his administration would speak with a single, unified voice. Ideological and political harmony meant that department heads enjoyed a high degree of operational autonomy within their respective spheres; dealing directly with the president, they were in turn drawn into his widening circle of political friends, reinforcing their loyalty to Jefferson and thus participating in his imaginative identification with the American people.

### FEDERALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

Jefferson did not dismantle the administrative apparatus—including the first Bank of the United States—established by his predecessors, but he did reverse strong Federalist tendencies toward political centralization and intrusive federal governance. Jefferson eliminated the controversial direct taxes that had spurred Republican mobilization in the late 1790s and allowed other emergency measures adopted by the Federalists during the war scare with France to lapse. Import duties continued to provide the bulk of federal revenues, but Treasury secretary Gallatin now used them to pay down the consolidated Revolutionary War debts, which—despite major expenditures such as $15 million for the Louisiana Purchase—were reduced from $83 million at Jefferson's inauguration to $57 million at the end of his second term. Taking advantage of a brief interval of peace during the Napoleonic Wars, the administration economized on defense and scaled back on the new nation's diplomatic establishment.

Fearful Federalists imagined that Jefferson, the "Jacobin" atheist, would follow the radical lead of the French revolutionaries in revolutionizing American society. But despite his well-known Francophilia, Jefferson had always had reservations about the French Revolution, particularly concerning its destruction of provincial liberties and consolidation of authority in a powerful central government. Jefferson's goal as president was to redress the balance between federal and state governments that the Federalist centralizers, like the French, threatened to destroy. Jefferson and Madison defined the proper role of the states against federal encroachment in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, the "Principles of 1798" that became the Republicans' creed. But if the sovereign states had their own legitimate sphere of authority, the federal government was sovereign within its own domain, notably in providing for collective security. Relations among the states—the character of the federal Union itself—remained ambiguous in the Jeffersonian scheme. In theory, the Union was consensual and noncoercive: the states were drawn together by shared republican values and common interests. But the theory was tested when Jefferson's embargo on foreign commerce (1807–1809) imposed unequal burdens on different parts of the country. The great question for Jeffersonian federalism was whether the spheres of state and federal authority could be clearly defined and secured in practice.

Invoking the memory of the Americans' victory over Britain in the Revolution, Jefferson called the United States "the strongest government on earth" in his Inaugural Address. Jefferson's faith in the American people's ability to mobilize against any external threat justified demobilizing the conventional navy, relying instead on a new generation of "gun-boats" for a first line of defense. Jefferson also authorized the establishment of a new military academy at West Point, New York, to expedite mobilization in the event of any future land war. He had no doubts

about the federal government's constitutional authority over war and peace, nor about his own role as commander in chief. If, in the absence of any immediate foreign threat, the national interest was best served by scaling back on defense expenditure, when a clear and compelling interest seemed to be at stake Jefferson did not hesitate to fight and spend. Certainly he was willing to stretch the definition of "defense" when he launched a naval campaign in the distant Mediterranean in response to the depredations of the Barbary states on American merchant vessels. Jefferson's bold strike led to a peace treaty with the pasha of Tripoli in June 1805, though Americans continued to pay tribute to Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis for the next decade.

Jefferson's greatest accomplishment in his first term, the completion of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty—signed by American negotiators James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston in Paris on 2 May 1803 and confirmed by the U.S. Senate on 20 October—also demonstrated his readiness to act decisively in the national interest. The Purchase accelerated a process of territorial expansion—adding 828,000 square miles and doubling the nation's size—that set the stage for the emergence of the United States as a continental and hemispheric power. But Jefferson's immediate concern was defensive: the prospect of a strong French presence at the mouth of the Mississippi and the volatility of loyalties in its vast hinterland threatened the survival of the American Union. The first law of nature, self-preservation, demanded decisive action. Jefferson's misgivings about Louisiana focused on incorporating "foreign" territory into the Union without violating a strictly construed federal Constitution: Jefferson's robust conception of executive authority over foreign affairs thus seemed to come into conflict with federalism. Heeding Gallatin and congressional advisors, Jefferson suppressed his scruples, recognizing any delay would give Napoleon the opportunity to change his mind and Federalists in the Senate the opportunity—and the arguments—to defeat the treaty.

### SECOND TERM

The successful outcome of the Louisiana crisis led directly to Jefferson's landslide victory in the 1804 presidential election, with New York's George Clinton now taking Burr's place as vice president. Jefferson and Clinton amassed 162 of 176 electoral votes in the contest against Federalists Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York: in New England, the Federalist heartland, only Connecticut held out against the Republican jugger-

naut. Jefferson sought to cement the new Republican ascendancy in New England by actively promoting and defending the region's mercantile interests, embracing a broad conception of "neutral rights" when the Napoleonic Wars resumed and American shipping was under assault from both the British and the French. As depredations mounted and diplomatic efforts to protect American interests failed, Jefferson initiated a ban on all foreign shipping in his Embargo Act, effective 22 December 1807. Jefferson's motives remain ambiguous: certainly he hoped that the embargo, by forcing concessions from combatants desperate for American staples (and increasingly reliant on American shipping) would be an alternative to war; but an embargo could also signal a determination to prepare for war. In 1812 Jefferson's successor, James Madison, led the United States into another war with Britain—for which the nation was woefully unprepared. Meanwhile, the embargo wreaked havoc in mercantile centers, particularly in New England, raising demoralizing questions about the costs of commercial warfare and reviving sectional tensions. Jefferson's quixotic effort to avoid or postpone war led to draconian enforcement measures that subverted the rights of local and state governments and jeopardized individuals' civil liberties. Enforcing the embargo was the moral equivalent of making war, and war—by creating a large military establishment and expanding executive authority—threatened to subvert the federal and republican principles that Jeffersonians had sought to vindicate in their struggle against Federalism.

The success of Jefferson's first term, culminating in the Louisiana Purchase, contrasts markedly with an increasingly troubled and politically incoherent second term. In both cases, foreign affairs were determinative, suggesting that it would be a mistake to give the third president too much credit or blame for developments beyond his control. A second-rank neutral power on the periphery of the European balance of power could hardly hope to shape the outcome—or avoid the implications—of the Napoleonic Wars. As Federalist critics (and some Republicans) argued, an earlier accommodation with Britain might well have been prudent: surely the War of 1812 could have been avoided. But though Jefferson and his Republican successors squandered considerable political capital, particularly in the commercial Northeast, they continued to command the loyalties of the majority of patriotic Americans across the continent. The Republicans successfully articulated a new political consensus: the federal government would rule with a light hand (in peacetime at least), state governments would vigorously promote inter-

nal improvements and economic development, and ordinary (white) American men would pursue happiness according to their own lights. The measure of Jefferson's success was the perpetuation of the Republican ascendancy with the transfer of authority to his lieutenant Madison in 1809 and then to Monroe in 1817. The botched Quasi-War with France in the late 1790s led to Jefferson's "Revolution of 1800." The foreign policy failures of Jefferson and his successors gave Federalism a lease on life in various parts of the country but did not lead to serious challenges to the Republican regime.

*See also* **Adams, John; Barbary Wars; Constitution: Twelfth Amendment; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Embargo; European Influences: The French Revolution; European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule; Federalism; Federalist Party; Federalists; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Marshall, John; Quasi-War with France.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Process of Government under Jefferson.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Malone, Dumas. *Jefferson and His Time.* Vol. 4: *Jefferson the President: First Term, 1801–1805.* Vol. 5: *Jefferson the President: Second Term, 1805–1809.* Vol. 6: *The Sage of Monticello.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1970–1981.

McDonald, Forrest. *The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1976.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Onuf, Peter S., and Leonard J. Sadosky. *Jeffersonian America.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2001; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002.

Tucker, Robert W., and David C. Hendrickson. *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Young, James Sterling. *The Washington Community*, *1800–1828.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

*Peter S. Onuf*

## James Madison

James Madison took the oath of office as the fourth president of the United States on 4 March 1809. During his presidency Madison worked with a fractious majority party in Congress, which created challenges for a president who believed that the legislative branch, not the executive, should predominate in a popular government. The British government, too, caused problems for Madison, engaging in a war with the United States from 1812 to 1815. While Madison's leadership was suspect at times, by the end of his administration the nation was more secure than it had ever been. The former president John Adams summed up Madison's presidency by writing that "notwithstanding a thousand Faults and blunders, his Administration has acquired more glory, and established more Union, than all of his three Predecessors, Washington, Adams and Jefferson, put together." Madison served two full terms as president and retired to his Virginia estate in 1817.

### EARLY CHALLENGES

Madison came to the presidency with impressive credentials. He had been an architect of the Constitution, the author of the Bill of Rights, an adviser to President George Washington, a founder of the Democratic Republican Party, and Thomas Jefferson's secretary of state. Jefferson's support for Madison secured his nomination in a congressional caucus. In turn, this nomination practically guaranteed Madison the presidency, as the rival Federalist Party was comparatively weak. Madison won 122 electoral votes in 1808, while the Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney garnered only 47.

Challenges to Madison's leadership arose even before he assumed office. A small group of senators objected to his preferred nominee for secretary of state, Albert Gallatin. Instead of alienating them by nominating Gallatin, Madison accommodated the group. He retained Gallatin as secretary of the Treasury, where he had served President Jefferson, and appointed Robert Smith, the brother of the group's leader, to be secretary of state.

The appointment of Robert Smith turned out to be a serious mistake. Smith was neither a capable administrator nor was he loyal to Madison. In early 1811 Gallatin threatened to resign if Madison did not fire Smith, and Smith undermined Madison's foreign policy by discussing the administration's diplomatic strategy with the British. Madison relieved Smith of his duties in March 1811 and selected James Monroe as his successor. Smith promptly published a scathing pamphlet denouncing Madison. The pamphlet's tone was so harsh that it discredited Smith and increased sympathy for the president.

The most troubling issue facing the nation as Madison took office was the long-standing tension with Great Britain. Britain had blockaded Europe to prevent trade with nations at war with it. Madison

understood international law to give neutral nations like the United States the right to trade with anyone, even nations at war. The British navy also harassed American vessels, insisting that some American sailors were deserters and forcibly taking them from American ships. The United States placed an embargo on Britain in 1807 to force it to recognize American rights on the high seas, but the embargo hurt the domestic economy more than Britain's. It also heightened sectional tensions because it disproportionately harmed the shipping-oriented economies of the northeastern states.

That this "republican" attempt at peaceful coercion was not working disturbed Madison. He was, however, eager to improve relations with Great Britain. He seemed to have a willing partner in the British envoy David Erskine. Madison and Erskine concluded a tentative agreement in the month Madison took office: the embargo would be lifted and American vessels would not be searched nor their goods seized on the high seas. Unfortunately, when the terms of the agreement reached England, it was rejected as too generous. Many Americans interpreted this rejection as another affront. The British seemed unwilling to accept the United States as an equal.

With the collapse of the Erskine agreement, Madison advocated closing American ports to both British and French ships while still allowing American ships to carry goods to and from the United States. Congress did not agree to the proposal, but in May 1810 it passed Macon's Bill No. 2, which gave the president power to impose nonintercourse on either France or Great Britain if one nation lifted its restrictions on American shipping and the other nation did not. The French emperor Napoleon saw an opportunity in this policy. He pledged to lift restrictions, expecting Britain not to respond in kind. Napoleon hoped to provoke an active break in British-American relations. His gamble succeeded. In November 1810 Madison declared that all commerce with Britain would cease. France did not abide by its pledge, but by the time the Americans realized this, the United States was already heading toward war with Great Britain.

### THE WAR OF 1812
In November 1811 Madison called for the nation to prepare its military for war, something he and Jefferson had scrupulously resisted for a decade. To pay for increased military expenditures, Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin favored reauthorizing the national bank, raising tariffs and other internal taxes, and borrowing the remainder. Congress voted to add twenty-five thousand troops to the army (Madison had asked for ten thousand) and to raise revenue almost exclusively through borrowing. Despite the problematic state of both military and financial preparedness, congressional leaders increasingly pressed for war. When Madison was sure diplomacy had failed, he suggested that Congress declare war against Great Britain, which he already believed to be at war with the United States. Most northeastern legislators were against the declaration, but they were outvoted. On 18 June 1812 the nation went to war with Great Britain for the second time.

The War of 1812 was fought on three fronts. The most action occurred on the United States's northern frontier. Madison hoped to invade British Canada and either take possession of it or use it as a bargaining chip. This hope proved to be naïve because of the poor initial coordination of American forces and the extensive alliances the British had established with the area's Indian tribes. Land and water battles occurred from Lake Champlain across the Great Lakes and into the Michigan Territory. The American navy performed well, but the majority of both British and American land attacks were repelled, leading to a virtual stalemate in this theater by 1814.

In August 1814 a British fleet sailed up the Chesapeake, where three thousand veterans of the Napoleonic Wars (1801–1815) disembarked and marched toward the poorly defended American capital. The British easily took the District of Columbia, burned the president's mansion, and took control of the Capitol building. President Madison and the rest of the government fled ahead of the British troops. Put in charge of evacuating the White House while the president was with the army, First Lady Dolley Madison saved critical government documents and a portrait of George Washington that still hangs in the White House in the twenty-first century. But the sacking of Washington was humiliating. Luckily for the Americans, Washington, D.C., was not much of a prize. Its population was so small that there was no advantage to holding it. After an attempt by these same troops to take Baltimore, where the bombardment of Fort McHenry in September 1814 inspired Francis Scott Key to write the song that became America's national anthem, they withdrew to the northern theater. The third front of the war was on the Mississippi River at New Orleans. General Andrew Jackson commanded the American troops there and produced a decisive victory in three battles in December 1814 and January 1815.

The war produced a stalemate, but that was a good outcome for the United States. It meant that the

world's foremost military power could not overrun the United States or appropriate its territory. The American military, woefully ill-prepared as the nation contemplated war, had proven its mettle. The peace brought by the Treaty of Ghent (1814) did not alter American boundaries at all. With the British unable to defeat the Americans, the nation had won its "second war for independence."

Of equal importance was the fact that the national government fought a war without restricting domestic freedom. Committed to the popular government he had helped create, President Madison protected civil liberties as scrupulously as any wartime president has. He had ample provocation to do otherwise, as most New Englanders did not support the war and many actively opposed it. Additionally, in the decades after the war, military heroes like Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, and Winfield Scott became prominent political leaders.

### DOMESTIC POLITICS

Federalists viewed "Mr. Madison's war" as an opportunity to regain their former strength. They hoped to exploit the growing rifts within the Democratic Republican Party to form an anti-Madison majority. A willing partner in this effort was Madison's vice president, George Clinton. Clinton was the most powerful New Yorker of his time and a Federalist-Clintonian alliance seriously challenged Madison's reelection in 1812. Clinton had disappointed the president by casting the deciding vote against reauthorizing the National Bank in 1811, but he could not run against Madison. He was old and infirm and died in April 1812. The New York mayor DeWitt Clinton, the deceased vice president's nephew, was selected to run against Madison. The electoral college tally was close, but Madison won a 128 to 89 victory.

As the war dragged on, a number of Federalists advocated secession. To prevent such talk from getting out of hand and to produce policies more favorable toward New England, leading Federalists called for a convention of their party. The Hartford Convention met in December 1814 and January 1815. Its conclusions were moderate, but it met in secret just before the United States triumphed in the Battle of New Orleans and news of the peace treaty with Britain reached America. Holding a private convention when they might have been rallying around the flag made Federalists look bad, and thereafter the party ceased to be a serious rival to the Democratic Republicans.

The Democratic Republican majority did not support Madison on all matters, however. Supreme Court nominee Alexander Wolcott Jr. was rejected decisively by the Senate 24 to 9, for example. Wolcott was a solid Madisonian, but that was part of the problem in many senators' eyes. A subsequent appointee, Joseph Story, became one of the nation's most distinguished justices, but his thinking was often contrary to Madison's. Few of the Court's decisions during Madison's presidency are remembered, but the president's inability to shift its ideology set the stage for important nationalist-oriented decisions of later years.

The Union expanded during Madison's presidency. Louisiana became a state in 1812; four years later Indiana joined the Union. With the authorization of Congress, Madison gained control of "West Florida" and made a serious bid to secure all of Florida for the United States before the War of 1812 intervened. Territories grew in population and several were ready to become states as Madison left office. The settlement of territories and their admittance to the Union as states was of great interest to Madison. He shared Jefferson's preference for an economy dominated by independent small farmers, and admitting new states seemed to ensure the economic predominance of agriculture. Unfortunately, as settlement spread, so did the practice of slavery. During Madison's presidency neither the U.S. government nor Madison himself displayed the political will required to check its advance.

Madison's hopes of getting Native Americans to farm were largely unsuccessful. The refusal of American Indians to abandon their traditional ways of life led the administration to negotiate land cessions with them instead. The removal of British support after 1814 and the dwindling of the fur trade facilitated this policy, making Indians desperate for the money they could make from the sale of land. In 1813 and 1814 Andrew Jackson led a band of west Tennessee militia to intervene in a civil war among Creek tribes. Jackson routed the Creeks hostile to white expansion. These developments facilitated white settlement but yielded ill will between white and native cultures that Madison was only marginally successful in tempering.

James Madison grew and learned in office. His annual message of December 1815 most clearly demonstrated his growth. In it Madison asked Congress to do several things he had not previously favored. He urged that the nation maintain a continuous commitment to a viable defense force and a professional military; he suggested a protective tariff

to safeguard American industries; and he proposed allocating federal money for improving roads and canals. Madison's critics charged him with hypocrisy, but the president seems genuinely to have come to a new understanding of how best to pursue the national interest.

Even so, Madison maintained his constitutional scruples. When he was presented with a public works bill in the last days of his presidency, he vetoed it because the nation had not ratified a constitutional amendment allowing Congress to spend money in this way, as he had suggested it do. Madison also asked Congress to reauthorize the National Bank and it finally did so in a way satisfactory to him in 1816. The new bank spurred commerce and added tax revenue to help pay down the $120 million debt incurred during the war. James Madison left office on a high note. The nation was prosperous and secure. It was poised to become an economic powerhouse, and even most Democratic Republicans had gained an appreciation of national power.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Creek War; Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; Hartford Convention; Impressment; Internal Improvements; Madison, James; "Star-Spangled Banner"; Tariff Politics; War of 1812; Washington, Burning of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler. *The War of 1812.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison: A Biography.* New York: Macmillan, 1971.

———. "James Madison and the Presidency." In *Inventing the American Presidency.* Edited by Thomas E. Cronin. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.

Madison, James, et al. *The Papers of James Madison, Presidential Series.* Edited by Robert A. Rutland et al. 5 vols. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1984–2004.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Rutland, Robert A. *The Presidency of James Madison.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Rutland, Robert A., ed. *James Madison and the American Nation, 1751–1836.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Wills, Garry. *James Madison.* New York: Times Books, 2002.

*David J. Siemers*

## James Monroe

James Monroe's two terms as president (1817–1825) represented the culmination of a long public career that began on the Revolutionary battlefield and included service as a U.S. senator, governor of Virginia, and secretary of state. Monroe's presidency coincided with generational and organizational changes in national politics, as a younger group of regional politicians sought to succeed the venerable founding fathers and the political organizations of the founding period, particularly the Federalist Party, began to lose their national clout. These tensions defined many of the issues and debates that occurred within and during Monroe's presidency.

### MONROE'S TOURS

Monroe's election to the presidency was largely a foregone conclusion thanks to his long political association with Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and the continued strength of the Republican Party as the Federalists collapsed nationally. Facing the prospect of single-party rule for the first time in the nation's history, Monroe saw an opportunity to eliminate political parties from republican government altogether. He dedicated his presidency to the promotion of this nonpartisan vision of government and had limited success in this pursuit. Symbolically crossing the political aisle, Monroe modeled his presidency after George Washington's, rather than Jefferson's and Madison's, by presenting himself as a virtuous republican president who remained detached from the political infighting occurring in his cabinet and in Congress.

Monroe's decision to promote the message of partisan healing and national unity through national tours—as Washington had done during his first term—was the catalyst for the nation's first major political transition. During his northern tour of 1817, Monroe made his boldest gesture, reaching out to his Federalist opponents in their own regional stronghold of New England. The Federalists reaffirmed their national loyalty during the northern visit but were less successful in obtaining political appointments from Monroe. Thus his visit to New England confirmed the demise of the Federalists as a national force and compelled the younger members of the party to contemplate a new political home.

The younger members of Monroe's own Republican Party, many of whom served in Monroe's cabinet, were less moved by the message of nonpartisanship, imagining a political future that placed them at the pinnacle of the nation's government. In a government without parties, as Monroe envisioned it, men

like Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, William H. Crawford, and Andrew Jackson had everything to lose. Power-sharing with the Federalists would have greatly weakened the Republicans' political base. The southern tour of 1819 provided an opportunity for younger, regional politicians like Calhoun, Crawford, and Jackson to share the spotlight with the respected president while raising their own national profiles. Old met new during these tours, as the nation saluted a venerable founding father and prepared for a new generation of political leaders and party organizations.

During the northern tour, an overly optimistic Federalist newspaper editor coined the phrase "Era of Good Feelings" to describe Monroe's Boston visit. The phrase reflected the Federalists' wishful thinking rather than the end of partisan tensions, as Republican newspaper editors throughout the northern and southern states were quick to point out. Although many historians have employed this expression to describe Monroe's first term, the source of this statement, along with the sectional and partisan conflicts evident as early as 1817, raises serious questions about its usefulness in summarizing Monroe's presidency.

Despite Monroe's limited success in eliminating political parties, he continued to follow Washington's presidential example and remained above the political infighting in his administration and in Congress. Monroe's intentional aloofness did not mean he was disengaged from the nation's political debates or that he delegated important decision-making to his cabinet members. Monroe played an active role in formulating domestic and foreign policy during his two terms, but after a long career in public service, he believed that avoiding political intrigue was the best way to fulfill his mandate as the nation's Republican president.

### DOMESTIC POLICY

The War of 1812 had exposed weaknesses in the U.S. economy and its military fortifications, and like his predecessor, James Madison, Monroe embraced aspects of the nationalist program that had previously belonged to the Federalist Party. Monroe supported the Bank of the United States and the imposition of protective tariffs on imported goods. He opposed using federal money for internal improvements such as roads and canals because of an absence of constitutional authority for such projects. With the exception of the National Road, internal improvements such as the Erie Canal were paid for using state and private funds.

When the Missouri territory petitioned Congress for permission to form a state government in 1819, slavery became an unexpectedly important issue during Monroe's presidency. The slavery issue, which had remained largely dormant since the Constitution's ratification in 1788, triggered an explosive debate that nearly destroyed the Union. The Missouri territory remained committed to slavery, but a majority of northern congressmen supported the Tallmadge Amendment, which would have required the gradual abolition of slavery in Missouri as a requirement for statehood. The debate over Missouri statehood quickly became a referendum on slavery's continued existence in the United States. Northerners opposed the expansion of slavery, particularly into the Louisiana Purchase territory, whereas southerners saw the Missouri petition as an opportunity to affirm their rights as slave owners.

The political fireworks over the Missouri petition occurred largely in Congress. Monroe played a low-key role, consistent with his presidential style, to achieve a compromise. Privately, Monroe supported the gradual emancipation of slaves and their eventual relocation to either the western territories of the United States or to Africa. The latter position eventually formed the basis of the American Colonization Society, an organization that Henry Clay, the congressional architect of the Missouri Compromise, also supported. For the purposes of the Missouri debate, Monroe made it clear to his fellow southerners that he refused to support any statehood legislation that required Missouri to abolish slavery. A compromise presented itself when the Maine territory (at the time part of Massachusetts) also sought statehood: Missouri would enter the union without any restrictions, while Maine would join as a free state, producing an equal number of slave and free states (eleven each) in the nation and in Congress. Furthermore, slavery would not be permitted in the Louisiana Purchase territory north of the 36°30' latitude, a major triumph for antislavery northerners who wanted to keep this western land free from slavery. Monroe supported the Missouri Compromise because it defused a larger national controversy by balancing the needs of free and slave states. The Missouri Compromise deflected the more difficult question of slavery's future in the United States, but the legislation Congress and Monroe worked out succeeded in preserving national unity, at least for the time being.

### FOREIGN POLICY

The most enduring achievements of Monroe's presidency, in part attributable to his able secretary of

state, John Quincy Adams, came in the area of foreign affairs. Monroe provided the overall policy direction of his administration, and Adams handled the detailed negotiations. With the resolution of the European conflicts that had circumscribed American foreign policy, Monroe saw an opportunity to assume a more forceful role in the Americas. First, Monroe wanted a reluctant Spain to sell Florida to the United States and also clarify the boundaries of Louisiana. Monroe quietly supported General Andrew Jackson's decision to pursue southern Indians into Florida, an aggressive policy that forced Spain to negotiate with the United States. Jackson was reprimanded for overstepping Monroe's explicit orders, but the raid produced the concessions from Spain that Monroe and Adams had been seeking. The resulting Adams–Onís Treaty of 1819 gave the United States control over Florida and resolved boundary disputes with Spain.

Monroe further asserted American control over the Western Hemisphere with his Annual Message to Congress in 1823. Eventually known as the Monroe Doctrine, this bold statement served as a stern warning to Spain, France, England, Russia, and other European countries that the Americas were no longer available for colonization and that any attempt by Europe to interfere in the Western Hemisphere would be regarded as a hostile act. In 1823 the doctrine reflected the nation's desire to be independent from European affairs; as the century progressed and the United States grew in power, the doctrine gained in significance.

### THE ELECTION OF 1824

As a result of the generational change in politics, coupled with the shifting party structure, no clear frontrunner emerged to succeed Monroe. Following in the tradition of Washington and Jefferson, Monroe refused to designate a successor. Even if Monroe had been willing to act as a political powerbroker, there was no obvious choice to succeed the founding generation. Instead, it was up to the nation's electorate to determine which regional politicians and what party organizations were qualified to lead the nation into the future. The 1824 election became a wide-open contest among four of the rising stars of the aging Republican Party: John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, William H. Crawford of Georgia, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Although each of these candidates had strong regional support, none had the national following to produce an unqualified victory. Thus, with no one winning a majority of electoral college votes, the na-

tion's first presidential election that did not feature a distinguished founding father was resolved in the House of Representatives.

After a long career in public life that culminated with the presidency, James Monroe worked diligently to uphold the ideals of the American Republic while fulfilling his domestic and international responsibilities. His enduring legacy was a distinguished career that exemplified service, integrity, and sound judgment.

*See also* **Antislavery; Bank of the United States; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1824; Federalist Party; Louisiana Purchase; Missouri Compromise; Monroe Doctrine; Proslavery Thought.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ammon, Harry. *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Presidency of James Monroe.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996.

Hamilton, Stanislaus Murray, ed. *The Writings of James Monroe.* 7 vols. New York, London: Putnam, 1898–1903. James Monroe Papers. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. http://www.loc.gov/rr/mss/text/monroe.

Preston, Daniel, ed. *The Papers of James Monroe.* Vol. 1: *A Documentary History of the Presidential Tours of James Monroe, 1817, 1818, 1819.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003.

*Sandy Moats*

## *John Quincy Adams*

The four years spent in the White House by John Quincy Adams, the nation's sixth president (1825–1829), was a miserable experience for him both politically and personally. Adams, while a man of great personal integrity and intelligence, was completely lacking in the political skills necessary to be even mildly successful as president.

As a political candidate, Adams did not inspire or excite attention and seemed to be above the politicking required for public officeholders. He was elected president in 1824 in one of the most peculiar elections in U.S. history. None of the four candidates— William Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and Adams of Massachusetts—received the majority of electoral votes required to be elected president. It was, by the terms of the Constitution, left to the House of Representatives to choose the nation's next president. Clay, then the Speaker of the House, threw his sup-

port behind Adams, whom he personally disliked but thought to be the most qualified of the three remaining candidates. Once elected, Adams showed his political ineptitude by nominating Clay to be secretary of state. Supporters of the other two candidates, as well as those of newly elected vice president, John C. Calhoun, spoke and wrote of "corruption and bargain," charging a deal had been struck between Adams and Clay.

Another early example of Adams's political naiveté, yet also of his great character, involved his attempt to set an example of integrity in government by declaring that no employee of the executive branch would lose his job for any reason other than incompetence. He was, in other words, willing to leave political opponents in office, provided they performed competently. Crawford and Jackson refused offers to serve in Adams's cabinet, though Jackson supporter John McLean, originally appointed postmaster general by President Monroe, continued to serve in that capacity in the Adams administration. In that post he actively aided the Jackson coalition through the influence and patronage of his office. When Jackson later became president, he used the first vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court to reward McLean for his efforts.

### DOMESTIC POLICY AND AFFAIRS

Adams's first annual message, delivered to Congress in December 1825 (in written form, as State of the Union speeches were not given at the time), was grandiosely ambitious; it failed to take into consideration the political dynamics of the day. The type of message he gave was suitable for a president who had been elected with a mandate, not one elected against the wishes of nearly two-thirds of the nation. Prior to sending the message to Congress, Adams assembled his cabinet, but he ignored its members' caution about its overambitiousness.

The message, a bold declaration of what the national government could do to advance the well-being of the nation, proposed an extensive system of roads, canals, bridges, and highways, known then as internal improvements. Adams called for the founding of a national university and a naval academy, along with the erection of an astronomical observatory. Few of his domestic proposals were ever adopted. For example, his proposal for an observatory was laughed at and then voted down. The proposal for a Naval Academy passed the Senate but not the House, while the national university plan passed neither house. A few ideas in his message of 1825 became reality, mainly infrastructure improvements that

passed because congressmen saw a chance to bring money and new projects home to their constituents. Congress defeated virtually everything else that promoted national development through federal funds.

Adams failed to take advantage of an opportunity to get public support for his programs when he opposed lowering the price of public land sold to settlers. He wanted to maintain the price and use the proceeds for internal improvements, such as those proposed in his 1825 message. Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri wanted to make obtaining the land easier by either lowering the price or simply giving it away. Benton's proposal failed, with Adams getting most of the blame, which resulted in a further decline in his support in Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana.

The midterm congressional elections of 1826 enlarged the anti–Adams faction in Congress, whose primary goal was making life even more difficult for the president. An extremely unfair tariff bill was written in the House Committee on Manufactures. It was quite favorable to farmers, but not so to manufacturers. The tariff had been drafted to make Jackson appear as a free trade advocate in the South and a protectionist in the North. Behind this was a Jacksonian strategy based on the expectation that New England congressmen would defeat the bill so that the Jacksonians could then claim that they had tried to meet the needs of farmers and manufacturers but were blocked by Adams and his supporters. Adams reluctantly signed the bill, recognizing he was being made a scapegoat by his enemies. He gave little if any thought to vetoing the measure, because at that time the veto was rarely used. This bill, the Tariff of 1828, bearing Adams's signature, effectively ended whatever slim hopes he had of reelection.

### FOREIGN POLICY AND AFFAIRS

John Quincy Adams was one of the greatest diplomats in U.S. history. His exemplary service as a diplomat, along with his eight years of effective service as secretary of state during the Monroe administration, matches the career of any government servant. But not even in foreign affairs could he be successful as president, in part because of a coalition against him of Jackson, Crawford, and even Vice President Calhoun.

In his December 1825 message to Congress, Adams wrote that the United States had accepted an invitation to the Panama Congress. There was much opposition, with Jacksonians and others claiming that Adams was getting involved in the affairs of other nations and arguing that this was contrary to

the principle of avoiding unnecessary foreign entanglement put forth in George Washington's farewell address. Congress eventually authorized the necessary funds for the mission, but purposely did so too late for the United States actually to participate.

One foreign policy success during the Adams administration was blocking Colombian and Mexican efforts to seize Puerto Rico and Cuba from Spain, which could have resulted in independence for Cuba. Adams and Clay deemed it in the best interest of the United States to keep Cuba in the hands of Spain. Another foreign policy success was the promotion of free trade. With several countries in Europe as well as Mexico, Adams and Clay negotiated deals giving the United States either most-favored-nation trading status or, at least, reciprocity in trade with those countries.

International trade, however, was also the realm in which the Adams administration made quite possibly its greatest diplomatic blunder. Britain and the United States were in an ongoing dispute about whether the United States should have the same trading rights with the British West Indies as did Britain and its colonies. Clay, however, disagreed with this position, and so Adams sought help from Congress, which provided none with the intent of leaving Adams to dangle by himself. Congress then watched Adams lose a great economic opportunity by "forcing" Britain to close its ports to the United States and then having to reciprocate in kind, again without congressional support. From Jacksonian supporters there then came sarcastic description of the president as "Adams the Great American Diplomat." The entire reason for the action, or inaction, of Congress was the humiliation of the administration and the demonstration of its ineptitude.

### NATIVE AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Adams's handling of Native American affairs was no more successful than any other area of activity during his presidency. The primary reasons for his failure were lack of support from Congress; the disposition of George Troup, the governor of Georgia, against cooperating with the federal government; and the lack of political savvy or capital on Adams's part to do what he knew was right.

The Treaty of Indian Springs with the Creek Indians was approved by the Senate the day before Adams took office in March 1825. Adams signed the treaty although warned that it had been unethically negotiated. The treaty involved the Creeks leaving their land in return for compensation and a delay in leaving it until Georgia began to survey the land for settlement. As time passed, Adams realized the Creek Nation in Georgia had been cheated by chiefs of other Indian groups and their white allies, led by Troup. An investigation was ordered by Adams, as well as instructions to Georgia on how to proceed, which were ignored. Only through the threat of force could Adams get Troup to cooperate. Had the Treaty of Indian Springs been allowed to remain in effect, it would have resulted in bloodshed, so a new treaty was negotiated in Washington, D.C., and submitted to the Senate, where it lacked sufficient support. Negotiations were reopened, the Treaty of Washington was modified, and the Treaty of Indian Springs was declared void. Conflict continued between Georgia and the Adams administration, with Congress giving only limited, and sometimes no, support to Adams in the matter. In the end, Adams's lack of political skills prevented him from helping the Creeks in any significant way.

### A FAILED ADMINISTRATION

The presidency of John Quincy Adams was clearly not a success. All that he wished to accomplish was blocked by an antagonistic Congress. The public perceived the manner of his election to be questionable, and one political blunder after another did nothing but embolden his opponents. Yet while the great majority of the domestic proposals contained in his message to Congress in 1825, as well as the overriding philosophy behind them, seemed grandiose at the time, many were eventually implemented over the course of the next 125 years.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1815–1829; Election of 1824; Georgia; Internal Improvements; Panama Congress; Tariff Politics.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hargreaves, Mary W. M. *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985.

Nagel, Paul C. *John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, a Private Life.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Remini, Robert V. *John Quincy Adams.* New York: Times Books, 2002.

*J. Mark Alcorn*

**PRESS, THE**   The press experienced tremendous growth between 1754 and 1829. Its expansion outpaced economic growth, impelled by an outsized be-

lief in the cultural and especially the political significance of print communication, and by favorable government policies. Colonial North Americans, especially in the northern British colonies and among the gentry in the southern ones, hailed print communication as "the art preservative," a technology profoundly transforming the ways that a society might conserve and extend its texts, values, and history. They understood it as the engine of Enlightenment, expanding the intellectual and scientific frontiers of civilization.

First among the uses of printing in British colonial North America, however, was religion. The famous attachment of the Puritan settlers of New England to pious reading made that region the center of print production through the seventeenth century and the sole host of newspaper production in the first two decades of the eighteenth. New England's, and especially Boston's, primacy lasted till the end of the colonial period.

In the early Republic, as the political concerns generated by the Revolution interacted with commercial interests in the rising cities of the mid-Atlantic region, Philadelphia (and later New York) overtook Boston as the center of print culture. At the same time, biases in print culture against women and members of lower social classes began to fade, as women's literacy levels moved toward parity with men's and as popular styles became more common in newspapers, pamphlets, and chapbooks (literally, cheap books).

Benjamin Franklin embodies these shifts. Born in Boston and raised in a highly literate family, he experienced rebellion against the theocracy of New England firsthand as an apprentice at his brother James's newspaper, the *New England Courant.* After breaking with James, he moved to Philadelphia, where he spearheaded a variety of civic improvements, won fame for his experiments with electricity, and transformed himself from an artisan into a gentleman political leader and later a diplomat. As the most famous printer of the colonial period, he symbolizes the role of the press in commerce, politics, and Enlightenment, as well as its migration to the mid-Atlantic region and its increasing secularization.

Franklin's print output also captures the various uses of printing in the late colonial period. His two most famous imprints were *Poor Richard's Almanac* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which remain among the most readable colonial publications. The *Almanac*, which sold ten thousand copies a year, was the lead title for Franklin's large and successful publishing and bookselling enterprise, which included an American edition of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*—the first novel published in North America—and a series of popular pamphlet versions of the sermons of the evangelist George Whitefield. In addition to printing and publishing titles, Franklin and his London partner, William Strahan, also imported and sold British imprints. The North American colonies still looked to London as their cultural metropolis, and the logistics of printing in the colonies made it far easier and cheaper to import long works, especially full-length books. The first full-length English-language Bible to be printed in America, published by Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, did not appear until 1782. For the most part, early American printers simply could not afford to tie up so much of their scarce type in a long work.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was a more typical production for a colonial printer. If one counts each edition of a newspaper as an individual imprint, then newspapers were by far the most common kind of printed good in the late colonial period, except perhaps for job printing, the printing of ad hoc items like handbills or legal forms. Franklin's *Gazette* was archetypical. The largest and most successful newspaper of its day, it performed four basic tasks. First, it was an authoritative source of "official" information, carrying true texts of government proclamations and reliable shipping news. Second, it guided its readers through the available "intelligence" copied from British newspapers and informed letter writers, ship captains, and other informational middlemen. In this task, its work was aided by Franklin's position as postmaster for Philadelphia (appointed 1737) and later for the colonies (appointed 1753). These patronage posts also point to the typically close association of colonial printers with governing authorities; for Franklin and other printers, official government printing, the second task, was a crucial revenue source. But they also performed a third task that separated them from the government in providing a platform for letter writers arguing about public affairs. By printing and monitoring such discussions, colonial newspapers provided an incipient public sphere in the colonies. Since at least the acquittal of John Peter Zenger for seditious libel in New York in 1735, colonial printers had claimed the right to publish honest criticism of corrupt officials; by providing a forum for public criticism, the press worked as the "palladium of liberty." Colonial printers always exercised discretion in publishing controversial pieces, however. Freedom of the press, a phrase that meant different things to different people, was best enjoyed in moderation. Fourth, the *Gazette* carried advertis-

**Advertisements from the *Independent Mechanic* (1811).** The *Independent Mechanic* was a newspaper begun in New York in 1811 and directed towards the artisan community. Like all newspapers, its main source of revenue was advertising. At the time, New York had more than ten newspapers, each filled with advertisements showing the expanding commerce of the city. COLLECTION OF HOWARD ROCK.

ing. In a prosperous colonial newspaper, advertisements could fill half the space.

By the 1750s almost every colony had a newspaper. In the southern colonies newspapers usually were printed by state-supported printers, who had been brought to the provincial capital to do the official printing of the laws. Such newspapers, which were usually local monopolies, claimed to be printed "By Authority"; their printers took great care not to offend the government. In a few northern cities, competitive newspaper markets had appeared. In 1775 Philadelphia had six newspapers, Boston five, and New York three. In between these two models were situations of moderate competition, like Connecticut, where four newspapers were published in different cities, or Rhode Island, where newspapers were published in Providence and Newport.

**THE PRINTING PRESS AND THE REVOLUTION**

As the Revolution approached, the political work of these newspapers changed dramatically, and a raucous pamphlet literature circulated transatlantically. A key moment of change occurred with the Stamp Act crisis in 1765. The Stamp Act was in part a tax on printing. Even though their business was targeted by the tax, printers moved slowly to oppose it, reined in by their habit of deferring to authority. Franklin himself, working in London as a colonial agent, lobbied against the tax, but also nominated his friend and business associate John Hughes to be a stamp distributor. Only after angry popular protests exploded throughout the colonies did printers realize that this was not business as usual. Pressure forbade publishing on stamped paper, and, ultimately, printers rallied in opposition, printing illegally or stopping publication.

From then until the outbreak of actual warfare in 1775, printers were caught between a traditional avoidance of partisan attachment and the demands of activists on the one hand and authority on the other. The ambiguity in the opposition movement regarding independence and loyalty could throw printers off balance. Printers who misread the situation by favoring the Loyalist cause, like John Mein in Boston and James Rivington in New York, became targets of mob violence. Mein published cargo manifests appearing to show that John Hancock had violated nonintercourse agreements by importing enumerated British goods. Rivington published a series of pamphlets ridiculing the Patriot leadership. Both claimed "impartiality" but, simply by displaying disunity in colonial opinion, undermined the resistance. Colonial publications also circulated in Britain and

were included in governors' reports as records of public opinion. In fact, Rivington and Mein both received financial subsidies from the British as well.

The Revolutionary controversy politicized printing. Intensifying with the committee movement in the early 1770s, Patriots policed public sentiments, even while producing a mountain of printed arguments about legitimate government in pamphlets and newspapers. This propaganda campaign climaxed with Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, the publishing sensation of the age, which, Paine claimed, ran 120,000 copies in its first few months—one copy for every ten adults.

Throughout the period of active warfare, neither side tolerated opposition publishing in territory it controlled. Freedom of the press was not a key goal of the Revolution. Rather, the revolutionaries concentrated on presenting a convincing depiction of public sentiment to, as the Declaration of Independence put it, a "candid world." A key part of this candid world was the British public, including Parliament. Both sides battled for support through the press. The newspaper habit of copying news directly from other newspapers meant that any circulating publication might be the equivalent of a wire service story today.

The Revolution confused the question of freedom of the press but heightened the sense of the press's importance to republican government. After the Revolution, printing was overwhelmingly framed as an instrument of self-rule, and all sectors of political opinion concurred on its importance. Culturally, this meant that literary production, including novels and plays, was assigned a political mission. Women were drafted into the project of literary nationalism, in part through the institution of "republican motherhood." The Republic became the template for understanding any work in the realm of print, including religious newspapers. When such newspapers began to appear at the turn of the century, they styled themselves and their evangelical mission after the political work of the revolutionaries.

**A NATIONAL PUBLIC SPHERE**

An overriding concern with the successful functioning of the Republic was manifest in the extension of the postal system. In the first federal administration, when congressional leaders had difficulty agreeing on any of the key institutions of the national government, they quickly and consensually passed sweeping postal legislation, creating the department with the greatest number of officeholders, the largest amount of available patronage, and the most contact

and influence on the everyday lives of ordinary people. The postal system was designed as an information infrastructure. It was, in other words, designed to support a dramatic expansion of printing. Thus Congress authorized the postal system to subsidize the circulation of printed goods through reduced postage for newspapers and periodicals. Printed matter, then as now, constituted the overwhelming bulk of material in the system. The postal system also subsidized the circulation of information by stipulating free exchange of newspapers and periodicals among editors. Until the advent of telegraphic news in the mid-nineteenth century, the work of editing a newspaper largely consisted of reading the "exchanges" and copying interesting items.

The new federal and state governments also subsidized printing through requirements for publishing the laws. The federal government required the secretary of state to publish laws at advertising rates in two newspapers in each state; state governments had similar requirements. In addition, legislatures, including the U.S. Congress, contracted with printers to publish their proceedings, and all levels of government generated a great deal of job printing. Thus printers, competing in the early Republic for government patronage, served as intensifiers of partisan competition.

### PARTISANSHIP AND THE PRESS

All the informational initiatives of the early Republic were rooted in a recognition of the importance of a national public sphere. Because legitimate government, as thinkers like Thomas Jefferson explained, came from the informed consent of the people, it was necessary to create a system by which information and opinion circulated. Such a public sphere would also produce a national identity, an imagined community. But this line of thinking did not reckon on partisan divisions. Coming out of the Revolution, leaders expected citizens, as well as printers, to approach national issues as rational individuals seeking a common good. This ideal conflicted with the recent reality of a revolutionary movement deploying heated propaganda. In other words, the Revolution's ensemble of advocacy practices contradicted its ideology of rational liberty.

This tension played out in the work of printers in the 1790s and was resolved by the 1820s. The so-called first party system produced a vicious pamphlet and newspaper war, radiating outward from Philadelphia to rival networks of printers in state capitals. The Federalist administrations of George Washington and John Adams patronized printers like John

Fenno and tried to find ways to stifle the opposition printing of Philip Freneau and Benjamin Franklin Bache, who enjoyed varying levels of support from Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Because republican mores condemned the personal participation of government leaders in partisan attacks, the printers and pamphleteers fought a kind of proxy war. Their marginal status allowed opposition publicists to deploy the old advocacy tools of the Revolution; but, because they now used them against a legitimately elected government, their patriotism was continually challenged. The partisan conflict climaxed in the controversy over the Alien and Sedition Acts, passed in 1798. The outcry against these attempts to muzzle the opposition was vehement enough to contribute to Jefferson's election as president in 1800.

Jefferson's election seemed to validate partisan newspapering. Ironically, his administration also began to withdraw from the practice by establishing the *National Intelligencer* as its official newspaper. Although a staunch Republican organ, the *Intelligencer* was also a steadfast source for authoritative reports of the proceedings of the federal government and was used as a resource by printers of every political persuasion. A parallel national source was Hezekiah Niles's *Weekly Register*, founded in 1811 in Baltimore. These two newspapers sought to embody a national consensus on public discussion.

But the middle ground was never secure. Although at times national politics quieted during the two decades following Jefferson's election, and although in many states and localities a single party dominated politics, the national public sphere turned toward permanent division. In the 1820s, with the rise of the second party system, in which Jacksonian Democrats competed against National Republicans and later Whigs, the press solidified the partisan allegiances and practices that would characterize it for the rest of the century.

Andrew Jackson's six-year campaign for the presidency marked the maturation of partisan newspapering. Beginning with a cadre of editors including Amos Kendall and Francis Preston Blair—his famous "kitchen cabinet," a term coined in 1832 to refer to an informal group of advisers to one in power—Jackson's organization created a national network of party papers that would coordinate the presentation of a spectacle of public support. His media campaign did this first by producing representations of Jackson—descriptions of his principles, proposals, heroic personal history, and prodigious character—and then of the people spontaneously acclaiming Jack-

son. Just as in the Revolution, the newspaper editors actively participated in movement activities, coordinating caucuses and conventions, acting as secretaries at meetings, producing official reports, and then printing them in their newspapers, which propagated all this material through the national system of postal exchange. Niles, the *Weekly Register* editor, would later refer to this system as "manufacturing public opinion."

Partisans in the 1820s justified their action as participating in a healthy contest for public opinion. They argued that competition in politics promoted freedom in the same way as competition in the marketplace. Unlike the first party system, Jacksonian politics did not itch to treat opposition as treason. However, the majoritarian impulse in Jacksonian democracy subsequently encouraged a deep hostility toward antislavery activism; Jacksonian publicists like Amos Kendall urged federal action to silence abolitionists.

## A PLURAL PRESS

The republican impulse, federal policy, and party competition drove the development of the newspaper press and pamphleteering. This sector of the press was the most public, numerous, and ideologically wrought. But other sectors of the press developed in different ways and in a different direction. Print offices "graduated" apprentices at a higher rate than markets could support, and the political enthusiasms of new printers, enhanced by government patronage and subsidies, encouraged them to start financially shaky newspapers. Printers constantly scrambled for new projects to add revenue.

In addition to job printing, which grew steadily, printers took on more and more book and periodical publishing. Entrepreneurs often sought to publish books "by subscription," selling copies before they were printed. Anne Royall, perhaps the nation's first female literary celebrity, notoriously coerced famous people into subscribing to her work in progress, threatening to ridicule them in it otherwise; she then publicized the names of her subscribers to get more subscribers. Many authors and publishers made arrangements with colporteurs (peddlers) like Mason Locke Weems. From 1794 to 1825 Parson Weems, the author of a biography of George Washington that spawned such legends as the cherry-tree incident, traveled from town to town selling books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Evangelical groups were especially good at this form of publishing and marketing books. Methodist circuit riders carried material printed by the Methodist Book Concern (est.

1789). The American Bible Society (est. 1816) and the American Tract Society (est. 1825) used similar techniques to try to put religious texts, including the Scriptures, into the hands of ordinary people, giving these religious organizations a claim to have invented the idea of mass communication.

More security for printers was to be found in publishing "steady sellers." Most reliable were practical books like schoolbooks and almanacs. Because printing remained relatively decentralized in the early Republic, profitable franchises in this kind of publication could be found in towns scattered throughout the country. John Prentiss, who founded the Keene, New Hampshire, *Sentinel* in 1799 with only seventy subscribers, secured his business by publishing a series of successful schoolbooks. Economies of scale involving expensive new technology eventually caused book printing to centralize in metropolitan areas, leading to the rise of mammoth firms like Harper and Brothers.

Religious publication and "steady sellers" opened the way for the development of reform publications and literary culture. Both were originally peripheral to the dominant republican mission of the press. Reform publications often developed out of the religious press and grew as positions were rejected by the mainstream. The most famous reform periodicals of the period appeared as the second-party system took shape. Benjamin Lundy's pioneering abolitionist paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, established in 1821, recruited William Lloyd Garrison, later the editor of the *Liberator*, as a collaborator. Frances "Fanny" Wright, the celebrated feminist, abolitionist, and socialist, and Robert Dale Owen, founder of the New Harmony colony in Indiana, edited the *New Harmony Gazette*, then moved it to New York City and renamed it the *Free Enquirer* in 1829. The *Free Enquirer* would later become associated with the Workingman's Party, and its staff would participate in founding the *Workingman's Advocate*, one of the nation's earliest important labor papers.

The rise of a literary print culture relied on the republican impulse to develop an autonomous national culture, a religious interest in elevating morals, and a commercial interest in selling fiction to expanding audiences. Ladies' magazines, often supported by religious publishers, were an important early resource and helped to launch the sentimental novels that were best sellers by mid-century. Before 1829, however, writers of the British Isles continued to dominate American bookshelves; the popularity of Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* series, published beginning in 1792, was far

exceeded by the *Waverley* novels, the first of which appeared in 1814, by the Scottish Sir Walter Scott.

By the late 1820s the press had also begun to recognize the nation's ethnic and racial diversity. There had been a thriving German-language press since the colonial period but relatively little publishing by other minority groups. In 1827 Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm established *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first African American periodical, and in 1828 the first Native American periodical, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, appeared. These and other "group" media accepted the dual task of providing a separate identity for their readers and simultaneously trying to be a voice for the group in the larger public sphere.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Book Trade; Election of 1800; Newspapers;** *Niles' Register*; **Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Print Culture; Printers; Printing Technology; Women: Writers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Botein, Stephen. "Printers and the American Revolution." In *The Press and the American Revolution.* Edited by Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Brooke, John L. "To Be 'Read by the Whole People': Press, Party, and Public Sphere in the United States, 1789–1840." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 110 (2002): 44–118.

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Gilmore, William. *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

Hall, David D. *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1986.

Lepore, Jill. *A Is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States.* New York: Knopf, 2002.

Levy, Leonard Williams. *Emergence of a Free Press.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004.

Nerone, John. *Violence against the Press: Policing the Public Sphere in U.S. History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Nord, David Paul. *The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815–1835.* Journalism monographs, no. 88.

Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism, 1984.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

*John Nerone*

**PRINT CULTURE** The impact of printing and print culture on the emergence and consolidation of the new nation can hardly be overstated. All through the eighteenth century, printing, nation building, and forging a national identity went hand in hand in America. Few commentators on the history of the book subscribe to older notions of printing as an unequivocal agent of change; but it is now generally accepted that, to a great degree, America is a nation that printed itself into being. More than any other Western nation, the United States, in terms of culture and ideology, developed out of a dynamic process of self-definition and self-invention in which the production, dissemination, and consumption of print played a crucial part. Thus, dismissing the idea that the American Revolution had started with the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and the colonies, John Adams argued in a letter to Thomas Jefferson in 1815:

> The Revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen Years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington. The Records of thirteen Legislatures, the Pamp[h]lets, Newspapers in all the Colonies ought [to] be consulted, during that Period, to ascertain the Steps by which the Public Opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the Authority of Parliament over the Colonies.

Although printing and the press are instrumental in nation formation generally, America's rise to nationhood was unique in the close symbiosis between print culture and the emergence of a republican ideology. Through the mediation of printing and print culture, the republican public sphere was created in which such iconographic texts as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the *Federalist Papers* could be conceived, written, disseminated, and debated. The history of America's print culture can be divided roughly into three stages: the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s; the Revolutionary War; and the post-Revolutionary period of consolidation.

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, "EPITAPH" (1728)**

The Body of
B. Franklin,
Printer;
Like the Cover of an old Book,
Its Contents torn out,
And stript of its Lettering and Gilding,
Lies here, Food for Worms.
But the Work shall not be wholly lost:
For it will, as he believ'd, appear once more,
In a new & more perfect Edition,
Corrected and amended
By the Author.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS: FROM DUTY TO RIGHT

Printing in eighteenth-century America was more commercially competitive than in Europe, where much of the print trade still depended on patronage from the state, church, or affluent citizens. Combining the activities of printer, bookseller, and publisher in one person, the colonial printer earned his living by printing almanacs, stationery, business forms, and, most important, newspapers: 75 percent of American printers between 1700 and 1765 printed newspapers. Yet many colonial printers regarded their trade not just as a livelihood but as a calling, seeing it as their civic duty to spread reliable information and useful knowledge to the population at large. This made freedom of the press from early on an issue of national and ideological significance, rather than of mere personal and commercial interest. Benjamin Franklin spoke for many of his colleagues when, in his "Apology for Printers" (1731), he defended himself against the censure of a controversial handbill he had printed by asserting that as a printer he was a disinterested, neutral mediator whose aim was first and foremost to promote the common good of society. Seeing that the "Business of Printing has chiefly to do with Mens Opinions" and "most things that are printed tending to promote some, or oppose others," it is the task of the printer to ensure that all sides get equal access to print. A free press being a guarantee for the democratic access to knowledge and "public opinion," the question of what should be printed and what suppressed should be decided solely by whether it was conducive of "general Utility."

This being the general mood among printers in America, it is not surprising that when the Stamp Act was introduced in November 1765 it was met with a barrage of criticism. Widely denounced as a repressive measure aimed at curtailing the liberty of the press, American printers again based their case against the legislation on the "public good" argument. Yet this time the "common good" was redefined as the republican common good, and the freedom of the press would from now on be a republican right, not merely a utilitarian duty of a printer to society. A "free press" and a "free people" were henceforth interchangeable phrases. "Can our Liberties be secure," a correspondent in the *New Hampshire Gazette* wondered, "when that great and essential one of the PRESS is daily attacked, and PRINTERS and BOOKSELLERS are so terrified by uncommon RIGOUR, that they will neither Print nor Publish?" Although repealed in 1766, the Stamp Act had politicized the issue of the freedom of the press for good (though not for the first time) and had thus fundamentally changed relations between the American colonies and the British authorities. More important, it had given the American colonies a powerful weapon in their future struggle with Britain—a body of staunchly republican printers and writers who were no longer satisfied to enlighten and inform the reading public but sought to make it politically independent as well. During the imperial crisis America's printers thus assumed a new prominence; between 1764 and 1783 the number of printers more than doubled, and similarly the number of newspapers in those years went from twenty-eight to fifty-eight.

Before tensions arose between the colonies and Britain, colonial American newspaper printers mainly copied items from London newspapers, publishing imperial and foreign news, rather than domestic. But during the Revolutionary crisis they increasingly began to copy news items from each other, thus spreading accounts of significant events. News of the clashes at Lexington and Concord spread like wildfire across thousands of miles; citizens in South Carolina could promptly read about decisions in New England legislatures. During the War of Independence, printing developed into a technology of revolution. Skirmishes, boycotts, and incidents of lawbreaking were certainly important instruments of expressing and organizing republican resentment, but the most effective Revolutionaries by far were the ones who provided the copy for the newspapers and pamphlets and the printers who printed it.

Empowered by the very medium they used to distribute their Revolutionary ideas, it was the republican writers and printers who crucially helped to mobilize an intercolonial and protonational public—which was, essentially, a public of readers. Whereas during the imperial crisis pamphleteers had tended to

write for an educated elite, the burgeoning print culture democratized the American people's involvement in the Revolution. This is borne out by the rise in the sheer numbers of American publications in this period: the number of American imprints rose from around 350 in 1765 to close to 500 in 1770 to almost 1,000 in 1775. Even more impressive is the circulation of certain key texts: the Declaration of Independence was printed in at least seventeen American editions in 1776 and 1777, and in virtually all the newspapers, while Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) sold approximately 120,000 copies in its first three months after publication, and an estimated total of 500,000 copies in 1776, to a population of around 3,000,000 (20 percent of whom were slaves and 50 percent of whom were indentured servants).

### THE LIMITS OF PRINT

But the democratizing and unifying impact of print had its limits. Print culture and technologies of print are structured; they derive that structure from the dominant culture, which seeks to further its ideological agenda. That is, while printing helps to shape a culture and a society, it is also true that culture shapes print. Even before the Revolution, American printers had occasionally used the power of the printed word to "correct" certain developments they considered undesirable. Thus in the 1740s and 1750s Benjamin Franklin had fought a particularly bitter print war against the German-language print empire of Christoph Saur. Franklin feared that the independent German-language printers of Germantown might become too influential among the large German immigrant community of Pennsylvania and thereby frustrate his mission of ethnically engineering the population of the state: "While we are . . . *Scouring* our Planet, by clearing America of Woods, and so making this Side of our Globe reflect a brighter Light to the Eyes of Inhabitants in Mars and Venus, why should we in the Sight of Superior Beings, darken its People?" Franklin pondered in his essay "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind" (1751). Franklin on several occasions started German-language newspapers in order to force his German competitor out of business. During the Revolutionary War, the Whig printers that zealously defended the freedom of the press as being of paramount importance to civil society were by no means prepared to extend that freedom to Tory printers like James Rivington, printer of the *New-York Gazetteer.*

After the Revolution printing was the arena for the bitter struggle between Federalists and Republicans over the ratification of the Constitution. During this struggle the evolving relation between print and political culture ushered in a fundamental change in the symbolic value of print. Crucially, both the emerging political language of Anglo-American republicanism and the emergence of a post-Revolutionary public sphere were grounded in a new way of perceiving printedness. Thus, in the course of this process the Constitution was understood as a printed form of legitimate government, and the free republican press as the embodiment of the *res publica* and the sovereignty of the people. In *Federalist* 84 (1788), Alexander Hamilton defended the omission from the Constitution of a bill to protect the freedom of the press by saying it would be "impractical" to implement it; the Bill of Rights of 1791 corrected this. An acrimonious print battle then erupted between Federalists and Republicans over the Republic's political alliance with the Jacobin administration in France, once more threatening to tear the nation apart. In response, President Adams signed the Sedition Act of 1798 into law, effectively limiting freedom of the press again by threatening opposition printers with heavy fines and imprisonment.

Print culture is inextricably bound up with America's rise to sovereign nationhood and its emergence into a distinct cultural domain. Yet it is important to realize that print is not *prior* to the culture of colonial America or of republican America, but was shaped and conditioned by it. This process continued into the early decades of the nineteenth century. As American printers endeavored to consolidate the prominent position in the public sphere they had gained during the Republic's formative years, they were experiencing major transformations in their trade. The introduction of new materials (notably machine-made paper), technologies (such as the steam-powered press) and dissemination channels (improved mail and transportation networks, and the invention of the telegraph), as well as sharp increases in literacy rates and overall readership numbers, forced American printers to adopt more mass-market oriented activities and strategies. While many in the print trade ventured into large-scale commercial newspaper publishing, the early nineteenth century also saw the emergence of the modern publisher. Replacing the eighteenth-century master printers and booksellers, the new publishing entrepreneurs increasingly came to dominate the entire process of the financing, production and dissemination of printed material. Levels of capital investment steadily rose, and more industrial labor practices were introduced. What once was a craft rooted in European practices and dependent on Old World materials and machines, quickly became an energetic and

innovative industry. By the 1840s, the domestic American print market had come of age.

*See also* **Adams, John; Alien and Sedition Acts; Americanization; Book Trade; Constitutionalism; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Magazines; Newspapers; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Press, The; Printers; Printing Technology; Rhetoric; Satire.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Amory, Hugh, and David D. Hall, eds. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World.* Vol. 1 of *A History of the Book in America.* 5 vols. Edited by David D. Hall. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Bailyn, Bernard, and John B. Hench, eds. *The Press and the American Revolution.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Hall, David D. *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

Joyce, William L., David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench, eds. *Printing and Society in Early America.* Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut, in collaboration with Lawrence C. Wroth and Rollo G. Silver. *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States.* 2nd ed. New York: Bowker, 1951.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers:" Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Shields, David S. *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America.* Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1997.

Silver, Rollo G. *The American Printer*, *1787–1825.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America*, *with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers.* 1810. 2nd ed., 1874. Edited by Marcus A. McCorison. New York: Weathervane Books, 1970.

Verhoeven, W. M. "'A Colony of *Aliens*': Germans and the German-Language Press in Colonial and Revolutionary Pennsylvania." In *Periodical Literature in Eighteenth-Century America.* Edited by Mark L. Kamrath and Sharon M. Harris. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

*Wil Verhoeven*

**PRINTERS**   Printers were the intellectual elite of the early American working class. They needed to be literate, unlike most other artisans and laborers, and they often had the chance to edit and write their own publications. Many were like Benjamin Franklin, who was made a printer rather than a soap maker like his father for the greater intellectual opportunities printing seemed to afford. "From a child I was fond of Reading, and all the little money that came into my Hands was ever laid out in Books," Franklin wrote in his autobiography. "This Bookish Inclination," he continued, "at length determined my father to make me a Printer." Printing provided many a young workingman with a substitute for the college education that only a tiny minority of early Americans could obtain.

Printers also enjoyed a more visible role in their communities than most artisans. Their offices were a community's major source of reading material, sometimes including a bookstore and a newspaper that a printer not only produced but controlled. Their daily business brought them in contact with those who had writings or documents to print, meaning government officials, political leaders, and educated professionals such as clergymen and lawyers. In the colonial period they typically printed with the government's official sanction—"by authority"—and often as government officials themselves.

Greater visibility and a close relationship with the powerful did not necessarily translate into great influence or prestige for the printer himself. The literary training one could acquire in a print shop conferred neither the classical learning nor the polished manners that were the mark of an eighteenth-century gentleman. Moreover, though printing was more cerebral than most other crafts, it was still a dirty, backbreaking job, on the wrong side of the traditional sociopolitical divide between those who worked with their hands and those who did not. (American printing presses ran by human power until the steam-driven press began to be adopted during the 1830s.)

Even Benjamin Franklin, whose tremendous talents were recognized while he was still a teenager, had to make his fortune and retire from printing before he could take up his later career as a politician and scientist. Somewhat hypocritically, Franklin advised young printers, including his grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, to stay out of politics, or at least openly avoid choosing sides in the material they printed. Freedom of the press, as colonial printers used the term, tended to mean something closer to

free access to print rather than absolute freedom of expression for journalists themselves. Needing to please as many customers as possible in a limited market, most printers tried to follow Franklin's advice, avoiding controversy and focusing on commercial endeavors as much as they could.

### THE RISE OF NEWSPAPER POLITICS

Nevertheless, because they controlled access to print and because print was the only means of mass communication available, printers sometimes found themselves sucked into politics, usually in the service of their chief customers, the local elites who controlled the colonial assemblies. Going back at least as far as the famous Zenger case of 1734–1735, colonial politicians relied on the press as one of their chief weapons when conflicts arose with royal governors and the British imperial bureaucracy. This was particularly true leading up to the American Revolution, when colonial printers were forced to abandon any semblance of their traditional neutrality and choose sides. Enthusiastic patriot printers like Benjamin Edes of the *Boston Gazette* found themselves "working the political engine" together with Harvard men like Samuel and John Adams, while printers who refused to join the cause, or actively supported the British authorities, eventually found it more prudent to flee the country. After the war it was the Revolutionary officers, attorneys, and clergymen who enjoyed the resulting power and honors, not the printers.

The rise of newspaper politics—the convergence of the press and the nascent political parties during the mid-1790s—pulled many additional printers into politics on a more permanent basis. The outbreak of partisanship placed the trade under immense pressure. A small network of printer-operated urban newspapers led by the Philadelphia *Aurora* and Boston *Independent Chronicle* took over from Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's *National Gazette* as the chief critics of Hamilton and Washington's policies after 1793. Many other commercial printers and young aspirants who tried to be evenhanded in the conflict were attacked and boycotted if they allowed opposition pieces into their papers at all, even if balanced with pro-government material. The administration of John Adams tried to stamp the Democratic Republican network out with the Alien and Sedition Acts, only to have the network grow larger instead. Young printers radicalized by the Federalist repression rushed to politicize existing newspapers or start new, fiercely partisan journals. When Jefferson unseated Adams in the so-called Revolution of 1800, the "great political change in the Union," as one Delaware writer put it, was widely attributed to the "unremitting vigilance of Republican Printers." After 1800, conventional political wisdom dictated that any serious movement or party needed to have its own network of newspapers.

Inadvertently, this development brought a certain amount of democratization to American political life by setting up printers, immigrant radicals, and similar folk as the country's chief political spokesmen. President Jefferson distanced himself from his more radical newspaper supporters and kept them out of his administration, but the political culture had changed irrevocably. Printers and other editors now set the terms on which other politicians were considered loyal to the Jeffersonian Republican cause, and they had control of weapons that could do great damage to the reputations of those gentleman statesmen who went against them. Philadelphia politics in particular became notorious for laboring under what some called the "tyranny of the printers," especially the Irish refugee radicals William Duane and John Binns of the *Aurora* and the *Democratic Press*, respectively. For many it was a horrifying development to have accidentally set up "uneducated printers, shop-boys, and raw school-masters" as "the chief instructors in politics." Efforts were made to gentrify the partisan press by placing printers under the editorial guidance of more refined men, especially lawyers, but these had only partial success. Hundreds of newspaper editors held public office through the 1830s, and most of them began their careers as journeymen printers. As horrifying as the rise of newspaper politics was to some, it was a godsend to others, namely to young, ambitious printers who could now become artificers of political movements and colleagues of great statesmen in addition to their work with ink, type, and paper. It was one of the great glories of the United States, William Duane wrote, that it was possible for a printer, an artisan, to become "a writer on American affairs, a politician . . . worthy of the regards of men distinguished by their talents and their virtues in an age like this."

### FROM THE PRINTING TRADE TO THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

Unfortunately, for most ordinary printers, particularly in the urban centers, prospects were considerably less glorious than those painted by Duane. They faced a steady decline in their status after the Revolution as their trade slowly was transformed into the lowly production arm of a commercial publishing industry. Mirroring the trends in other industrializing trades, the entrepreneurial act of selecting and ed-

iting material increasingly became separated from the physical process of printing. Journeymen printers found it more and more difficult to complete the traditional artisan's path of upward mobility through the life cycle, from apprentice to journeyman to master and shop owner. The craft became identified ever more firmly with its manual labor aspects as the intellectual activities associated with publishing were taken over by educated editors and entrepreneurs who soon gained exclusive use of the title "publisher." Some of the first successful commercial publishers were former printers, but by the 1830s or earlier, this possibility had been largely foreclosed. The vast majority of apprentices and journeymen could expect to spend their lives as wage laborers, with the jobs that were available increasingly under pressure from cost- and labor-saving technology that included better printing presses, stereotyping, and ink rollers that allowed boys to do the former adult journeyman's job of beating ink onto type. A class of underemployed, semi–nomadic "tramp printers" grew.

In response to these trends, the beginnings of a labor movement grew up among journeymen printers. Among numerous other job actions across the period, twenty-six Philadelphia journeymen staged the American trade's first strike in 1786 to get a pay cut rescinded, and New York journeymen walked out in 1799 to win their first complete wage scale. Formal "typographical societies" were established in New York in 1795 and Philadelphia in 1802, and from there they spread to many other cities. In the 1830s one organization of journeymen printers tried to convince its brethren to refuse to work for those editors, publishers, and other nonprinters who were held to be merely exploiting the labor of journeymen printers.

### BETTER LIVING THROUGH POLITICS

The expansion of the country press, where older technology and traditional print shops were still the rule, became the major means of escaping the industrialization trap for printers of sufficient verbal ability. Following the old colonial pattern of Franklin and his apprentices, experienced journeymen borrowed or saved enough money for (often previously used) printing equipment and set up shop in underserved population centers, especially on the frontier. Politics greatly expanded these opportunities. Newspaper-dependent political parties required small weekly newspapers to represent them in as many places as possible. Political needs inspired the creation of many more such small papers than economics alone would

have dictated and opened sources of credit and income (from local party supporters) that would likely not have been available otherwise. A fast track to master or some equivalent status was thus opened for many journeymen printers who otherwise might not have achieved that goal at all. Young Thurlow Weed, later the architect of Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party, was an Albany journeyman and labor activist until 1818, when supporters of DeWitt Clinton loaned him money to buy a newspaper in tiny Norwich, New York. The Norwich *Republican Agriculturalist* was the beginning of a political career that would see Weed become one of the country's most powerful politicians and take him very far from the problems and values of early American artisans.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Almanacs;** ***Aurora*****; Democratic Republicans; Franklin, Benjamin; Federalist Party; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Newspapers; Politics: Party Organization and Operations; Politics: Political Parties and the Press; Work: Apprenticeship; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard, and John B. Hench, eds. *The Press and the American Revolution.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Botein, Stephen. "'Meer Mechanics' and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers." *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975): 127–225.

Frasca, Ralph. "Benjamin Franklin's Printing Network." *American Journalism* 5 (1988): 145–158.

———. "From Apprentice to Journeyman to Partner: Benjamin Franklin's Workers and the Growth of the Early American Printing Trade." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114 (1990): 229–248.

Hamilton, Milton W. *The Country Printer: New York State, 1785–1830.* 2nd ed. Port Washington, N.Y.: I. J. Friedman, 1964.

Joyce, William B., et al., eds. *Printing and Society in Early America.* Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

Lause, Mark A. *Some Degree of Power: From Hired Hand to Union Craftsman in the Preindustrial American Printing Trades, 1778–1815.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Pretzer, William S. "Tramp Printers: Craft Culture, Trade Unions, and Technology." *Printing History* 6 (1984): 3–16.

———. "'The British, Duff Green, the Rats and the Devil': Custom, Capitalism, and Conflict in the Washington Printing Trade, 1834–36." *Labor History* 27 (1985–1986): 5–30.

Rorabaugh, W. J. *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Silver, Rollo G. *The American Printer, 1787–1825.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America: With a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers.* 2nd ed. New York: Weathervane, 1970.

Waldstreicher, David. *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Wroth, Lawrence C. *The Colonial Printer.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964.

*Jeffrey L. Pasley*

**PRINTING TECHNOLOGY** Some historians argue that technologies of print precede cultural transformation. That is, printing conditions and shapes the emergence of a new political and social order and the creation of a new form of collective subjectivity, as well as an enlightened public, rather than the other way around. Other historians have argued to the contrary that society, science, capitalism, and republicanism have not so much been shaped by print as they have shaped print. Navigating a path between these two views, one can more accurately describe the relationship between printing technology and culture as dynamic and reciprocal, rather than as static and sequential. The idea that printing technology had a democratizing and rationalizing impact on the new nation is therefore only one side of the coin: the politics and culture of the new nation produced and structured the practices of printing technology, turning it into a highly efficient medium for republican ideology.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the commercial character of printing in America was its key distinguishing feature. In comparison to their European colleagues, American printers faced several obstacles in their struggle to survive, causing fierce rivalry in the domestic American print market. Their main disadvantage was a chronic lack of capital, making colonial and Revolutionary American printers dependent on importing key technologies from Europe. Thus commercial printing-press building as well as type-founding did not gain a firm foothold in North America till the end of the eighteenth century.

Further, until 1800 American printers had to import most of their ink from England or Germany. Another difficulty was the production of paper. Before the technique of using wood pulp was developed in 1849, paper mills depended on a constant supply of rags, ropes, and other flax- or hemp-based materials. The quality and supply of the paper were sufficient for the production of newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, almanacs, and other short and ephemeral works, but books intended for longer use were printed on imported Dutch or English paper. The shortage of type and the cost of paper (up to half the cost of printing) were inimical to the production of relatively long books, such as novels. Thus it took Benjamin Franklin two years (from 1742 to 1744) to print the first American edition of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*. In fact, no other unabridged English novel would be reprinted in American until the Revolution. The Peace of Paris opened up the trade with Britain again, and book production in America was restarted; but type, paper, and capital remained in short supply, hampering book production through the 1790s and into the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The first printing press to be established in the British North American colonies was founded at Harvard College in 1639. By 1760 there were forty-two printers in America, some owned by individual entrepreneurs and others by groups, such as the Puritans in New England or the Germans in Pennsylvania, who used printing as a medium to enhance group cohesion. Most American printers adhered to the universal enlightenment ideal of disseminating news and useful information to the nation. During the Revolutionary and early national periods, Americans used printing technology to shape the public political discourse of independence and republicanism. By 1820 more than two thousand newspapers and more than three hundred journals had been published.

The use of print to shape national identity was facilitated by developments in printing technology itself. Throughout the eighteenth century most printing offices in the United States owned only one or two presses. The largest printing shop was that of Isaiah Thomas, who had twelve presses in his Worcester printing office and five in a Boston subsidiary. Printers who could afford an English press imported it; others bought their presses secondhand (most of which had been imported before). Even as late as the 1790s there were only one or two American press makers, but this number increased rapidly during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, when new technological and scientific knowledge

enabled many advances: the wooden press became an iron press, rollers instead of balls inked the type, horsepower and steam power replaced manpower, stereotyping became a normal procedure, and lithography began to be used for illustrations.

The transition to power presses evolved in fits and starts. The first experiment with a steam-power press in 1819 was a failure, but in 1822 Jonas Booth of New York built the first successful one in the United States; Booth's abridgment of Murray's English grammar is said to be the first book to be printed by such a press. One of the most successful early power presses, relying on horsepower as steam engines were still hard to come by, was the one designed by David Treadwell of Boston in 1829; about fifty Treadwell presses were built before 1830. Rapid developments in type founding, font designing, paper production, stereotyping, and lithography led to an industrial revolution in print technology in the early national period.

See also **Industrial Revolution; Newspapers; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Press, The; Print Culture; Printers; Steam Power; Technology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut, Lawrence C. Wroth, and Rollo G. Silver. *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States*, 2nd ed. New York: R.R. Bowker, 1951.

Silver, G. Rollo. *The American Printer*, *1787–1825*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America: With a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers.* 1810; 2nd ed., 1874. Edited by Marcus A. McCorison from the second edition. New York: Weathervane Books, 1970.

*Wil Verhoeven*

**PROCLAMATION OF 1763**   The conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763 brought vast new territories and complex problems to the British Empire. To establish governments for the new territories and to address the complex state of the trans-Appalachian west, King George III issued a royal proclamation on 7 October 1763. The proclamation placed the territories won from France and Spain under four distinct governments: much of French Canada was placed within the province of Quebec, the former Spanish colony of Florida was divided into East and West Florida, and the Caribbean conquests were combined into the province of Grenada.

Because the Crown was unprepared to extend representative government to populations that had been hostile to British power for over a century, the proclamation provided only for the appointment of governors and councils, with the promise of assemblies at a later date.

More controversial were the provisions governing Indian policy and western expansion. The expulsion of the French from the Ohio Valley left the British government solely responsible for organizing a region that was already the object of bitter dispute among colonial governments, high-powered speculators, unscrupulous Indian traders, and a host of prospective settlers. Yet much of this land remained, by treaty, under the control of Native American tribes. Angry over the penetration of their lands and the shady activities of some of the traders, tribes allied under Pontiac began a series of attacks leading to Pontiac's War. These attacks made the Crown see the need for a conciliatory approach toward Native Americans, an approach manifested in the Indian policy of the proclamation.

While no definitive line was drawn, the proclamation prohibited all settlement on trans-Appalachian Native American lands, to the extent of ordering that all present settlement be abandoned. To protect the Native Americans from future fraud, the proclamation authorized only the colonial governors and the commander-in-chief to purchase Native American lands. Finally, the Indian trade was to be regulated and conducted under licenses assigned by the governors.

The proclamation was a temporary expedient designed to give the Crown time to pacify the Native Americans and obtain the fair and orderly transfer of their lands. Meanwhile, the conflicting claims of colonial governments and private speculators could be investigated and adjudicated. Americans, however, viewed the proclamation in a different light. Unconcerned with Indians' rights, the American assemblies, speculators, and settlers joined in protesting the closure of the lands that had been the objective and, in their minds, the just prize of the late war. A growing number of Americans resented the closure of the trans-Appalachian west as evidence that London officials were determined to expand their power and authority at the expense of colonists' rights. That parliamentary taxes were imposed to support the implementation of the proclamation solidified this view in the minds of many Americans.

The Proclamation of 1763 achieved mixed results. The policies concerning Canada and the Floridas proved successful, as these populations remained

peaceful during the revolution developing in the seaboard colonies. The provisions concerning the trans-Appalachian west failed, however, as the British were unable to enforce them and the British western policy served largely to provoke and sustain resistance to British rule.

*See also* **French and Indian War, Consequences of; Fur and Pelt Trade; Land Policies; Land Speculation; Pontiac's War; West.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Sosin, Jack M. *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763–1783.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967.

*Daniel McDonough*

## PROFESSIONS

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Clergy*, *Lawyers*, and *Physicians*.

## *Clergy*

Like every other American profession, the clergy confronted massive political, social, and cultural upheavals in the years between the late colonial and Jacksonian periods. To adapt to these changes, denominations had to innovate in the recruitment and training of young men for the ministry. While ministerial roles evolved, the clergy's overall cultural importance suffered no diminution. Indeed, the American churches rose to the challenges of the times. To take just one measure, the per capita supply of clergymen outpaced the rapid growth of the American population during the early Republic by more than three times.

### THE LATE COLONIAL BACKGROUND

Regional variations differentiated the place of the clergy in colonial America. Congregationalism was established throughout New England outside of Rhode Island, although Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers were tolerated. The region was the best supplied with ministers, because they could receive the requisite liberal arts education at Harvard or Yale. Local pastors encouraged promising young men to study for the ministry, as did families who viewed it as an appropriate station for their sons. After grad-

uation, aspiring ministers lived with a clergyman for several months, in order both to study theology and to observe day-to-day pastoral work. Following this training, a young ministerial candidate would begin preaching with the hope of receiving a call from a local church that, if accepted, would lead to his ordination. It was the expectation of minister and townspeople alike that his settlement over that church would be for life. In the eighteenth century, the local Congregational minister played a central role in town life, was accorded the status of other social leaders, and typically enjoyed the deference of his flock.

In the colonies from Maryland southward, the established Anglican minister likewise enjoyed status among the gentry. Anglican clergymen were educated at both American colleges and British universities, but they all had to be ordained overseas, since there was no American bishop. In part because of this requirement, the Church of England suffered from a chronic undersupply of clergymen in the colonies, which prevented it from expanding with the frontier. The social pretensions of the Anglican leadership also inhibited evangelization of the large slave population.

Diversity of religions characterized the middle colonies, where there was no single dominant denomination or established church. Quakers did not require formal education for the ministry, relying instead on the Spirit to equip believers. They competed for adherents with Anglicans and a host of immigrant denominations, such as Dutch Reformed, German Lutheran, and Scottish Presbyterian, which often still had significant ties to European ecclesiastical bodies. Newly arrived clergymen sometimes complained about their ambivalent status amid middle colony diversity, but they were nevertheless critical anchors for their communities.

The Great Awakening that struck various locales throughout the colonies from the 1740s through the 1770s often divided the clergy as factions disputed the theological meaning of the revivals and the propriety of itinerant preaching. Such infighting may have lessened the clergy's social standing. Baptists, relying on a part-time ministry, recorded substantial gains in both New England and Virginia. The Awakening inspired a number of enslaved men and women to take up preaching, and their efforts led to the first large-scale conversions of African Americans to Christianity. The Awakening also led to the founding of several new colleges for the training of ministers, including the College of New Jersey (founded by Presbyterians in 1746 and now known as Princeton

University), Rhode Island College (Baptists, 1764, now Brown University), Queens College (Dutch Reformed, 1766, now Rutgers University), and Dartmouth College (Congregationalists, 1769).

### REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS

The loyalism of many Anglican clergymen forced them to flee during the Revolutionary War. This, combined with the libertarian logic of the Revolution, led to the Church of England's disestablishment after independence. Patriot ministers, meanwhile, often served as military chaplains, and their preaching provided important ideological sanction for the rebellion.

During the early national period, New England Congregationalists sided with the Federalist Party, which eventually undermined their position in a closely divided region. As a result of this political contention and the surging number of dissenters, they too were disestablished during the first third of the nineteenth century. Moreover, lifetime pastorates declined, and clergymen found new career paths in the early Republic's proliferating voluntary organizations, missionary societies, and educational institutions. Education for the ministry took a giant step forward with the founding of theological seminaries, starting with Andover in 1808. Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterians jointly supported the American Education Society, founded in 1815, to fund the training of aspiring ministers of modest means. Still, these denominations struggled to train enough educated ministers to keep pace with the nation's demographic and geographic expansion.

The new nation's small Jewish community faced an even more drastic problem of a total lack of any traditionally trained rabbis prior to the 1840s. Into this vacuum, a synagogue's hazan, or "salaried reader" (Faber, p. 19), often stepped forward as not only its liturgical leader but also its publicly recognized spokesman to the community at large.

### INSURGENTS OF THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

The shortage of Protestant clergymen would be more than filled by the Baptists and Methodists. These denominations did not require a college education for the ministry and instead emphasized spiritual experience and preaching ability. The young, single men who were usually recruited into the ministerial ranks could relate to the early Republic's ordinary folk. Their preaching largely fueled the revivals of the Second Great Awakening during the first third of the

nineteenth century. Among the Methodists, ministers worked their way up the hierarchy from class leader to exhorter, local preacher, and itinerant. Bishop Francis Asbury (1745–1816) modeled the life he expected from his circuit riders by crisscrossing the nation repeatedly. By the 1820s, however, both of these denominations were placing greater emphasis on respectability and education and accordingly founded colleges.

By not requiring a college degree in their early phase, the insurgent denominations of the Second Great Awakening for a time opened a door to the participation of women and African Americans. More than one hundred women used their spiritual authority to become exhorters among the Christian Connection, Freewill Baptists, and Methodists, although they did not press for ordination. Black preachers too played a critical role in the evangelization of African Americans, both free and enslaved. However, African Americans often found themselves relegated to subordinate roles; among Methodists, for instance, they could exhort but not become licensed itinerants. As a result, the early nineteenth century saw the founding of numerous independent "African" churches and the organization in of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination with Richard Allen (1760–1831) elected as its first bishop in 1816.

*See also* **Education: Colleges and Universities; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bonomi, Patricia U. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Faber, Eli. *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820.* Vol. 1, *The Jewish People in America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Scott, Donald M. *From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry, 1750–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.

Wigger, John H. *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

*Jonathan D. Sassi*

## *Lawyers*

The making of the legal profession in the new American nation took place largely in the law courts. Law-

yers established bar associations comparable to the contemporary medical societies and ministerial associations, and they set up a variety of educational enterprises to train students for the profession. However, these institutions proved to be short-lived and were clearly outweighed by the courts in forming the bar. Unlike the work of doctors and ministers, lawyers' day-to-day work brought them together in a spectacular forum where they could contend, collaborate, fraternize, and develop the cohesiveness of common customs of the law. It was particularly in the circuit courts, formed during the eighteenth century in the colonies in rough imitation of the English *nisi prius* system, that such professional bonds were formed. Through such courts some of what was then called the king's justice was brought to the provinces. In both England and America, the judges and lawyers of these superior courts on circuit usually traveled, ate, lodged, and caroused together, and the agreeable good fellowship of this experience was acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Much of the impetus for setting up the higher courts in the American colonies came from British policy. The attempt to assert control over the colonies and bind them more closely to the mother country predisposed British officials toward measures of centralization. This was particularly true of the superior courts, where judges were usually appointed on the approval of the king. The higher courts quickly adopted some of the pageantry, technicality, and doctrine of the courts of Westminster. Chief Justice Hutchinson of Massachusetts introduced the distinction between barrister and attorney, permitting only barristers to plead before the superior court. Such barristers were chosen from among the most learned and respected attorneys in the province. Where ranks were adopted in the other colonies (New Jersey went farther than most in setting up the grade of sergeants as well), the upper ranks were also usually distinguished homegrown lawyers. Only in South Carolina did most of the barristers who prevailed in the higher courts actually attend the Inns of Court in London. Where distinguishing titles were not adopted, as in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the gap between the attorneys who gained a hold on practice in the higher courts and those who worked amid the simpler, less polished justice of the country courts widened sharply. When Massachusetts higher courts took up wearing legal gowns and wigs, the New York Supreme Court quickly adopted the costume, and the practice spread throughout the colonies. Even Patrick Henry, scorned by Jefferson for his triumphs before amateur judges and rural juries of local courts, knew enough to discard his buckskin for dignified black dress and a freshly powdered wig when he came before the General Court of Virginia.

Moreover, these higher courts brought with them not only rank, pageantry, and a new observance of technical matters, they also provided a forum for the consideration of principles of social order usually designated under the heading "fundamental law." Initially, this legal concept dealt primarily with persons and their property. However, during the upheavals of seventeenth-century England, it was given broad political meanings. This was the legacy of Sir Edward Coke, a lawyer skilled in the crabbed scholarship of feudal holdings and at the same time a man of affairs active in the great political contests of the day. His *Institutes* enjoyed an extraordinary reputation among the learned and ambitious American lawyers. In arguing that the common law, which embodied fundamental law, placed limits on royal prerogative and seemingly on the powers of Parliament, Coke identified the services of the common law with the blessing of liberty. Fundamental law consequently moved closer to that homologous notion of the era, "the constitution." This did not refer to any particular document but rather to a body of fundamental principles revealed in a long series of accepted customs, statutes, and judicial decisions. It was what Jefferson meant when, in 1776, he charged that the king subjected the colonists to a "jurisdiction foreign to our constitution." Both the constitution and fundamental law were held to be invaluable defenders of liberty. Furthermore, for many eighteenth-century American lawyers, liberty became, in Daniel Dulany's overcharged words, "salvation in politics."

Liberty, famously, was one of the watchwords of the American Revolution. During that conflict and its aftermath, delegates in the various colonies set up new rules of governance, fusing the concepts of constitution and fundamental law in written documents set out in statutelike form. The framers of the federal Constitution of 1787, most of whom were lawyers, went even farther in describing their work, within the text itself, as "the Supreme Law of the Land." In construing this Constitution as law, the framers provided the momentous option of interpreting and enforcing the fundamental principles of national government through routine judicial processes. The legal profession, therefore, could become an ex officio interpreter of the national credo. Yet such lofty interests were mixed with the most matter-of-fact enterprise in the workaday world of American lawyers in the post-Revolutionary era.

Both the conservative and transformative lineaments of the Revolution became apparent in the workings of the legal profession. The rankings in the profession, reflecting the aristocratic conceits of English traditions, quickly collapsed. The usages of attorneys, with their apprenticeship training, fee-bills to set the standard of payment, and direct dealings with clients (but, in America, with the right of audience in all courts), became the general characteristics of American lawyers. The English common law, somewhat simplified and adapted to local conditions, remained the basis for legal practice in the courts. The most transformative effect of the Revolution was indirect. As the French Revolution provided the basis of a new social order by the confiscation and sale of the lands of the church and the émigrés, so in a somewhat analogous manner the American Revolution provided the basis of a society of medium-size property owners through the confiscation and sale of the lands of the Native Americans. The social transformation was less apparent in America than France because the church and the aristocrats were preeminent in France whereas the Native Americans were on the margins of American society. Nonetheless, after the War of 1812, when the Indian "barrier" was largely removed, the wide-ranging characteristics of a society based on medium-size landownership became apparent. This was clearly visible in the North, though obscured in the South by the relatively small class of splendiferous plantation owners at the top of society and the large class of black slaves at the bottom. American lawyers were prime agents in setting up and maintaining the rules for this new social order.

Land law became a principal part of the lawyer's day-to-day business. Know-how about the trial of title to land, ejectment, trespass, writs of entry, and remedies for the recovery of real property became essential skills. Men with land to sell came to county courthouses during trial days, and litigation over estates and inheritance brought marketable land into lawyers' hands at other times as well. Lawyers were not only agents but sometimes venturers themselves. The papers of eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century lawyers often hold as many documents relating to their own real estate activities as to their legal cases. For some lawyers bold speculation on the fundamental principles of government was accompanied by bold speculation in land. James Wilson, for example, pursued an illustrious career in law and politics that took him from the Revolutionary struggle against Britain to the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention and to a position on the new Supreme Court. Perhaps the acme of that career was his public lectures delivered on American government and fundamental law before an audience that included President Washington, Vice President Adams, and leading members of Congress. Yet shortly after he was at the nadir, dying ignominiously in the Carolina backwoods, hiding from the creditors of his land speculations.

Aside from the land market and the legal practice that accompanied it, the other growth industry that created opportunities for lawyers was the development of democratic politics. With the spread of republican institutions, producing many new elective offices, the lawyers who found that they were adept at swaying juries seemed equally adept at swaying electorates. Men of legal training soon came to predominate in American government. Entry into law and politics became increasingly open to men of native wit and cunning though they might have little formal education and meager income. Yet the legal profession seemed to provide something akin to a homespun elite. William Wirt, son of a tavern keeper who rose to the position of the attorney general of the United States, claimed that men of talents in this country were generally bred to the profession of the law: "I have met with few persons of exalted intellect whose powers have been directed to any other pursuit." In the more egalitarian age that was to come, Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the most perceptive of the many foreign visitors who flocked to this country, commented with some amazement that the American lawyer seemed to be a peculiar kind of aristocrat particularly congenial to democracy.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism; Constitutional Law; Education: Professional Education; Founding Fathers; Law: Federal Law; Law: State Law and Common Law; Legal Culture; Liberty; Property; Supreme Court; Supreme Court Justices.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Friedman, Lawrence M. *A History of American Law.* 3rd ed. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005.

Gough, J. W. *Fundamental Law in English Constitutional History.* Littleton, Colo.: F. B. Rothman, 1985.

Haber, Samuel. *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750–1900.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Mullett, Charles F. *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution, 1760–1776.* New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

Nelson, William E. *Americanization of the Common Law: The Impact of Legal Change on Massachusetts Society, 1760–*

*1830.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975; Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

*Samuel Haber*

## *Physicians*

From the colonial period to the 1820s, a profession of medicine existed only in a fragile and nebulous way. As late as 1776 there were perhaps 3,500 more-or-less recognizable "doctors" in the thirteen colonies, but only a tenth held a medical degree. Most of the many practitioners were highly individualistic healers. Those few who tried to distinguish themselves by education and qualification, however, turned to others of the same kind to try to establish a working identity. They always hoped for social recognition. But in a time when a physician functioned largely on the basis of personal authority, a social identity as a professional was usually a secondary consideration for him and his patients.

### BECOMING A PRACTITIONER

Many women practiced healing, but none would have been accepted as a professional at that time. Moreover, men claiming professional competence relentlessly displaced women from the mid–eighteenth century to 1830. In the cities, even midwives were losing out to male physicians.

The colonists brought with them the customs of rural practice in England. In London and other cities there were, from medieval times, formal guilds of physicians (learned people), surgeons (especially trained in manual procedures), and apothecaries (specialists in the chemistry and dispensing of medicines). But in the countryside and the colonies, all practitioners, no matter how trained, had to serve as general practitioners and acquired the identity, earned or not, of "doctor."

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the training of doctors by an apprentice system was well established. Recognized physicians (most famously Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia) took numerous students whom they exploited and instructed in a family setting. Young men who later became leading figures typically after apprenticeship went to Europe, especially to Edinburgh, for further training and a formal degree. More than a hundred physicians had returned from Edinburgh by 1800.

In 1765 John Morgan and other young physicians with Edinburgh degrees persuaded the trustees of the College of Philadelphia to open the first medical school in North America. Others followed in New York and Boston. After the War of 1812, proprietary schools began to appear.

### ESTABLISHING A PROFESSION

Meantime, local groups of medical men had already begun to organize before 1763. Like other professionals, they wished to gain special social recognition for their roles and to exclude others and control competition. They issued "fee bills," trying to set charges for standard medical procedures. Usually, local groups had only temporary successes. A medical society for a whole colony, New Jersey, was formed in 1766. It was the only colonywide society to survive the American Revolution. The attempt of John Morgan to found an intercolonial medical society in the late 1760s was unsuccessful; the group became simply another local organization in Philadelphia.

Formal licensing by government entities was first simply an endorsement of some person or another as someone with recognized qualifications as a healer. Only in the 1760s and 1770s did colonies respond to consumer concern as well as pressure from leading practitioners to use a license as a requirement rather than just an endorsement. New York passed a law for New York City in 1760. In New Jersey beginning in 1772, practitioners had to be examined by two judges to be permitted to practice.

As the decades passed, in the developed states it became customary to let the state medical society examine candidates and issue licenses (for a fee). And as medical schools were chartered, graduation often automatically entitled the graduate to a license without examination. As yet, enforcement was very weak—except that unlicensed practitioners found it difficult to collect fees in court.

As states that once belonged to France or Spain came into the Union, the highly regulated systems of licensing that had existed did not carry over very well. Furthermore, these states, and Louisiana particularly, suffered from often unseemly competition between the French and Anglo-American practitioners, so that a unified medical community did not exist.

### PROFESSIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Insofar as there was a medical profession, then, the formal institutions of medical organizations and medical schools, both utilized for licensing, were fundamental. By 1800 nine states had state medical societies. Six more appeared before 1820, and after that, midwestern and southern state societies formed. The Revolutionary War had interrupted the functioning of the medical schools, and in 1800 there

were schools only at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Columbia in New York City, Harvard in Massachusetts, and Dartmouth in New Hampshire. Over the years, only about 250 students had graduated from those schools. By 1829, over 4,000 students had graduated from American medical schools. Since a cheap and easy medical education, including a formal degree, was available by the 1820s, the institution of apprenticeship began slowly to diminish as a source of trained medical practitioners. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati in 1832 asserted, only partially inaccurately, that a license without a degree was a "certificate of inferiority."

A number of physicians in Revolutionary America and the new nation were members of the intellectual elite of the North American colonies and the new nation, contributing—like Alexander Garden of South Carolina, after whom the gardenia was named—to natural history. But their medicine remained practice oriented. Virtually all innovation came from Europe. The first medical journal, the *Medical Repository*, was not founded until 1797, and it included many matters that were not strictly medical, including perhaps the last major defense of the phlogiston theory, by Joseph Priestley, a refugee then living in Pennsylvania. By 1822, twenty-two more medical journals had been established. Most were short-lived, but they helped establish a community within which there was a growing consensus on what a medical practitioner should do, however much their actions varied in detail and application.

By the nineteenth century, there was a sufficient professional community that it could become the object of dissent and even competition. As early as 1811, Samuel Thomson of New Hampshire began to establish a botanic medicine movement as an alternative to "regular" medicine. He was able to patent his system in 1813, and he published his *New Guide to Health* in book form in 1822. Thomson also sold rights to purchasers to practice according to his system and join in "Friendly Societies" with other purchasers. After 1830 other sects, particularly the hydropaths, with their water cure, and homeopaths also began to compete with the regulars in the United States. Insofar as the botanics and the later sectarians criticized the heroic practice of the regulars who bled and purged their patients, they helped draw lines of contestation that stimulated profession formation even more than the usual empirics and quacks who abounded.

*See also* **Medicine; Patent Medicines; Work: Midwifery.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Kett, Joseph F. *The Formation of the American Medical Profession: The Role of Institutions, 1780–1860.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968.

Rothstein, William G. *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Shafer, Henry Burnell. *The American Medical Profession, 1783–1850.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Shryock, Richard Harrison. *Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860.* New York: New York University Press, 1960.

*John C. Burnham*

**PROPERTY**    According to James Madison, property has two meanings. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780) defined it as "that dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in exclusion of every other individual." Land, merchandise, or money might thus be called one's "property." But Madison rejected that narrow concept for the Republic and preferred "a larger and juster meaning" that "embraces every thing to which a man may attach a value and have a right; and *which leaves to every one else a like advantage.*" Madison was referring to what we might classify as rights, such as the right to one's religious opinions and their exercise or to "the safety and liberty of his person." For that reason, the American Revolution had begun with calls to protect "Liberty and Property," and after more than a decade and a half of political experiment with republican government, Madison in 1792 was reiterating the guiding principle that "Government is instituted to protect property of every sort; as well that which lies in the various rights of individuals, as that which the term particularly expresses." Liberty and property were inextricably connected, each necessary to the other, each an aspect of the other. Looking forward to the federal Republic newly established under the Constitution, he set the standard for evaluating the fulfillment of the Revolution: "If the United States mean to obtain or deserve the full praise due to wise and just governments, they will equally respect the rights of property, and the property in rights."

**THE FOUNDERS AND PROPERTY RIGHTS**
The founders of the Republic were drawing on a long tradition in which property guaranteed personal independence and enabled an engaged citizenry to resist the encroachment of arbitrary government power.

John Adams and others were fond of quoting Englishman James Harrington (1611–1677), who in the preceding century had written "Power always follows Property, and if the Republic was to survive, private property must be secured as a counterweight to the power of the state." Events in the newly independent states under the Articles of Confederation, however, had called that capacity into question, despite efforts to guarantee property rights. Several state constitutions had declared property a natural right or had declared that no one could be "deprived of his life, liberty, or property but by the law of the land." The new state courts largely continued to follow the common law, accepting the orthodox principle as delineated by Blackstone: "So great . . . is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorize the least violation of it." Nevertheless, legislative responses to military necessity and postwar economic difficulties forced legislatures to confiscate estates and to adopt policies that had the practical effect of taking property. They issued unsecured paper money and made it legal tender for the payment of debts regardless of its depreciated value, or stayed judicial execution of debt judgments. In the minds of many, such acts were tantamount to confiscation of property contrary to the purposes of government and threatening to the cause of liberty. "Property must be secured," warned John Adams (1735–1826), "or liberty cannot exist."

**The Federal Constitution.** The framers of the Constitution, therefore, had property rights in mind among their many concerns when they met in Philadelphia in 1787. In urging its ratification, the authors of *The Federalist* (1787–1788) referred to "property" no less than sixty-four times, concluding with Alexander Hamilton's praise in *Federalist* No. 85 of proposed constitutional "precautions against the repetition of those practices on the part of the State governments, which have undermined the foundations of property and credit." Although the Constitution itself did not use the word "property" except in reference to federal property, it contained numerous indirect protections for private property. It barred the federal government from ending the slave trade for twenty years, gave federal protection to the recapture of fugitive slaves, and denied it the power to enact export duties or bills of attainder. More extensive were its limitations on the states: addressing two of the most worrisome threats to property by the states under the Articles, the Constitution denied states the authority to issue bills of credit or impair the obligations of contract.

Even so, reluctant ratifiers demanded a written bill of rights to make explicit protections of liberty and property. Madison responded to the suggestions of the state ratifying conventions with a list of prefatory statements, including the declaration "that government is instituted, and ought to be exercised for the benefit of the people; which consists in the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right of acquiring and using property, and generally of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." Congress rejected such statements, but in what became the Fifth Amendment, it declared, "No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

**Property's social utility.** No state convention had requested a "just compensation" clause, though many states had such provisions of their own or followed the lead of the federal Constitution by enacting them in a second wave of state constitution writing. A long common law tradition, as well as the lessons of colonial experience, had demonstrated the importance of private property as the guarantor of individual freedom and the foundation of society. The sanctity of private property, that is, rested as much on its social, or public, utility as on its personal nature. Legal guarantees of the security of private property, according to the standard formulation of the time, were a socially granted right resting on a compact of the people with each other for their collective good. Throughout the colonial period, therefore, assemblies had acted in the public interest by placing limits on land speculation, on interest rates, and on the price of necessities, just as they had granted incentives to encourage the development of necessary public services. They had exercised the common law power of eminent domain for public needs, though always confined by the obligation to provide just compensation to affected owners. Vermont expressed this doctrine in 1786 when it included in its Declaration of Rights the inarguable statement "that private property ought to be subservient to public uses, when necessity requires it; nevertheless, whenever any particular man's property is taken for the use of the public, the owner ought to receive an equivalent in money."

### REDEFINING PROPERTY RIGHTS

The Revolution placed new and ultimately unbearable demands on traditional concepts such as the "public good" and on the balance between public purpose and private gain. James Wilson, lecturing on property at the new College of Philadelphia while

serving as associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, expressed traditional doctrine when he explained, "Property, highly deserving security, is, however, not an end, but a means. How miserable, and how contemptible is that man, who inverts the order of nature and makes his property, not a means, but an end!" Post-Revolutionary economic and jurisprudential thought, however, was calling into question the ability—or authority—of the state to decide whether gain from a particular use of property was an end in itself or a means to social progress. The founders had drawn their ideas of private property rights from political theory, religion, and morals, but these ideas were gradually replaced by looking at their historical origins and their general social utility.

The impulse to growth and development thus challenged ideas of property rights. Though not as complete a break as the abandonment of state involvement in religion, the state abandonment of mercantilism meant a retreat from government's former level of involvement in economic matters ranging from freedom of contract to concepts of liability. And just as religious activity exploded, so, too, did economic enterprise. The progress of the new republican society remained the goal and purpose of government and law, but its pursuit was increasingly devolving on individuals and the private sector. In the interests of national progress and the public interest, a new instrumental conception of property would change traditional notions of property rights, ranging from concepts of quiet title, vested rights, and even just compensation.

**"Public interest": A broadening concept.** What was "in the public interest," however? What was a "public use" and what test might apply to determine the proper instrumental achievement of that goal? Popular sovereignty broadened the concept of "public use" to embrace economic "improvement" and granted to private individuals authority once jealously guarded by the state. Eminent domain had once been the exclusive power of the sovereign state, but the sovereign people, acting through their elected representatives, began to grant such power to private individuals acting, presumably, in the public interest. Legislatures did not bow to all demands, and patterns of favoritism toward special interests are difficult to demonstrate. Nevertheless, in the transition from an agricultural economy to one with a vigorous commercial and manufacturing sector, development through eminent domain necessarily took place at the expense of farmers and established economic interests. If, therefore, a private enterprise increased national wealth, it arguably served the public

interest and legislatures allowed private takers to do what only the state had had the authority to do— that is, to take private property, allowing for just compensation. But what was "just compensation"? This, too, was difficult of solution, and many owners of farms felt aggrieved by the methods and principles used to calculate such value by private takers.

The impact of eminent domain on quiet title to property thus epitomized the emerging principle that private gain served the public welfare, but it was only one of many legal changes that challenged traditional ideas about property rights. The creation of the modern business corporation paralleled that development. Once a feature of municipal governance or mercantilist statism by virtue of performing a service for the state, the corporation quickly evolved in the early national period. Constitutional guarantees of the sanctity of contract, initially conceived as protecting contractual obligations between private parties, were extended to corporate grants by states to private individuals or groups. This principle was articulated most famously in the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), which protected legislative grants of incorporation against revocation by a subsequent legislature unless express provision for rescinding them had been made. No such single case advanced the next vital principle, that of limited liability, but by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, courts were protecting the property rights of investors by shielding them from the traditional remedies of creditors against their personal assets. Investors also benefited from the enactment of state bankruptcy laws. Though two attempts at a federal bankruptcy law failed in this period (statutes of 1800 and 1841 were quickly repealed), the Supreme Court helped define the scope of state laws that overcame traditional suspicions and moral disapproval of business failure. Though bitterly contested, such laws obtained the necessary sanction of public approval as conducive to the general progress of society.

One person's enjoyment of greater choice and security of property, of course, might mean another's diminished enjoyment. Although Supreme Court decisions upholding the sanctity of contract supported the principle of vested property rights, the interests of economic advancement worked against them. In the case of *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge* (1837), vested rights were forced to yield to expansion and "improvement." According to the majority opinion of Chief Justice Roger Taney, some property rights had to be sacrificed to others if the new nation was to join the ranks of world powers. The law, he

wrote, must sometimes intervene on the side of progress and enable states "to partake of the benefit of those improvements which are now adding to the wealth and prosperity, and the convenience and comfort of every other part of the civilized world." Dissenters might assail such decisions as infringements of existing property rights and principles of moral obligation, but the meaning of property itself had changed and its purpose would be subject to the play of politics.

*See also* **Anti-Federalists; Bankruptcy Law; Bill of Rights; Constitutional Convention; Corporations; *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*; Debt and Bankruptcy; Founding Fathers; Politics: Political Thought.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Balleisen, Edward J. *Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Dargo, George. *Law in the New Republic: Private Law and the Public Estate.* New York: Knopf, 1983.

Ely, James W., Jr. *The Guardian of Every Other Right: A Constitutional History of Property Rights.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Horwitz, Morton J. *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Kutler, Stanley I. *Privilege and Creative Destruction: The Charles River Bridge Case.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1971.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Stites, Francis N. *Private Interest and Public Gain: The Dartmouth College Case, 1819.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972.

White, G. Edward. *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–1835.* Abridged ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

*David Konig*

**PROPHECY**    The early Republic is something of an anomaly in American religious history. Until the Second Great Awakening arrived to revive America's flagging piety, the citizens of the early nation did not seem especially interested in religion: church attendance was at an all-time low; Anglican ministers had fled the colonies in large numbers during the Revolutionary War, and secular concerns—the formation of new governments, the explosive expansion of the market economy, unprecedented social and geographical mobility—seemed far more pressing than spiritual ones.

Yet judging by the popular interest in millennialism evident in publications, journals, and newspapers of the period, the revealed word continued to provide the yardstick by which Americans judged themselves and their new society. The United States was in the midst of a new "age of prophecy" in the 1790s and early 1800s, one which had its roots in the fears and hopes of the Revolutionary generation but which would outlast the crisis of war to become a fixed feature of public life in the new Republic. Millennialism was a legacy of the Puritan conquest of the New World, of course, but the Revolution brought long-standing millennial aspirations to a boil. Millennialism added the critical element of eschatological urgency to the Patriot cause and turned a war for national independence into a holy war against the British Antichrist. While a stream of publications prophesied doom for America's cities and the corrupt imperial establishment in the 1760s and 1770s, feeding Revolutionary demands for a greater popular voice and an end to aristocratic tyranny, a class-inflected millenarianism fueled the agrarian rebellions endemic in the backcountry until the 1820s.

Prophetic visions continued to thrive even after the heat of battle had passed. Though it is difficult to make a precise count, more than 120 men and women considered themselves, or were considered by others, to be prophets in the period from 1780 to 1815. Republican prophets tended to come in two varieties: the genteel and the vulgar. Primarily the preserve of ministers, genteel prophecy was the art of translating biblical metaphors of cataclysm and rebirth into republican analogues. Just as the American Republic promised to usher in a new age of expanded knowledge and enlightened citizenship, so too would the Second Coming of Christ inaugurate an era of universal religious enlightenment. As Samuel Hopkins described it in his *Treatise on the Millennium* (1793), the "conversation of friends and neighbors" will reform monarchical habits and create a universal brotherhood out of newly constituted citizens. This brotherhood will eventually transcend national and linguistic barriers, aided by the creation of a single universal language. "In the Millennium," he enthused, "all will probably speak *one language.*" And in time, this "universality of language will tend to cement the world of mankind so as to make them *one* in a higher degree" (Juster, *Doomsayers*, p. 159). Hopkins and his fellow republicans were cosmic optimists, preferring to spin utopian visions of global fel-

lowship rather than apocalyptic scenarios of universal destruction.

More common, perhaps, than these gentlemen scholars were the plebian prophets who combined traditional apocalyptic warnings with the language of social grievance. A typical plebian prophet is Nimrod Hughes, the scrappy ex-felon whose one publication, *A Solemn Warning to all the Dwellers Upon Earth*, published in 1811, was an instant best-seller. Federalist newspapers hailed what one called this "extraordinary prophet" who uncannily predicted the War of 1812 (even while denigrating the democratic tendency to trust the visions of ordinary men over the counsel of learned gentlemen), while republican newspapers dismissed Hughes as a "miserably dirty looking creature." Hughes's pamphlet is a fair representation of the social and economic woes of the underclasses in the early Republic. The violence, poverty, and oppression he saw all around him was caused by the machinations of "great men" (lawyers, legislators, judges, merchants, shopkeepers) who exploited the economic and political opportunities available in America's new democratic society. Christ will return in a blaze of glory (on 4 June 1812) to restore the common man to his rightful place, and when he does, the wicked will be destroyed along with the arbitrary and oppressive instruments of man's justice: "the laws shall be few, and those who compose them shall be few, and those who administer them shall be few." The voice of outraged populism that narrates *A Solemn Warning* would be heard even more loudly in the 1830s as prophets like Joseph Smith and Robert Mathews made this critique of America's new commercial and social order the cornerstone of their millenarian movements.

Disaffected Anglo-Americans were not the only ones envisioning a fiery end to the world in the early Republic. The flowering of Native America's "age of prophecy" in the 1790s and early 1800s also coincided with acute economic distress and political uncertainty in Indian country. Unlike Anglo-American millenarians, however, Indian prophets such as Handsome Lake and Tenskwatawa attached their visions to concrete political and social programs of reform; they told their followers not only to await the avenging Spirit, but to stop drinking, stop trading and intermarrying with whites, avoid intertribal violence, return to a subsistence economy, and shun all white ways. And their followers listened, creating pan-Indian alliances with other tribes in pursuit of these goals, even taking up arms in response to the prophets' calls for renewal. The fusion of visionary and military aims made the Indian age of prophecy

a far more potent political force than any movement headed by a white American in these years.

However congruent their visions, there is little evidence that these various prophetic worlds overlapped in any meaningful way in the early Republic. Each spun in its own orbit around the sun of the new federal union, generating more heat than light in the wider public culture. But if men like Nimrod Hughes and Handsome Lake do not fit comfortably with our image of the early Republic as an aggressively modernizing era, prophets from a wide variety of social and racial positions did contribute to debates over how Americans should constitute themselves as a nation and what their role should be in the new democratic world taking shape around them— debates at the very heart of public life at the dawn of the new century.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Religions; Millennialism; Mormonism, Origins of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bloch, Ruth. *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Davidson, James West. *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977.

Juster, Susan. *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

*Susan Juster*

**PROSLAVERY THOUGHT**   The new American nation began with an assertion that "all men are created equal" and that they were all entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These philosophical underpinnings of the nation challenged the legitimacy of slavery. As threatening as the philosophical challenge was the practical challenge. Slavery existed in all of the thirteen new states, but it was clearly weaker in some than in others. Many northerners found slavery immoral and in conflict with the ideology of the Revolution. The Revolution threatened slavery in other practical ways. The Continental Congress expected the states to contribute soldiers and money to the cause and wanted to assess each state's contribution according to its population.

The critical question, for southerners, was whether that population would include slaves or just free people. This issue reemerged at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. By the end of the early national period, southerners would have begun to develop a clear defense of slavery.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

In 1775 the Continental Congress began to discuss how to pay for the ongoing Revolution. John Dickinson, a Delaware Quaker, offered a draft proposal to assess a tax on each state according to its population. Southerners objected, asserting that the population count should not include slaves. Samuel Chase of Maryland, for example, argued that slaves should not be taxed any more than should the cattle of New England. John Adams answered that laborers, free or slave, all produced wealth for the state. When southerners objected, saying that slaves were not as productive as free people, James Wilson of Pennsylvania suggested, perhaps sarcastically, that perhaps, then, the slaves should all be emancipated. This led Thomas Lynch of South Carolina to assert that if the delegates were to question whether slaves were property, the entire idea of a national government would be ended.

This debate illustrated one aspect of early proslavery thought: that slaves were property and could only be considered as property, and that if anyone suggested otherwise, southerners would walk out of the nation and form their own country. Rather than defend their right to own slaves, Lynch, Chase, and other slaveholding southerners simply took the issue off the table. No one had the right, they asserted, to even question the legitimacy of slavery.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Such tactics may have worked in the rough-and-tumble of the Continental Congress, but at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, more articulate arguments had to be made. Behind the closed doors of the Philadelphia Convention, where posturing was pointless, southern delegates demanded protection for their slave property and indicated they would not support a new government without specific constitutional provisions supporting slavery. They also offered two new defenses of their institution. The first was economic. South Carolinians asserted that they could not survive without their slaves, that slavery was essential to their economy. In a debate over the African slave trade, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina asserted that a prohibition of the trade would force South Carolina and

Georgia "to confederate" on "unequal terms" and would in effect be "an exclusion of S. Carola [sic] from the Union." He declared "S. Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves." Edward Rutledge and Pierce Butler, also of South Carolina, as well as Abraham Baldwin of Georgia and Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, made similar arguments. Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, who would serve as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court after the Constitution was ratified, accepted this economic argument, refusing to debate the "morality or wisdom of slavery" and simply asserting that "what enriches a part enriches the whole." The second argument was historical. Charles Pinckney, a cousin of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, explained to the convention that the great civilizations of the ancient world, Rome and Greece, had been slave societies and that slavery was "justified by the example of all the world."

### A THREE-PRONGED DEFENSE

The new nation thus began with a three-pronged defense of slavery that would serve southerners for more than six decades. First was a political defense of the institution, which began with an implicit bargain at the Constitutional Convention. The Constitution in the end did protect slavery in many ways. The three-fifths clause, the fugitive slave clause, and the protection of the African slave trade for at least twenty years all strengthened slavery. Southerners could legitimately claim that they supported the Constitution because it acknowledged the importance of slavery. Tied to this was the claim, which held up through most of the early national period, that an attack on slavery would undermine the Union itself. Second was the emerging economic argument: the South could not survive without slavery, and so slavery was vital to the success of the nation. Southerners were quick to point out that the nation's most important exports were tobacco and rice and, after 1800, cotton—all produced by slave labor. Finally, there was the historical argument that slavery had been part of the great classical societies and so must be legitimate. The importance of so many slaveholders in the Revolution, starting with Washington and Jefferson, seemed to confirm that slavery made the American Republic possible. The argument that slavery was a "positive good," however, was not widely employed in its full-fledged version until the 1820s.

### ARGUMENTS FROM SCRIPTURE

Opponents of slavery turned to the Bible to attack the institution, but as early as the 1770s, ministers in

the colonies and in England were using the Bible to defend bondage. Biblical arguments would become more fully developed in the antebellum period, but at the time of the Revolution, slave owners could draw spiritual comfort from ministers and scholars who pointed out that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible. Richard Nisbet's *Slavery Not Forbidden by Scripture*, published in Philadelphia in 1773, was just one of a number of tracts and essays defending slavery on biblical grounds. Similarly, *Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade*, published in London in 1788, provided ammunition for slaveholders in the United States and the Caribbean, as well as slave traders in England.

### PROSLAVERY AND RACE

Ultimately, slavery, especially in the United States, was about race. In the early national period scholars on both sides of the Atlantic began to consider why Africans were different from Europeans, and if that justified slavery. Well before the Revolution, David Hume argued that mankind stemmed from separate creations. Hume was not a defender of slavery, but his theory was attractive to those who were. Scientists in the antebellum period would elaborate on this theory and conclude that blacks were innately inferior to whites. This theory was in opposition to the single Creation described in the Bible. Religious defenders of slavery rejected the idea of a separate creation. They used the story of Noah to explain the existence of Africans. They argued that blacks were the descendants of Noah's cursed grandson, Canaan. The curse of Canaan was blackness, which led to a new proslavery argument, because the curse implied that Canaan would be the servant of his brothers—in other words, a slave. Thus, by the end of the early national period proslavery theorists were arguing that the Bible not only sanctioned slavery, but that blacks were created by God after the Flood to become slaves.

Perhaps the most important proslavery argument to emerge from the new nation came from Thomas Jefferson, the man who had drafted the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration may have asserted that "all men are created equal," but in his own writings Jefferson argued otherwise. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), Jefferson asserted that "in general, their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection. To this must be ascribed their disposition to sleep when abstracted from their diversions, and unemployed in labour. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect, must be disposed to sleep of course." Absurdly,

he suggested blackness might come "from the colour of the blood." He even suggested that blacks might inbreed with the "Oran-ootan." He argued that bondage did not prevent Roman slaves from achieving distinction in science, art, or literature because "they were of the race of whites"; American slaves could never achieve such distinction because they were not white. Jefferson argued that American Indians had "a germ in their minds which only wants [lacks] cultivation"; they were capable of "the most sublime oratory." But he had never found a black who "had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw an elementary trait of painting or sculpture." Jefferson found "no poetry" among blacks. He wrote that

> comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous.

Jefferson conceded blacks were brave, but this, he believed, was due to "a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present."

Jefferson's Declaration may have undermined slavery and provided a philosophical basis for antislavery in the generation after the nation's founding. But his *Notes on the State of Virginia* helped create a scientific and racial defense of slavery that would serve masters until the Civil War and segregationists for a century after that.

*See also* **Antislavery; Constitutional Convention; Jefferson, Thomas; Racial Theory; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*. 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

———. *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South, a Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin Books, 2003.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Edited by William Peden. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955.

Robinson, Donald. *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics, 1765–1820*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970.

Tise, Larry E. *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

*Paul Finkelman*

## PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION

Prostitution—here defined as commercial sexual relations between male buyers and female sellers—developed slowly in the colonial era, but by the mid-eighteenth century it had become quite noticeable in colonial cities. Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston had prostitutes by the 1750s who worked out of taverns and brothels, catering primarily to sailors and other transients. All port cities had brothels near the waterfronts, and additional establishments were scattered elsewhere in the communities. New York, for instance, had near the future location of City Hall a brothel section called the Holy Ground (because of its proximity to St. Paul's Chapel). Rural prostitution no doubt existed in a limited way, especially with a barter arrangement between male and female, but records yield very little information about such activities. Homosexual prostitution, if it existed at all, is missing from historical accounts.

### FORMS OF PROSTITUTION

The presence of British soldiers in the colonies in the 1760s and 1770s increased the demand for prostitutes, as did the stationing in the cities of soldiers during the Revolutionary War. Commercial developments that led to a growing market economy in the early years of the nineteenth century and further economic stimulation by the War of 1812 brought thousands of unmarried men and women to port cities and industrializing towns and villages. Not only did greater numbers of women enter this line of work, but it became more diverse and specialized. By the 1820s in New York, for instance, hundreds of women prostituted themselves in dockside brothels in lower Manhattan. Above them in the prostitutes' own rankings were the streetwalkers who offered their favors to men along Broadway and other fashionable streets. They also frequented theaters, taverns, and similar businesses, finding customers to take to nearby assignation houses. Still higher in the prostitute's world were the young women with more education and refinement who lodged in the so-called fancy brothels, often located in respectable neighborhoods. These women catered to the city's elite, who came to the brothels not only for the women, but also to enjoy the lifestyle of rich furnishings and champagne. Boston and Philadelphia had similar prostitute communities.

Southern Americans boasted in the early nineteenth century that prostitution was not a problem in their region, mainly because the slave system gave white men all the sexual outlets that they needed. In New Orleans and Charleston, however, prostitutes not only operated in the usual manner, but slave and free quadroons (women who were at least three-quarters white with some African ancestry) created another occupational variation. Annual balls brought these women of color into contact with wealthy planters and businessmen, who then took the women as their mistresses, offering them homes, clothing, and other refinements and often sealing the bargain with signed contracts.

### MONEY AS THE LEADING MOTIVE

Whether a waterfront prostitute or an elegant mistress, these women chose their occupation primarily for the money. By the early nineteenth century, a new prudery concerning female sexuality put a greater value on chastity, which in turn led to "fallen" women being scorned by family and community and ending up as prostitutes, but the money factor outranked even this as a cause of prostitution. As late as the 1820s, women's jobs outside the home were few and usually offered very poor compensation. Seamstresses in American cities seldom earned more than a dollar per week, and factory workers rarely earned more than two dollars. Even educated women working as schoolteachers earned about a dollar per week. Prostitutes in waterfront dives, in contrast, made as much as twenty dollars per week, streetwalkers as much as fifty dollars, and those in elegant brothels as much as one hundred dollars. The lack of well-paying jobs for women of all classes would continue to add to the prostitutes' ranks for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

### CONTROLLING PROSTITUTION

Unless they became public nuisances, prostitutes seldom drew the attention of colonial authorities. Boston banned brothel keeping as early as 1672, not just because of the sinful behavior of prostitutes and their customers but because they were disturbing the peace. From time to time, city governments had night watchmen and marshals close the most flagrant of prostitute resorts, and mobs from the neighborhood sometimes attacked brothels as well. By the 1800s, though, as the cities began rapid expansion and population growth, prostitution drew

more opposition. In 1823 in Boston, Mayor Josiah Quincy himself led raids on the Hill, a section of the city also called Mount Whoredom. Over a hundred cases were brought to court, many involving charges of keeping a disorderly house or being a public nuisance. Occasional raids in the other cities brought arrests on similar charges.

Another approach to the problem came from the Protestant religious groups influenced by the Second Great Awakening, a sustained revival during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Attacking the sin by reforming the sinner, male and female Evangelicals supported the founding of asylums for penitent prostitutes, places where the women could be instructed in religion and trained in a respectable occupation. Based on a British institution founded in 1758, the Philadelphia asylum opened in 1800, and one in New York began operations in 1812. Although neither asylum lasted more than a few years and they redeemed no more than a few prostitutes, a major shift in dealing with prostitution was under way. Prostitutes over the next few decades would increasingly be seen not as public nuisances but as victims of poor economic conditions and male lust. Better opportunities for women seeking employment would be one goal of the men and women trying to eradicate prostitution. The other goal would be to eliminate the sexual predation of men, whether as seducers of women or as the prostitutes' customers. Also of great importance would be the growing control of the antiprostitution drive by women, who by the 1830s would see both the reclamation of prostitutes and the prevention of prostitution as reforms belonging distinctly to females.

See also **Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cohen, Patricia Cline. *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York.* New York: Knopf, 1998.

Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920.* New York: Norton, 1992.

Hobson, Barbara Meil. *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition.* New York: Basic Books, 1987.

Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

Whiteaker, Larry. *Seduction, Prostitution, and Moral Reform in New York, 1830–1860.* New York: Garland, 1997.

*Larry Whiteaker*

**PROVIDENCE, R.I.** In 1730 the population of Providence was 3,916, and the town included all of present-day Providence County west of the Blackstone River. However, so many farmers had moved into the "outlands" of Providence that three large towns (Scituate, Glocester, and Smithfield) were set off from the parent community in 1731. Before the colonial period came to a close, an inner ring of three more farm towns (Cranston, 1754; Johnston, 1759; and North Providence, 1765) were carved from Providence's territory. What remained (less than six square miles) at the head of Narragansett Bay was predominantly commercial and increasingly cosmopolitan in character.

By the 1760s Providence had a population of four thousand, a flourishing maritime trade, a merchant aristocracy, a few important industries, a body of skilled artisans, a newspaper and printing press, a stagecoach line, and several impressive public buildings. Great Britain's passage of the Sugar Act in 1764, levying a duty on sugar and molasses imports so essential to Providence distilleries and to the "triangular trade" in rum and slaves, set in motion a wave of local protest that crested in 1776. As the colonies edged toward the brink of separation with England, the town of Providence, urged on by local pamphleteers calling for autonomy, became a leader of the resistance movement.

In June 1772 Providence merchants and sailors burned the customs sloop *Gaspée*, and in June 1775 they burned tea in Market Square. Providence citizens led the way in calling for the Continental Congress and in founding a Continental navy. Providence escaped enemy occupation, a fate that arrested growth in Newport, the colony's largest town. French troops moved in and out of Providence from July 1780 to May 1782, and it was from this point, in June 1781, that Rochambeau's army began its fateful march southward to Yorktown. After the war ended, Providence resumed its pattern of growth. When American ships were barred from the British West Indies in 1784, local merchants replaced this important colonial trading partner with ports in Latin America and Asia.

Providence moved into the front rank of the new nation's municipalities, first as a bustling port and then as an industrial and financial center. Providence merchants, especially the Brown family, accumulated the investment capital to sponsor experiments in manufacturing. In 1790 Samuel Slater, the Browns' protégé, initiated the transition, completed by the 1830s, from maritime to manufacturing activity as

the heart of Providence's economy. Providence's four major areas of manufacturing endeavor—base metals and machinery, cotton textiles, woolen textiles, and jewelry and silverware—were established by 1830, and for the next century they dominated the city's economy, making Providence the industrial leader of the nation's most industrialized state. Providence owed this primacy to its superior financial resources and banking facilities, its position as the hub of southeastern New England's transportation network, and especially to its skilled workforce and enterprising business leaders.

In January 1801 the city suffered a disastrous fire that destroyed thirty-seven buildings on South Main Street. The Great Gale of September 1815 left the entire waterfront in shambles. The War of 1812 brought hardship to commerce, and the Panic of 1819 interrupted economic recovery. Most serious, however, were the town's internal growing pains. In 1820 the population of Providence reached 11,745. By 1830 the number of inhabitants had jumped to 16,832, of whom 1,213 (7.2 percent) were black. During the 1820s, tensions increased between the white working class and the black community. The fact that blacks were stripped of the right to vote in 1822 and were segregated by the Providence School Law of 1828 intensified their resentment.

In September 1831 a race riot erupted, beginning with a clash between some rowdy white sailors and blacks living in Olney's Lane. This four-day episode, in which five men died, was the final catalyst for municipal change. A town meeting on 5 October 1831 decided to adopt a city form of government, and the General Assembly agreed. In November the charter was issued and ratified by the town's electorate. In 1832 Providence became a city with a mayor-council form of government that replaced the traditional town meeting.

*See also* **Manufacturing; New England; Rhode Island.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cady, John Hutchins. *The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence, 1636–1950.* Providence: Book Shop, 1957.

Conley, Patrick T., and Paul R. Campbell. *Providence: A Pictorial History.* Norfolk, Va.: Donning Company, 1982.

Greene, Welcome A., comp. *The Providence Plantations for Two Hundred and Fifty Years.* Providence: Reid, 1886.

Stokes, Howard K. *The Finances and Administration of Providence, 1636–1901.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1903; New York: AMS Press, 1983.

*Patrick T. Conley*

**PUBLIC OPINION**   On 16 April 1816 the Washington *National Register* carried a bitter comment by Napoleon Bonaparte, as he was departing for exile: "A new power has started up in every country, which is called public opinion, from the empire of which no person can withdraw himself, and to whose tribunal governments themselves instantly appeal." The rise of this new power of public opinion was a central part of the history of the United States from the 1750s to the 1820s. As in Europe, the ideas and practices of public opinion in America emerged with the rise of the newspaper press and the civil associations of what is now called the public sphere. But in the early United States the concept of public opinion had both a longer history and a more complicated relationship with revolution and nation building. And by 1829 the question of who exactly the American public was, and what sorts of opinions it might have, was about to explode in complexity.

**AN EMERGING COLONIAL PUBLIC AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

The idea that a "public" existed and might have an "opinion" had begun to develop by the mid-eighteenth century. The basis of government in colonial America lay in charters guaranteeing rights to representation in assemblies, confirmed to the colonies at large in the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689. But such rights were limited to men of property, and even they did not necessarily have the information that would allow them to form opinions that would mark them as "public men." Opinions abounded, but they were effectively the privileges of officially recognized bodies: judges, juries, assemblies, governors, churches. Public authorities deferred to what they called the "sense of the people" or the "minds of the people," but not to "public opinion." But by the early eighteenth century, as in English provincial towns, a specific but unrecognized public began to appear within the ranks of the "people." By 1760 there was a total of eighteen newspapers being printed in the colonies. Distinct public spheres comprised of these newspapers and small clubs and societies began to emerge in the leading colonial seaport towns, providing a field of information, commentary, and debate to an emerging "informed public." In the highly literate northern seaports this public spread beyond the bourgeois respectability of the merchant and master artisan to include women and laboring men. But in the vast stretches of the early American farming towns and counties the emergence of such a public was far more limited, both by the lack of print and a variable litera-

cy: stronger in rural New England, it was weakest in the plantation South and the arc of the frontier backcountry.

These colonial patterns shaped American politics during the imperial crisis and the opening of the Revolution. The emergence of an American public was just strong enough to fool the British, but just weak enough to permit divisions among the colonials. The British government, under the ministry of George Grenville, assumed that Americans were divided by colonial boundaries and unable to generate a unified resistance to the Stamp Act in 1765. These assumptions were foiled by the network of newspapers, themselves targeted by the act with a wide array of other paper documents, which worked to shape a common resistance in the seaport towns and circles of planter gentry. On the other hand, people in more remote regions poorly supplied with news often had only the vaguest notions of the issues at stake. During the ensuing era of the Townshend Act resistance beginning in 1767, and then under the Articles of Association in the fall of 1774, opinion certainly was shaped by the growing number of newspapers, thirty-seven in 1775, but also by the threat of force. Individuals throughout the colonies were confronted with the demands of committees that they sign articles of nonconsumption or Continental Association, while printers not supporting the American cause were driven out of business. Once the war broke out state legislatures imposed a level of censorship on print to maintain the cause. Although Thomas Paine appealed to the "Common Sense" of the American people, that sense was shaped by the imperatives of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary force. During eight years of war that "sense of the people" was sharply divided: historians still accept the basic thrust of John Adams's sober assessment that during the Revolution a third of Americans had been Patriots, a third Tories, and a third disaffected.

### CONFEDERATION AND CONSTITUTION: COMPETING UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE PUBLIC
During the Confederation that followed the war, American opinion was fragmented, volatile, and controversial. Within the federated states the ranks of the public had been widened as much by Revolutionary mobilization as the growing number of newspapers. It manifested a spirit of populist democracy, and in state after state majorities of voters elected legislatures that protected the assets of poor households against the pressure of private and public debt. This Confederation-era state politics, unfolding in small, face-to-face legislative districts, derived more from the militia field than the newspaper.

The campaign to write and ratify a national constitution in 1787–1788 tipped the balance toward the beginnings of a recognizably modern understanding of public opinion. The Federalist proponents of the Constitution won ratification in critical states, most importantly New York, by the narrowest of margins, and after a full-scale effort in the press, where the printers almost uniformly supported the Federalist cause. This advantage contributed to their sweeping victory in the first federal elections, and in the first years of the 1790s the printers of what were now roughly ninety newspapers worked to shape a remarkable consensus of support for the new federal Republic.

### PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC
The federal constitution had established not just a national government but a national context of publicity, shaped by a new national system of mail. As a national politics emerged, the old corporate language of the "people" began to give way rapidly to a new language of the "public": the terms "public opinion" and "public mind" appeared in American newspapers and magazines with accelerating frequency, surging with each presidential election. The Federalists in power attempted to manage this opinion with the founding of the *Gazette of the United States*: they hoped to build a political order in which voters chose lawmakers but articulated no opinions regarding the policies of government. Opposition soon emerged: as soon as Alexander Hamilton presented his plan for a national bank, Jefferson and his Democratic Republican followers demanded that voters think for themselves and form their own independent opinions, the central goal of the Democratic societies of 1793–1794. Although the Federalists decried the Republican efforts as factional—raising "passion" and "party" against "reason" and good government, and "inflaming" and "corrupting" public opinion—they themselves mobilized public opinion in organizing a wave of petitioning to ensure the funding of Jay's Treaty in 1796.

Jeffersonian appeals to opinion—and the possibility of war with France—precipitated the Federalist effort at suppression, the Sedition Act of 1798, which made the writing or publishing of criticism of the government punishable by fines and imprisonment. The Jeffersonians were not cowed. The historian Jeffrey Pasley has demonstrated that Republican newspapers spread even more rapidly after the Sedition Act than before it, and the arrest and conviction of twenty-five editors merely provided a wider sense of outrage. A host of young men taking up political

printing in the months before the election of 1800—publishing many of the roughly 230 newspapers in circulation—narrowly swung the popular vote to Jefferson's Republicans. This generational experience launched the career of many a political editor, as this cohort became the foundation of political opinion making for both Democratic and the National-Republican/Whig Parties.

The seesaw of repression and mobilization of 1798–1800 crystallized the emerging role that the scholar David Waldstreicher has ascribed to the early political parties: Federalist and Republican visions became the vehicles for competing understandings of the nation and the purposes of its government. But the concept of public opinion retained an ambiguity that it may not have shed to this day. Although made up of millions of individual opinions, "public opinion" was still conceived in monolithic terms. Even after Jefferson's election, political parties were seen as illegitimate factions of interested men that in some way violated the reason of the true public. The press labored under the threat of libel suits brought by both Republicans and Federalists for partisan purposes. Exactly when Americans began to be truly comfortable with the legitimacy of opposing opinion is a matter of some debate among historians. Whereas the historian Richard Hofstadter has argued that partisan opinion was accepted in the United States by the 1820s, a number of other historians have dissented, arguing that many Americans into the 1830s were uncomfortable with party and organized political opinion, and saw it as undermining a broader, more legitimate public opinion.

Throughout this era, stretching back into the mid-eighteenth century, the emerging idea of public opinion had had other limits and boundaries. It was still assumed to be the domain of propertied, literate respectability. But in the 1820s the boundaries around public opinion were beginning to be challenged by "counter-publics," as women, free blacks, and unpropertied labor were beginning to be heard and read in public. These first tentative developments in the 1820s anticipated an explosive transformation of public discourse in the 1830s, and the emergence of a truly modern configuration of public opinion.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; American Character and Identity; Articles of Confederation; Constitutionalism: American Colonies; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalism; Federalist Party; Federalists; Hamilton, Alexander; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Newspapers; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Parties and the Press; Popular Sovereignty; Press, The; Print Culture; Revolution: Social History; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Townshend Act.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Barker, Hannah, and Simon Burrows, eds. *Press, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760–1820.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Brooke, John L. "To Be 'Read by the Whole People': Press, Party, and the Public Sphere in the United States, 1789–1840." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 110 (April 2000): 41–118.

Brown, Richard D. *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780–1840.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal Service from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Leonard, Gerald. *The Invention of Party Politics: Federalism, Popular Sovereignty and Constitutional Development in Jacksonian Illinois.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Starr, Paul. *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications.* New York: Basic Books, 2004.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

*John L. Brooke*
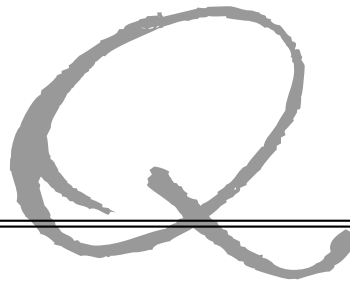
**QUAKERS**  Quakers, also known as the Society of Friends, began as a religious movement in 1652 in northern England. Religious persecution, harassment, arrest, and execution led the followers of George Fox, the pioneer of the faith, to the colonies in search of religious freedom. Seeds of the faith were first planted in the mid-Atlantic in the late seventeenth century, when the Quaker colony of West Jersey was founded. This colony was managed by William Penn (1644–1718), who in 1681 established Pennsylvania on land granted to him by King Charles II. In spite of continued persecution, the Friends moved southward to Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The popularity of the faith reached its peak during the Revolutionary era. At that time, Quakers numbered 50,000 among the total colonial population of 1,580,000.

On the question of independence, the Quakers faced trouble from both sides. The British questioned the Quakers' loyalty to the crown. The new American Patriots assumed all Friends were Tories because, as pacifists, members refused to take a stand on independence and Quaker men refused to enlist in the Continental Army. Quakers also refused to pay war taxes. Large numbers of Quakers throughout the colonies did in fact side with the Patriots. Those few Quakers who fought in the war were no longer allowed to attend meetings.

Quakerism in America did not catch on quickly or develop easily. "Missionaries" and their converts were routinely ostracized. Because of the perseverance of such Quakers as martyr Mary Dyer, hung in Boston for her beliefs in 1660, William Penn, and John Woolman, who advocated an end to slavery among fellow Quakers, the Friends made a significant impact on the development of the new nation.

### ASPECTS OF QUAKERISM

Throughout the religion's history, differences in beliefs have resulted in splits within the faith. However, the basic tenet of the faith is the concept of inner light, which holds that anyone is capable of a direct experience with God through quiet seeking and diligent searching. Quakers view men and women as equals, and both sexes participate in leading services, called meetings, whenever they are moved to speak. They do not use trained clergy. Quakers do not observe traditional sacraments like communion. They sing hymns at some pastoral meetings, but otherwise services are unusually quiet, with members searching through solitary introspection to connect with God.

Quakers in early America wore stark dress and shunned material goods such as lavish furnishings,

jewelry, and colorful clothing. Many members, through thrift and successful business practices, became wealthy and were known for purchasing goods of the finest quality but the plainest nature. Some members of the Society of Friends took strong stances on social issues: they opposed slavery, espoused pacifism, expressed concern over the treatment of Native Americans, and supported education and care of the impoverished.

### QUAKER ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

Before and after the Revolution, Quakers spoke out loudly against slavery. Members first denounced the idea of owning slaves, then encouraged members to emancipate their slaves and eventually ousted members who refused to do so. The politician John Dickinson (1732–1808), called the "penman of the revolution," succumbed to the pressures of his local meeting in Delaware and the desires of his Quaker wife and provided gradual emancipation of the slaves on his Delaware plantation.

Two leading Quaker antislavery advocates in the late eighteenth century were John Woolman, the author of *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (1754), and Anthony Benezet. Their influence extended throughout the mid-Atlantic region. After the Revolution, Quakers increased their abolitionist work. Lucretia Mott (1793–1880), an early advocate for women's rights, spoke out against slavery and the consumption of goods produced by slave labor. The journalist William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) was imprisoned for his outspoken attacks against slavery while writing for *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, edited by the abolitionist Benjamin Lundy (1789–1839).

Quaker efforts resulted in organizations dedicated to abolishing slavery: the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, Unlawfully Held in Bondage (1775); and the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race (1787). By 1784 Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends had followed the lead of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to ban the ownership of slaves among their members. In 1790 Friends presented a petition to Congress calling for the abolition of the slave trade and mounted a concerted antislavery effort to pressure the federal government in Philadelphia.

This activism caused many Quakers to be forced out of their communities in the southern colonies. As southern Quakers emancipated their slaves, they faced harsh criticism from the proslavery community. Yet the antislavery urgings of such early leaders as Woolman and Benezet kept Friends focused on ending human bondage. In many instances, the decision to free their slaves left southern Quakers destitute, while others spent small fortunes to bring lawsuits against neighbors who simply bought the slaves as quickly as the Friends freed them.

The opening of the Northwest Territory appealed to many Quakers, and a large migration began toward Ohio and Indiana. Once established in these locales, some Friends became involved in the Underground Railroad, putting Quakers in the forefront as the group most friendly to slaves. A network of safe houses and routes to freedom and Canada were established in the Midwest, out of the South, and along the mid-Atlantic coast. Quakers, non-Quakers, blacks, and whites risked their safety for the antislavery cause. One of the best-known Quakers associated with the Underground Railroad is Thomas Garrett of Delaware, who helped hundreds of runaway slaves to freedom.

### QUAKERS AND NATIVE AMERICANS

Whereas most Euro-Americans viewed Native Americans as savages, Quakers, according to their belief that all people are precious in the eyes of God, approached Native American relations with the same level of respect they offered to their fellow Society members. During the period of Western expansion, Quakers lived in harmony with Native Americans and established trade and business relations with them. Non-Quakers' disdain for Native Americans sometimes resulted in violent conflicts, but Quakers had no such problems on the frontier.

### FACTIONALISM

As some Quakers started to place emphasis on evangelical matters and called for meetings to develop more fundamental interpretations of the Bible, rumblings of discontent spread through the Quaker community. Historically, Quakers shunned the idea of forced doctrine. A relatively uneducated but pious farmer, Elias Hicks, vehemently opposed the changes being forced upon the faith. In 1827, when a resolution could not be reached and the more powerful elders of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting blasted Hicks, the Quaker church split into two factions: the Hicksite Movement and the Orthodox. Further divisions took place during the years to follow.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America.* Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1999.

Hamm, Thomas D. *The Quakers in America.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Woodman, Charles M. *Quakers Find a Way: Their Discoveries in Practical Living.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950.

*Shaun-Marie Newcomer*

**QUARTERING ACT** The Quartering Acts of 1765, 1766, and 1774 were among the measures implemented by Parliament to reorganize the empire after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). In 1764, the commander in chief of the British Army in America, Thomas Gage, asked Parliament to extend the Mutiny Act—the constantly renewed law that allowed Britain to retain a peacetime standing army inside the realm—to the colonies. Gage hoped that the law would clear up any uncertainty as to how the army would be housed in peacetime, since Americans had never before had to consider the infrastructure problems caused by the presence of a standing army. During war, local officials had quartered and supplied troops according to necessity, an informal arrangement that traditionally had included the practice of quartering troops in private homes. Gage sought to formalize this ad hoc system.

Parliament passed the first Quartering Act in March 1765 for a two-year term. It required the American colonies to provide housing and supplies for the army. The following year, a second, more extensive act instructed officials in America to purchase any available vacant buildings for troop quarters—at provincial expense. Despite popular misunderstanding, the act actually banned the policy of using private homes as a cheaper alternative to quarter soldiers. In the charged atmosphere of 1766–1767, many Americans interpreted the Quartering Act simply as another form of unjust taxation.

Because the Quartering Act left the details up to the colonial assemblies, it proved easy to evade: legislatures simply did not have to grant the needed funds. This is exactly what the New York assembly did in December 1766. Even though several colonies had resisted the act, Parliament decided to make an example of New York, passing the Restraining Act of 1767, which suspended the New York assembly until it complied with the Quartering Act. While compromise prevented the actual dissolution of New York's legislature, Americans understood the dangerous implications of the Restraining Act.

Parliament passed a third Quartering Act on 2 June 1774 as one of the Intolerable Acts to punish Boston for its Tea Party. Because Boston had no barracks, British troops since their arrival in 1768 had been quartered in Castle William, a fort on an island in the harbor, rather than in the city itself. The Quartering Act of 1774 sought to amend this situation, stipulating that colonial authorities provide quarters on the spot of their assignment. Officers were also given the right to refuse unsuitable housing and permission to possess vacant locations if requests were not granted within twenty-four hours.

Although Americans generally condemned the Intolerable Acts, reaction to the Quartering Act was mild compared to the other measures. Still, the act and the threat of a standing army that it represented constituted part of the revolutionaries' justification for resistance. The Declaration of Independence included both the Quartering and Restraining Acts in its list of grievances against the king. The Bill of Rights, moreover, reassured Americans that they would not have to face a similar threat. The Third Amendment states that "no Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law."

*See also* **Bill of Rights; Intolerable Acts.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ammerman, David. *In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974.

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Hoffman, Ronald, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *The Bill of Rights: Government Proscribed.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

Shy, John W. *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

*Robert G. Parkinson*

**QUASI-WAR WITH FRANCE** The first foreign war fought by the United States under the Constitution was an undeclared naval conflict with France known as the Quasi-War (1798–1801). The young Republic was nominally allied to France under a 1778 treaty negotiated during the American Revolution. Although French leaders did not expect the United States to enter the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1801), they did expect the new nation to pursue a pro-French foreign policy. When the

United States in 1794 signed the Jay Treaty, a commercial agreement with Great Britain, France felt betrayed. When the young Republic ratified the treaty the following year, France severed diplomatic (although not consular) relations and unleashed its warships and privateers on American commerce around the globe. France's aims were to bully the United States into repudiating the Jay Treaty and to loot American commerce.

In 1797 President John Adams sought to negotiate an end to the depredations by dispatching a diplomatic mission to Paris. But as a price for talking to the American delegation, the French government demanded an apology, a $220,000 bribe, and a $12 million loan. The American envoys rejected these demands. Because the secret agents who delivered the French demands were designated X, Y, and Z in the diplomatic report sent back to the United States, this matter was ever thereafter known as the XYZ affair. Many Americans responded with the defiant slogan "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

Outraged by the French shakedown attempt as well as the continued depredations at sea, Congress in 1798 authorized limited hostilities. American warships were authorized to attack armed French vessels, and American merchant vessels were permitted to arm for defense. This response proved remarkably effective. Under the direction of the newly created Navy Department, American warships, operating mainly in the Caribbean (where most of the French depredations had occurred), captured or defeated eighty-six armed French ships and recaptured seventy American merchantmen while losing only one warship. Armed merchantmen took eight additional armed French vessels and recaptured six prizes. More important, they fought off or scared off countless French cruisers that threatened them.

France had no interest in waging a war that might undermine its war effort against Great Britain. Hence, in 1799 France's new leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, indicated an interest in peace. Against the wishes of many fellow Federalists, Adams responded by sending a diplomatic mission to Paris. The result was the Convention of 1800, which called for the United States to waive millions of dollars in claims for the French depredations that had occurred since 1795. In exchange for this concession, France agreed to suspend the treaty of alliance (as well as a companion treaty of commerce) that had bound the two nations together since 1778. The ratification of the Convention of 1800 the following year brought the Quasi-War to an end.

This limited war was soon forgotten, although it demonstrated how, given just the right circumstances, a second-rate power might work its will on a great power. Not only was France preoccupied with its British war, but the Royal Navy kept the French navy in check. This allowed the U.S. Navy to conduct a successful campaign in the Caribbean, shutting down the French war on American commerce there and driving down marine insurance rates. The navy also showed the flag in European waters as well as the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In addition, American merchantmen demonstrated that with a few naval guns and the will to use them, it was possible to scare off the small French privateers that were looking for easy prey. All in all, the war was a remarkable vindication of sea power for the fledgling Republic and served notice on Europe of a rising naval power in the West.

*See also* **Adams, John.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Gardner W. *Our Naval War with France.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.

DeConde, Alexander. *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797–1801.* New York: Scribner, 1966.

Palmer, Michael A. *Stoddert's War: Naval Operations during the Quasi-War with France, 1798–1801.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

*Donald R. Hickey*

**RACIAL THEORY** European prejudices against Africans are ancient. But systematic, socially significant explanations of racial difference—racial theory—began in the late eighteenth century. Such rationalizations of race played an increasingly important role in the escalating race and slavery debates that ran from the Revolution to the Civil War.

In the eighteenth century, as long before, most Europeans and European Americans believed that Africans descended from Adam and Eve and were thus fully human. Departures from the supposed white human norm were seen as functions of environment. In keeping with the idea that acquired characteristics are inherited, the hot African sun and African "savagery" had made "blacks" biologically distinct, ugly, and stupid. Only in the era of "all men are created equal" and the American Revolution was antiblack prejudice first seriously challenged, and only then did Anglo-Americans countenance the idea of universal emancipation. Intellectually, the challenge to prejudice came in terms of instances of accomplished blacks. According to the Enlightenment philosopher John Locke, humanity was defined by the possession of reason and imagination. Hence African Americans of high achievement—such as the Boston slave poet Phillis Wheatley and the Maryland mathematician Benjamin Banneker, who helped sur-

vey the site of the District of Columbia and published a noted almanac—seemed to prove that blacks were fully human, created equal. So did the tens of thousands of African Americans who fled to British lines and were promised freedom during the Revolution itself.

The initial white response was not to deny human unity and descent outright. Instead, prominent European Americans like Thomas Jefferson argued that, whatever explained black inferiority, blacks were now too distinctly marked ever to become American citizens with full political rights. Either they had to remain in bonds or they had to be sent away through some sort of program of gradual emancipation and forced emigration. Otherwise, as Jefferson proclaimed in his intensely prejudiced 1785 book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (which came close to denying human unity), race war would ensue:

> Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.

One of Jefferson's harshest white critics, the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) president Samuel Stanhope Smith also feared slave insurrection and

race war, and championed an all-white America. Smith's *Essay on the Causes of Variety of Complexion* (1810) was the most important early American scientific statement on race; according to Smith, blacks could become true Americans only if they whitened up or intermarried with whites.

Thus, as American racial lines hardened into a stark black-versus-white divide, people of African descent became a fundamental challenge to the existing social order. Among Africans in the New World, a consciousness of "blackness" across the Atlantic world grew in response to the horrors of the Middle Passage and New World slavery as well as to the unfulfilled promise of "all men are created equal." Soon blackness combined with egalitarianism to yield a new "black" nation. The first great successful slave rebellion in world history, the Haitian Revolution, destroyed the French sugar colony of Saint Domingue and established the "black republic" of Haiti in 1804. American slave rebels like Gabriel Prosser wanted to follow suit in the United States. Slaveholders made the "horrors of Saint Domingue" into a bogey; American white abolitionists and early African American protest writers like the Freemason Prince Hall and, later, the contributors to the first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, published from 1827 to 1829, championed the Haitian rebels as black George Washingtons. All the while, the complex multiracial—black, mulatto, white—dynamics of Haitian events were ignored. By the 1820s African Americans like the *Journal* writers were drawing on the same French Enlightenment sources cited by Haitians to argue that the founders of civilization themselves, in Ancient Egypt, had been black. In this view, black people were fully equal and deserved a place in the new nation without having to whiten up. If anything, Bostonian David Walker proclaimed in his incendiary 1829 *Appeal*, a call for messianic slave rebellion in the United States, blacks might claim racial superiority over whites, who had always been "an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and bloodthirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority." Walker, however, also held the door open to racial reconciliation in the United States.

It is hard to know to what degree Walker's brand of African American black racialism was deeply felt or whether he was being provocative. It is, however, indisputable that such blackness shaped white racial thought. Walker and the *Journal* writers were instrumental in convincing William Lloyd Garrison and other white reformers to abandon gradualism and emigration and champion immediate emancipation and black citizenship. Hence the radical aboli-

tionist movement was multiracial from the start. The path of racial theory was one of constant intensification. The ambiguity and hypocrisy of the Jeffersonian era gave way to increasingly sharp and explicit expressions of "hard" racism, antislavery, and proslavery, leading to the Civil War and Emancipation.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Abolition Societies; African Americans: African American Responses to Slavery and Race; Antislavery; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Jefferson, Thomas; Proslavery Thought; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Women: Writers.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bay, Mia. *The White Image in the Black Mind: African-American Ideas about White People, 1830–1925.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Dain, Bruce. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Fredrickson, George. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914.* New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

*Bruce Dain*

## RADICALISM IN THE REVOLUTION

"Radical" stems from the Latin *radix*, root. Politically it means addressing matters from their roots. Within the American Revolution there was no single radical position from beginning to end. The word radical can apply equally well to deep criticism of both the British-American social order and British policies during the pre-Revolutionary crisis. It also can describe the various visions people formed of the new America that the Revolution made possible.

### COLONIAL TENSIONS

Broadly speaking, pre-independence radicalism was "conservative," seeking to turn back changes that Britain sought to impose. But colonial radicalism also drew on presumptions that a great deal was wrong with the world as it was. One source, especially among New England intellectuals, was the heritage of Puritanism, which had overturned the mon-

archy, beheaded King Charles I, and abolished the House of Lords. "Commonwealth" or "real Whig" English writers were profoundly suspicious of all political power and the people who wielded it. Provincial American readers devoured their caustic criticism of "Old Corruption," as they described the political settlement in Georgian Britain.

Underpinning these (and other) intellectual traditions was a generalized belief that good communities were small, cohesive places where local customs governed relations among neighbors and kin. White colonials believed in private property and took part in long-distance markets; but they had not become fully capitalist. Colonial plebeian culture drew on Britons' deep popular suspicion of country lords, city financiers, and others who lived on poor people's labor. Just as British pamphleteers helped fuel elite colonial suspicions, migrants and seafarers helped keep popular traditions alive. Pre-Revolutionary English "liberties" were privileges that went with a given situation. White colonial males could tell themselves that the "liberty" of having their own political institutions gave them British freedom under the crown equivalent to the freedom their fellows "at home" enjoyed under Parliament. Their "liberty" of owning slaves was denied to Britons within "the realm" of England, Scotland, and Wales. Native people dealing with the invasion of their land had no love for the colonial order. Nor did Africans and their American-born children, who were enslaved to make that land productive. Given any chance, they said so. Kingship did offer a way to comprehend the whole situation: society was unequal, and liberties were uneven, but a benevolent British monarch, limited by Parliament, did protect his people. Or so official ideology maintained.

### REVOLUTIONARY PROTESTS

During the imperial crisis elite protest writing was distinctly provincial, responding to problems of taxation, legislation, and power that the British authorities posed. Consider the Boston politician and pamphleteer James Otis. Although his fundamental attitude toward British power was outrage, he remained trapped within the notion that Parliament, the source of English liberty, remained the ultimate voice in determining the colonials' version of British freedom The contradiction between that belief and the hard reality that Parliament claimed the power to bind colonials "in all cases whatsoever" helped tear his unstable mind apart.

Thomas Jefferson's first pamphlet, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), cut

through much of the tangle. He abandoned all the complexities of internal and external taxation, taxation and legislation, colonial privilege and parliamentary power that had bedeviled previous protests. He asserted a full equality of rights between (white) Americans and Britons. They were separate peoples, linked only by a shared monarch, who reigned over them on their own terms by their own consent. Jefferson's pamphlet prefigured both his tone and his arguments in the Declaration of Independence two years later. Without fully realizing it, he was opening the question of how an independent America should structure itself. His style was forceful: "Let those flatter who fear, it is not an American art." He understood that a deep crisis had opened and that old arguments had become useless.

Thomas Paine published his great pamphlet *Common Sense* in January 1776, after crisis had turned into war. His prose was ferocious, not gentlemanly. The king was a "royal brute." "The weeping voice of nature" cried "'tis time to part." Jefferson and Paine alike were ardent republicans, believers in political liberty and in the idea, at least, of equality. But Jefferson tripped on the contradiction that ran through both his America and his own life, slavery. Drafting the Declaration of Independence in June 1776, he tried to blame slavery on the hapless king. It did not work, foreshadowing his lifelong failure to address the question adequately. Paine saw more clearly. In this matter the king was not at fault. As he wrote in "African Slavery in America" (1774), "We," not the king, had "enslaved multitudes," and the act was a "crime."

By 1776 many people were raising their own voices in their own interests, within a general sense that equality and liberty ought to apply to them. A New Jersey farm woman asked her soldier husband why she "should not have liberty whilst you strive for liberty." A poor Boston shoemaker who once had groveled in the presence of the wealthy merchant John Hancock now faced down both British officials and American privateer officers. Farmers in New York's Hudson Valley debated among themselves which side to choose. So did Iroquois Indians not far west of them, breaking their centuries-old Confederacy as four of their six nations chose the British side and two chose the American. Chesapeake slaves invited Virginia governor Lord Dunmore to recruit them and rallied to join his "Aethiopian Regiment." Their badges proclaimed, "Liberty to Slaves." Many other black men found freedom under American arms. After initial opposition, George Washington welcomed them. In 1781 he recognized their contri-

bution by giving a heavily black Rhode Island regiment pride of place in the final attack on British emplacements at Yorktown.

### FUTURE VISIONS

People agitating for liberty and equality did not necessarily get what they wanted. For Indians the Revolution became a disaster, whichever side they chose. After independence they faced an implacable Republic bent on acquiring their land. For black Americans it was a partial success. Slavery started to break up, and free black communities began to take shape, at least in what became "the North." Within these communities, antislavery could generate and flourish. But in the South slavery expanded and prospered, fueled by a vicious African slave trade that did not end until 1808. For many women the Revolution was a moment of opening possibilities, but it was not a moment of institutional change. Yet all of these groups were beginning to develop and press a public agenda that turned on rights and equality rather than privileges and hierarchy. They were addressing Jefferson's proposition that "all men" indeed "are created equal."

In immediate terms ordinary white men enjoyed the greatest success in asserting rights and equality for themselves. Between 1776, when the old institutions of government finally collapsed, and 1789, when the United States Constitution took effect, the fourteen separate states (including Vermont) provided the arena where such men worked out their visions and their fears. In both thought and practice one problem was giving real meaning to the abstract idea of "the People." Farmers in western Massachusetts and "mechanics" in New York City demanded in 1776 that new state constitutions be written by special conventions and ratified in special elections, rather than simply proclaimed. But only Massachusetts carried that ritual through, and it did not do so until 1780.

More than ritual was involved. In general, the state governments drastically expanded white men's political possibilities. Pressure from outside forced leaders to enlarge both representative institutions and the pool of candidates and voters. Elections would be frequent rather than at long intervals. Most states made their legislatures the dominant branches of government, on the assumption that these would do the people's will. Men who never would have gotten near the old centers of power found themselves making, interpreting, and enforcing laws.

The model of the good community continued to be the small communities people knew. But another truly radical force was emerging around those communities and their people: a national capitalist economy. Such an economy demanded stability and predictability over long distances and long periods of time. One way or another, most of the states passed laws during the late 1770s and the 1780s that tried to restrict and hamper capitalist development. Where they did not, unrest followed, most notably in the case of Shays's Rebellion in central and western Massachusetts (1786–1787).

The United States Constitution met the needs of the young nation's emerging economy. It would be a "supreme law of the land" governing all citizens equally and directly. Binding contracts, not local customs, would govern economic relationships. For that reason it won the firm support of city folk who were enmeshed in trade. The Constitution also expressed the belief of many national leaders that broad, frequent political involvement and state autonomy did not serve America's real needs. In this sense, it marked a reaction against the Revolution's radicalism. But it was completely consistent with the idea that "the American people" ought to govern itself. It left open the problem of who actually comprised that people. Thus in principle, at least, the possibility remained open that people who were excluded or made marginal during the Revolution still could claim its radical heritage for themselves.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; Antislavery; Constitutionalism: Overview; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Government: Local; Government: State; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; People of America; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Popular Sovereignty; Shays's Rebellion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, enlarged ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Countryman, Edward. *The American Revolution*, rev. ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2003.

Linebaugh, Peter, and Marcus Rediker. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.

Morgan, Edmund S. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America.* New York: Norton, 1988.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1992; Vintage Books, 1993.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

*Edward Countryman*

**RAILROADS** Although railroads dominated the American transportation network by the eve of the Civil War, their origins during the early Republic were quite modest. The first railways in the United States developed from crude systems developed by miners to transport bulky coal and ores from the mouth of the mine to a river or canal. These early rail lines consisted of wood planks placed along the route with iron rails on top to provide durability. Most of these systems were less than one mile long and used gravity—as one full cart descended the route it pulled an empty car to the top—as a form of power. The first true "railroad" appeared in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1826. Called the Granite Railroad, this three-mile-long line, which transported stone from a quarry to nearby docks, used a raised track on wooden ties and cars with flanged wheels. This line was soon followed by similar systems in Pennsylvania's anthracite coal–mining country. Although technically railroads, these early efforts used mules or a stationary steam engine to pull carts.

Early American railroads rarely came into direct competition with turnpikes or canals, which were the preferred forms of transportation through the 1830s. The comparative advantage of rail systems over water or wagon travel was the ability to climb or descend higher altitudes. Thus, many early rail lines complemented existing canal networks; for example, Pennsylvania's ambitious State Works used a railroad link on its Main Line from Philadelphia to Columbia on the Susquehanna River and employed an ingenious system of stationary steam engines pulling cars on inclined planes to provide a link over the mountains from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown. These early efforts, although costly, demonstrated that railways were more practical than boats or wagons for reaching certain areas. The replacement of horse or mule power with steam–engine locomotives by 1829, moreover, made railroads the cutting edge of transportation technology in the early Republic.

Entrepreneurs from large cities found state governments unwilling to fund the construction of railroads that could handle both passenger and freight travel, so the main investors in this new technology came from the private sector. In 1828 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad began its ambitious project of linking Baltimore to the Ohio River by railway. By 1830 the B&O had completed only thirteen miles of track; nevertheless, its directors demonstrated the viability of rail travel during a time when canals and turnpikes dominated the nation's transportation network. Investors in Boston soon followed with a plan to link Boston and Worcester with a railroad. In the year the B&O opened, only about twenty-five total miles of railroad track were in use in the United States, but several projects such as New Jersey's Camden and Amboy, South Carolina's Charleston and Hamburg, and New York's Mohawk and Hudson were under way. By 1835 more than one thousand miles of track had been created and the railroad's place as the future means of transporting passengers and goods had been established.

*See also* **Steamboat; Steam Power; Transportation: Animal Power; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; Travel, Technology of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Larson, John Lauritz. *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Stover, John. *American Railroads.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* New York: Rinehart, 1951; Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1989.

*Sean Patrick Adams*

**RAPE** Early Americans understood rape to be a crime of forced heterosexual sex—in their words, carnal knowledge of a woman against her will. Most states set ten as the age of consent, which meant that sex with a girl under ten years old was rape, regardless of her consent or resistance. For an adult victim, a rape prosecution generally required proof that she had resisted with all her might; that she had visible injuries; that she had attempted to call for help; and that she had no way to escape her attacker. Men's most common defense to a rape accusation was that the woman had consented to the sex.

For most of the eighteenth century, rape was a capital crime, punishable by death. Beginning in the

1790s many states revised their criminal codes to abolish the death penalty for many crimes. Instead of a death sentence, many states punished convicted rapists with incarceration for anywhere from ten years to life. However, southern slave states continued to punish black—slave and free—rapists with death sentences if their victims were white, even as they abolished the death penalty for white rapists. Overall, about three-quarters of the men executed for rape in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were of African descent. Black men were also sometimes executed for attempted rape, whereas white men were usually punished with a fine, whipping, or, more commonly after the Revolution, imprisonment.

Indeed, the clearest determinant of the outcome of a rape prosecution was the racial identities of the victim and defendant. In both the North and South, black men were far more likely to be charged, convicted, and executed for rape than were white men. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, black men were convicted of rape at least twice as often as were white men. Part of the reason for this discrepancy is that enslaved blacks were often tried at separate courts without the standard legal protections afforded to whites. Many colonies and states also passed laws specifically condemning to death or harsh corporal punishments slaves who attempted to rape white women. Because most states did not have statutes about white men's crime of attempted rape until after the American Revolution, many incidents of white men's attempted rapes were prosecuted as lesser charges such as fornication, lewd behavior, or simple assault.

Rape cases were often difficult for any victim to bring to court. In order to complain about sexual assaults, young victims frequently had to overcome fear, manipulation and an attacker's social or economic power over her and in the community. White women who accused white men of rape might be humiliated in public court trials that regularly disparaged the victims' chastity and virtue. Nonwhite (especially African American) victims almost never brought successful prosecutions against white or black rapists. More than 95 percent of identifiable victims in rape prosecutions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were white. Although African American women could theoretically ask for legal redress for a rape, white communities and courts generally did not value African American women's sexual chastity enough to prosecute such cases. Further, many colonies and states did not allow slaves to testify against white defendants, which made rape convictions of such men exceedingly difficult. Accordingly, historians have been unable to find a single conviction of a white man for raping an enslaved woman during this period. Courts and law enforcement officials usually ignored the rape of slaves by other slaves, although some individual masters punished such behavior.

*See also* **Capital Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Interracial Sex.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Block, Sharon. "Lines of Color, Sex, and Service: Comparative Sexual Coercion in Early America." In *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History.* Edited by Martha Hodes. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Dayton, Cornelia Hughes. *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Fischer, Kirsten. *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Snyder, Terri L. *Brabbling Women: Disorderly Speech and the Law in Early Virginia.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003.

*Sharon Block*

**RATIONALISM** Rationalism was a cultural movement from 1750 to 1820 that questioned social and intellectual traditions. Although rationalism did not reject tradition completely, it encouraged criticism of traditional laws, ideas, and social practices. Such criticism helped precipitate social and political change after 1750. One such change concerned the traditional privileges of aristocracy. Most rationalists were not aristocrats but were associated with the trading or commercial classes of the bourgeoisie. As such, rationalists often criticized aristocratic practices such as using birth or family lineage to determine a person's social position. In his *Autobiography* of 1771, the rationalist and American Revolutionary Benjamin Franklin boasted that his talent and merit, not his lineage, determined his social position in late-eighteenth-century Philadelphia. He suggested that talent and social mobility, not birth and traditional privilege, should characterize American society.

In addition to aristocratic practices, rationalists criticized intellectual traditions. Rationalists particularly opposed traditional religious ideas about human nature. The most influential of these ideas in 1800 were the orthodox Protestant ideas of Calvin-

ism. Although originating with the sixteenth-century reformer John Calvin, Calvinism remained influential in America even after 1800. Calvinists held that human nature was inherently sinful and that human beings depended on God's grace for moral improvement. Rationalists scorned such ideas. They even replaced the traditional religious language of sin and grace, which suggested human dependence on God, with secular words like virtue and vice, which suggested human free will. One such rationalist was the American Founder Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson argued that human beings were not inherently sinful because they possessed "moral sense." This sense, he maintained, was part of human nature, enabling human beings to recognize virtue and pursue moral improvement without special grace or redemption from God.

For rationalists, such particular criticisms of aristocratic convention or traditional religion were not unrelated. They both derived from the rationalist principle that society was of human origin. Rationalists argued that the laws and institutions of society were not of divine origin or reflections of God's will, as many traditional writers had asserted. Instead, rationalists argued that society's laws and institutions were the product of human history, or the result of human decisions in history.

This emphasis on the human origins of society informed rational criticisms. By insisting that society's institutions and laws were the result of human decisions, and not part of an immutable order, rationalists challenged those institutions and laws as mere human creations. Rationalists thus challenged the legal privileges of aristocracy as merely the product of aristocratic decisions in political history. The aristocracy, they charged, made the laws of aristocratic privilege. Rationalists similarly criticized the clergy. They viewed the clergy as possessing power and prestige because clerical leaders had influenced the political decisions of history. One rationalist who expressed these critical views was the American Revolutionary John Adams. In 1765 Adams published *A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law*, in which he condemned the history of aristocratic and clerical power as a history of "civil and ecclesiastical tyranny."

The rational view of society also promoted confidence in reform. By describing institutions and laws as the product of past decisions, rationalists expressed confidence in the human ability to change those decisions and reform their society. Such confidence was evident in the writings of Thomas Paine. In *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, Paine characterized the long-established institution of monarchy as merely a form of tyranny. He thus sought to convince Americans to reform their politics not simply by declaring independence, which they did in July 1776, but also by creating a new kind of government based on rights rather than kings.

Rationalists expressed a confidence in human ability both in their religion and their politics. By the early nineteenth century, religious rationalism developed into Unitarianism. Unitarians were optimistic about human nature and encouraged individuals to use reason and moral sense rather than traditional doctrines as guides to individual and social life. Unitarians thus sought to replace the traditional Christian doctrine of the Trinity—God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—with a "united" or indivisible notion of God, which they viewed as more rational. Unitarianism was particularly influential among the merchant classes of Boston. The leading Boston Unitarian was William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). In 1819 Channing published *Unitarian Christianity*, in which he expressed many essential features of rationalism. He emphasized the human ability to use the free and rational faculties of human nature for moral self-improvement and social reform.

*See also* **Adams, John; Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Jefferson, Thomas. *Thomas Jefferson: Political Writings.* Edited by Joyce Appleby and Terence Ball. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Paine, Thomas. *Political Writings.* Edited by Bruce Kuklick. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Sanford, Charles B. *The Religious Life of Thomas Jefferson.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984.

Zuckert, Michael P. *The Natural Rights Republic: Studies in the Foundation of the American Political Tradition.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.

*Christopher S. Grenda*

**RECREATION, SPORTS, AND GAMES** By 1750 sport and recreation had become an important part of everyday life in colonial America. The settlers who came to North America brought with them the love of games and amusements that characterized "Merrie Olde England," but recreation had to give way to the creation of a new society in an intimidating and dangerous environment. Early on in both the

**A Music Party.** This engraving by Paul Revere served as the frontispiece for *The New England Psalm-Singer* (1781), a book of vocal compositions by William Billings. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Massachusetts Bay Colony and Jamestown, leaders felt compelled to "suffer no Idle persons" and to adopt laws "in detestation of idleness." During the early decades of settlement, strict proscriptions against dancing, bowling, dice and cards, and the playing of games of ball were imposed, although enforcement was sporadic. As the colonies developed stable economic and social foundations, however, such prohibitions broke down and colonists of all classes engaged in a wide range of games and amusements.

By the mid-1700s distinctive regional patterns for individual and organized sport had taken root. Attempts to enforce seventeenth-century laws prohibiting popular leisure activities had long since ended. Interest in sports grew with rising income levels and a growing colonial economy that made leisure activities more attractive. To their credit the Pu-

ritans in Massachusetts and Connecticut had sought, with varying degrees of success, to outlaw "butcherly sports" like cockfighting and animal baiting, although it has been said that they banned them not so much because of the sufferings of animals but the pleasure the practice gave spectators. Such prohibitions grew out of the essential work ethic of Calvinism: games might provide amusement, but they detracted from the labor that had to be accomplished in field and shop. Nonetheless, the erosion of theocratic control meant that New Englanders increasingly enjoyed their dancing, cards, and dice, even an occasional horse race. Children were encouraged to engage in vigorous activities, especially hunting and fishing for the boys. Young males also played a ball and stick game of "rounders," the precursor to baseball, and "foot-ball," which was somewhat akin to modern soccer and rugby. Swimming was a popular

***Barroom Dancing*** **(1820) by John Lewis Krimmel.** Americans, such as these Pennsylvanian farmers, regularly participated in dancing and parlor games, creating tensions between traditional Puritan values and the widespread popularity of such amusements. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

summer pastime, as was ice skating in winter. Girls were generally cautioned against vigorous exercise after reaching puberty and encouraged to prepare for early marriage by playing with dolls and learning from their mothers the skills of housekeeping and cooking. By the eve of the Revolution, New Englanders regularly participated in dancing and parlor games, challenging traditional Puritan values. In the mid–1750s the young Boston lawyer John Adams found such dalliances disconcerting but inevitable: "Let others waste their bloom of life at the card or billiards table among rakes and fools," he grumbled. Nor did he appreciate the popular pastime of dancing: "I never knew a dancer good for anything else."

In the middle colonies the Dutch Calvinist and Quaker influences initially put a damper on exuberant play, but later people enjoyed whist, croquet, tennis, lawn bowling, and badminton, even a rudimentary game played with "gouff sticks." In both New England and the middle colonies, taverns served as a center for organized events, their owners arranging horse races, cockfights, wrestling matches, and bowling contests to attract customers. The taverns also were the natural home for ongoing games of checkers, dice, darts, shuffleboard, and cards, serving as precursors of the organized men's athletic clubs that would appear in the mid-nineteenth century. The increased number of laws passed during the early eighteenth century in New England prohibiting popular recreations suggests that more people were engaging in these activities more often.

As the Calvinist leadership valiantly but vainly sought to focus its people on a life of solemn industriousness, conversely the dominant Anglican culture in the Tidewater encouraged the playing of games. From the earliest days of settlement, members of the southern aristocracy consciously sought to emulate the landed aristocracy of England, where

life revolved around horses, hunting, drinking, and gambling. The slave-owning classes of Maryland and Virginia felt compelled to work hard at their play because their slaves did the arduous work. Women supervised the household and went on continuous rounds of visiting, card parties, balls, and banquets; men oversaw work in the tobacco fields and enjoyed gambling (often high stakes) at cards, dice, backgammon, cockfights, lawn bowling, and especially horse races.

Quality horses were central to the lives of the slave-owning class. Ownership of a spirited and elegant horse in colonial America was the equivalent of possession of a sleek automobile in the twentieth century—it set a gentleman apart. In emulation of the British country gentry, the southern male aristocrat relished riding to the hounds in pursuit of a frightened fox. George Washington was proud of his stable of fast horses and his pack of trained hounds, and he imported the best hunting firearms from England along with buckskin riding breeches and brilliantly colored riding frocks. His diaries report frequent forays for "ducking" and fox hunting. During the first two months of 1769, for example, he rode to the hounds no less than fifteen times, and he enjoyed the many balls, receptions, and banquets that he attended in Alexandria, Williamsburg, and Annapolis. Thomas Jefferson equally enjoyed the life of a gentleman slave owner: "I was often thrown into the society of horse-racers, card-players, fox hunters," he once wrote approvingly. His advice to a friend on the perfect life was, "Get a pair of keen horses, practice the law in the same courts, and drive about to all the dances in the county together." That Virginia common law included a code for the conduct of races and the settling of wagers afterward attests to their centrality in the life of colonial Virginia. After the American Revolution the first thoroughbred horses of Arabian origin were imported from England, and urban newspapers would report as early as 1820 on major races conducted at enclosed tracks in New York and Virginia.

Lower-class whites in the South pursued their own games, largely unfettered by the religious constraints of the northern colonies. At small roadside taverns they enjoyed food and plenty of drink, quoits, cards, dice, and shuffleboard. Tavern owners attracted business by holding wrestling matches and bare-knuckle fights, cockfights, and dog baitings. Similarly, in the middle and northern colonies during the eighteenth century people enjoyed drinking and wagering at table games in taverns. One popular entertainment was "gander pulling," at which a tavern owner would tie a poor goose to a tree limb, its head slathered in grease, and patrons, fueled by hearty drink, rode past on their horses in an attempt to pull off the squawking bird's head. The winner got to take the goose home for dinner.

On the eve of the American Revolution, sporting events remained informal and local, with little resemblance to the heavily organized and regulated amateur and professional sporting activities of today. Except for firearms, most equipment was handmade, and rules were created locally. Many contests—bare-knuckle fights, foot races, shooting contests—often occurred spontaneously as a means to resolve disputes but also provided amusement for onlookers. In a predominantly rural society, work naturally melded with play. The average citizen found amusement in corn huskings, quilting bees, and community harvests, frequently with music and dancing. Local fairs often featured demonstrations of strength and agility necessary in everyday life—wrestling, target shooting, plowing contests, horsemanship, wood cutting, log rolling. Often the distinction between work and play disappeared entirely as community activities like a barn raising included socialization, demonstration of carpentry skills, and physical prowess. Hunting and fishing required special skills and merged the worlds of work and play until they were indistinguishable.

The Revolutionary era put a damper on popular sport and recreational activities. Opposition to colonial rule from abroad inspired attacks on members of the native privileged class, who were closely associated with the sporting life. Thus horse racing virtually ceased after the First Continental Congress passed legislation urging the states to "discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gambling, cockfighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and amusements." Several state legislatures enacted similar legislation, and informal Revolutionary groups, such as the Sons of Liberty, served as extralegal enforcers of these prohibitions. The ardent revolutionary Sam Adams urged that each of the thirteen states seek to become a "Christian Sparta." This zealous republican Revolutionary spirit spent itself by the late 1780s, after which the American people comfortably resumed their public pursuit of amusement.

The end of the War for Independence unleashed a heavy migration into the trans-Appalachian frontier. There popular recreations, such as target shooting, often revolved around hunting. Other activities, especially wrestling, emphasized physical strength.

The peculiar phenomenon of "rough-and-tumble" developed in western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. A particularly violent form of human combat, it was part wrestling, part fisticuffs, part pure mayhem that included kicking, clawing, and gouging. Tearing off body parts—testicles in particular—was a primary objective, although the ultimate victory occurred when an adversary's eyeball was extracted. To that end, local champions grew their fingernails long and filed them to a sharp point. These gruesome contests were sometimes scheduled at shooting matches, fairs, and by entrepreneurial tavern owners, but most often they simply grew out of a dispute between two hot-blooded young men who saw their honor as at stake and sought to gain "respect." Spectators joined in the fun, naturally betting on the outcome. Visitors to the old Southwest long after the Civil War reported observing surprising numbers of aging men with badly scarred faces and empty eye sockets.

Following the War of 1812 the growing tide of modernism altered popular recreations. By 1830 machine technology, steam power, and major innovations in transportation had led to factory manufacturing and a new urban environment. The emerging corporate economy influenced the games Americans played. Local and regional sports organizations were formed to establish standards of play. The time when sporting events were spontaneous extensions of the rigors of daily life and labor would be replaced by structure, bureaucratic organization, written rules, and formal records. A wealthy gentlemen no longer rode his own prize quarter horse in an informal sprint for glory, but instead owned a thoroughbred ridden by a professional jockey wearing attire specifically prescribed by the Jockey Club of America. Newspapers and magazines began to provide national coverage of horse racing and other sporting events, encouraging the standardization of rules, methods for setting betting odds, and the keeping of records.

By 1820 the indigenous middle-American sport of harness racing emerged. It was first reported in New York City in 1803. Men gravitated after work to the five-mile graveled stretch of Third Avenue to show off their family horse and buggy. The animals were of common stock, not the fancy thoroughbreds of the elitist Jockey Club set. Informal races often ended at one of the many taverns along the thoroughfare. By the 1820s this "roadster" phenomenon had given way to oval tracks for "trotters" where organized competition was scheduled. The new sport of harness racing quickly spread; by the 1830s several race tracks for trotters and pacers had been opened in the West and South. Harness racing remained a sport of the middle class, becoming a constant at county fairs, an American tradition that continues to this day.

Not only horses attracted public attention. In Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, rowing clubs were formed to sponsor various forms of small craft racing as well as to provide exercise for the desk-bound, urban middle-class male. Long-distance foot racing—popularly known as "pedestrianism"—was also the rage. In 1835 a twenty-four-year-old Connecticut farmer, Henry Stannard, thrilled the nation when he won $1,000 put up by New York's leading sportsman, John Cox Stevens, by finishing ten miles in less than the prescribed sixty minutes; Stannard beat the clock by just twelve seconds.

By 1830 sport in America had thus begun to make a grand transition from an emphasis on localism and spontaneity to standardization, routinization, and organization. By 1845 the simple informal game of rounders played by youngsters in colonial times had been transformed into the formal game of baseball—complete with written rules, an umpire dressed in judicial black, and manufactured equipment—played before cheering spectators by grown men wearing distinctive uniforms. Within another decade the "New York City Game" had become professionalized with top players now being paid by team owners who charged spectators admission to see the action.

*See also* **Class: Development of the Working Class; Class: Overview; Domestic Life; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Gambling; Games and Toys, Children's; Work: Work Ethic.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adelman, Melvin L. *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–1870.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Daniels, Bruce C. *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England.* New York: St. Martin's, 1995.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play.* 2nd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Gorn, Elliott J. "Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Back Country." *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985): 18–43.

Struna, Nancy L. *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

*Richard O. Davies*

**REFINEMENT AND GENTILITY** In the eighteenth century, "refinement" and "gentility" were used interchangeably to refer to the inner qualities of sensibility, taste, and virtue and their outward manifestation in the kinetics of the body, dress, conversation, and manners. Men and women demonstrated their refinement not only in their persons, but through the built environment, religion, and literary culture. Although refinement was often thought to be innate and to vary enormously among individuals, most commentators agreed that education, exposure to other refined persons, and rigorous self-scrutiny could enhance one's capacity for it. The culture of refinement simultaneously excluded the vulgar, invited the participation of anyone who possessed a modicum of gentility, and then ranked the participants according to their performance. This combination of hierarchy, inclusiveness, and competition was well suited to the social and economic aspirations of many Anglo-Americans. As those aspirations changed, so too did the cultures of refinement and gentility.

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GENTILITY

Eighteenth-century standards for gentility owed much to British conduct manuals and didactic novels, which derived from the manners that distinguished European court society. These books emphasized the salience of social rank, control over one's body, and regard for the feelings of others. They also encouraged the performative dimensions of gentility by urging readers to imagine how they appeared to others and by focusing on sociability as the litmus test of refinement. In theory, gentility drew sharp distinctions between the rude masses and the polite few, most of whom had been born to their station. But in practice the boundaries were more porous than didactic literature allowed. And conduct manuals themselves held out the promise that refinement—or at least its outward manifestations—might be acquired. Accordingly, readers devoured the advice dispensed in *The Spectator*, a literary magazine; Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–1754), a novel whose hero is an ideal eighteenth-century gentleman; and especially Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* (1774), which portrays a social realm of ideal conduct and deportment. By the mid-eighteenth century, Anglo-Americans of the middling and better classes had integrated much of this advice into daily life: They championed deference and avoided the appearance of overt social climbing; they monitored their table manners, posture, and penmanship; and they read not only for their own

edification, but to enrich their conversation with other refined individuals. They created new spaces like parlors and formal gardens to serve as settings for polite leisure. This concern with refinement extended beyond the secular world, prompting Anglo-Americans to embellish their churches with paintings and draperies. Not coincidentally, the spread of gentility intersected with the eighteenth-century consumer revolution, which made the props of refinement—mirrors, tea sets, books—available to growing numbers of Anglo-Americans.

### REPUBLICAN REFINEMENT

During and after the Revolution, when manners and ideals derived from aristocratic courts became suspect, Anglo-Americans creatively revised the meaning of refinement to correspond with the values and practices demanded by a republic. Historians disagree about the broader implications of this process. Some, like Richard Bushman, suggest that the aristocratic origins of refinement presented persistent, vexing contradictions for Americans bent on establishing a republic. Others, including C. Dallett Hemphill, argue that men and women harnessed older codes of conduct to the aspirations of a more fluid society, partly by extending the promise of refinement to growing segments of the population and partly by replacing idealized deferential social relationships with egalitarian ones.

In the wake of the Revolution, Anglo-Americans expressed new anxieties about excessive refinement, associating it with aristocratic pretense and decadent luxury. But Americans never abandoned "refinement" and "gentility" as ideals. Instead, they infused them with republican meaning. In effect, Americans displaced the potential dangers of gentility onto others: the pretensions and vices of European aristocrats and avaricious elites closer to home served as foils for a distinctly American, supremely virtuous refinement. Republican refinement demanded taste, simplicity, and sincerity and manifested itself in what Jay Fleigelman called "natural theatricality"—the painstaking orchestration of posture, facial expression, and voice so to appear natural and unaffected. Mastery of these codes of behavior took on new, explicitly political significance. Manners were no longer simply an index to an individual's character. They were the social glue that bound citizens together, ensuring that Americans avoided both affectation and servility.

The material world also registered this republican refinement. Political leaders dressed down, abandoning bright colors and exuberant trimmings in

favor of the somber colors and plain style depicted in Gilbert Stuart's famous portraits of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Neoclassical architecture and design and Empire dress, which recalled the ancient republics, allowed elite and middling Americans to partake of fashion, novelty, and virtuous simplicity all at the same time. Never mind that these styles were wildly popular on both sides of the Atlantic; Americans read them as particularly suited to and evocative of the new nation.

### DEMOCRATIZATION OF REFINEMENT?

The first decades of the nineteenth century saw both the democratization of refinement among the middle class and new efforts to exclude members of the working class and African Americans from the ranks of the genteel. Growing numbers of conduct manuals made the increasingly arcane rules for genteel behavior accessible to growing numbers of readers, helping them to negotiate the social encounters that accompanied geographic and social mobility. Refinement extended beyond cosmopolitan centers. Members of the rural middle class, though careful to distinguish themselves from "aristocratic" urban excess, began to incorporate the props and rituals of refinement into domestic life, sociability, and self-presentation. As refinement became the special preserve of the middle class, it became infused with domestic values. Parlors, for example, became sites for family gatherings rather than worldly sociability. And middle-class women gained new visibility as exemplars of domestic gentility. Although Evangelicals cast genteel pretense as a distraction from Christian duty, by the end of the 1820s even Methodists and Baptists sanctioned politeness. At the same time, social arbiters stridently condemned attempts by the working class and African Americans to appropriate refinement for themselves. Conduct manuals drew sharp distinctions between the genteel and the lowly, and clearly advocated servility from the latter. In *Life in Philadelphia* (1828–1829), the caricaturist Edward W. Clay viciously lampooned the dress, manners, and sociability of upwardly mobile blacks. Such evidence indicates the challenges that confronted the hegemony of an explicitly white, middle-class culture of refinement and the urgency with which that culture was defended.

*See also* **Class: Rise of the Middle Class; Clothing; Consumerism and Consumption; Fashion; Fiction; Home; Manners; Market Revolution.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Fleigelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Hemphill, C. Dallett. *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Jaffee, David. "The Village Enlightenment in New England, 1760–1820." *William and Mary Quarterly* 47 (1990): 327–346.

Kelly, Catherine E. *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

*Catherine E. Kelly*

**REFORM, SOCIAL** The great social reform movements in U.S. history took off in the 1790s. Movements for the abolition of slavery, temperance, education, assistance to poor people, voting rights for women, civil rights for African Americans, and land rights for Native Americans galvanized large numbers of women and men to their causes and demanded responses from elites, government officials, and businessmen alike. Though major northern cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were home to hundreds of organizations, news of reform activities circulated widely in newspapers and in person by activists, ministers, and others who traveled. From Akron, Ohio, to Baltimore, Maryland, from Rochester, New York, to Fredericksburg, Virginia, organizations of various structures and causes sprang up in towns everywhere—few were untouched by the prophetic zeal of those devoted to change.

Such well-organized, financed, and sustained efforts to alleviate pain, regulate behavior, attain rights, or in some other way alter the situation of a specific group of people were largely absent prior to the Revolutionary era. In the early eighteenth century, few people with the capacity to bring about change perceived poverty, slavery, crime, or drinking as social problems. The rigidly hierarchical social structure enabled the community elite to rest assured that poor people were merely needy, not threatening. Few organizations or social structures existed to assist people in their times of need. Tax dollars were the source of charity money in most locales, and it was offered on an individual basis to those in need, regardless of cause. Fundamentally changing social re-

lations and structures was not on the agenda for much of the eighteenth century. Opposition to slavery on moral grounds grew among some religious groups before the Revolution. Quakers John Woolman and Anthony Benezet vehemently spoke out against slavery in the 1760s. Methodist leaders such as John Wesley also attacked slavery. The Declaration of Independence's promise "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," stimulated political opposition to slavery. During the Revolution abolitionist societies emerged in the North and the Upper South. In the North these societies helped lead the passage of gradual abolition acts in Pennsylvania and later New York and New Jersey.

### THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The fact that many social reform organizations began in the post-Revolutionary, newly formed nation of the 1790s is no coincidence. Historians point to the collusion of two great forces: the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening. Many speak of the Enlightenment as the "age of reason," or as philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) described it, a time characterized by the pursuit of truth. Rather than restrict the definition of the Enlightenment project to a handful of well-known European philosophers who published and spoke on such issues, many historians have a wider view that encompasses all who engaged in questioning the received teachings of religion, and particularly the focus on the afterlife as the driving force for human behavior. In an enlightened world, human progress would be achieved through advances in science, medicine, culture, education, technology, and even politics.

### THE GREAT AWAKENING

The Enlightenment empowered people to seek truth—and question the order of things. But it was the other powerful force of the eighteenth century—the Great Awakening—that inspired mass numbers of Protestants to do so. One of the most famous revivalists was English preacher George Whitefield, who toured America in 1739 and 1740. The staged revivals drew thousands and Whitefield, like Jonathan Edwards before him and others after him, appealed to their emotions, emphasized the value of spiritual rebirth and personal salvation, and downplayed the importance of religious doctrine. By encouraging people to reject the formal teachings of the churches and by re-centering the afterlife as the focus of human existence, the teachings of the

Awakening appear to have challenged those of the Enlightenment. In reality, however, the Great Awakening may have furthered some beliefs at the heart of the Enlightenment—the values of human reason and of learning by experience. The growth of colleges and spread of education throughout the country was largely a result of Old Light Protestants who rejected the teachings of the New Light evangelical preachers and sought to further integrate knowledge and faith.

### REPUBLICANISM AND REFORM

Just prior to the Revolution, the first movement to abolish slavery in the United States was initiated by the Quakers in Philadelphia, who made the buying or transfer of slaves grounds for disownment by the Quaker community in 1774. They formed the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage in 1775, though it was soon disrupted by the Revolutionary War. Philadelphians concerned for the plight of prisoners organized in 1776 as the Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners, but their efforts too were thwarted by the war. Like most of the first benevolent and reform associations, they were organized by men and restricted membership to men.

The Declaration of Independence of 1776 was followed by nearly a decade of war and even more years of political uncertainty and economic instability. Debates over the possible structure and function of a national government in the newly independent colonies resulted in the triumph of the political theory of republicanism. Republican theorists knew that the political, social, cultural, and familial spheres were not isolated units. In calling for the reform of human institutions, they instilled a responsibility for the success of the new nation in everyone. It turned out to be good timing—the period from the 1780s to the 1820s was one of great change and uncertainty. The post-Revolutionary era ushered in decades of economic, political, and social upheaval, with which many women and men—particularly middle- and upper-class white Protestants—took it upon themselves to deal. Responsibility for the fate and character of the nation and the manifestation of republican values seemed up for grabs—or at least up for the shaping by passionate individuals with a range of means and motives to do so.

### SLAVERY

The most pressing social issues to the first generation of post-Revolutionary reformers were poverty, slavery, and education. The antislavery cause picked up momentum after the Revolution. Some saw the hy-

pocrisy of allowing African Americans to fight for the Revolution while denying them the right of liberty promised by the Declaration of Independence, not to mention their apparent exclusion from the phrase, "All men are created equal." Individuals spoke against the institution of slavery, from Abigail Adams to John Jay, the first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Organizations formed throughout the Northeast, namely the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (1784), the New York Manumission Society (1785) and the New Jersey Abolition Society (1793). Having already taken a position against the enslavement of Africans in their own community, Quakers turned to the larger society.

Sidestepping the issue of slavery, groups formed to determine the future of Africans in America who were freed from enslavement. The American Colonization Society (ACS), formed in 1816, advocated the removal of blacks to Africa. The ACS even purchased land, named it Liberia, and sent freed slaves there beginning in 1822. The colonization movement was spearheaded by white men, particularly in the North. Antislavery groups, however, fought against colonization efforts. Abolitionist women, black and white, including members of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (1833), allied with the free black community in opposition to colonization. These more radical abolitionists wanted freedom and equality for African Americans in the United States, the land where most of them were born. Exile to Africa seemed like a racist compromise and an unfair proposition for people who had labored without reaping its benefits for generations in the American colonies.

The most significant difference between southern and northern organizations was the absence of explicitly antislavery associations run by women in the South. The Virginia Abolition Society formed in Richmond (1790) and Quakers spearheaded abolition activism in North Carolina. Such activism persisted in the face of great local resistance. Southern women were more likely to participate in the less radical female colonization societies that organized petitions in favor of removing African Americans to Liberia premising their arguments on the racist notion of protecting white women from blacks. Southern women's organizations were also less likely to challenge class inequalities among women than their northern counterparts. Providing education for those Africans who did move to Liberia, however, appeared to be a less politically charged issue, and both northern and southern organizations worked for this end.

## POVERTY

While men spearheaded major reform organizations for abolition, colonization, prison reform, temperance, and education, the 1790s were a critical decade in the establishment of permanent women's organizations, laying the groundwork for future generations to collectively mobilize for political, social, and religious purposes. The promotion of radical social reform was on the agenda of very few of the new organizations, which can be classified as religious, benevolent, charitable, mutual aid, and reform projects. Leaders of women's reform organizations combined the traditional female role of concern for the health and well-being of others with the evangelical zeal that defined Protestantism in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Nowhere is this more apparent than in efforts to help poor people.

From the 1780s until around 1815, Protestants largely viewed the poor with sympathy and as deserving of assistance. Dozens of benevolent organizations were formed as people directed their religious convictions to relieving the plight of the poor. They included the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children (1797) and the Orphan Asylum Society (1806), both in New York; the Boston Female Asylum (1800) and the Fragment Society (1812), also in Boston; and the Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed (1795) in Philadelphia. While some individuals may have taken aim at the structures that perpetuated poverty, most organizations were satisfied to raise funds; distribute resources such as food, clothing, and supplies; and visit homes of the sick, widowed, and disabled. This work was perceived as an outgrowth of Christian piety until an economic downturn and rising numbers of poor people and immigrants to the cities led many to reconsider the purpose of poor relief and the cause of poverty. The 1820s marked a turn away from concern for the material needs of the poor toward the belief that a spiritual bankruptcy often led to a financial one.

Women's benevolent and reform associations were less common in the South than in the North, in part because southern ministers were less supportive of benevolence work in the name of religion. The wealthy women of Charleston, South Carolina, and Wilmington, North Carolina, however, did form several organizations, and one of them became a pioneer in the area of public education. Incorporated in 1817, the Wilmington Female Benevolent Society aimed to educate "poor children and destitute orphans" and apparently was quite successful over the years.

## PRISONS

In the aftermath of the Revolution, state and community leaders in many states relished the opportunity to revise the common laws and what they believed to be an outdated penal code. Influenced by the writings of Cesare Beccaria, the Italian author of *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), many became convinced that crime was the result of an ineffective punishment scheme, writing, "that a punishment may not be an act of violence, of one, or of many against a private member of society, it should be public, immediate and necessary; the least possible in the case given; proportioned to the crime, and determined by the laws." An Englishman, John Howard, wrote a widely circulated book on prison abuses and model prison practices called *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (1777). Greatly influenced by both Beccaria and Howard, leading religious, scientific, and political figures in Philadelphia formed the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons in 1787 to implement a series of changes to the penal system. Similar societies formed later in Boston (Boston Prison Discipline Society, 1825) and in New York (Prison Association of New York, 1844). Prison reform organizations are one of the few social reform movements that restricted the participation of women during this period. Women were not admitted to the Philadelphia Society until the famed reformer and philanthropist Dorothea Dix was granted corresponding membership in 1844.

## WOMEN AND POLITICAL POWER

Political and social reform often went hand in hand. After Washington became the nation's capital in 1800, some women had unusual access to the political sphere through their husbands, fathers, and brothers. Though they were relegated to the sidelines of official business, they were active observers in Congress and chief organizers of the social sphere in which a great amount of politicking was done. Elite women with ties to powerful men were not denied access to the public political sphere in a way that is commonly thought for this period. The public sphere that emerged in the coffeehouses, reform societies, and reading libraries of the new republic was a predominantly male phenomenon. Women were sometimes able to secure legislative votes they desired by networking with female family members of congressmen. Occasionally, they applied their energies and skills to benevolent associations, such as the Washington Female Orphan Asylum, which was started in 1815 by Marcia Burnes Van Ness, with significant help from Dolley Madison. Unlike similar organizations in other cities, their organization received extensive publicity for its services and the organizers held their meetings in the House chamber in the Capitol building.

## TEMPERANCE

The temperance movement was at first an initiative of a small group of ministers to regulate the drinking of working-class men. Founded by men in 1826, the American Temperance Society began to characterize drinking as representative of and responsible for all that was decaying in American life, specifically deference by workers to employers, by women and children to men, and by everyone to ministers. Images of abused and neglected wives were widely circulated to bolster the arguments for temperance, playing on fears that were all too justified for some women. Leaders recruited women to the cause as the organization blossomed to about 100,000 members by 1836. In later years, women became prominent leaders of their own temperance organizations, which would lead some to the more radical antislavery and women's rights movements.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; Alcohol Consumption; Domestic Violence; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Revivals and Revivalism; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Boylan, Anne M. *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Dorsey, Bruce. *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women in Antebellum Reform.* Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2000.

Landsman, Ned C. *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680–1760.* New York: Twayne, 1997.

Meranze, Michael. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Rothman, David. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

*Jennifer Manion*

**REGULATORS** The North Carolina Regulation was a farmers' reform movement in the pre-Revolutionary period. Between 1766 and 1771, North Carolina farmers sought to combat corruption among local officials and to increase their participation in the political system. The Regulators lived in the Piedmont, the area west of the coastal plain and east of the mountains. This region had first been settled by Europeans starting in the 1740s as part of a vast interior migration from the middle colonies to the southern Piedmont. Rising land prices in the middle colonies, dangerous warfare with Indians, and a desire to live life according to their own dictates drove colonists into the southern backcountry, where the native population had shrunk to almost nothing as a result of epidemics, warfare, and migration further west.

### INSURGENCY IN NORTH CAROLINA

Eager for cheap land, religious freedom, and economic security, newcomers were deeply disappointed to find that their dreams were threatened by corrupt local officials eager to enrich themselves. Such officials engrossed the best land and drove up land prices; failed to pass people's tax monies on to the provincial treasury; and made government expensive by charging higher fees than the law allowed. Inspired in part by the protests against the Stamp Act in 1765, Piedmont farmers first organized in Orange County in 1766, led by a Quaker named Herman Husband. Husband's powerful ideas about social justice combined religious radicalism with the country or real Whig political philosophy increasingly adopted by the Patriot movement. In 1768 farmers joined under the name of "Regulators" to indicate that they intended to "regulate" and reform government abuse. The term "regulator" had first been used in this way in England in 1655 and had since entered into common usage.

Regulators pursued both legal and extralegal means to reform their local government. They tried to set up meetings with local officials, who rebuffed them. They repeatedly petitioned the governor and assembly, hoping to interest them in their cause, with little success. They brought suits against extortionate officials but could not get convictions. When such legal means did not bring results, Regulators resorted to illegal actions: they refused to pay their taxes; repossessed property seized for public sale to satisfy debts and taxes; disrupted court proceedings; and tried officials at people's courts. In September 1768 Governor William Tryon and his militia confronted a large number of Regulators outside of Hillsborough, but violence was avoided. Two years later, a large group of Regulators brought proceedings at the superior court in Hillsborough to a halt; beat up a number of lawyers, merchants, and officials; and destroyed the home of the most hated Piedmont official, Edmund Fanning. Government officials retaliated swiftly and powerfully.

**Battle of Alamance Creek.** When the assembly opened later that fall Herman Husband, who had been elected a legislator for Orange County in 1769, was accused of libel, expelled from the assembly, and jailed. Next, the assemblymen passed a sweeping Riot Act that, among other things, gave Governor Tryon the authority and funds he needed to raise the militia against the Regulators. On 16 May 1771, about eleven hundred militiamen, commanded by many of North Carolina's prominent Patriots—men who would soon lead North Carolina into independence—confronted upward of two thousand farmers on a field near Alamance Creek, about twenty miles from Hillsborough. In a battle that lasted less than two hours, from 17 to 20 farmers were killed along with 9 militiamen; more than 150 men on both sides were wounded. One Regulator was hanged on the spot without benefit of trial. Six more were executed on 19 June in Hillsborough after a hasty trial. After the battle, the governor and his troops undertook a punitive march through the Piedmont, forcing some six thousand men, the great majority of adult males in the area, to take the oath of allegiance to the crown. Some of the best-known Regulators fled the province, and by summer the Regulation had been suppressed.

**Regulation and Revolution.** Once news of the Battle of Alamance spread, sympathy for the Regulators grew outside of North Carolina. Many incipient Patriots stressed the parallels between themselves and the Regulators, who had also stood up for their right as freeborn Englishmen, had patiently tried to redress their grievances by peaceful means, and had finally been driven to war by the governor and his friends. North Carolina's leading Whigs, most of whom had opposed the Regulators, labored hard to undercut this initial impression beyond the colony. To them, there were no parallels between legitimate opposition to Britain and the Regulators' resistance to oppression by local elites. It would not be long before Patriot elites elsewhere would understand the dilemma of North Carolina leaders: how to galvanize popular support for the Patriot cause while limiting people's aspirations for independence and justice at home. In this respect, the North Carolina Regulation consti-

tutes an important and early example of the limited nature of the radicalism embodied in the independence movement. While North Carolina farmers did not secure their broadest goals in the Regulation or in the subsequent Revolution, their dreams of economic justice in an agrarian setting surfaced again and again in the South, finding its most explicit reincarnation in Populism in the 1880s and 1890s.

### REGULATORS OUTSIDE NORTH CAROLINA

The terms "Regulation" and "Regulators," while most prominently associated with the North Carolina farmers' movement, were used in various other struggles in Revolutionary America, such as in South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. While North Carolina farmers intended to create a local government respectful of the law, South Carolina backcountry elites took the law in their own hands between 1767 and 1769. These men called themselves Regulators, but their aims were nothing like those of their North Carolina namesakes. The South Carolina Regulation was a vigilante movement led by slave owners aimed at disciplining horse thieves, bandits, and marginal people who made their living by hunting and trading rather than by farming. Thus, rather than a movement of common people trying to make government more responsive to the people, the South Carolina Regulation consisted of elite men trying to impose their values and way of life on the rest of the population.

The Pennsylvania Regulation (usually known as the Whiskey Rebellion [1794]) and the Massachusetts Regulation (better known as Shays's Rebellion [1786–1787]) bore a close resemblance to the North Carolina Regulation. Farmers in those states protested structural economic inequality much as did their North Carolina counterparts.

*See also* **North Carolina; Shays's Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ekirch, A. Roger. *"Poor Carolina": Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina*, *1729–1776*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

Husband, Herman. "An Impartial Relation . . ." In *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina.* Edited by William K. Boyd. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton, 1927.

Kars, Marjoleine. *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Kay, Marvin L. Michael. "The North Carolina Regulation, 1766–1776: A Class Conflict." In *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism.*

Edited by Alfred F. Young. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976.

Lee, Wayne E. *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina: The Culture of Violence in Riot and War.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.

Powell, William S., James K. Huhta, and Thomas J. Farnham, eds. and comps. *The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History*, *1759–1776*. Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1971.

Whittenburg, James P. "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1977): 215–238.

*Marjoleine Kars*

# RELIGION

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Overview*, *The Founders and Religion*, and *Spanish Borderlands*.

## *Overview*

The early Republic witnessed major changes that forecast religion's exceptional vitality in America well into modern times. By 1830 the religious diversity that typified Britain's colonies in 1776 had developed into a far more expansive spiritual pluralism that became a touchstone of modern American life.

### DIVERSITY OF BELIEF

From the 1740s to the Revolution, the highly variegated populations in Britain's mainland colonies exhibited confusing patterns of religious diversity, revival, and indifference. Surviving Indian groups often synthesized new customs as they merged under the impress of disease and constant British territorial expansion. For example, the Catawbas of the Carolinas mixed several different native customs with Christianity learned from missionaries in a culture they sustained largely by living away from British settlements. Slaveholders in Britain's mainland colonies suppressed most African religious customs because they feared religion as a source of slave rebellion. African burial practices survived into the next century, but none of the great national African religious systems themselves—Ashanti or Ibo, for example—resurfaced in British America.

In contrast, European Christian groups thrived in British North America. By 1770 eight Protestant denominations—Congregational, Presbyterian,

Church of England, Baptist, Quaker, German Reformed, German Lutheran, and Dutch Reformed—counted between one hundred and seven hundred congregations. Another five—Methodist, Roman Catholic, Moravian, Dunker, and Mennonite—counted between fifteen and one hundred congregations, while Jews clustered in the colonial cities and a variety of sects, such as British Rogerenes and Sandemanians, sustained worship in British America despite very small numbers.

Two-thirds of Revolutionary-era congregations had been formed after 1700, demonstrating how thoroughly eighteenth-century migration from Scotland, Wales, and continental Europe fractured the homogeneity of English Protestantism in British America. The variety of religious expression among Europeans also revealed the weakness of the traditional state church tradition in the colonies. Nine of the thirteen mainland colonies enacted some form of formal church establishment—Congregationalism in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and the Church of England in New York, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. But religious dissent and diversity spread nonetheless. Varied revivals in the 1740s and 1750s—later homogenized under the label the Great Awakening—threatened established Congregationalists and the Church of England, who saw their authority questioned; another threat came from dissenting Baptists and Presbyterians, who divided over revival methods and theology. Opponents sometimes used coercion against revivalists, usually without success. When Virginia authorities attempted to suppress Baptist preaching in 1771—a sheriff and a Church of England minister caught one Baptist preacher, in the words of one witness, "by the back part of his neck, [and] beat his head against the ground, sometimes up, sometimes down"—public regard for the Church of England fell rather than rose.

Yet most colonists did not belong to any religious congregation, contrary to modern myths about a past more "religious" than the present. Only about 15 to 20 percent of British and other European colonists actually belonged to a congregation or attended services (in the year 2000, roughly 55 percent of adult Americans belonged to a religious congregation), and only the tiniest number of enslaved Africans had been converted to Christianity. This pattern actually paralleled church attendance throughout early modern Europe, where laypeople often did not attend except on the great holidays of Christmas and Easter. Laypeople were not necessarily atheists or anti-religious in either Europe or America. But they held their religious convictions in a very general sense and reacted warily to the pronouncements and power of the state-supported clergy. The variety of European religions in America probably confirmed colonists' spiritual standoffishness. The itinerant Church of England minister Charles Woodmason described the situation in North Carolina in 1767: "by the Variety of Taylors who would pretend to know the best fashion in which Christs Coat is to be worn[,] none will put it on."

## CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION

The American Revolution dealt organized religion severe setbacks. Although some historians in the 1960s and 1970s argued that controversies over revival religion in the 1740s and 1750s shaped the Revolution and its rhetoric, most historians at the start of the twenty-first century agree that the Revolution focused not on religion but taxes, representation, and politics—themes confirmed throughout the Declaration of Independence. Princeton president and Presbyterian minister John Witherspoon signed the Declaration of Independence, and some other ministers backed the Revolution vigorously. But many clergymen did not. In 1775 the Presbytery of Philadelphia made it a point to note that it was "well known . . . that we have not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people." Indeed, the Presbytery worried that the conflict with Britain could become a civil war "carried on with a rancour and spirit of revenge much greater than [a war] between independent states."

The Presbyterians were not far wrong. War wreaked havoc with organized religious life in many colonies, if not all. By 1781 membership in Baptist congregations in and around Philadelphia dropped from three thousand to fourteen hundred, and easily more than half of the Church of England congregations closed, tainted because the king headed the church. Pennsylvania Patriots exiled to Virginia some Quakers who espoused pacifism. Both American and British troops sometimes burned and ransacked church buildings, and the tombstones broken off for oven hearths by British troops on Long Island produced death inscriptions baked into the soldiers' bread. Although patriotic army chaplains likened the Revolution to "spiritual warfare," soldiers attacked their ineffectiveness in salving the agonies of death and injury; as one soldier put it, a chaplain was "as destitute of employ . . . as a person who is dismissed from their people for the most scandalous crimes."

Religion changed dramatically after the Revolution, as did America itself. Part of that change in-

volved a revolution in relations between religion and government. Every colony with a formally established church abandoned the practice or severely altered it. New York, Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina abolished the legal privileges and tax revenues previously given to the Church of England, and while Connecticut and Massachusetts continued to support Congregational churches with tax revenues, they provided exemptions for Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians (the new name for the Anglicans of the Church of England), and members of "any other Denomination."

Virginia's debate about disestablishment carried national implications. After Virginia disestablished the Church of England, Patrick Henry proposed a "general establishment" for Christianity that authorized Virginia's state government to determine which specific churches and ministers actually qualified and could be supported. George Washington initially supported Henry's bill as a middle ground between the old establishment and none. But Washington changed his mind, fearful that contests over supporting specific groups would "rankle, and perhaps convulse the state." When Henry's bill failed, Virginia passed Thomas Jefferson's bill "for Establishing Religious Freedom," which was guided through the legislature by James Madison in 1786. It prohibited taxation for "any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever" and upheld freedom of worship for all religions, not just Christianity.

The First Amendment to the federal Constitution, ratified in 1791, followed in the wake of successful disestablishments in all but Connecticut and Massachusetts. Rejecting narrow clauses that would have prohibited government support for a specific "religious doctrine" or for a national church, the Congress settled on sixteen words that spoke broadly and clearly to the religion question: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In short, the amendment protected the free exercise of religion, not just Christianity, and it prohibited "an establishment" in broad terms, rather than merely prohibiting a single national church.

### INSTITUTIONAL PROLIFERATION AND SPIRITUAL CREATIVITY

If a few Americans, such as Yale president Ezra Stiles (1727–1795), worried that the abolition of a formally sanctioned religion cut America loose from any secure moral and religious foundation, most American religious groups and leaders reversed Stiles's fears. They believed that religion arrived at voluntarily was morally superior to religion guided by government. Indeed, the need for moral virtue in a republic only increased the need for religion, and precisely the kind of religion that now would prosper in America because government no longer determined its shape or directly or subtly formed the ways citizens expressed their faith.

The opening provided by disestablishment in the states and the strictures of the First Amendment against federal involvement in religious matters brought a near orgy of proselytizing that fueled exceptional denominational growth into the 1830s. Between the 1790s and the 1830s, a series of highly emotional revivals, sometimes called the Second Great Awakening, merged with exceptionally astute denominational organizing drives, especially among Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, producing congregational growth and a rising in membership that outstripped even the vigorous population growth in the new Republic. Methodist congregations increased from fifty to three hundred, and Baptist congregations almost doubled from seventeen hundred to nearly three thousand between 1780 and 1820. In all, America's superheated religious denominations constructed more than eight thousand church buildings in the United States in the five decades after the Revolution, and the church membership rate for adults probably increased into the mid-20-percent range by 1830.

Voluntary associations that emerged most prominently from America's rapidly expanding congregations and denominations set models for American civic life. Mission, literary, temperance, education, women's rights, and abolitionist societies, such as the American Bible Society (1816), American Tract Society (1823), American Colonization Society (1816), American Sunday School Union (1824), and American Temperance Society (1826), quickly typified the American reform style. They bespoke the religious foundations of innumerable American reform movements, offered leadership opportunities for women who were denied formal posts, including ordination, within denominations, and engaged every major social issue in nineteenth-century America.

New spiritual expressions and institutions accompanied the expansion of familiar religious groups in the new Republic. Formerly enslaved Africans led by Philadelphia's Richard Allen (1760–1831) opened the Bethel African Methodist Church in 1794, which in 1816 became one of the founding congregations of the new African Methodist Episcopal Church. Together with the African Methodist Epis-

copal Zion Church and increasing numbers of Baptist congregations formed in the early national period, they constituted the major Christian denominations attracting African Americans up to the Civil War and well beyond. Methodist preachers outstripped businessmen in understanding and mastering the early Republic's local and regional markets and added a visionary enthusiasm to the mix. Methodist itinerants related their dreams about heaven and hell and conversations with Jesus to their listeners because, as Freeborn Garrettson (1752–1827) noted, "great discoveries were made to Peter, Paul, and others in their night visions." Unordained women preachers, such as Nancy Towle (1796–1876) and Salome Lincoln (1807–1841) and the African American Jarena Lee (b. 1783), preached with an effectiveness that questioned but did not yet overturn the prohibition against women's ordination in almost all denominations except the Quakers, which alone among major Protestant groups had allowed and even fostered female preaching.

Protestant and Roman Catholic proselytizing among Indians increased and achieved some particular successes, most notably among the Cherokees of the western Carolinas and northern Georgia. Other Indians responded to new prophecies. The Seneca prophet Handsome Lake (1735–1815) offered a new teaching called the Gaiwiiyo, or Good Word, to set Indians on a new moral path. Neolin (fl. 1760–1766), a Delaware prophet, demanded that Indians reject European civilization and its products, especially alcohol. Tenskwatawa (1775–1836), the Shawnee prophet, denounced Europeans as descended from a lesser god and demanded a return to traditional native culture and the expulsion of Europeans.

In a Republic that represented the "new order of the ages," it scarcely is surprising that reform overtook, and split, many religious groups. New England Baptists who rejected the traditional Calvinist theology of predestination formed a new denomination called Free Will Baptists. Universalists emphasized the breadth of Christian salvation, not its narrowness, and drew believers from urban and rural New England alike. Revivals that began in 1801 at Cane Ridge in Kentucky produced converts to evangelical Protestant groups, especially Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. They also spawned yet more movements and denominations. Followers of Barton Stone and Thomas and Alexander Campbell, disaffected Presbyterians, sought to recover the spirit of the early Christian church, forming the Disciples of Christ in 1832. A "unitarian controversy" split several hundred New England Congregationalist churches between 1805 and 1835 over the question of the Trinity. The argument also led to the demise of America's last state church establishments in Connecticut in 1818 and Massachusetts in 1833 as state lawmakers and lawyers reeled from the spectacle of congregants suing each other over tax revenues rather than simply worshiping together.

The new Republic's spiritual hothouse sustained prophets as fully among Europeans as among Indians. The followers of the Shaker visionary and millennialist Ann Lee, who migrated from England to New York in 1774, expanded to their greatest number in the four decades after Lee's death in 1784. Freemasonry won an enormous following among middle-class men fascinated by mystical spiritual teachings, alchemy, and alleged Egyptian secrets. Prophets and short-lived sectarian movements popped up almost everywhere. New York City witnessed two prophets in the late 1820s: Elijah the Tishbite (Elijah Pierson), an affluent merchant and evangelical reformer who sought to raise his wife from the dead, and the Prophet Matthias (Robert Matthews), who headed an authoritarian Christian commune that included Pierson as well as the African American reformer and visionary Sojourner Truth, but which ended when Matthews was charged with Pierson's murder (although he was later acquitted).

The history of New York's Joseph Smith Jr. exemplified all the themes of reform, prophecy, and renewal that invigorated religion in the early Republic. Disaffected by the competition of religions in America and sensitive to evangelical revivalism, Smith initially imbibed occult techniques to locate buried fortunes in the late 1810s. Later, Smith's visions of visits with the angel Moroni resulted in the 1830 publication of *The Book of Mormon*, which he described as a translation of hieroglyphic texts engraved on golden plates or tablets presented to him by Moroni that described God's dealings with ancient groups of people called Jaredites, Lamanites, and Nephites. Smith's writings and beliefs became the foundation for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The controversies stirred by *The Book of Mormon* and its adherents not only capped the lively assertiveness of religion in the early Republic but prefigured Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish expansion and the rise of new groups such as Spiritualists, Seventh Day Adventists, Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses in the later nineteenth century.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Religion; American Indians: American Indian Religions; Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Catholicism and**

Catholics; Congregationalists; Deism; Disciples of Christ; Disestablishment; Jews; Methodists; Mormonism, Origins of; Moravians; Presbyterians; Quakers; Revivals and Revivalism; Shakers; Unitarianism and Universalism; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom; Voluntary and Civic Associations.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Andrews, Dee E. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

George, Carol V. R. *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760–1840.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

Johnson, Paul E., and Sean Wilentz. *The Kingdom of Matthias.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Taves, Ann. *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.

*Jon Butler*

## The Founders and Religion

Within cultures, religion evidences a paradoxical character. It provides humans with meaning and purpose, thereby supporting social stability and maintaining the status quo. But it also offers notions of the ideal social order, thereby serving as an agent for social change. Both dynamics were at work during the American Revolution and the early Republic. Both buttressed the move towards independence, albeit in different ways.

### PURITANISM AND REVOLUTION

One clear understanding of religion's links to order and stability emerged in the New England Puritan colonies. Inherent in the Puritan worldview was the sense of deference that prevailed in the British social order. Just as ordinary folk should defer to those of higher rank, especially the monarch, all human life should demonstrate deference to God. Influenced by John Calvin (1509–1564), Puritans believed that those God elected to salvation should exercise political power; God could entrust only to them oversight of society. Magistrates became God's agents to maintain order; rebellion against them was thus rebellion against God.

By the mid-eighteenth century, countervailing forces complicated this sense of deference and order. The evangelical revivals of the Great Awakening represented one such force. Preachers such as Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) and George Whitefield (1714–1770), both Calvinists, unwittingly stressed the equality of all humans as sinners separated from God. Likewise, election to salvation evinced an equality rooted in divine grace. A commitment to social order remained, but with a difference. Deference was not automatic, as in the hierarchy sustaining monarchy, but due those who acknowledged their sin and testified to God's work in their lives.

Puritanism's evangelical dimension also nurtured the challenge to deference accompanying independence. Advocates of breaking with king and Parliament included many clergy. But the individualism of personal conversion resonated with larger democratic impulses, thus undermining Puritanism's Calvinist base and spurring rapid growth of more democratic denominations (for example, Baptists and Methodists) in the early Republic.

The second force centered on abuse of power. Even Puritans displeased by evangelical, emotion-laden revivals believed all power had limits. When power became tyranny, rulers forfeited legitimacy. Allegiance to God superseded devotion to despotic power that rendered true worship impossible. Commitment to social order could require overthrow of demonic power. When leaders likened parliamentary tax policy to enslavement, the king became a symbol of oppression and revolution a sacred duty. Such thinking influenced founders like Samuel Adams, John Adams, and James Otis, though they were more inclined to emergent Unitarianism than to traditional Congregationalism.

### REFORMED REALISM

Support for order alongside support for rebellion against Britain found a different basis in the Reformed Protestantism gaining ground in the middle colonies. The beliefs of New Jersey's John Witherspoon, the sole clergyman signing the Declaration of Independence, illustrate both aspects. Witherspoon, Scots by birth, espoused the evangelical Calvinism associated with middle colonies Presbyterians, but he tempered that with the philosophy called Scottish common-sense realism.

This heritage meant Witherspoon appreciated the primacy of personal religious experience that gave authority to individuals rather than institutions. He therefore believed that local congregations and not denominational authorities had absolute authority to choose pastors. He transferred this belief to the political sector when he endorsed American independence. Belief and common sense called for social change.

Yet when Witherspoon helped Presbyterians organize a denomination in the new Republic, he worked to secure assent to traditional doctrine and consent to a single church order and liturgy. Here Witherspoon's belief and use of common sense called for order and maintenance of the status quo.

### ENLIGHTENMENT INFLUENCES

The paradoxical dynamic of sustaining social order while planting seeds of social change likewise influenced those founders more directly affected by Enlightenment rationalism. Many, but not all, came from the southern colonies. There, legal establishment of the Church of England epitomized institutional ties between religious order and political stability, at least until independence. During the Revolution, many priests serving these churches remained loyal to the crown and took refuge in Canada, the Caribbean, or the mother country. Although their departure left Anglicanism in disarray, neither religious nor social disorder followed. Rather, a vibrant evangelicalism stood poised to fill the void left by the demise of colonial Anglicanism.

Enlightenment rationalism bolstered a different type of social change than had Puritanism or Reformed realism. Precepts of reason caused many, such as Benjamin Franklin (a nominal Presbyterian) and Thomas Jefferson (a nominal Anglican), to reject much traditional doctrine as superstition. They thought religious beliefs based on revelation or miracle lacked rational grounding and were therefore unreliable.

If orthodox belief was suspect, so was any legal tie between a particular denomination and the state. Although James Madison, his friend and collaborator, secured adoption of Jefferson's statute establishing religious freedom in Virginia in 1786, Jefferson embodied the Age of Reason's dislike of religious establishments and support for religious liberty. An agent for social change, rational religion helped erect what Jefferson later called a "wall of separation" between church and state.

At the same time, the religious style of Enlightenment advocates buttressed social stability in its conviction that religion, even when superstition, provided moral codes essential to public order. In his famous Farewell Address in 1796, George Washington, another nominal Anglican who served as a parish vestryman, argued that without religion, society lacked the moral foundation essential for harmony and stability. Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin remarked in his *Autobiography* that religion's value lay in making persons good citizens, not devotees of a particular denomination.

This commitment to morality had other implications for the public square. Some analysts brand founders influenced by rationalism as Deists because they jettisoned traditional views other than simple belief in a providential, creator God who left humanity to its own devices. Others regard them almost as twenty-first-century fundamentalists because they saw moral values as basic to society and were at least nominal church members. Neither view is entirely accurate. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and others of like mind believed religion and common life connected in a way similar to what their French contemporary Jean-Jacques Rousseau called civil religion. That is, they saw a Divine Providence undergirding the nation's destiny that was most obvious when citizens followed a common-sense moral code sustained by religious belief and practice. Differences of doctrine remained but counted for little. What mattered was moral living so social stability could prevail.

In the age of American independence, forces as diverse as Puritanism, Reformed realism, and Enlightenment rationalism reveal the complex ways religion maintains order. They also demonstrate how religion at the same time can promote social change.

*See also* **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Congregationalists; Deism; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Methodists; Philosophy; Presbyterians; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Albanese, Catherine L. *Sons of the Fathers: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *Neither King nor Prelate: Religion and the New Nation, 1776–1826.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993.

Holmes, David L. *The Religion of the Founding Fathers.* Charlottesville, Va.: Ash Lawn-Highland, 2003.

Hutson, James H. *Religion and the New Republic: Faith in the Founding of America.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

**San Xavier del Bac Mission.** This mission church was built between 1783 and 1797 near Tuscon, Arizona, by Franciscan fathers Juan Bautista Velderrain and Juan Bautista Llorenz. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Lambert, Frank. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

*Charles H. Lippy*

### Spanish Borderlands

In the early 1500s Spain had nominal claim over a region that stretched from present-day Florida to California. Franciscan missions in New Mexico were first established in 1598 but were pursued inadequately. By 1775 the area had been made part of the Diocese of Durango, and twenty friars administered to Spanish colonists and a dwindling native population. Another segment of borderland territory, later called Arizona, benefited from work begun in 1687 by Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. Work continued among his successors until 1767, when Jesuits were suppressed within Spanish jurisdictions.

In 1769 authorities sent Don Gaspar de Portolá northward into California to counteract further Rus-

sian movement into the area. Junípero Serra, a Franciscan missionary of wide experience, accompanied this expedition. Under his determined, energetic guidance, nine missions were built along the Pacific Coast: San Diego (1769), San Carlos Borromeo (1770), San Antonio (1771), San Gabriel (1771), San Luis Obispo (1772), San Francisco de Assisi (1776), San Juan Capistrano (1776), Santa Clara (1777), and San Buenaventura (1782). Serra's records indicate that he baptized more than six thousand Indians and confirmed more than five thousand of them. He was convinced that the mission-colony plan of churches, farms, industry, and permanent dwellings was the best means of converting natives to Christianity and of improving their chances of survival in a European-dominated society.

Nine additional missions were founded between 1786 (Santa Barbara) and 1798 (San Luis Rey) under the administration of Serra' successor, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén. Three more were added in the early 1800s, making a total of twenty-one establishments. They formed the context in which four presi-

dios and three secular colonies, together with adjacent ranches, constituted the only Christian settlements in California between 1769 and 1840. Incorporated into the Diocese of Sonora, mission efforts continued until Mexican independence from Spain in 1821. All activities associated with missions and church life declined after that, and the missions were secularized in 1833. This exacerbated the situation, which became even worse with the entry of Americans into California in 1845 and the subsequent ceding of the land by Mexico to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

Louisiana had been a mission field since the 1600s, administered by the bishop of Quebec. Spanish authorities took control of the region in 1769 after it was ceded to them by France in the Treaty of Fontainbleu (1762). One ecclesiastical figure who became active there was Antonio de Sedella (also known as Father Antoine), and his agitations were at the center of a fifteen-year dispute over jurisdiction and proper authority in church matters. His superior, Luis Ignacio de Peñalver y Cardenas, became the first ordinary of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas in 1793. He worked strenuously to revive an indifferent population, and besides establishing new parishes he laid the foundations for the Cathedral of St. Louis. In 1803 Louisiana was ceded back to France and thence to the United States. By 1809 the last canonical link between Spanish personnel and the churches there was severed.

*See also* **Catholicism and Catholics; Professions: Clergy.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Conrad, Glenn R., ed. *Cross, Crozier, and Crucible: A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of a Catholic Diocese in Louisiana.* New Orleans: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1993.

Engelhardt, Zephyrin. *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. Boston: Milford House, 1974.

Geiger, Maynard J. *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.; or, The Man Who Never Turned Back, 1713–1784, A Biography.* Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, l959.

*Henry Warner Bowden*

**RELIGIOUS PUBLISHING**  Dating back to the sixteenth century, religious publishing has had a long and vibrant history in North America. From the time Juan Pablos arrived in Mexico City in 1539 to set up a printing office under the patronage of Mexi-

co's first Catholic bishop, much of what would be printed in America would have a distinctly religious flavor. A century later, the Puritans continued this linkage between religion and print by establishing the first printing press in the British colonies in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Largely because of the Puritan commitment to literacy, American publishing in general—and religious publishing in particular—went on to establish itself most prominently in the northeastern region during the ensuing two centuries. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Puritan-inflected Boston had become a major religious publishing center. In these decades, Philadelphia and New York City also rose to prominence in the area of religious publishing, due largely to their deep roots in the publishing industry more generally and to the fact that both cities played host to a number of Protestant denominational headquarters, major churches, and religious benevolent societies.

By 1755 there were twenty-four printing establishments in ten of the British colonies. A decade later, every one of the original thirteen colonies had an active publishing enterprise. Religion, politics, and printing were so intertwined during these years that nearly all of these mid-eighteenth-century American printers published religious material, but they published other kinds of material as well. At this point, strict specialization in printing rarely existed. The Ephrata cloister of Pietists near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, established a printing enterprise around 1743 and became a rare example of a publishing enterprise almost totally dedicated to religious publishing. Other strictly "religious publishers" hardly existed at this time, and printers took a wide variety of work to remain financially solvent. Perhaps the most famous American printer of the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin, serves as a useful illustration here. Franklin used his printing presses to produce newspapers, books, pamphlets, and almanacs of a more secular hue. He also printed many extremely popular religious works, including sermon collections originally preached by George Whitefield, the most famous traveling evangelist of the eighteenth century.

To be sure, certain publishers did make a name for themselves by printing religious materials. Prior to the American Revolution, Christopher Sower produced a German Bible in 1743, and his son produced later editions in 1773 and 1776. After John Eliot's translation of the Bible into an Algonquian language in the early 1660s, Sower's was the second Bible edition to be printed in the United States, and its produc-

tion distinguished him as one of the leading religious publishers of his day. Mathew Carey was yet another publisher who came to distinguish himself as a producer of Bible editions. Until the rise of the American Bible Society in 1816, Mathew Carey was the largest single printer of Bibles in the United States.

The 1770s and 1780s saw the rise of denomination-based publishing. The Methodists took the lead in this area. Before the 1770s, Methodists employed local Philadelphia printers to produce hymnbooks and other works. These printers profited by producing these works, something that outraged the Methodist leadership in England. In 1773 the Methodists determined that only officially approved publications and publishers would be used, and all the proceeds would go toward mission work. This led to the establishment of the Methodist Book Concern in 1789, the first denominational printing enterprise in the United States.

Other denominations followed suit in the nineteenth century. The Baptists established a publication society in 1824, the Unitarians set up a book and pamphlet society in 1827, the Episcopalians began American publishing in 1828 through the New York Episcopal Press, and the Congregationalists set up a tract and book printing enterprise in 1829 to service its loosely confederated circle of churches. By the mid-1830s every major American denomination recognized the need for a publishing enterprise to produce materials for their missions activities and educational curriculums, and to facilitate denominational coherence. Denominations were also largely responsible for the proliferation of religious newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first newspapers dedicated strictly to religion began to appear in the second decade of the century, but nearly three hundred religious newspapers (most often sponsored by a specific denomination or religious body to help facilitate communication within its ranks) existed by the time of the Civil War.

The opening decades of the nineteenth century also gave birth to a new kind of interdenominational publishing. The American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), and the American Tract Society (1825) came to represent cooperation among various denominations, which allowed for a flood of religious material to be released throughout the country. These societies took full advantage of changes in papermaking technology, stereotyping, centralized mass production, and power presses to become the largest publishing enterprises of their day. By the late 1820s the American Bible Society was producing 300,000 Bibles a year,

the American Tract Society was producing over six million tracts a year, and the American Sunday School Union was embarking on a 100-volume Sunday school series to help facilitate its Bible class curricula across the country. This spirit of interdenominational cooperation signaled a significant shift from the decentralized religious publishing of the mid-eighteenth century to a more centralized and powerful religious publishing presence in the United States by the 1830s.

*See also* **Bible; Newspapers; Printers; Printing Technology; Religion: The Founders and Religion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gutjahr, Paul C. *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States*, 1777–1880. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Nord, David Paul. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*, 1790–1860. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Tebbel, John. *A History of Book Publishing in the United States.* Vol. 1: *The Creation of an Industry*, 1630–1865. New York: R.R. Bowker, 1972.

Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America.* Edited by Marcus A. McCorison. New York: Weathervane Books, 1970.

*Paul C. Gutjahr*

## RELIGIOUS TESTS FOR OFFICEHOLDING

In the aftermath of England's Glorious Revolution of 1688, Parliament imposed on members of colonial assemblies and councils the obligation to take an oath renouncing allegiance to all foreign powers, political and spiritual. This oath effectively barred Roman Catholics from holding political office in all the colonies, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which were essentially self-governing. However, Rhode Island passed a law in 1719 against Roman Catholic officeholders and, it is safe to say, Connecticut elected no Catholics to office. Jews also did not serve in colonial legislatures. At least in theory, foreign-born Catholics could not become naturalized British citizens, vote, or hold property. The exclusion of Roman Catholics from political power occasioned no debate, and the French and Indian War against Catholic France and the Quebec Act of 1774 led to increased anti-Catholic sentiments. It is a safe conclusion that on the eve of the American Revolution, most colonists saw America as a Protestant country.

A second form of religious test came in requirements to swear an oath of office ("so help me God"). Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania allowed an affirmation (omitting the name of God), but other states followed the British practice of allowing an affirmation for legal matters while deeming it insufficient for holding high office. Maryland and the Carolinas allowed an affirmation for officeholders in the seventeenth century, but subsequently repealed that provision as a way of reducing Quaker influence.

### DURING THE REVOLUTION

After independence was proclaimed, all the states except Connecticut and Rhode Island wrote new constitutions. Virginia was unique in having no religious test and no naming of God in oaths of office. Yet it kept its established church. Georgia had no religious test, but did invoke "so help me God" in the oath of office from 1777 until a new constitution in 1789 dropped this requirement.

Six states' constitutions—North and South Carolina, New Hampshire, Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia—restricted officeholding to Protestants. New York effectively barred foreign-born Catholics from becoming naturalized state citizens by a law requiring an oath renouncing allegiance to a foreign political and spiritual power, that is, the papacy. Even though Massachusetts's constitution of 1780 restricted officeholding to Christians, its legislature and New York's effectively banned Catholics. Against Benjamin Franklin's opposition, the ministers in Pennsylvania persuaded its convention in 1776 to allow only Christians to hold office. Maryland passed the same restriction that year and did not revise its constitution to allow Jews to serve until 1851 and even then insisted that all officeholders believe in a future state of rewards and punishment.

The states feared religious strife and sought to protect their citizens by forbidding practicing ministers from serving in the legislatures. Six states banned ministers exercising their pastoral vocation from serving in the legislature (South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Delaware, and New York). New York wished to be delivered from "bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests," but South Carolina noted that "a profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function" (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 5, p. 2636; vol. 6, p. 3253).

All of the state constitutions included a loyalty oath or affirmation. Six states required the naming of God in their oaths, while only two did not mention the deity in the prescribed form; the others did not stipulate the form of the oath. In theory, the "so help me God" formulation was not meant to enlist the aid of God in telling the truth but to acknowledge that God would deal with the person in this or the next life in a manner congruent with whether he or she told the truth. Several state constitutions made this explicit by requiring officeholders to acknowledge a future realm of rewards and punishment (heaven and hell).

### EASING REQUIREMENTS

The most secular constitution of 1777 was the Articles of Confederation, which did not mention God nor require an oath of loyalty. The Federal Constitution made no mention of God either in the preamble or the oath of office, created no religious test, and allowed an affirmation.

The individual states also eased their requirements before and after 1787, showing widespread but by no means universal opposition to some religious tests, particularly those against Catholics and Jews. The Pennsylvania constitution of 1790 ended the restriction upon Jews, but still required a belief in God and in a realm of rewards and punishments after death. This provision would remain in the state's constitutions until the twentieth century. The South Carolina constitution of 1790 dropped the name of God and the religious test for electors and officeholders. The Delaware constitution of 1792 also dropped religious tests. Georgia's 1789 document continued the state's policy of no religious test. Kentucky in 1792 banned ministers from officeholding but required the naming of God in its oath; the state dropped the latter requirement in 1799. In 1777 and 1786, Vermont restricted officeholding to Protestants who believed in heaven and hell. After becoming a state in 1791, however, it required only belief in God and in heaven and hell. Many of the religious tests endured long into the nineteenth century. Massachusetts ended them in 1833, North Carolina in 1835, and New Jersey in 1844. Invoking the name of God in oaths of office remained common even when states allowed an affirmation.

What should one conclude about the significance of religious tests? At the time of the Revolution, eleven states and Vermont proclaimed their devotion to religious liberty even while maintaining a religious test for office. The citizens wanted to guarantee that honest, God-fearing men held office, but feared the influence of church organization on politics. Ironically, the 1776 constitution of Virginia, the most

secular state document, did not bar ministers from serving, while South Carolina's constitution of 1778, filled with religious sentiments, did. At first, only Georgia accepted the Virginia pattern, but it became increasingly influential even before the Constitution of 1787. The impact of the federal Constitution and the First Amendment was felt because while many Americans had already concluded that religious tests were unnecessary or an infringement on religious liberty, no one had argued that they were illegal.

*See also* **Constitutionalism; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Curry, Thomas J. *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* 7 vols. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1909.

*J. William Frost*

**REVIVALS AND REVIVALISM**   The period in American history stretching from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century was marked by many dramatic bursts of revivalism. Revivalism is a movement within modern Christianity, particularly but not exclusively Protestantism, that calls on individuals to repent of their sin, believe the Gospel, and enter a proper relationship with God. Revivals are generally experienced communally, but they stress, by rhetoric and ritual, the individual's spiritual standing. Revivals shaped the lives of countless Americans and deeply affected the character of colonial and early national religion and society. Revivalists challenged the conventional hierarchies of religious culture, and they advanced an egalitarian, voluntaristic, and inclusive social order that was often international in scope.

Yet revivals polarized as much as they consolidated, leaving a long tradition of controversy in their wake. These events were highly contested in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and have stimulated a wide spectrum of interpretation ever since, both among their supporters and detractors. Most scholars today see the revivals as an important storyline in the unfolding narrative of American history, and certainly they receive prominent treatment in American history textbooks. But some have challenged the notion of revivalism's centrality to American history. In 1982, for example, the historian Jon Butler argued that the so-called Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century was an "interpretive fiction," a creation of mid–nineteenth-century evangelicals overly eager to give their nation a sanctified past. As such, Butler urged that the notion of a Great Awakening reveals more about subsequent evangelical aspirations than about eighteenth-century realities. By employing a homogenizing concept like the Great Awakening, scholars assume a religious and political unity that does not exist, and the formation of the American nation can become something of a stepchild of evangelicalism. Historians of American religion have generally appreciated Butler's careful attention to the historical construction of the category of revivalism and to religious diversity, but subsequent studies have shown that the Great Awakening was not merely a product of the nineteenth century; the concept was "invented" while the revivals were happening, the historian Frank Lambert has argued, by evangelicals like Thomas Prince, the editor of *Christian History* (1743–1745), eager to see God's hand in the surprising and gracious revivalist events of the day.

### DEFINITIONS AND ORIGINS

As a distinct form of modern religious experience, revivals, as explained by the historian Russell Richey, can be identified by the following ten traits: a firm grounding in the Pietist tradition, a proselytizing tendency, a soteriology of crisis (that is, the conversion experience), the assumption of religious declension, the presence of crowds, an emphasis on voluntarism, a dramatic ritual form, charismatic leadership, confidence among participants in the fact of God's presence, and a strong communication network. As Richey points out, one or two of these factors may be absent and people may still wish to call something a revival. But where all exist there is usually little doubt about whether a revival has occurred.

Yet the ambiguities surrounding revivalism's importance to American history point to a deeper confusion about revivalism's definition. Implicit in the term itself is a notion of spiritual decline from which one might be revived. It is this quality that set the revivals apart from the cultural institution of the

***Camp Meeting.*** Between the 1790s and the 1830s a series of highly emotional revival meetings and denominational organizing drives, especially among Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, produced a rise in membership. This 1829 lithograph by Kennedy and Lucas is based on a painting by Alexander Rider. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

biannual Presbyterian communion seasons, which were popular in America, Ireland, and Scotland. The revival tradition grew out of the rituals of these communion seasons, in which congregants would gather together for a week or more, hear preaching, and, most important, receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These holy fairs shaped a distinct revival experience centered in personal introspection and communal renewal. However, because most contemporary scholarship debunks the long-entrenched notion that religion was in fast decline in the early eighteenth century, historians have had to look elsewhere to account for revivalism's considerable appeal. The Pietist and Puritan movements in western Europe and North America, which preceded the era of revivals, help scholars to understand that the revivals emerged as a challenge to the new emphasis on rationality in the Western Enlightenment. Revivals, then, are a distinctly modern form of religious practice that gave new attention to individual subjectivi-

ty, centering religion in the heart rather than the head.

### THE GREAT AWAKENING

Revivals occurred as early as the late seventeenth century, most notably under the ministry of Solomon Stoddard in Northampton, Massachusetts. During the period between the 1730s and the 1770s, however, these efforts intensified into a broader movement known as the First Great Awakening. In the process, the revivals initiated a slow but steady transformation of religion and society in America. The period prior to the 1730s was characterized by clerical religion and sundry attempts on the part of the clergy to bring the laity into conformity with orthodox religious practice. The period beginning with the Great Awakening represents a triumph of lay religion—a shift, as Mark Noll put it in his 1993 article, "The American Revolution and Protestant Evangelicalism," "from the minister as an inherited authority

figure to an effective mobilizer, from the definition of Christianity by doctrine to its definition by piety, and from a state church encompassing all of society to a gathered church made up only of the converted" (p. 626).

The colonial revivals of the mid–eighteenth century (especially from the 1730s to the 1750s) were one part of a transatlantic phenomenon that stretched from Scotland to Boston, and from Saxony to South Carolina. The English-speaking phase of this movement centered on the ministry of the Anglican itinerant George Whitefield (1714–1770), who made seven trips to North America and traveled widely in the United Kingdom. Whitefield was a committed Calvinist who believed and preached that the "new birth," or conversion, could occur only through God's initiation. But his Calvinism did not keep him from doing all he could to ensure that his revivals would be a worldly success. Whitefield's agents would send news of the surprising works of God ahead to the next town he would soon visit, stimulating intense interest in the event and laying the groundwork for hearts to be changed. According to Harry Stout, Whitefield pioneered technologies of communication (appropriating theater techniques) that would not only alter the future course of American religion but also spread into other arenas of culture including politics and entertainment. Far more than others, Whitefield was a master at making the complexities of faith simple—even simplistic—and his popularity grew as a result. A person of celebrity status, Whitefield was first to be seen by a majority of the colonists. In 1739 the skeptic and printer Benjamin Franklin heard him in Philadelphia and was duly impressed, willing to support Whitefield as much for the publishing business he generated as the morality he inculcated in the population through his evangelical Calvinism. Franklin was astounded by the size of the crowd that gathered in Philadelphia to hear him, a testimony to his unusual skill in voice projection as well as to his phenomenal success in bringing religion into the marketplace of ideas in the Atlantic world.

Whitefield was only the brightest star in a constellation of other lesser but noteworthy lights, and these revivalists' diverse backgrounds indicate the complex ways in which revivals mixed with American culture. Revivalists and those affected by the revival fell along a range of theological positions and denominational standpoints. Some pro-revivalists, like Whitefield, the Presbyterian Gilbert Tennent, and the Dutch Reformed Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen, moved safely within a Calvinist orbit, even though

they nevertheless challenged long-established ecclesiastical traditions and put a new emphasis on religious experience. Others, particularly those under Wesleyan and later Methodist auspices, articulated their gospel as a challenge to Calvinism: God's grace had made it possible for humans everywhere to repent and live holy lives. The revivals also generated a cohort of religious radicals that famously challenged established hierarchies and conventions with a call from God. In the mid–eighteenth century Andrew Croswell and James Davenport both bordered on antinomianism in their defenses of the saving graces of God, calling into question the spiritual validity of the established Christian ministries and earning for themselves much public opprobrium throughout New England and beyond. As the wing of the Awakening occupied by Croswell and Davenport became increasingly strident and radicalized, the colonial ministry split on the question of revivals. Pro-revivalists, or "New Lights," were opposed by the conservative "Old Lights," with the Old Lights taking offense at the way that revivals were undermining traditional social values. The Congregational clergyman Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), a New Light moderate and the grandson of Solomon Stoddard, carried on a long debate with the Old Light conservative Charles Chauncy, resulting in Edwards's *Treatise Concerning the Religious Affections* (1746). In this defense of the revivals, Edwards spent most of his pages chronicling all the ways religious experience may be false and thus destructive to religion and society. Similarly, the colonial Presbyterian tradition underwent a temporary schism between its "New Side" and "Old Side." But for all the love lost between fellow denominationalists, pro-revivalists found a refreshing new camaraderie with others from outside their own traditions and regions who also supported the awakenings. Thus the intercolonial religious discourse took place across a range of Protestant viewpoints.

### THE RISE OF THE METHODISTS AND BAPTISTS

While evangelical Calvinists of Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Anglican, or Dutch Reformed background dominated the early phase of the Great Awakening, the Separates, Baptists, Methodists, and Disciples of Christ laid the revivalist groundwork of the Revolutionary era. These Protestant traditions were sympathetic to experimental revivalism and thrived in the democratic atmosphere of the early decades of the new American Republic. They gave voice to religious enthusiasm, appealed to the individual conscience, nurtured egalitarianism, and, not least, tapped into a burgeoning entrepreneurialism.

Francis Asbury (1745–1816), a tireless itinerant and America's first Methodist bishop, was one of these religious entrepreneurs, traveling thousands of miles on horseback each year bringing Methodist institutions like the class meeting and its distinctive connectionalism to the American countryside. Methodism relied on a dedicated and involved laity for its growth and provided just enough clerical leadership for the laity to flourish. Under Asbury's leadership, American Methodism came to feature a highly centralized episcopal polity with a remarkably flexible institutional culture; hence its early expansion occurred with relatively few growing pains. By 1830 it would be the largest denomination in the country.

Religious historians have been increasingly attuned to the presence and cultural role of evangelical revivalism in the American South, looking in particular at the way that religion and race intersected. The revivals of the 1730s and 1740s had a limited impact in the southern colonies despite the best efforts of Whitefield and others. In the years surrounding the Revolution, however, the appeal of the Methodists and Baptists began to strengthen among the South's largely unchurched populations. Baptist ministers in North Carolina and Virginia, who took up preaching as an avocation with little remuneration, gained a following among the poorer frontier farmers and even some free and enslaved blacks. The worshipping culture of the evangelical churches was an affront to the refined manners of the southern gentleman. Not only were evangelical services emotional and full of improprieties, but evangelical ministers denounced the worldly amusements and values of the planter class, their social and religious hierarchies, and even their standards of manliness.

As evangelicalism became more of a force in the South in the early years of the nineteenth century, even winning adherents among the planting class, it did so by making several conspicuous concessions. Whereas ministers prior to 1740 rarely challenged the slave system, the notion of absolute equality before God implicit in evangelical religion gradually made slavery a problem. Quakers and other radical Protestants were the first to articulate slavery as a problem, but evangelicals were not far behind, and early Methodists and Baptists in the South ruffled feathers by implicitly and explicitly challenging dominant race ways. In fact, scholarship suggests that the Christianization of the South occurred less as a product of intense conversions among Americans of European and African descent than as a result of the construction of lasting communal structures that evangelicals introduced: churches, the class

meetings of Methodists, and a reconstruction of marriage, slavery, and commercial relations. But as Christianization proceeded apace, evangelicalism especially in the South eventually shed its critiques of slavery and of entrenched traditions of honor in exchange for cultural dominance.

### THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

There is no way of knowing exactly how many lives were influenced by the revivals of the early nineteenth century. It is known, however, that the denominations that carved out a space for revivalist culture fast outpaced the denominations that opposed it. Methodists, Baptists, and the Disciples of Christ (the "antiformalists") eclipsed the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Unitarians (the "formalists"). In the process, many of the former denominations spawned smaller sects and movements that imparted to the Second Great Awakening its trademark diffuse and fragmented character. Particularly in the 1820s and beyond, sectarian groups tapped into the revivalist ethos to create what the historian Paul Conkin calls "American originals," religions and sects that trace their origins to the cultural ferment of the early national period. Nevertheless, most of the revival activity associated with the Second Great Awakening had a strong evangelical core, creating a dominant evangelical Protestant culture in the United States by the second half of the nineteenth century.

The revivalist cultures that proliferated in the early nineteenth century resembled colonial revivalism, but a few subtle shifts were increasingly apparent. Early national revivalists were more willing to posit the right and duty of every Christian to search the Scriptures for themselves and individually to discern the truth. Some of the most effective ministers had little if any formal theological training and wielded tremendous spiritual authority in people's lives by virtue of their charismatic appeal. The traveling Methodist itinerant Lorenzo Dow was famous for his dramatic preaching, in which he would amaze audiences by his jerking bodily movements as well as his denunciations of established churches and their pastors. Preachers such as Dow liberally applied what they took as the lessons of the American Revolution to religious life. The validity of republican and democratic principles, they claimed, was self-evident, and all that was necessary for a vital religious life was for Christians to think and to act for themselves and to band together voluntarily in communities and churches of their own making. Such themes were the ideological fuel of the Second Great Awakening.

On the other end of the evangelical spectrum were revivalists like Lyman Beecher (1775–1863), a man committed to the established order as well as to revivalism. Beecher sought in more modest ways to adapt his native Calvinist Congregationalism to the new democratic republican ethos of the nation. His concern was that Calvinism, if not moderated by good common sense, could lead people to spiritual lethargy and despair. With his friend Nathaniel William Taylor of Yale College, Beecher sought to refashion Calvinism so as to make sense of the revival experience of personally accepting or rejecting grace. In fact, one general pattern that emerges in the history of revivals from the Revolutionary period through the early Republic is a shift from a Calvinistic to a pragmatic framework for understanding the revival's origins and function. Ministers in the mid-eighteenth century spilled much ink defending the notion that revivals were works of God, even "surprising" works in Jonathan Edwards's formulation. By the early Republic, many evangelicals became convinced that Calvinism produced apathy and so, with Charles G. Finney, urged that revivals and the "new heart" that they were calculated to change were the proper domain of human agency. In both the radical and conservative wings of the Second Great Awakening, the importance of individual experience emerged.

*See also* **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Bible; Congregationalists; Disciples of Christ; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Methodists; Millennialism; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Pietists; Professions: Clergy; Quakers; Religion: Overview; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blumhofer, Edith L., and Randall Balmer, eds. *Modern Christian Revivals.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Bratt, James D. "Religious Anti-Revivalism in Antebellum America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 24 (spring 2004): 65–106.

Butler, Jon. "Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretive Fiction." *Journal of American History* 69 (1982): 305–325.

Conkin, Paul K. *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

Lambert, Frank. *Inventing the "Great Awakening."* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.

McClymond, Michael J., ed. *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North American Revivalism.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Noll, Mark A. "The American Revolution and Protestant Evangelicalism." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (winter 1993): 615–638.

Richey, Russell E. "Revivalism: In Search of a Definition." *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 28 (1993): 165–175.

Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communions and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.

*R. Bryan Bademan*

# REVOLUTION

This entry consists of thirteen separate articles: *Diplomacy*, *European Participation*, *Finance*, *Home Front*, *Impact on the Economy*, *Military History*, *Military Leadership*, *American*, *Naval War*, *Prisoners and Spies*, *Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution*, *Social History*, *Supply*, and *Women's Participation in the Revolution*.

## *Diplomacy*

For the United States, the key problem of the diplomacy of the American Revolution was to secure aid from abroad without sacrificing independence. With the outbreak of war in 1775, many Americans in and out of Congress presumed that some foreign aid was necessary. On 29 November 1775, the Continental Congress created the Committee of Secret Correspondence (renamed in 1777 the Committee for Foreign Affairs) to communicate with friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere.

The main questions regarding foreign alliances were whether independence should come before or after such agreements, what America had to offer foreign powers, and what commitments America should make to them. Leaders as different as John Dickinson and Patrick Henry believed that independence without an alliance in place would put America at the mercy of France. Samuel and John Adams believed that other nations would not sign alliances until America declared its independence and that the offer of trade would bring alliances without political commitments. In *Common Sense* (1776), Thomas Paine argued that American agricultural productions would force European concessions "while eating is the custom of Europe." Agreeing with this assessment, John Adams in March 1776 proposed a commercial alliance with France that would accept no

REVOLUTION

French troops or ministers, taking only French arms and supplies. On 6 April, Congress opened American ports to the world. Congress sent Silas Deane, a Connecticut merchant and former member of Congress, to France to purchase munitions.

On 11 June, Congress appointed a committee to draft a plan of a treaty that would be offered to other powers. Adams completed the Model Treaty in July. It would grant the United States and the other nation most-favored-nations status in each other's ports. Adams borrowed this provision from the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Adams also included provisions traditionally favored by small navy powers, such as a limited contraband list (of items that neutrals could trade to belligerents and still remain neutral) and the principle that free ships make free goods, meaning that all goods carried in a neutral ship are considered neutral. The only military provision stated that the United States would not seek a separate peace if Great Britain declared war on the other signatory. Congress adopted a slightly modified version as official policy on 17 September 1776. Military setbacks led Congress to abandon the Model Treaty by the end of the year. In December 1776 Benjamin Franklin joined Arthur Lee and Silas Deane as an American envoy in Paris. They were authorized to do whatever was necessary to bring France into the war.

### SEEKING FRENCH SUPPORT

France was the natural choice for an ally. Since its humiliating defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), France had sought a way to regain its power and prestige. France sent several secret agents to the American colonies during the 1760s and 1770s to determine if the colonial crisis might be turned to French advantage. In September 1775 France's foreign minister, the Comte de Vergennes, sent Julien-Alexandre Achard de Bonvouloir to Philadelphia. Bonvouloir reported back that Congress was seeking French aid. Upon receiving this report, Vergennes moved toward supporting the American Revolution. In March 1776 Vergennes prepared his "Considerations" on the colonial rebellion, recommending that France and Spain prepare for potential war with Great Britain, that France assure Great Britain that it had no hostile intentions, and that France should secretly supply the American Revolutionaries with munitions. King Louis XVI approved the policy in April. Vergennes than directed his deputy, Joseph-Mathias Gérard de Rayneval, to draft another paper, "Reflections," which argued that British power and wealth depended on the colonies. American success would increase French power and trade while perma-

nently damaging Great Britain. The French government set up a dummy corporation, Rodrigue Hortalez and Company, led by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, to funnel munitions to America. By 1777 France was paying for the bulk of the war.

Soon after Franklin's arrival in Paris in December 1776, he, Deane and most of the Americans in the mission to France moved to a residence at Passy, which became the Americans' headquarters. The mission was far from unified. Lee's heightened sense of his own republican virtue led him to be overly suspicious of the motives and actions of those around him. He soon suspected that Franklin and Deane were plotting against him. Meanwhile, the mission was also riddled with spies, double agents, and others of questionable loyalty. The most notorious double agent was Edward Bancroft, who met with Deane in Paris in July 1776 and subsequently served first as Deane's secretary and then as secretary of the legation. Franklin never knew of Bancroft's activities and tended to dismiss the danger of spies. Others around the mission, such as William Carmichael, who served as Deane's secretary and later as John Jay's secretary in Spain, sometimes acted in ways that cast doubt upon their loyalties.

Benjamin Franklin was already the most prominent of the Americans and so naturally took the lead in diplomacy. He recognized that France was in a delicate position and sought to help the American cause through what later generations would call public diplomacy. He avoided the court of Louis XVI and instead concentrated on the salons of Paris, appealing to the intellectuals and wooing the ladies there. French Enlightenment thinkers tended to have an idealized view of America as an unspoiled utopian wilderness. Franklin played on this image and portrayed himself as a simple backwoodsman. He appeared around Paris in a coonskin cap, which certainly would not have been part of his wardrobe in London or Philadelphia. In these ways he kept the American cause before the eyes of influential Parisians without embarrassing the French government.

Franklin agreed with the moderates in Congress that the United States should rely on France for foreign aid and not seek other entanglements. Arthur Lee, like the radicals in Congress led by the Adamses and the Lees, sought to balance other allies against France. In February 1777 Lee left for Spain. He was not officially received but was promised aid. Between May and July he was in Berlin seeking permission to use Prussian ports for American privateers. King Frederick II had some sympathy for the United States, but could not risk hostilities with Great Brit-

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEW AMERICAN NATION *99*

ain. In May, Congress decided to expand diplomatic activities, naming Arthur Lee commissioner to Spain, his older brother William as commissioner to the Holy Roman Empire, and Ralph Izard as commissioner to Tuscany. The commissioners received their appointments in September.

Vergennes hoped to keep the American war at a low level while preparing for a wider conflict with Great Britain. In the spring of 1777 Rayneval concluded that the navy would not be ready until March 1778. The aggressive American use of privateers out of French ports threatened to bring a premature war. On 23 July, Vergennes presented a memorial to the king that France could no longer prop up the American cause through secret aid. The time had come for a formal offensive and defensive alliance. The king agreed, provided that Spain join any such alliance. Spain, however, preferred to avoid an open war with Great Britain and advocated a truce between America and Great Britain guaranteed by France and Spain. The American victory at Saratoga, New York, on 17 October 1777 changed the diplomatic situation. Word of the victory reached Paris on 3 December. The week before, Deane had suggested threatening to reconcile with Great Britain if France did not offer recognition. Soon after the news of Saratoga, the North ministry in Britain sent Paul Wentworth, a former colonial agent for New Hampshire, to try to get a settlement short of independence. Fear of a deal between the Americans and the British contributed to Vergennes promising recognition on 17 December 1777. He had wanted to wait until Spain was on board.

### THE FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

The United States and France concluded two treaties on 6 February 1778. One was a treaty of amity and commerce based on the Model Treaty. The other was a treaty of alliance. The alliance provided that France and the United States would fight together against Great Britain if Britain declared war on France. The United States was free to conquer Canada and Bermuda, and France could keep any islands it took in the Caribbean. Neither would sign a separate peace with Great Britain. France and the United States agreed to guarantee each other's territory in America. The king appointed Conrad-Alexandre Gérard as minister to the United States and formally received the American commissioners on 20 March. In November 1777 Congress replaced Deane with John Adams, who arrived in Paris in February. Formal recognition made the commission system obsolete and even counterproductive. In September 1778 Con-

gress named Franklin minister to France and recalled all other commissioners.

The Franco-American alliance turned the American war into a transatlantic conflict. The goals of the United States, however, remained the same: independence with a minimum of outside interference. Many Americans assumed that French interest in American independence would lead France to do what the United States wanted. For France, the U.S. alliance was a part of a wider strategy against Great Britain. France wanted to create a client state, completely independent of Great Britain but reliant on France for its survival. France had its own objectives in the Caribbean, India, and Africa that had little or nothing to do with American independence. The problem for France was how to confine American ambitions to a framework compatible with French policy and France's European allies.

Political divisions within the United States made France's task easier. For the first two years after independence, Great Britain failed to make any counteroffer that might have divided the Continental Congress. In 1776 the Howe brothers were authorized to offer only a partial amnesty. In the spring of 1778, a commission led by the Earl of Carlisle offered some home rule, but not independence. French policy opened divisions the British had closed. Congress recalled Deane for issuing too many army commissions to French officers who did not speak English. In September 1778 Congress took up charges by Arthur Lee of Deane's corruption. Deane had heavily invested in Rodrigue Hortalez, mixing his personal and official accounts to the point where they could not be untangled. Franklin and the moderates in Congress believed Deane innocent of any wrongdoing. The Lee-Adams faction believed the charges. In response, Deane accused the Lee family of disloyalty to the alliance.

The dispute came at an opportune moment for Gérard's efforts to moderate American peace demands. Congress began to discuss peace ultimata in early 1779, and on 23 February approved independence, possession of territory to the Mississippi, free use of the Mississippi below thirty-one degrees north latitude, British evacuation of American territory, access to the Newfoundland fisheries, and either the cession or independence of Nova Scotia. These ultimata threatened French goals in Newfoundland and would have frightened Spain. On 12 April 1779 France and Spain signed the Treaty of Aranjuez in which Spain joined the war against Great Britain. Gérard attached himself to the moderates, subsidized a newspaper campaign against American claims to the

fisheries, and sought to moderate American demands in the West. His work paid off on 14 August, when Congress reduced its demands to independence and possession of territory to the Mississippi north of thirty-one degrees. Congress then debated electing someone to the joint post of minister to Spain and peace commissioner. Moderates supported John Jay. Radicals abandoned Arthur Lee for John Adams. On 26 and 27 September, Congress voted to split the position, sending Jay to Spain and naming Adams peace commissioner. Gérard resigned his position for health reasons, and the Chevalier de la Luzerne arrived as his replacement in August 1779. Vergennes cautioned Luzerne against becoming too identified, as Gérard had, with any one political faction.

### SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

Jay and Adams arrived in Spain at the end of 1779 and proceeded to their respective posts. Jay's main goal was to secure a Spanish alliance and loan while preserving American claims to the West and access to the Mississippi. Spain did not favor American independence but did wish to hurt Great Britain, so it funneled money to the United States through American agents in Europe. In February 1780 the Conde de Floridablanca, Spain's foreign minister, told Jay he would have to give up claims to the West. Floridablanca did not formally receive Jay until 11 May 1780. Again, Floridablanca was willing to loan money in exchange for an American retreat from the West. Jay had always held the Mississippi to be a vital American interest. He appealed to the Comte de Montmorin, the French ambassador to Spain, for assistance. When none came, Jay concluded that France dictated Spanish policy. In October, Congress reaffirmed the claim to the Mississippi. Military setbacks led Congress in February 1781 to allow Jay to back off the claim to navigation below thirty-one degrees north. Jay learned of his new instructions in May. On 19 September 1781, Jay offered to abandon the lower Mississippi in exchange for an alliance. The offer was good only for the duration of the war.

John Adams's mission was no more successful. Adams wanted to reveal his commission to the British to see if Great Britain would negotiate. Vergennes believed such a move premature. Adams believed that France was wasting resources on its abortive invasion of Great Britain and the failed assault on Gibraltar when deployment off New York would end the war. Adams defended Congress's 18 March 1780 decision to devalue the currency and refused Vergennes's request to intercede for French merchants. Vergennes concluded that he could no longer negoti-

ate with Adams and broke off communication with him. Franklin also considered Adams a disruptive presence and believed that the United States needed to treat France with deference, making no demands.

Adams wished to bring as many nations as possible into the conflict. In July 1780 Russia proposed an Armed Neutrality, a league of the neutral powers of northern Europe dedicated to maritime principles similar to those in the Model Treaty. Adams urged the United States to apply for membership. Congress sent Francis Dana as minister to Russia, but he was never received. In August 1780 Adams left Paris for the Netherlands to serve as acting minister until the arrival of Henry Laurens. Laurens was captured by the British a month later. Adams's main goal was to secure loans and so he set up his mission at Amsterdam rather than The Hague. Adams constantly appealed to the Netherlands as a fellow republic and a fellow small navy power, but to no avail. The Netherlands did not grant a loan until June 1782, after news of Yorktown had reached Europe.

### THE TREATY OF PARIS

By 1781 the expense of war and a string of battlefield defeats led France to explore a negotiated settlement. In May, Russia and Austria offered to mediate between Great Britain and "the colonies." Vergennes was willing to accept only if all of France's allies accepted as well. As peace commissioner, Adams refused to attend any conference that did not recognize American independence. Great Britain refused any direct negotiation with the United States. Vergennes believed that Adams was the main obstacle to peace and instructed Luzerne to lobby Congress for Adams's removal. The first half of 1781 saw a series of military disasters, and Congress had begun to panic. On 15 June 1781, Congress revoked Adams's single commission and approved a five-member commission of Adams, Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson. Congress instructed the commission that France was to take the lead in all negotiations.

Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown on 19 October 1781 started the chain of events that concluded in the Treaty of Paris. On 4 March 1782 Parliament voted to suspend offensive operations. On 20 March the North ministry fell and was replaced by a government under the Marquis of Rockingham and the Earl of Shelburne, both American sympathizers. Franklin sent peace feelers in March and in April began unofficial negotiations with Richard Oswald, a Scottish merchant. Oswald was formally appointed on 17 June. Jay arrived in Paris on 23 June. Rock-

ingham died on 1 July, leaving Shelburne as chief minister.

On 10 July, Franklin presented a peace proposal that went beyond the ultimata of 1779 to include access to the fisheries as a necessary article and the cession of Canada as a desirable one. Shelburne was willing to grant a generous peace, particularly regarding western claims and the fisheries. Oswald arrived with a commission on 8 August, but Jay objected to the fact that the commission did not formally recognize American independence. Two days later, Jay and Franklin met with Vergennes and Rayneval. The French diplomats informed the Americans that the claim to the Mississippi was extravagant and should not be a necessary article. Jay concluded that the commissioners must violate the 15 June 1781 instructions and sign a separate peace. Franklin reluctantly agreed.

Oswald returned to Paris on 27 September. On 5 October, Jay submitted a draft treaty that would give the United States much of New Brunswick and lower Ontario. Great Britain rejected it on 17 October, but it did serve as the basis of the final treaty. Adams arrived in Paris on 26 October, having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the Netherlands on 8 October. Laurens did not join negotiations until the final days, and Jefferson never left for Europe. On 30 November 1782 Great Britain and the United States concluded a preliminary treaty that recognized American independence and granted territory to the Mississippi, granted some access to the fisheries, and allowed British merchants to collect prewar debts. The Americans had hoped for a commercial treaty that restored trade patterns in the West Indies. The peace brought down the Shelburne ministry and the new government took a harder line. The final Treaty of Paris, signed on 3 September 1783, read the British–American articles into a general settlement. France never did see the economic benefits it expected. The British did not completely evacuate American territory until 1796. The Maine boundary was not completely settled until 1842, and the fisheries remained a contentious issue until 1871.

See also **Adams, John; Continental Congresses; Fisheries and the Fishing Industry; Franklin, Benjamin; Mississippi River; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Treaty of Paris.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957.

Dull, Jonathan R. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

Hutson, James H. *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980.

Morris, Richard B. *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence*. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress*. New York: Knopf, 1979.

Stinchcombe, William C. *The American Revolution and the French Alliance*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969.

*Robert W. Smith*

## European Participation

Both individual foreigners and foreign governments aided the Patriot cause during the Revolutionary War. The individuals who served were motivated by a wide range of factors, including idealism, the desire for professional military experience, and personal financial gain. Those who came to America to assist in the fight against Britain include some of the most important figures in the Continental Army.

Four Europeans stand out for their notable contributions to the Patriot cause. Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette, the Marquis de Lafayette, came from one of the most prominent noble families of France. He rose to became one of the Continental Army's major field commanders as a major general and virtually an adopted son of army commander General George Washington. Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was neither a baron nor a general as he claimed when he arrived at Valley Forge from Prussia in February 1778, but he had served as a junior officer on the staff of Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia. Washington immediately recognized his value and appointed Steuben as the drill master of the Continental Army and then its inspector general. Steuben played an important role in training the army. He greatly simplified the Prussian drill, and he produced the first drill manual for the army. Thaddeus Kosciusko of Poland was the first major foreign volunteer for the American cause. Congress made him a colonel of engineers. In this capacity he provided great assistance to the Continental Army, especially in the construction of defensive works, including the design and fortification of West Point on the Hudson. Promoted to brigadier general at the end of the war, Kosciusko played an important role in subsequent Polish history, as did Lafayette in

France. Kosciusko's fellow Pole, Count Casimir Pulaski, was a fearless leader who as a brigadier general helped develop cavalry in the Continental Army. He died in the cause of American independence at Savannah in October 1779. Johann de Kalb (also not a baron, nor authorized to place the "de" before his name), born in Bavaria, retired from the French army in 1763. As a Continental Army major general and highly effective commander in the field, Kalb was mortally wounded in the August 1780 Battle of Camden. There were of course many other foreigners serving in the Continental Army in lesser capacities, many of whom gave their lives for the cause of American independence.

Among foreign governments supporting the Patriot cause, France was far and away the most important. As early as September 1775 French agents were in America to assess the rebellion and its course. American privateers operating against Britain soon found welcome in French ports, and, beginning in March 1776, the French government extended financial assistance to the rebels. That same year the French government ordered the shipment of weapons and munitions to the West Indies for transshipment to North America. In the process, France became the chief source of arms supplies for the Patriot cause.

France did not aid the rebels out of interest in the ideals of the American Revolution. Louis XVI could hardly be expected to favor rebellion by a people against their sovereign. Rather, French support was prompted by French foreign minister Charles Gravier, the Comte de Vergennes, who sought to weaken Britain internationally, advance France's interests abroad, and secure revenge for the humiliating defeat suffered by France in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The French aid was handled by the well-known playwright Pierre de Beaumarchais, who came up with a scheme of a bogus trading firm known as Hortalez and Co. Ultimately Beaumarchais dispensed twenty-one million livres in French government funds during the years 1776 to 1783. He secured, mostly from government arsenals, more than two hundred cannon and twenty-five thousand small arms. The latter included the excellent .69 caliber "Charleville" musket, named for the principal French arsenal producing it. The Charleville was an excellent weapon and remained the standard American infantry weapon well after the Revolutionary War. The French also provided 100 tons of gunpowder, 20 to 30 brass mortars, and clothing and tents sufficient for 25,000 men. This was a tremendous amount of aid, and its importance cannot be overstated. Its impact was clear in the September and October 1777 Battle of Saratoga in New York. One source estimates that nine-tenths of the arms used by the Americans there came from France.

The surprising Continental Army victory and surrender of British forces at Saratoga convinced French government leaders at Versailles that the Americans had a chance of winning, and they now decided to bring France into the war openly. In February 1778 France concluded with the United States both a Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a Treaty of Alliance. In the latter, both parties agreed to fight on until American independence was "formally or tacitly assured." Neither power was to conclude a separate peace. In June 1778 hostilities began between France and Britain.

The entry of France in the war was a threat to every part of the British Empire, including India and especially the West Indies. The war now ceased to be wholly a land operation and became largely a contest of sea power. From 1778, except in North America itself, Britain was on the defensive, compelled to surrender the initiative. This change was further accentuated in 1779 when Spain declared war on Britain. In December 1780 rising tensions over its claim to search Dutch shipping led the British government to declare war on the kingdom of the Netherlands. Although the Royal Navy was adequate to secure the Atlantic sailing lanes, it was not sufficiently dominant to meet all possibilities, the most worrisome of which was that France might actually invade the British Isles.

On paper the Royal Navy was in 1778 still more powerful than the French navy, but the latter was more efficient. In that year the Royal Navy had seventy-three ships of the line at sea or in good repair. France had some sixty ships of the line, but many of these were better ships than those of the British. When Spain entered the war in alliance with France in 1779, it added another forty-nine ships of the line. In 1780 the Dutch added another fourteen. The British weathered the threat of a Bourbon invasion in 1779, but this was more from poor allied leadership and disease than any action by the Royal Navy. Spain's interest was chiefly in securing Gibraltar. Although the British managed to hold on to that important possession and indeed maintain their empire outside America, it meant that fewer resources would be available for major offensive operations in North America.

French support was crucial and marked the turning point in the war. In July 1781 a French

navy squadron arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, bringing four thousand French troops under the command of Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau. It was the participation of regiments of the French army in conjunction with squadrons of a powerful French fleet that made possible the defeat of Britain in the war. French troops took the leading role in the critical siege operations at Yorktown in September and October of 1781. Indeed, that land victory was made possible by a brief period of French naval supremacy and success in the Battle of the Chesapeake the month before. In all, some 44,000 Frenchmen took part in the war: 31,500 in the navy and 12,700 in the army. Of these, 5,040 died in the cause of American independence: 3,420 in the navy and 1,620 in the army.

The irony of French support is obvious. The vast sums necessary to fight the war, especially in the naval sphere (total expenditures estimated at some forty million livres), bankrupted France and led directly to the government's decision to tax the nobles. Their resistance to this decision triggered the calling of the Estates General and the French Revolution of 1789.

Some have argued that the United States would not have won its independence without French intervention. Perhaps if the states had been forced to rely entirely on their own means, they would have voted to approve the allocation of the resources necessary to continue the war. But without this, the Continental Army sooner or later would have disbanded. Resistance would have been possible only by guerrilla warfare. Because a large percentage of the population was either opposed to or indifferent to independence, it is doubtful that resistance could have been continued for very long.

Following the British defeat in the Battle of Yorktown, London adopted a policy of cutting its losses and treating both the United States and Spain generously so as to wean them from France. London ceded Florida to Spain, along with the island of Minorca, but it kept Gibraltar, which the British had successfully defended during the war. United States leaders ignored their treaty with France and concluded a separate peace with Britain. In the settlement of 1783, the new Republic obtained territory as far west as the Mississippi. For all its efforts, France secured only the Island of Tobago in the West Indies and Senegal in Africa.

*See also* **British Army in North America; Continental Army; French; Lafayette,** **Marie-Joseph, Marquis de; London; Yorktown, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dull, Jonathan R. *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy*, 1774–1787. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Kennett, Lee. *The French Forces in America*, 1780–1783. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Rice, Howard C., and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Ross, Maurice. *Louis XVI*, *America's Forgotten Founding Father: With a Survey of the Franco–American Alliance of the Revolutionary Period*. New York: Vantage Press, 1976.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

## *Finance*

The rebellious colonies successfully financed the first stages of the Revolution as they had their colonial wars, by issuing fiat paper money called bills of credit. By May 1781, however, both state bills of credit and continentals (bills issued by the Continental Congress) were so numerous as to be almost worthless. In January 1782, a joint-stock commercial bank called the Bank of North America, a financial institution new to America, commenced operations. Its notes and deposits supplanted bills of credit as the major medium of exchange, and its loans to governments and merchants helped to finance the final phases of the war. Forced and voluntary domestic loans and foreign loans also helped to finance the war effort and formed the greater portion of the national debt funded under Alexander Hamilton's funding and assumption plans in the early 1790s.

### SOURCES OF GOVERNMENT REVENUE

Colonial governments generated revenue by selling assets, taxing, borrowing, and issuing bills of credit. In the first stages of the Revolution, only the last method was readily available to the rebel governments.

Colonial governments often owned valuable assets, including public lands. Some colonies, like Maryland, invested budget surpluses in financial securities like Consols (British government bonds) and Bank of England stock. However, titles to such government assets became tenuous after the Declaration of Independence, so the assets could not be sold at favorable prices. In the final years of the war, the sale of confiscated Loyalist estates became a significant revenue source in some places.

Colonial taxes took various forms. The perennial favorite of colonies with large seaports was tariffs, duties on imports (and occasionally exports). Relative to other types of taxes, tariffs were easily collected and the ultimate sources of the revenue were easily obscured: importers paid the duties to government collectors before silently passing the taxes on to their customers in the form of higher prices. Britain's blockade of the American coast severely disrupted international trade, and most wartime imports were destined for government use anyway, so the war severely curtailed tariff receipts.

Colonial governments also taxed real and personal property (land, buildings, slaves, and personal property like kitchen utensils and bedding), as well as certain types of income (rental income and government salaries). Per capita (head) taxes were also imposed in some places. Levying taxes was fairly easy, but even in peacetime actually collecting them was difficult. During the Revolution direct taxes became even more difficult to collect, especially in areas with Loyalist sympathies. Fearful of driving neutrals to the king's side, rebel governments were reluctant to use coercive collectors, sheriffs, and courts, even in patriotic districts. Use taxes, like court and recording fees, were still collected in many areas, but they funded only the specific services provided.

Some colonial governments had established strong credit ratings. After currency reforms in the early 1750s, for example, Massachusetts successfully borrowed specie (gold and silver) and serviced its debts to lenders' satisfaction. Pennsylvania too successfully borrowed on bonds, but not as extensively as Massachusetts did. Especially early in the war, the rebel governments found borrowing difficult because their legitimacy was suspect and their tax receipts and receipts from sales of assets were anemic. As a result, every state informally borrowed from suppliers, contractors, and even soldiers, receiving goods, wares, and services for the promise of later payment.

Beginning in earnest in 1780 and 1781, the military essentially forced Americans to lend by seizing their corn, pigs, and horses in exchange for IOUs. In the last years of the war the soldiers themselves regularly received IOUs in lieu of wages. The rebel governments did not, however, force people to lend specie to them. Instead, they tried to coax people into lending by appealing to their patriotism. The sums offered were insufficient to prosecute the war, largely because lenders feared that they would never be repaid. Throughout the war the United States Loan Office garnered only about $11.6 million in specie from the sale of certificates.

Rebel governments had a final, well-understood expedient open to them: issuing paper bills of credit. At one time or another, every colony, anticipating tax receipts, had issued such bills as a form of scrip rather similar to modern Federal Reserve notes. As government IOUs that bore no interest, the bills were both a form of borrowing and a form of taxation called seigniorage. Governments used them to purchase goods and services, redeeming them later, when bill holders tendered them for taxes or government assets. People who would not consider holding government bonds held bills because they were a medium of exchange—bearer instruments that passed from hand to hand as cash in a wide range of economic transactions.

Bills of credit could also indirectly tax the citizenry with inflation. By the end of 1781, state governments had issued bills totaling about $246 million in terms of nominal or face value. By the time that Congress finally stopped printing continentals in 1779, it had put some $241.5 million into circulation. As early as 1777, the nominal value of bills in circulation far exceeded the demand for money at prevailing price levels, so putting more bills into circulation simply caused inflation. Holders of bills were subject to a type of "tax" when the purchasing power of their bills decreased. Some scholars have pointed to the progressive nature of this tax: those who held the most money suffered the greatest inflationary losses. At first Americans endured the tax of inflation without much discomfort. Moreover, early in the war it was possible to mitigate the tax by refusing to accept the bills. However, with increases in the tax rate (the rate of depreciation or inflation), the rebel governments found it necessary to strictly enforce their legal tender laws. So avoiding the tax became more difficult just as inflation reached its highest levels. Specie, which had been acquired by trading with the British and French armies, disappeared into hoards as people frantically sought to rid themselves of their rapidly depreciating paper money. The end came in April and May 1781, when continentals lost almost all of their remaining value. State bills of credit held up little better. In May Congress repealed its legal tender laws and asked the states to do likewise.

Since it was impractical to issue any more paper money and the troops in the field were in a perilous condition, state governments buckled down and began collecting taxes, first in kind (wheat, horses, gunpowder) and later in gold and silver, which began to emerge from hoards after repeal of the tender laws. Some of the funds the states turned over to Congress, which did not have the power to levy di-

rect taxes. Moreover, the new Republic had fought well enough and long enough to convince European allies that it was creditworthy. In 1781 and 1782 French, Dutch, and Spanish loans totaling some $7.8 million became available.

### ROBERT MORRIS AND THE BANK OF NORTH AMERICA

Increased tax collection and foreign loans were insufficient, however, to continue to prosecute the war. Philadelphia merchant-statesman Robert Morris, whom Congress appointed as superintendent of finance in May 1781, helped to stave off bankruptcy by issuing IOUs backed by his personal credit. Several of his lieutenants, including Treasurer Michael Hillegas, another Philadelphia merchant-statesman, did likewise.

Morris also helped to establish the Bank of North America, the continent's first bank of issue, discount, and deposit. This commercial bank, which began operations in Philadelphia in January 1782, portended the future. Unlike the rebel federal and state governments, the Bank of North America was a business, a private corporation owned by stockholders. Also unlike the rebel governments, the Bank of North America issued not one but two types of liabilities: checking deposits, much like those in use at banks today, and banknotes. Though superficially similar to bills of credit, banknotes were a very different form of cash that most thought vastly superior. For starters, banknotes were not a legal tender for private debts. They circulated because people valued them, not because the government proclaimed that they should. People valued them because they could convert them into specie on demand. Moreover, banknotes were also backed by high-quality, short-term loans to private individuals, not future taxes or land, as bills of credit had been. In addition to supplying the economy with superior cash instruments and merchants with loans, the Bank of North America made numerous short-term loans to the government in the final years of the war.

Due to Congress's continued inability to levy direct taxes, however, the nations' finances remained precarious until after passage of the Constitution and the implementation of Alexander Hamilton's funding and national bank plans. Not including interest on the national debt, Americans paid approximately $163 million (specie) for their independence, roughly 15 to 20 percent of the gross national product, about the same level that they would commit to fighting the Civil War and World War I. Of the total cost of the war, bills of credit (including the taxes and sales

of assets that redeemed some of them) bore about 67 percent of the financial burden ($110 million, specie); voluntary and forced domestic loans ($43 million) and foreign loans ($10 million) accounted for the remainder.

*See also* **Bank of the United States; Banking System; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buel, Richard, Jr. *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Ferguson, E. James. *Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Ferguson, E. James, John Catanzariti, Elizabeth Nuxoll, Mary Gallagher et al., eds. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784.* 9 vols. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973–1999.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Studenski, Paul, and Herman Krooss. *Financial History of the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Beard Books, 2003.

Wright, Robert E. *The Origins of Commercial Banking in America, 1750–1800.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

*Robert E. Wright*

## Home Front

Two fundamental circumstances shaped the lives of civilians during the Revolutionary War. First, while Britain enjoyed unchallengeable military superiority at sea, it lacked the power either to conquer or to control effectively more than isolated outposts and a few cities on the American mainland. This made for a prolonged, inconclusive war. Second, the persistence of regional-colonial economies in North America during the war denied the Revolutionaries the benefit of an integrated, national economy while the struggle lasted.

### THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COLONIAL ECONOMY

Colonial economies produce surpluses for distant, overseas markets in exchange for imported goods not available in their home markets. Throughout the seventeenth century, such long-distance exchanges suffered because the value of American exports was low in relation to their volume while the value of de-

sired imports remained high in relation to theirs. That made it difficult fully to load vessels in both directions. Since the overhead on each voyage remained the same, American producers met the added cost by foregoing some imports they might otherwise have consumed.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, four gateway ports emerged that addressed this inefficiency. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston encouraged British merchant capitalists to fill vessels carrying European merchandise to the colonies through the extension of credit. Besides providing a range of local services like safe harbors, wharfage, warehousing, and low prices for refits, wholesale merchants saw to distributing imports to the interior and assembling return cargoes. All four gateways also served as the judicial centers of their provinces and thus facilitated the collection of local debts. Finally, the gateways encouraged specialization in the West Indian trade, thus diminishing the inefficiencies of the triangular trade in seeking remittances on Europe, by providing a site where the two trades were integrated. The rising standard of living enjoyed by Americans during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century derived principally from the gateways' success in making their respective regional economies more efficient.

Though the Chesapeake Bay region possessed tobacco, the most valuable staple produced in North America, it lacked a gateway because British merchants controlled its marketing in Europe. The merchants valued decentralization because it preserved the distinctive qualities of the leaves grown in each of the bay's estuaries. Tobacco exports also more than balanced the Chesapeake's demand for European goods during much of the colonial period. Only after 1750 did Norfolk and Baltimore start emerging as commercial centers to market the expanding wheat production of Maryland and Virginia in the West Indies and southern Europe. By the Revolution, the Chesapeake was moving in the direction the other regional economies in the colonies had already taken.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY

The colonists initially hoped to bring Britain to terms by denying it the benefit of their trade. When hostilities broke out in 1775, the British navy replaced Congress's Continental Association as the principal barrier to contact with overseas markets. In addition to blockading choke points along the coast like the mouth of the Delaware River and the Virginia Capes at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, Britain's sea power eventually enabled it to seize all the conti-

nent's gateway ports. After being driven from Boston in March 1776, the British held New York from September 1776 until the end of 1783 together with at least one other gateway for most of the rest of the war. Overseas trade never entirely ceased because Americans proved adept at bypassing both the gateways and choke points and the British navy lacked the resources to blockade the entire coast. But the increased risks and costs involved in maintaining contact with overseas markets adversely affected the production of domestic surpluses and dramatically inflated the price of the few imports that continued to trickle in, discouraging the production of domestic agricultural staples still further.

Congress sought to cushion these economic dislocations by issuing continental bills of credit. It hoped a common currency would create a national economy to replace the regional ones. But the means proved inadequate to the end. Britain's navy also threatened the coastal trade, the principal avenue for national economic integration. Even had it not, paper credit instruments by themselves would have experienced difficulty in overcoming the geographic impediments standing in the way of the emergence of a truly national economy. The bills also lost value at the first hint that the debt they represented might not be paid. Since Congress lacked the authority to tax and the state governments were reluctant to do so, there was no way individuals could secure the value represented by the bills besides exchanging them for domestic produce. This raised the price of supplies that the army and urban residents depended upon and forced Congress to issue more bills for progressively less return. The resulting runaway depreciation led to the creation of a nominal debt by 1779 that exceeded anything Americans could conceivably pay. In 1780 Congress repudiated 97.5 percent of it in an effort to retain a remnant of its former credit.

Chronic shortages began plaguing the army well before the currency repudiation and persisted through much of the war. Most civilians also experienced a severe reduction in their standard of living. While some contractors and privateersmen prospered, the vast majority endured economic privation. Few perished from want—North America's poor were more likely to succumb to the winter's cold than to die of starvation—but the moral tone of civil society declined dramatically as civilians competed with the army and among themselves for a shrinking quantity of goods.

## FARM LIFE

During the first year of the conflict, disease affected agricultural production more than the diversion of manpower into the army. In the absence of an effective hospital department, the army sent unseasoned soldiers who sickened in camp back to their homes, thereby communicating camp fever to the civilian population. The larger military mobilizations of 1776 and 1777 cut more directly into agricultural production, but prewar surpluses delayed the full impact of the resulting shortages until 1778–1779. Civilians fared better than the army because labor shortages never threatened subsistence, and families could support their members in the ranks by forwarding supplies through networks of camp visitors. Such assistance was less available when the army was mobile or when detachments embarked on distant expeditions like that launched against Quebec in September 1775. Most men taking part in the early operations of the war, however, benefited from the support of their families and communities.

In an effort to minimize the costs associated with rotating large numbers of short-term recruits through the ranks, Congress decided in September 1776 to raise a permanent army in 1777. This improved its health, though at the expense of its connection with the society from which it was drawn. Efforts by state legislatures to assist families whose principle breadwinners had enlisted failed either to temper the emerging gulf between the army and society or to sustain enlistments. During the last four years of the conflict, the Continental Army shrank steadily in response to adverse economic conditions. After 1778 the collapse of market incentives proved more significant than labor shortages in limiting agricultural production. The brief revival of the grain economy in Philadelphia's hinterland during 1780 and 1781 demonstrates the point. This expansion in production was a direct response to Spain's opening the Cuban market to North American grain imports during the summer of 1780. That revival in turn insured a grain harvest in 1781 sufficient to sustain the concentration of French and American forces around Yorktown that forced Lord Cornwallis's surrender. However, the British navy quickly put an end to this bonanza in 1782 once British officials realized what had happened.

Congress hoped foreign intervention would relieve Americans from their economic difficulties. But initially the French alliance aggravated Congress's currency problems by forcing it to behave in a fiscally irresponsible way to meet the demands of combined operations. The inconclusive results of the campaign of 1778 left Americans embroiled in a conflict they were powerless to extricate themselves from without additional foreign aid. France intervened more effectively in 1780 when it committed Rochambeau's expeditionary force to North America. Provisioning this force provided some economic relief to New England. But despite the military assistance and generous financial subsidies of 1781, France failed to provide a naval umbrella under which America's overseas trade might have recovered. France did supply most of the capital for the Bank of North America, but the tight British blockade of the Delaware River during the first half of 1782 compromised that institution's ability to revive the Patriot economy.

## URBAN LIFE

The capture of gateway ports by the British provided local residents with powerful motives for migrating to the countryside. The British brought disease, especially smallpox, with them, making the cities they occupied far less healthy than they had previously been. Smallpox presented a greater danger to Americans than it did to Europeans because residence in the New World diminished one's exposure and therefore one's resistance to the affliction. Most urban residents had kin in the countryside with whom they could seek refuge, so only the need to protect substantial property or strong political commitments persuaded them to risk health and compete with unfriendly soldiers for housing and fuel in the occupied cities. Because those fleeing a British occupation had many more options than Loyalists fleeing Patriot regimes, New York City's out-migration was more than balanced by Loyalist immigration. If refugees lacked a taste for serving as recruits in Britain's armed forces, they could still find economic opportunity on privateers or in occupations that served the British forces. African slaves fleeing their masters from near and far flooded the city and were formed into a Black Brigade.

Fire partially destroyed New York City in September 1776 and again in August 1778. However, it suffered less of a decline during the war than Boston, Charleston, and Philadelphia experienced. Charleston, occupied from May 1780 to December 1782, had little time to recover. Boston and Philadelphia experienced shorter occupations but failed to recoup their prewar prosperity because of the anemic state of overseas trade. Urban refugees often hesitated about returning from the countryside to dependence on a diminished urban market. As the command center of British operations, New York fared better than the other ports because it was constantly receiving

fresh infusions of supplies both locally and from abroad and enjoyed a hard money economy throughout the war.

### IRREGULAR WARFARE

The inability to hold more than limited amounts of territory plagued the British and Revolutionaries alike. Though Patriot regimes claimed control over most of the continent, neither they nor their army could defend the civilian population near British bases. Even the armies could only protect themselves from surprise by each other by taking positions of natural strength that were sufficiently distant from enemy bases to allow ample warning of impending assault. That left the population in between largely at the mercy of marauders. The British occupation of New York entailed prolonged suffering for the inhabitants of modern Westchester County and northeastern New Jersey. In addition to being subject to periodic forages by both armies, rival militias vied inconclusively for control of the terrain while outlaw elements plundered the inhabitants. Connecticut's shoreline fared only slightly better after of the formation of the Associated Loyalists in 1780. Long Island then became a staging area for refugee raiders bent on seeking compensation for choosing the wrong side.

While irregular warfare often led to lethal violence in the neutral ground of New York and New Jersey, in Connecticut it yielded an epidemic of kidnapping. Long Island, only nominally under British control, was more vulnerable to Patriot retaliation than Manhattan and its environs, while Long Island Sound lent itself to a thriving illicit trade that the chaotic violence closer to New York City would have threatened. The coast of Maine resembled the Connecticut shoreline after the British seizure of Castine in 1779. Though local Loyalists used it as a base for plundering coastal shipping and conducting an illicit trade with Patriot communities, it failed to spawn conflict of any intensity.

Instead, the most virulent irregular warfare of the Revolution emerged in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, where the dispersed demography of the interior precluded the development of significant commercial exchanges that might have restrained the violence. Dispersion also obstructed the exercise of political control. The British, sensing military opportunity in the region's large slave population, had tried unsuccessfully to seize Charleston during June 1776. Another attempt, begun with the invasion of Georgia in the winter of 1778–1779, finally succeeded in May 1780. Leading Patriots then

accepted British protection in exchange for the promise to remain neutral. But the British wanted more than a passive submission, and on 3 June Sir Henry Clinton ordered all enjoying the king's protection to swear allegiance to the crown. Many thought Clinton had released them from their paroles. When the British subsequently treated them as rebels, it initiated an escalating cycle of murder and revenge. Cornwallis's attempt to eliminate Nathaniel Greene's southern army by chasing it through the backcountry magnified the mayhem. By adroitly maneuvering his smaller force, Greene prevented Cornwallis from giving the Loyalists of South and North Carolina the kind of support they needed. After a pyrrhic victory at Guilford Courthouse in March 1781 forced Cornwallis to retreat to the coast, Greene was able to assist the insurgencies that Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion had organized in Cornwallis's rear. The Patriots then eliminated British outposts in the Carolina backcountry and Georgia one by one. Only when this task was completed did the chaos in the Deep South begin to subside.

Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania fared better than their northern or southern neighbors. The British army found Philadelphia, which it occupied from September 1777 to June 1778, a far less secure position than New York City, though Pennsylvania's frontier suffered from British-sponsored Indian raids as much as New York's did. Maryland fared best, being only briefly visited by a British force in 1777 as it made its way toward Philadelphia. During 1782 Loyalist remnants like those based around New York pillaged the state's commerce and even defeated the Maryland navy in pitched battle, but otherwise Maryland's grain and stock remained in high demand among allied forces throughout the war. Virginia survived its first taste of war in 1775, when its last royal governor summoned the slaves to rebel against their Patriot masters, relatively unscathed. After that the state was spared more than an intermittent blockade of the Virginia Capes until the British raided inside the bay during 1779. Convinced that Virginia was powering the American war effort, they returned again in 1780 and 1781. Virginia's dispersed demography hampered defense against enemy penetrations, and in June 1781 Jefferson narrowly escaped capture by an enemy force operating seventy miles from its base. But most of the state was spared the virulent partisan warfare that afflicted the Carolinas and Georgia.

### CONCLUSION

The prolonged traumas experienced by the civilian population during the Revolutionary War remained

part of the social memory of American society for several generations and complicated the approach of the successor generation to a second war with Great Britain in the early nineteenth century.

*See also* **British Army in North America; British Empire and the and the Atlantic World; Chesapeake Region; City Growth and Development; Continental Congresses; Currency and Coinage; Economic Development; Foreign Investment and Trade; Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict; Smallpox; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Buel, Richard, Jr. *Dear Liberty: Connecticut's Mobilization for the Revolutionary War.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980.

———. *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Burrows, Edwin G., and Mike Wallace. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Fenn, Elizabeth A. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

Leamon, James S. *The Revolution Downeast: The War for American Independence in Maine.* Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.

Leiby, Adrian C. *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley: The Jersey Dutch and the Neutral Ground, 1775–1783.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962.

Nadelhaft, Jerome J. *The Disorders of War: The Revolution in South Carolina.* Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1981.

Pancake, John S. *"This Destructive War": The British Campaign in the Carolinas, 1780–1782.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985.

Selby, John E. *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775–1783.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988.

Shepherd, James F., and Gary M. Walton. *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

*Richard Buel Jr.*

## Impact on the Economy

In the decade prior to the American Revolution, the value of annual imports to the thirteen mainland colonies exceeded exports by £1 million per year. At the same time, the British colonies of North America were undergoing rapid economic growth, thus over-shadowing any apparent negative aspects of the continuing trade deficits. As a result of both immigration and natural population growth, the population of the colonies rose from approximately 1 million in 1750 to nearly 2.5 million by 1775, thus rapidly increasing the availability of needed labor, both free and bound. The value of land and resources, through fast and steady improvements, also increased, spurring the development of a domestic market for locally produced agricultural and manufactured goods. Indeed, not only were the thirteen mainland colonies generally prosperous, their domestic economy was growing more rapidly than any other sector of the British Empire.

Despite this growth, the colonies were not self-sufficient. The prosperity of the colonies remained in every way dependent on their collective position within the British mercantile system. First, the colonies relied on trade with other parts of the British Empire, including the home country, the West Indies, Canada, Scotland, Ireland, and the Indian subcontinent. Goods obtained through trade allowed the colonies to concentrate on those areas of economic development that would benefit them the most—subsistence and cash–crop agriculture, mineral extraction and processing, craftwork for local markets, shipbuilding and the carrying trade.

Second, the colonies benefited from immigration during the 1760s and early 1770s precisely because they were part of the British Empire and thus havens of economic growth and opportunity. Servant and slave populations poured into the colonies in this period because their labor was required to increase economic development. Third, the colonies relied on British entrepreneurs. Although domestic capital was becoming more readily available for investment, British investors supplied a vital proportion of the monies and credit necessary for commercial and industrial development in the colonies. Trade deficits aside, in the 1760s the mainland colonies, particularly because of the greater availability of land, for the first time rivaled the West Indies as a growth area for future profits.

Despite attempts to avoid unwanted regulation and taxes, most American colonials realized that continued association with Britain was to their economic advantage. For their part, neither Parliament nor English merchant-manufacturers saw any reason to share economic power with the American colonies. By 1775, a war that was not economically advantageous to either side became unavoidable. The American economy was particularly hard-hit, and it was only the tremendous potential of the former col-

onies that allowed for the reestablishment of a vibrant economy within a decade after the Revolution.

## IMMIGRATION AND LABOR

From the outbreak of war in the spring of 1775 until 1781, immigration to the thirteen rebellious colonies by both free and bound fell to a trickle. Natural increase during the war raised the free population by over 200,000, but far more British regulars arrived in the colonies than migrating settlers. Although natural increase among slaves continued during the Revolution, the evaporation of new imports plus the escape of slaves and some emancipations caused the slave population to decline by nearly 1 percent a year. Shortages of servant labor were more acute. Nearly all servant indentures required four to five years of service; approximately 20 percent of all servant indentures expired each year. Without immigration, the normal replacement pool of servants was not available. As a result, by 1780 the servant population was less than 20 percent of what it had been five years earlier.

Also, approximately 20 percent of all servants and slaves used the upheaval of the Revolution to attempt escape from bondage, and nearly half of them were ultimately successful. Even unsuccessful flight, however, deprived masters of labor for a period of time. Because bound labor was vital to production and the stability of the economy, the decline in new arrivals signaled an inevitable decline in the economy. The absence of free peoples migrating to the new United States also severely limited economic expansion.

## WAR PRODUCTION AND MILITARY SERVICE

The war placed an enormous strain on the economy. The population, cut off from supplies formerly obtained through imports, was pressed to support a wartime economy without the immediate means to do so. Armies needed to be supplied while the colonial labor force was declining. Militias called up men to serve, and the newly organized Continental Army offered bounties for enlistment to attract both free men from among common laborers and servants and slaves who saw service in the military as an avenue toward freedom. Thus the workforce necessary to carry on war production was drained to create a fighting force to carry on the war itself.

## AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Nearly half of all men between the ages of sixteen and forty-five served in some capacity during the war. This put a tremendous burden on women, who for long periods had to manage their own farm labor while taking on as much of the work of absent males as they could handle. Their burden was especially heavy given the shortage of servants and slaves due to reduced immigration. Agricultural production could not keep up with demand.

Industry faced similar problems. Despite the fact that the Continental Congress and individual states exempted industrial workers from military service so as to maintain production, at least 20 percent of workers from mills and ironworks turned up on muster rolls for the militia and Continental Army. Moreover, before the Revolution servants or slaves made up over 40 percent of the full-time workforce; the rapid decline in the availability of these workers between 1775 and 1781 not only impeded industrial production of supplies, but also caused the failure of a significant proportion of businesses.

## WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Labor and production shortages as well as imminent inflation led the Continental Congress to attempt to set wage and price controls. With these measures they hoped to stabilize work and prevent profiteering. Congress also recommended that local assemblies ensure that needed goods were produced at fair prices and made available to the army. In the spring of 1776, however, the Albany committee of correspondence, one of several anti-British bodies throughout the colonies, questioned the concept of fair pricing: Were fair prices to be determined in relation to prewar prices or within the context of the war? Lacking the power to impose universal wage and price controls, Congress left it to the assemblies themselves to set restrictions while continuing to strongly suggest them.

Initially, assemblies followed a general plan that allowed for wages and prices to inflate slowly, based on the rates of 1774. By early 1777 New England states had tentatively agreed to hold the wholesale costs of imported goods to approximately 250 percent of their 1774 prices, with retail prices held to 20 percent above wholesale. Wages were to be limited to 20 percent above the 1774 rates. Despite the initiatives, the states had little capacity to enforce these controls. Beginning with payments to skilled workers, wages quickly rose beyond the limits, and prices rose even faster.

In New York in 1777 representatives from the mid-Atlantic, Maryland, and Virginia gathered for a convention intent on imposing a coordinated series of wage and price controls. All proposed plans, however, were rejected. This did not end attempts to im-

pose controls, but none were effective. Mainly because of spiraling inflation caused by the overdistribution of paper currency and its subsequent devaluation, by 1779 assemblies were trying to put limits on wages and prices that were only fifteen to sixteen times higher than in 1774. There was a universal distrust of the common currency and uncertainty in anything but a barter value for goods and services.

### TAXATION

The Second Continental Congress in May 1776 took what power it could onto itself to carry on the war. But there were many things the Congress simply could not do without the acquiescence of the individual colonies. One of the key powers it lacked was the power to tax; it could only request funds from the colonial assemblies. It was up to the individual assemblies to decide whether and how much to tax so as to meet the needs of Congress.

Supporters of the Revolution and Loyalists alike had been force-fed a philosophy of "no taxation without representation" for nearly a decade. In this tax-aversive climate, few people wished to take on wartime tax burdens. Members of each colonial assembly had to weigh their desire to hold on to their seats against the need to impose new taxes. For the first year of the war, not only was victory uncertain but independence was not even the goal; most colonists simply sought a redress of grievances. Taxing a divided people to support a war whose goal was, in 1775, at best vague was a difficult proposition.

Acting cautiously, colonies (and later states) initially imposed new taxes that would raise barely half of what Congress asked—if in fact they were all collected. Assemblies seemed to pass tax bills that matched congressional requests only when it was understood that a large proportion of the taxes would never be paid.

### CURRENCY

With no treasury to draw from, no power to tax, and no initial credit on which to borrow, the Continental Congress was faced with the nearly impossible task of financing the rebellion. In June 1775 the Congress determined to create, print, and issue a national currency—legal tender for the payment of debt—to pay the debts Congress itself incurred. Beginning that month, a total of $2 million was issued, and thereafter Congress essentially had monies printed and issued as needed—but backed by nothing. In the crisis of war, Congress tried to exercise as much fiscal responsibility as possible, but budgetary

concerns were secondary to the primary task of paying for needed supplies. By the time Congress ceased new issues of currency, nearly $250 million had entered circulation in the form of Continental dollars, all of it virtually worthless. In a perverse twist, Congress had imposed acceptance of the currency through desperation: if farmers, manufacturers, carters, craftspeople, soldiers, and common laborers were to be paid for goods and services at all, they had to take the rapidly depreciating continental dollars and hope they would be worth something after a not-too-certain victory. In 1781, because it took $146 in continentals to buy what $1 had purchased in 1775, even victory in the war could not reverse the devaluation.

At the end of 1781 even the most ardent rebels questioned the economic state of the fledgling nation. Could the new nation ever fulfill the potential it had shown in 1775? The situation looked grim as the peace talks in Paris began.

### PROPERTY: CONFISCATION AND DESTRUCTION

The most obvious tax-evaders from the very beginning of the war were Loyalists. Although at least half the colonial population did not support the war, most of these people were neutral rather than in opposition. They may have questioned new tax burdens and refused to pay some or all of them, but they were not necessarily trying to undermine the war effort. Loyalists, however, viewed any effort to confront Great Britain militarily as treason and were not about to support such an effort financially.

For a time, Loyalists who were not vocal in their protest faded in with other tax evaders. But by 1777 Loyalists were being targeted to have their taxes collected; they faced imprisonment if they refused. In 1778 individual states began to pass confiscation acts that initially centered on the seizure of Loyalist property for nonpayment of taxes, but these acts quickly became another method to finance the war. Loyalists were labeled traitors to their states and to the new country to which they had never sworn allegiance; agents of the state assemblies confiscated their properties and auctioned it off to raise money for support of the Revolution.

The confiscation of Loyalist property did not adversely affect Loyalists alone. The process of claims against individuals for treasonous actions took time, and many personal grudges took on the aspect of loyalty tests. Many business owners were harassed by competitors and workers over other issues, but questioning the loyalty of someone who had taken a neutral stance in the war often resulted in boycotts

and physical attacks on individuals and property. Such activity slowed production and negatively affected the economy.

Confusion over ownership and use-rights also caused production delays and economic distress. For example, in 1774 George Taylor, an ironmaster who leased the Durham Iron Company in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, renewed his lease of the operation from the chief shareholder of the Durham Company, Joseph Galloway. In 1775 Taylor was the first ironmaster in the colonies to agree to the manufacture of ball and shot for the Continental Congress. The Durham Company produced ammunition for the Continental Army for two years, until the British invaded Philadelphia and the surrounding countryside. British soldiers attacked and damaged the Durham furnace, which remained out of operation for over a year until the British abandoned Philadelphia.

In the meantime, Joseph Galloway had declared his loyalty to Great Britain and fled Philadelphia with the British army in June 1778. When Taylor returned to Durham and attempted to get the ironworks operating again in the service of the United States, he found that Galloway's property had been confiscated under orders of the Supreme Executive Council and was to be inventoried and sold at public auction. It took Taylor nearly a year to plead his case through piles of red tape in order to begin operations and produce the supplies the rebel armies so desperately needed.

Destruction of property was a common consequence of the war. The coastlines of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia were the scenes of continuous raids by both rebels and the British, with both sides attacking and destroying the properties of their enemies—wharves, warehouses, ships, and mills. As the zones of battle moved through the states, destruction in the countryside followed. In New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and Delaware, both armies scavenged for food and destroyed the farms, fields, fences, and livestock of those they determined to be supporters of the other side. The American armies usually distributed scrip (paper currency for temporary use) or continentals to pay for what they took from farmers (for what it was worth), but the British typically confiscated what they needed and moved on. When the war moved to the South, the Carolinas and Virginia were ravaged, particularly by the British under Lord Cornwallis, who, in frustration, instituted a scorched-earth policy against supposed rebels. The destruction of cities like Norfolk, Virginia, caused both immediate and long-term economic distress.

## DEBT

The American Revolution was a time of severe economic hardship. The war left a legacy of economic problems that lasted for a dozen years after its conclusion. In late 1781, as the war wound down, the new United States could begin to calculate the price of independence. The debt to France, including direct subsidies and credit extended for supplies, was approximately £12 million, with interest accruing. Another £500 thousand was owed to the Dutch and Spanish. Congress had sold $3,330 million in bonds to private citizens at between 4 and 6 percent interest; with an empty treasury, it had no immediate means to meet its postwar obligations. Congress was indebted to the suppliers of goods and services to the army for scrip written by quartermasters to the tune of more than $100 million.

The debt situation in the states was just as bad. Most states had printed their own currencies to pay for supplies locally, and by 1781 over $200 million in state-issued paper was in circulation. Although locals usually trusted their own state's currency more than the overly inflated continentals, most paper currency had lost at least 75 percent of its value, led by Rhode Island's issues, down about 87 percent. The states collectively were in debt to private citizens for over £5 million in unredeemed bond issues, which were accumulating interest at rates between 8 and 18 percent.

## THE AFTERMATH OF INDEPENDENCE

In short, the economy of the new nation in 1781 was a shambles. The United States had combined debts of nearly £40 million, no national treasury, and a national government, under the Articles of Confederation, with no power to tax. It had no international credibility to borrow monies against. Its devastated countryside, including a manufacturing base that even at its previous best had supplied 10 percent of consumer needs, would take several years to recover. It was at least temporarily barred from its place within an international commercial network on which it had been dependent for 150 years.

The United States has a remarkable ability to rebound from disaster. Based on the state of the economy in 1781, the Revolution would likely have destroyed the future of most peoples. Little more than one decade later, because of the immediate efforts of Robert Morris, the superintendent of finance under the Articles of Confederation, and the fiscal vision of Alexander Hamilton, the constitutional United States was on the verge of two centuries of unprecedented growth.

*See also* **Banking System; Currency and Coinage; Economic Development; Economic Theory; Government and the Economy; Hamilton, Alexander; Iron Mining and Metallurgy; Market Revolution; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Wealth.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, William G. *The Price of Liberty: The Public Debt of the American Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Becker, Robert A. "Currency, Taxation, and Finance, 1775–1787." In *A Companion to the American Revolution.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000.

Calhoon, Robert M. *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760–1781.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973.

Ferguson, E. James. *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Hoffman, Ronald, ed. *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988.

Kennedy, Michael V. "The Home Front during the War for Independence: The Effect of Labor Shortages on Commercial Production in the Mid-Atlantic." In *A Companion to the American Revolution.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Morris, Richard B. *Government and Labor in Early America.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Price, Jacob M. "The Transatlantic Economy." In *Colonial British America: Essays In the New History of the Early Modern Era.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Schweitzer, Mary M. "The Economic and Demographic Consequences of the American Revolution." In *A Companion to the American Revolution.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000.

*Michael V. Kennedy*

## *Military History*

The American War for Independence (1775–1783) began more than a year before the self-designated leaders of colonial political resistance to Britain could bring themselves to take the much more radical—and more revolutionary—step of declaring independence to be their goal. This fact had important implications for the progress and outcome of the Revolution. After resistance was abandoned as the only admissible objective of intercolonial organization, the tension between war-making imperatives and political operations assumed a life of its own and shaped the rest of the Revolution.

### NEW ENGLAND

Each colonial region had its own military experience and culture, significant variations of a common British heritage. This complexity preoccupied Patriot leaders long before it landed in George Washington's lap when he accepted command of the projected Continental Army in June 1775. The war, if not the Revolution itself, began in New England, where communal solidarity, ethnocentrism, and a Puritan–derived variation of republican ideology colored its origin and influenced its character. Century-old traditions of town-based militia training, galvanic popular responses to external military threats, and what Fred Anderson has called a "contractual" approach to defense obligations shaped the region's behavior when British commander Thomas Gage sent redcoats from Boston into the nearby countryside on 19 April 1775. Regular British troops and minutemen unexpectedly and indecisively clashed several times that day at the Massachusetts towns of Lexington and Concord. Then the British withdrawal into Boston became a small calamity as waves of militia responders from southern New England harassed their movements, obstructed their retreat, and spontaneously besieged the town.

The Second Continental Congress, convening in Philadelphia in early May, hardly welcomed news of colonists and redcoats fighting near Boston. After taking steps to affirm their commitment to a political solution of the imperial crisis, the delegates faced up to the implications of Lexington and Concord and voted to adopt New England's "army of observation" and mold it into a continental army that could be kept under political control. George Washington, a forty-three-year-old Virginian with a mixed service record in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), seemed the likeliest delegate to accomplish that objective. He left Philadelphia in mid-June and arrived near the lines around Boston on 2 July.

New plans by British ministers in London changed the situation in America. Three British generals—William Howe, Henry Clinton, and Charles Cornwallis—arrived in Boston to take charge of the army from the discredited Gage. On 18 June an effort to drive American forces from Breed's and Bunker Hills on the north shore of Boston Harbor ended inconclusively, with the redcoats controlling the battlefield but suffering heavy casualties. Yankee troops

## Map

Quebec
31 Dec. 1775

District of Maine

Montreal
13 Nov. 1775

St. John, 21 Nov. 1775

Ticonderoga
10 May 1775
5 July 1776

Valcour Island
11 Oct. 1776

Bennington
16 Aug. 1776

NH

Bunker Hill
17 June 1775

Fort Stanwix, 23 Aug. 1777
Oriskany, 6 Aug. 1777

Cherry Valley, 11 Nov. 1778

MA

Boston

Lexington and Concord, 19 April 1775

Newport, Aug. 1778

NY

CT

RI

Province of Quebec

Wyoming Valley
3 July 1778

Battles for New York, 1776

Trenton, 26 Dec. 1776

Monmouth
28 June 1778

Long Island, 27 Aug.
Harlem, 16 Sep.
White Plains, 28 Oct.
Forts Washington and Lee, 16–20 Nov.

Fort St. Joseph
Jan. 1781

Pittsburgh

Valley Forge

PA

Princeton
2–3 Jan. 1776

NJ

DE

MD

Battles for Philadephia, 1777

Brandywine, 11 Sep.
Paoli, 21 Sep.
Germantown, 4 Oct.

Spanish Territory

St. Louis

Vincennes
25 Feb. 1779

Blue Licks
19 Aug. 1782

Virginia

Norfolk

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Kaskaskia
4 July 1778

Bryans Station
15 Aug. 1782

Indian Reserve

North Carolina

Cherokee War
1776–1780

Moores Creek
26 Feb. 1776

South Carolina

Sullivans Island
28 June 1776

Georgia

Charleston

Natchez
30 Sep. 1779

Mobile
14 March
1780

West Florida

Savannah
29 Dec. 1778

Baton Rouge
20 Sep. 1779

Siege of Pensacola
10 March–9 May 1781

New Orleans

East Florida

0   200   400 mi.

0   200   400 km

**Revolution: Military History**

Original Thirteen Colonies
American/Allied victory
British victory
City

---

surrendered the ground but gained a new regard for their own abilities. Washington, arriving at Cambridge, Massachusetts, two weeks later, made a fumbling start at the task of remodeling the army. He conceived, and imprudently disclosed, a distaste for New England's insular communal culture and the kinds of fractious, self-directed soldiers that it produced. He also was uncomfortable with the large number of blacks serving in the militia.

### NEW YORK AND CANADA

During 1775 other military actions—spontaneous and planned—spread from New England to the north and west. On 10 May, as the Second Congress convened, an awkward amalgam of irregular New England troops led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold (separately commissioned by regional authorities acting privately) seized the isolated British garrison

at Ticonderoga in New York. They captured some old artillery, inflamed latent tensions between New England and New York, and embarrassed a Congress which still insisted that peace was its goal. In late June, Congress authorized an effort to seize Canada and bring it into the Revolutionary coalition. Adopting a pattern from late colonial-era wars, American forces advanced through the Hudson River–Lake Champlain corridor to Montreal and across the wilderness of northern Massachusetts (modern Maine) against Quebec. General Richard Montgomery, a veteran British officer in the Seven Years' War, commanded the force from New York. Arnold led the expedition across Maine. Montgomery seized Montreal in November. In a blizzard on 31 December, the combined forces attacked Quebec but were repelled with heavy casualties. Montgomery was killed, becoming America's first tragic hero of the Revolution.

REVOLUTION

Near Boston, Washington trained the New England troops while Congress struggled to make the army truly continental. In March 1776 the arrival of cannon from Ticonderoga broke the stalemate. Washington placed the guns on hills overlooking Boston harbor. General Howe and his brother, Admiral Richard Howe, in command of British naval forces, decided to abandon Boston rather than expose their forces to bombardment. They evacuated the city on 17 March and went to Nova Scotia to await reinforcements while the ministry in London forged better plans to crush the rebellion.

**MIDDLE COLONIES**

Both commanders eagerly moved the seat of war from New England to the mid-Atlantic region. That area was the economic engine of late colonial America, but its political complexity and social pluralism made it most resistant to independence and for both sides a difficult place in which to fight.

Washington placed his army in Brooklyn on western Long Island. The British, arriving by sea in July and August 1776, landed thirty-two thousand men on Staten Island. On 22 August, the redcoats crossed New York harbor to Long Island. Howe outmaneuvered Washington and on the evening of 26 August flanked his forces and badly defeated the Americans. Washington withdrew the survivors to Manhattan, then conducted a month-long retreat north into Westchester County. After the British won a less decisive clash at White Plains on 28 October, the Continentals crossed the Hudson River and retreated into New Jersey. On 16 November, Howe captured almost three thousand rebel troops at Fort Washington in northern Manhattan, then slowly pushed the Continentals southward across New Jersey toward the Delaware River. The Howe brothers had commissions as peace negotiators, and—hoping to avoid casualties or political bitterness—offered pardons to civilians who would swear allegiance to the crown. Thousands of Jerseyans emerged to declare their loyalty.

In December 1776, Washington sat with a few thousand men in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, fearing that, as he wrote to his brother in Virginia, the "game" was "pretty near up." The Continental Congress adjourned that month to Baltimore while fleeing civilians virtually emptied Philadelphia. Then, with most Continental enlistments due to expire at year's end, Washington crossed the icy Delaware on Christmas night and surprised a garrison of Hessians at Trenton, New Jersey. He followed this victory by defeating British reinforcements rushing toward

Trenton at the Battle of Princeton on 3 January 1777 and then marched his evaporating army into the hills of Morris County. The reversals in New Jersey demoralized British officers and especially American Loyalists. Many New Jerseyans quietly reversed themselves and signed oaths of allegiance to the Continental side. Congress returned to Philadelphia in March and accepted Washington's plan for a permanent army, staffed by better officers and made up of economically poorer soldiers on long-term enlistments. Washington desperately tried to organize this new army while Howe again sought more reinforcements from his superiors in London.

The British strategic plan for 1777 called for an army to invade New York from Canada along the Hudson-Champlain corridor and sever radical New England from the more loyal Middle Colonies. That force was led by Howe's subordinate, General John Burgoyne. Howe acknowledged the need to support Burgoyne, if necessary, but he heeded the advice of Pennsylvania Loyalist Joseph Galloway that his province could be reclaimed if the redcoats would only go there. Howe believed that he could capture Philadelphia, install a Loyalist government, and still have time to return to New York if Burgoyne needed assistance. These plans all failed disastrously.

The 1777 campaign began awkwardly. Burgoyne packed heavily and moved slowly down Lake Champlain toward Albany. Howe tried unsuccessfully to lure Washington into a decisive action on the plains of eastern New Jersey and then in July took fourteen thousand troops to sea in his brother's fleet, leaving seven thousand redcoats in New York under Henry Clinton. In August, Washington marched his troops back and forth across New Jersey, seeking to protect both the Hudson Valley and Congress in Philadelphia.

Delegates from New England and the southern states feared that their regions were the real target. In late August, Howe appeared in Chesapeake Bay and landed his army at Head of Elk, Maryland. As he moved toward Philadelphia, Washington raced into Pennsylvania and placed his army in Chester County. On 11 September 1777, the two armies clashed along the Brandywine Creek. Howe again outflanked the Continentals and battered them badly. Washington extracted the army from destruction and retired toward Philadelphia. Two weeks later Howe outmaneuvered him and marched into the city. The Continental Congress fled again, this time to York, Pennsylvania, beyond the Susquehanna River.

On 4 October, Washington attempted a reprise of Trenton. He launched a complex overnight assault

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEW AMERICAN NATION

***The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton, 3 January 1777* (c. 1789–1831), by John Trumbull.** General Hugh Mercer died near Princeton, New Jersey, in 1777 at the hand of British troops. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

on the main body of British troops, which was camped at Germantown, northwest of Philadelphia. The operation began well but unraveled in fog, smoke, and the confusion of inexperienced American troops. Howe secured his winter quarters. In December the Americans limped to the nearby village of Valley Forge, committed to protecting the security of Pennsylvania's radical government and Whig citizens. Meanwhile, in New York State, American general Horatio Gates and a technically independent Northern Army twice defeated Burgoyne's force at Saratoga in October with the help of Benedict Arnold. A negotiated convention required that the British troops be sent to Britain, but Congress reneged on the agreement, and they were eventually interned in Virginia for the duration of the war. The American triumph at Saratoga gave Benjamin Franklin, negotiating in Paris, the credibility to persuade France to recognize American independence and intervene in the war. In Pennsylvania, Washington labored under the widespread perception that his own campaign had failed and under criticism from rival officers and politicians.

The Continental Army spent the winter of 1777–1778 in hardship at Valley Forge, keeping eastern Pennsylvania pacified and depriving the British of the easy fruits of their victory the previous fall. France's entry into the war on the rebel side in March 1778 changed the dynamics of the rebellion. Britain went on the defensive in the mainland colonies, determined to protect the invaluable Caribbean sugar islands. Howe resigned, and his successor, Henry Clinton, abandoned Philadelphia in June 1778. Washington's retrained troops chased him into New Jersey, where the two armies fought to an intense draw at Monmouth Courthouse on 28 June. The British retreated to their garrison in New York City while the Continentals took up positions around northern New Jersey and southeastern New York. For the next five years the two sides faced each other across a no-man's-land in the Lower Hudson Valley, but the war's most intense fighting was over in the North.

### FRENCH ALLIANCE AND SOUTHERN WARFARE
The arrival of French land and naval forces in America and the contest over the West Indies drew the

mainland war southward and toward the sea. Even after disappointments in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, British strategists hoped that the South might offer a bastion of loyalism that armies could mobilize for the restoration of civilian government. In the fall of 1778, Clinton detached thirty-five hundred troops to invade Georgia and end the rebellion there. They succeeded at first, capturing Savannah in December, then turned their sights to South Carolina. In May 1780, Clinton led a siege that captured Charleston, where more than five thousand American defenders surrendered. In August a British force crushed an American relief army under Horatio Gates at Camden, South Carolina, and British opinion sensed victory. In 1780 the North experienced currency inflation; bitter winter cold; war weariness; mutinies in the Continental camps at Morristown, New Jersey, in May; and in September the treason of Benedict Arnold in his failed attempt to allow the British to take West Point.

But the British forces detached from New York were already spread thin and had little hope of significant reinforcements from home. Clinton pardoned southern rebels in exchange for oaths of allegiance, which enraged Loyalists and reignited guerrilla warfare as the regular redcoats moved away. Local rebel forces crushed a small army of their Loyalist neighbors at King's Mountain in western North Carolina in October 1780. Washington detached a force of Continentals into the South under Nathanael Greene, one of his most trusted subordinates. Greene confronted the aggressive British commander, Charles Cornwallis, and outmaneuvered and outwitted him. The frontier Virginia rifleman, General Daniel Morgan, defeated Loyalists under Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens, South Carolina, in January 1781, and Greene and Cornwallis fought to a savage draw at Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina during March. Francis Marion, a South Carolina militia officer, contributed to these successes in the South by disrupting British supply lines, supplying intelligence, and suppressing Loyalist activities.

### YORKTOWN

After this point, organized British strategy broke down against a rising tide of irregular conflict, reflecting the Appalachian South's complex late colonial settlement history and ethnic composition. Benedict Arnold, finally given a command by the British, entered Virginia to support the teetering Cornwallis, who took command of Arnold's men and moved east to the Chesapeake coast, on the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. Washington, still occu-

pying the Hudson Valley and hoping for a decisive clash with the British in New York, learned that a French fleet in the West Indies would operate along the mainland coast. Seizing the initiative in August 1781, he joined with a French army in Rhode Island, under the Comte de Rochambeau, and made a forced march to the head of Chesapeake Bay. General Clinton, in New York, belatedly realized Cornwallis's jeopardy and sent a fleet to his rescue. The French fleet got there first, however, and sealed the mouth of the bay. Washington's and Rochambeau's forces were ferried down the Chesapeake to the York Peninsula, where they besieged Cornwallis's force at Yorktown. On 19 October 1781 Cornwallis surrendered, ending the last realistic hope of successfully ending the rebellion by military means.

Thus, the British Empire in mainland North America ended a few miles across the peninsula from the site of the first permanent English colony at Jamestown 174 years before. The Revolution had become a global war with France by then, however, and while that contest dragged on, the rebels remained in limbo. Occasional British successes at sea against French fleets revived hope that the colonies might be restored. Washington returned to New York and New Jersey and, with a diminishing army in chronic financial crisis, resumed watching the British headquarters in New York.

### BACKCOUNTRY AND INDIAN WARFARE

Intramural conflict among civilians in the backcountry South, having been ignited by the presence of regular armies there, flared long after they departed. Some of the war's least noticed, but enduringly important, combat arenas were in the interior of both the North and the South. In 1779 Washington decided to put an end to native resistance on the northern frontier by sending General John Sullivan of New Hampshire northwest from Pennsylvania into the Finger Lakes region of New York State. Supported by other columns launched from the Mohawk and Allegheny valleys, Sullivan's forces conducted a burn-and-destroy mission aimed at native agricultural subsistence systems. Forty towns were burned and an exhaustive quantity of foodstuffs captured or destroyed. While no one could claim victory in the episode, and while raiding continued along the northern frontier, the attacks significantly weakened the ability of the Iroquois to play a meaningful part in the postwar American Republic. From Kentucky in 1778, George Rogers Clark led frontier forces west into the French-settled, but British-controlled, Illinois country, where he captured old colonial towns

and harassed pro–British Indians. These and other interior campaigns and conflicts did not tip the military balance of power in the war, but they showed the direction for the American military after the war.

## FUTURE ISSUES

In 1783 the Treaty of Paris was signed and the last redcoat soldiers left America. The newly independent nation faced its first military problems in learning how to dismantle a small, poor, core Continental Army whose privates had not been paid for years and whose officers were disgruntled. That problem was solved by a combination of creative paperwork and citizen-soldier virtue, but the American government proved as reluctant as it was fiscally unable even to have a real national army. Deciding how to balance conflicting needs for security, liberty, and thrift occupied the imaginations of the best political actors and thinkers who emerged from the experience of the Revolutionary generation. Many of the same problems, in different combinations and guises, continue to haunt Americans today.

*See also* **Bunker Hill, Battle of; Canada; Continental Army; Continental Congresses; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Saratoga, Battle of; Treaty of Paris; Trenton, Battle of; Valley Forge; Yorktown, Battle of.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodle, Wayne. *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Conway, Stephen. *The British Isles and the War of American Independence.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Washington's Crossing.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Gross, Robert A. *The Minutemen and Their World.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Hoffman, Ronald, Peter J. Albert, and Thad Tate, eds. *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985.

Mackesy, Piers. *The War for America: 1775–1783.* 1964. Reprint. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Middlekauf, Robert. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Van Buskirk, Judith L. *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Young, Alfred F. *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier.* New York: Knopf, 2004.

*Wayne Bodle*

## *Military Leadership, American*

In 1775, the year of revolution, the Constitution's clear delineation of military authority was still twelve years in the future. An untried political body, the Continental Congress, combined what would later be defined as executive and legislative authority. Revolutionary leaders had a profound fear of a standing army, a permanent establishment maintained by government and supplied by public treasury. They believed it was the path to tyranny and well knew that throughout history tyrants arose from the ranks of successful military leaders. Yet to win the war Congress had to create a standing army and appoint men to lead it. The tensions between political beliefs and military necessity seriously impaired the rebels' war effort.

### ORGANIZING FOR WAR: THE FIRST APPOINTMENTS

In June 1775 Massachusetts delegates asked the Continental Congress to accept responsibility for the New England militia who were blockading the British in Boston. Congress agreed and appointed George Washington as the army's commander in chief. Congress also created the ranks of major general and brigadier general to serve as Washington's senior subordinates.

Congress commissioned all officers, but individual states actually nominated candidates up to and including the rank of colonel. The states chose men who were prominent leaders in their local communities. The basis for their selection was experience, the ability to raise men, and political reliability. These qualifications did not necessarily equate with military talent or even competency. In addition, each state was anxious that it receive its "quota" of senior leaders.

The first set of appointments demonstrated the importance of political considerations. Congress named Artemas Ward of Massachusetts first major general. Ward had an excellent record as a militia administrator and was an experienced politician. Because Massachusetts supplied the most men to the so-called Boston Army, it was politically prudent to make him the senior major general. There was less

***Washington Reviewing the Western Army at Fort Cumberland, Maryland.*** A detail from a painting of President Washington by Frederick Kemmelmeyer, c. 1795. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

consensus regarding Washington's recommendation that Charles Lee be the second major general. Lee had served as an officer in both the British and the Polish armies and was politically reliable. However, his arrogant personality offended many. Only the staunch backing of John Adams confirmed Lee. Horatio Gates was another former British officer with the right political connections. Gates filled the position of adjutant general with the rank of brigadier general. Congress hoped that his staff experience would provide Washington with strong administrative assistance.

Trouble came when northern delegates observed that, although Virginia had yet to enlist a single Continental soldier, Virginians held three of the army's four top positions. A furious political scuffle ensued. Each colony strongly promoted its own favorite sons, with men being nominated and confirmed largely on the basis of which colony they represented. Congress even doubled the number of major generals to appease New York and Connecticut.

Philip Schuyler belonged to one of New York's leading families. He had served as a major in the French and Indian War, specializing in logistics. Schuyler's combination of political connections, extensive business interests in the Albany area, and friendship with Washington made him a logical choice to command the northern army on the Canadian–New York border. Also a French and Indian War veteran, Israel Putnam was appointed because of an impasse among the Connecticut delegation. Putnam was an early, vocal leader of the Connecticut Sons of Liberty, but he was fifty-seven years old and wore his years hard. Ultimately, his status as a folk hero trumped doubts about his age.

Having dealt with the politically tricky business of creating major generals, Congress tackled the challenge of selecting brigadier generals. Again politics reigned supreme. Three were granted to Massachusetts (Seth Pomeroy, William Heath, John Thomas), two to Connecticut (David Wooster, Joseph Spencer), and one each to New York (Richard Montgomery), New Hampshire (John Sullivan), and Rhode Island (Nathanael Greene). Congress gave little regard to these men's seniority within their respective colonial establishments. This proved a serious

blunder as rank-conscious officers quarreled with one another about who deserved to command what. Joseph Spencer of Connecticut went home when he learned that his former subordinate, Putnam, was senior to him.

The newly appointed brigadiers all had military experience of some kind. Many had fought in the French and Indian War although none had particularly distinguished himself. When making its first selections, Congress had tried to bridge the gap between provincial jealousy and Continental unity. The result was a mixed bag of military leaders. Some had been promoted beyond their capacity. Others lacked either the physical or moral courage necessary for high command. The sixty-nine-year-old Massachusetts brigadier, Seth Pomeroy, lacked the physical stamina required for field service. Among the most egregious displays of ego, Charles Lee believed that because of his service in the British army he deserved the highest appointment. He proceeded to undermine Washington's standing with Congress. Eventually, Washington replaced Lee after his notable blunders at Monmouth (28 June 1778).

Under British rule American officers had little chance to gain military experience at the higher command levels. Consequently, Congress had to choose among men who had yet to prove themselves. Not surprisingly, many were unequal to the challenge. Yet among the original appointments were several rough gems. Greene developed into one of the best American strategists. Montgomery showed brilliant potential before his death at Quebec (1 January 1776). Heath, through his stewardship of the vital Hudson Highland post, became one of the few generals Washington could entrust with independent command.

The wrangling associated with the selection of only thirteen generals dissuaded Congress from selecting the hundreds of field-grade officers necessary to lead the army at the regimental level. Instead, Congress decided merely to confirm the colonies' recommendations. Like the generals, the field-grade officers needed time and experience to learn the art of command. On 8 December 1775 Congress created a standing committee, composed of one member from each colony, whose job was to review applications for field-grade officers and to report on their qualifications to the full Congress. Thus Congress, although it had the power to appoint and promote all officers above the rank of captain, carefully weighed the preferences of the thirteen states when evaluating officers.

As the war progressed the power to select field-grade officers became subsumed in a greater political debate. Congressmen recognized that they were setting a precedent by laying the foundation for an American army and defining that army's relationship to civil rule. Those who wanted a stronger central government wanted more congressional control over the army. Those who wanted to preserve the autonomy of the colonies, and later the states, wanted to retain the power of selection. This debate interfered with the purely military requirement to put the best men in leadership positions.

By the start of 1776, new Continental regiments from the southern and middle colonies had formed. Congress organized four administrative departments: Southern, Middle, Northern, and Canadian. It placed a major general in charge of each department, with Washington retaining his position as commander in chief. Because the expanding war effort required more general officers, Congress elected six more brigadiers: John Armstrong and William Thompson of Pennsylvania, James Moore and Robert Howe of North Carolina, Andrew Lewis of Virginia, and Lord Stirling of New Jersey.

In the summer of 1776, the main army under Washington comprised 31,000 officers and men, its peak strength for the entire war. On 9 August 1776 Congress promoted Heath, Spencer, Sullivan, and Greene to major general and added six more brigadiers. Unique among the original brigadiers, Wooster was passed over for promotion—Congress's punishment for the brigadier's quarrelsome conduct in Canada. In addition to the Continental generals, the militia, which composed some 57 percent of the Main Army, came with their own brigadiers. The states had the power to select officers for the militia.

## GENERALS FROM ABROAD

When the Americans revolted against British rule, the conflict attracted a host of European military men. Some sincerely sympathized with the rebel cause; others were mere mercenaries who saw better opportunities for promotion in America or impoverished minor nobles seeking to restore their fortunes. Unfortunately, neither American diplomats in Europe, most notably Silas Deane, nor congressmen could evaluate a candidate's true military experience and capabilities. Armed with letters of introduction of dubious validity, European officers swarmed the halls of Congress demanding high-ranking positions. Too often Congress obliged. For example, Congress angered several rank-conscious American generals by elevating Thomas Conway, an Irish veteran

of the French army, to the position of inspector general with rank of major general. To make matters worse, Conway was an opinionated officer and a severe critic of Washington's leadership. Congress later defused the volatile situation by backing Washington over Conway when the latter challenged Washington's leadership during the so-called Conway cabal in the winter of 1777–1778.

Overall, Washington considered very few of the foreign officers useful. Most prominent among the exceptions was Friedrich von Steuben, a Prussian veteran who had served with Frederick the Great. Steuben began his service as an unpaid volunteer, reporting to Washington at Valley Forge in February 1778. Steuben introduced a new drill system and began personally training the Continentals. Washington recommended and Congress approved his promotion to major general with the position of inspector general. Because of Steuben's invaluable contribution to American military proficiency, he is recalled as the "the first teacher" of the American Army. Another foreign officer who served with distinction was the Marquis de Lafayette, a wealthy young French nobleman whose idealism brought him to America to volunteer. Congress commissioned him major general without command in July 1777. Washington took an immediate liking to the nineteen-year-old. Lafayette behaved gallantly and was wounded in battle at Brandywine, in Pennsylvania, on 11 September 1777, establishing his reputation among Americans.

The second tier of useful foreign officers includes Johann Kalb, known as Baron de Kalb, a remarkable Bavarian soldier who died gallantly at Camden, South Carolina (16 August 1780); the Polish nobleman Casimir Pulaski, a fiery, quarrelsome cavalry leader who received a mortal wound during a foolish cavalry charge at Savannah (9 October 1779); and the Frenchman General Louis Duportail, who taught the rebels the science of military engineering. Another Pole, Thaddeus Kosciusko, also provided useful engineering expertise when planning the Delaware River forts, fortifying the heights at Saratoga, and planning the defense of West Point. He received a brigadier general's brevet in 1783.

### PARTISAN LEADERS

The Revolutionary War featured relatively few formal battles in the European style. Instead the war was fought by means of innumerable outpost battles, ambushes, and raids involving partisan operations. Rebel partisans provided American leaders with useful military intelligence while making life for the British outside of their own picket lines insecure and dangerous. By threatening British supply lines, the partisans largely restricted the British to coastal enclaves and fortified positions. One of the first successful partisan officers was Ethan Allen. Allen achieved national reknown when he led the "Green Mountain Boys" against Fort Ticonderoga in May 1775. Later in the war in the Northeast partisans were active in the Lake Champlain valley during the Saratoga campaign and made the area around New York City a ravaged no-man's-land.

It was in the South that American partisan leaders demonstrated a particular aptitude for guerrilla warfare. After the fall of Charleston in May 1780, Francis Marion kept the war alive through his partisan operations in the coastal swamps and forests of lower South Carolina. In the disputed backcountry, three great partisan leaders, Thomas Sumter, William Davie, and Elijah Clark, fiercely resisted British occupation. Sumter was a wealthy South Carolina planter. Although sometimes careless of routine security and guilty of poor tactical judgment, he fought seven set battles against the British and Loyalists. His tenacity made his name a rallying cry for the rebels throughout the Carolinas. Davie was a prominent North Carolina lawyer who outfitted a mixed cavalry and infantry force at his own expense. A skilled swordsman, Davie led his partisans with dash and courage and is reputed to have personally slain more foes with his saber than any other American officer. Clark was a prosperous Georgia farmer. Although overshadowed by more flamboyant leaders, Clark proved a steady and effective guerrilla leader and almost single-handedly kept the rebel cause alive in Georgia after the British conquered the state.

### ASSESSING THE LEADERS

Because militia made up such an important part of the rebel force, the ability to use them effectively was crucial. Not all senior officers had this talent. Washington mishandled them during the New York campaign. Gates suffered a rout at Camden when his ill-positioned militia broke on first contact. Yet under the command of generals who understood their weaknesses and strengths, militia provided vital service. One week after receiving a militia commission as brigadier general, John Stark raised 1,492 militia, some 10 percent of all men on New Hampshire's list of enrolled voters. He then led them to victory against German professionals at Bennington, Vermont (16 August 1777). Daniel Morgan's fight talk before battle at Cowpens, South Carolina (17 January 1781), perfectly addressed his militia's anxiety.

His brilliant tactical placement led to overwhelming victory. Greene followed Morgan's tactical notions regarding the use of militia to inflict serious losses at the pyrrhic British victory of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina (15 March 1781).

On the formal battlefields, energy, drive, and the determination to win or die separated the top tier from the rest. Benedict Arnold possessed these qualities and contributed enormously to rebel success from the war's start through to the decisive action in New York at Saratoga (19 September 1777). When Congress failed to reward Arnold adequately, the sting of thwarted ambition led him into treachery and treason.

When the war began rebel officers gained leadership positions largely on the basis of their political rather than military credentials. Even those men such as Washington who had a lengthy service record were untried at the higher command levels. In the first two years of war, military blunders very nearly undermined the patriot cause. Then, with fortunes at low ebb, Washington conceived and led his brilliant counterstrokes at Trenton (31 December 1776) and Princeton (3 January 1777). But for these victories there would have been no army to win the decisive battle at Saratoga in the summer of 1777 or the final triumph at Yorktown in 1781.

From 1777 on American military leaders displayed increasing competence. Experience nurtured latent talent while combat exposed the cowards, drunks, and weak leaders. The commander in chief learned which men he could trust and placed them in positions of responsibility. By delegating authority to capable subordinates, Washington could attend to higher strategy. Washington gained the strategic insight that as long as he could maintain an effective Continental force, the British could not win the war. Despite the incessant problems created by having too few men and weapons, insufficient supplies, and widespread hunger and disease, he consistently displayed composure and an unwillingness to accept defeat. Washington and the rebel cause became synonymous. Although not a great strategist and an even poorer battlefield tactician, Washington truly was the indispensable leader of the American Revolution.

*See also* **Army, U.S.; Militias and Militia Service; Saratoga, Battle of; Trenton, Battle of; Washington, George; Yorktown, Battle of.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Arnold, James R. *Presidents under Fire: Commanders in Chief in Victory and Defeat.* New York: Orion Books, 1994.

Ketchum, Richard M. *The Winter Soldiers: The Battles for Trenton and Princeton.* New York: Henry Holt, 1999.

Matloff, Maurice, ed. *American Military History.* Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1969.

Rossie, Jonathan G. *The Politics of Command in the American Revolution.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1975.

Weigley, Russell F. *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Wright, Robert K., Jr. *The Continental Army.* Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1983.

*James R. Arnold*

## Naval War

In 1775 Britain had the largest navy in the world and as recently as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) had defeated both the French and Spanish navies. The Americans had no navy. Thus the Royal Navy could sweep American merchant ships from the oceans, bringing economic pressure to bear on the rebellious colonies. The British could also transport military supplies and troops to North America, move them at will along the coast, and extract these forces if necessary.

At the beginning of the war Continental leaders were divided about the wisdom of sending out ships against the British, but in October 1775 they voted to outfit two vessels to intercept transports carrying British troops and military supplies. Congress also established a Naval Committee to oversee this activity. It purchased merchantmen for conversion to warships and in December 1775 authorized construction of thirteen frigates (five of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four), to be built by March 1776 as commerce raiders. Progress was slow and only the *Randolph*, *Raleigh*, *Hancock*, and *Boston* and a few smaller warships were able to get to sea in 1777.

In February 1776 the commander of the fledgling Continental Navy, Commodore Esek Hopkins, set sail with a motley collection of small warships. On 3 to 4 March, in the only successful large American fleet operation of the war, Hopkins captured Nassau in the Bahamas, securing guns and supplies. During their return voyage, on 6 April the Americans fell in with the British frigate *Glasgow* and its tender but took only the tender.

For the first two years of the war the British were able to move by sea at will. In March 1776 they evacuated Boston, which the Continental militias had blockaded from the land. In July 1776 Admiral Lord

Richard Howe's fleet landed 32,000 British troops on Staten Island to begin the New York campaign. British naval control of the Hudson River brought the surrender of Fort Washington in November 1776, with 3,000 prisoners, 100 cannon, and a large quantity of munitions. The British again used their navy to land troops to capture Fort Lee, New Jersey. Continental commander General George Washington then withdrew what remained of his army across the Delaware.

The British had planned a secondary offensive from Canada to isolate New England. To meet this threat, Brigadier General Benedict Arnold supervised construction of a force of gondolas and galleys on Lake Champlain. Although the Continentals were defeated in two naval battles on the lake on 11 and 13 October, Arnold delayed the British sufficiently that they postponed their offensive.

The British also conducted naval operations in the American South. In June 1776 Admiral Sir Peter Parker sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, with an expeditionary force under Major General Sir Henry Clinton. Poor British planning and a stout Patriot defense from Fort Sullivan repelled them. Several British ships grounded, and accurate American fire led to destruction of the new frigate *Actaeon.*

Some American captains, notably John Paul Jones and Lambert Wickes, also carried the war to the British Isles and attacked British merchant shipping. Jones also won the most spectacular engagement of the war, the sanguinary 23 September 1779 contest between his converted French East Indiaman *Bonhomme Richard* and the British frigate *Serapis.* But for the most part the Continental Navy accomplished little. The navy continually suffered from a lack of experienced captains, inadequate funding, and the attractiveness of privateer service.

Eleven of the thirteen colonies also raised navies. These were limited to very small craft, many of them barges, employed primarily in coastal defense and along rivers. The state navies had little impact on the war.

The Americans did experiment with new types of weapons. On the night of 6 to 7 September 1776 they employed inventor David Bushnell's primitive one-man submarine, the *Turtle*, in an unsuccessful attempt to attach a mine to Admiral Howe's flagship, the *Eagle*, in New York harbor. The Americans also sent floating mines against British ships but with little effectiveness.

American privateers were, however, highly successful. This type of combat fit well with the decen-



tralized and individualized character of the colonial military effort. During the years 1776 to 1783 Congress authorized 1,697 privateers with 55,000 crewmen and mounting 15,000 guns. State-sanctioned privateers added another 1,000 ships.

For the first two years of the war, the Royal Navy had the resources to combat most privateers,

but after 1778 colonial privateers took advantage of the reduced British naval presence off the American coast and their ability to use French bases. During the war, colonial privateers took some 2,200 British ships valued at £66 million. Insurance rates for British shipping increased 30 to 50 percent, adding to pressure on the British government.

British naval weaknesses, including numerous ships in poor repair, were not apparent as long as the nation was fighting a weak naval power, but the entrance of France into the war on the side of the colonies in 1778 dramatically changed the situation. The French had spent a decade rebuilding their naval strength and their fleet approached that of the British in size. This forced the British to defend both their home islands and empire, and they did not have the resources to do both. In 1778 France had some sixty ships of the line, a number of which were better ships than those of the British. The Royal Navy had seventy-three ships of the line at sea or in good repair. When Spain entered the war in alliance with France in 1779, it added another forty-nine ships of the line. The Dutch were drawn in a year later. What had been a localized struggle now became a world war with the North American theater only a secondary one for the British navy. Worse, Britain had no continental allies, and the French could focus on the war at sea. The British were forced to fight in the Channel, in the Caribbean, off North America, and in the Mediterranean, and they lacked the resources to be everywhere successful.

It could have been worse for the British. French and Spanish attacks on the British Isles and on Gibraltar foundered on a combination of inept admirals, intra-allied squabbles, and effective actions by outnumbered British forces. In the Western Hemisphere the French first concentrated in the Caribbean, where they seized a number of British-held islands and even threatened Jamaica.

French expeditions to North America were at first hesitant and unsuccessful. Vice Admiral Charles Hector Comte d'Estaing demonstrated a lack of aggressiveness off Delaware, New York, and Rhode Island in the summer of 1778. D'Estaing allowed British Admiral Howe with numerically inferior forces to drive him off. Still, the French managed to land ground troops in America under General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau.

In July 1779 Commodore Dudley Saltonstall led an attack by Massachusetts on a British fort at Bagaduce (Castine) on the Penobscot River in Maine. With seventeen warships and twenty-four supply vessels,

it was the largest colonial naval expedition in the war and the largest American amphibious assault until the Mexican-American War. A British squadron from New York arrived on 13 August; all the American ships were destroyed, and five hundred men were killed or taken prisoner.

In 1778 the British had shifted their military operations to the American South. In December 1778 they took Savannah and by early 1779 had secured Georgia. In 1780 General Clinton took advantage of the departure of the principal French fleet for France and assembled 14,000 troops for the largest British offensive force since 1777, landing it south of Charleston that February. Charleston capitulated on 12 May with the loss of 5,466 officers and men, 400 cannon, and half a dozen small warships. It was the greatest military disaster to befall the Patriots during the war.

The French naval presence was decisive in 1781. Admiral François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, sailed north from the West Indies and blockaded what remained of Clinton's Charleston force that had moved to Yorktown, Virginia, on the Chesapeake Bay. Washington and Rochambeau, meanwhile, brought troops down from New York to contain the British on land, while de Grasse blockaded the bay. Although the Second Battle of the Chesapeake of 5 September 1781, fought between twenty-eight French ships of the line and nineteen British ships of the line under Admiral Thomas Graves, was tactically indecisive, de Grasse achieved a strategic victory in that he was able to continue the blockade of Yorktown. At the same time d'Estaing arrived with additional ships and heavy siege guns, whereupon Graves returned with his ships to New York. Blockaded by French and Continental Army forces by land and sea, more than eight thousand men at Yorktown surrendered on 19 October. This British defeat brought the fall of the government in London and a decision to seek peace. The British had lost naval control of the coast for a brief period at this decisive moment. In the Battle of the Saints in the West Indies on 12 April 1782, Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney's British fleet defeated de Grasse and the French fleet, but it came too late to affect the war's outcome.

Meanwhile, the Continental Navy had all but ceased to exist. Of fifty-three ships in the navy during the war, only two frigates—the *Alliance* and *Hague*—were in service at war's end. Despite its failings, the navy had captured or sunk almost two hundred British ships, carried dispatches to and from Europe, transported funds to help finance the Revo-

lution, forced the British to divert naval assets for the protection of commerce, and helped to provoke the diplomatic confrontation that brought France into the war. Nonetheless it was the French naval intervention that had made possible the conclusion of peace in 1783.

*See also* **Naval Technology.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dull, Jonathan R. *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1783.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Gardiner, Robert, ed. *Navies and the American Revolution, 1775–1783.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

Hearn, Chester G. *George Washington's Schooners: The First American Navy.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1995.

Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *The Major Operations of the Navies in the War of American Independence.* 1913. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Miller, Nathan. *Sea of Glory: The Continental Navy Fights for Independence, 1775–1783.* New York: David McKay, 1974.

Syrett, David. *The Royal Navy in American Waters, 1775–1783.* Brookfield, Vt.: Gower Publishing, 1989.

Tilley, John A. *The British Navy and the American Revolution.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

## Prisoners and Spies

Prisoners in the Revolutionary War suffered unnecessarily from the bitter political debate over their legal status that the British and Americans carried on throughout the conflict and also from administrative mismanagement and neglect on both sides.

### PRISONERS: NUMBERS, FACILITIES, AND TREATMENT

The records are incomplete, but the best scholarly estimations are that the British captured 15,427 American officers and soldiers and as many as 8,000 American sailors (both from the navy and from privateers). In addition, the British seized many American sailors and impressed them into naval service. The number of British, German, and Loyalist prisoners in American hands is even more uncertain. The available evidence suggests that the overall prisoner totals were roughly equal between the two sides.

Both the British and Americans made large hauls of prisoners for which they were not fully prepared to care. The British took about 1,200 in Canada during 1775–1776; 4,430 in the New York campaign of 1776; about 1,000 in the Philadelphia campaign of 1777; 453 at Savannah, Georgia, in December 1778; and about 4,700 in South Carolina during 1780. The Americans captured 918 at Trenton, New Jersey, in December 1776; about 5,800 at Saratoga, New York, in October 1777; and about 8,000 at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781.

The British established local prison facilities wherever their operations required, but New York City served as their main detention center in America from 1776 to 1783. Although a variety of buildings in the city were used, most American soldiers were confined in three multistoried stone sugar houses, while their officers usually were allowed to lodge at their own expense in private homes in the city and on nearby Long Island. American seamen were imprisoned in obsolete warships and transports stripped of their rudders, masts, and rigging, most of which were anchored in Wallabout Bay on the Brooklyn side of the East River. The highest number of army prisoners held at New York at any one time was 4,430 in December 1776, and for the prison ships it was about 4,200 in 1778. Sailors captured in European and African waters were sent to one of two prisons in Britain—Mill Prison near Plymouth and Forton Prison near Portsmouth—where the combined inmate population peaked at about 2,200 men in 1779.

Survivors of the British prisons accused their captors of imposing excessive and deliberate suffering, but the scholarly consensus is that while their sufferings were often severe, they were seldom the result of cruelty. The hardships endured by American prisoners, Larry G. Bowman says, were caused principally by British inattention and haphazard organization, a desire to minimize costs, and the limitations of eighteenth-century technology and medicine. Prisoners received only two-thirds of the barely adequate food ration issued to British soldiers and sailors, while bedding and winter clothing were not regularly supplied at all. The worst conditions existed on the twenty-two known New York prison ships, most notoriously the *Jersey*, where overcrowding, poor ventilation, and unsanitary handling of food and human wastes resulted in an extraordinarily high death rate from disease.

For want of adequate resources and organization, Americans did not treat prisoners significantly better. Most captured British and German soldiers were sent to interior parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to be quartered in log barracks inside wooden stockades. The troops taken at Saratoga,

however, were initially marched to Cambridge, Massachusetts, because the convention that British general John Burgoyne (1722–1792) and American general Horatio Gates (1728–1806) signed on 17 October 1777 allowed them to sail from nearby Boston to Great Britain with a promise not to serve again in North America. Realizing that sending them to Britain would free other troops there, in Ireland, and at Gibraltar to come to America, Congress avoided implementing the terms of the convention. In late 1778, therefore, the Convention Army, as it was called, was sent to a prison camp near Charlottesville, Virginia.

The prisoners' hardships were prolonged by the failure to negotiate a general exchange of all captives until the last months of the eight-and-a-half-year war. Although both sides agreed that trading prisoners made good sense for practical and humanitarian reasons, the seven meetings that they held on the subject between March 1777 and September 1782 ended in stalemate over the political issue of American independence. The Continental Congress insisted on negotiating a formal written exchange agreement—a cartel—while the British ministry refused to let the matter be discussed on grounds that cartels could be negotiated only by sovereign nations, not by rebelling colonies. While classifying captive Americans legally as rebels, the British nevertheless treated them as prisoners of war in practice. On the local level, British commanders reached informal agreements with their American counterparts to permit some humanitarian aid—food, clothing, and money—to be sent to prisoners, and they also arranged numerous partial exchanges. It was not until the eighth prisoner exchange meeting in May 1783, however, that the way was cleared for the release of all captives.

### SPIES: THREE CASES

Apprehended spies were not treated as prisoners of war; rather, they normally were hung without trial. The discovery in September 1775 that Dr. Benjamin Church (1734–1778), director of the Continental Army hospital, had tried to send a coded letter containing information about American forces to his brother-in-law in British-occupied Boston caused Americans much consternation because of Church's prominence and because the Continental Congress had not explicitly made spying a capital crime. Although Congress took that step in November 1775, Church could not be sentenced to death retroactively. After being confined in various jails, he was permitted in January 1778 to go into exile. His ship was lost at sea on the way to the West Indies.

The American martyr spy, Nathan Hale (1755–1776), was hung by the British without much ado at New York on 22 September 1776, but his bravery in the face of death earned him lasting fame. A captain in a Continental ranger regiment, Hale volunteered in response to a request from George Washington to go to Long Island to obtain information about British dispositions. He was caught in civilian clothing with drawings of fortifications and freely confessed his mission to British general William Howe (1729–1814), who ordered his execution. Hale's famous last words regretting that he had but one life to give for his country were based on either a passage in the popular play *Cato* (1713), by Joseph Addison (1672–1719), or a quotation from the English Leveler John Lilburne (1614?–1657).

British major John André (1750–1780), unlike Hale, had considerable experience in intelligence work but died a similar death. As adjutant general at New York, André managed all correspondence with British secret agents in America and with American General Benedict Arnold (1741–1801) about his proposed betrayal of the strategically important fortress at West Point, New York. After meeting with Arnold near Haverstraw, New York, on 22 September 1780, André became trapped behind American lines. Changing into civilian clothing and using an assumed name, he was captured by American militiamen the next day with incriminating papers in his boots. A court of inquiry determined that André was a spy, leaving General George Washington no choice but to deny the personable young officer's request to be shot a soldier and to order him executed in the usual way for spies by hanging. André was executed at Tappan, New York, on 2 October 1780, dying, like Hale, with remarkable composure.

*See also* **Crime and Punishment.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bakeless, John E. *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1959.

Bowman, Larry G. *Captive Americans: Prisoners during the American Revolution.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976.

Cogliano, Francis D. *American Maritime Prisoners in the Revolutionary War: The Captivity of William Russell.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2001.

Flexner, James T. *The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953.

Kaplan, Roger. "The Hidden War: British Intelligence Operations during the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 47 (1990): 115–138.

Knight, Betsy. "Prisoner Exchange and Parole in the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 48 (1991): 201–222.

Metzger, Charles H. *The Prisoner in the American Revolution.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1971.

Peckham, Howard H., ed. *The Toll of Independence: Engagements and Battle Casualties of the American Revolution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Pennypacker, Morton. *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York.* Brooklyn, N.Y.: Long Island Historical Society, 1939.

Prelinger, Catherine M. "Benjamin Franklin and the American Prisoners of War in England during the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 32 (1975): 261–294.

Van Doren, Carl. *Secret History of the American Revolution.* New York: Viking Press, 1941.

*Philander D. Chase*

## Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution

In the late colonial period, slavery pervaded British North America. It was legal in every colony. Along the seaboard south of Delaware, African bondage was central to society and the economy. But slaves could hardly follow the North Star to freedom, as they later did, for slavery was only becoming more entrenched in the northern colonies. Slaves were a vital element of the workforce in such cities as New York and in the countryside of New York, northern New Jersey, and parts of Pennsylvania. As evidenced by sporadic flight and revolt, black colonists valued freedom and spoke its tones amongst themselves. But they had little opportunity of acting on this desire.

The American Revolution gave them the openings they needed. Its rhetoric provided them a language with which to appeal to whites for freedom. And the competing armies and dislocations of the war offered them chances for flight. The path of flight was fraught with great risks, and not all who took it gained liberty. But the Revolution expanded the freedom of black Americans beyond anything previously imaginable.

### LANGUAGE OF FREEDOM

As white colonists began demanding liberty from British tyranny in the 1760s, their slaves saw that they now spoke a common language. To be sure, not all slaves found appeals to libertarian rhetoric fruitful. Patriots in Charleston protested the Stamp Act in 1765 by surrounding the stamp collector's house chanting "Liberty! Liberty and stamp'd paper." In short order, a group of black Charlestonians alarmed the city by raising their own cry of "Liberty."

This application of Revolutionary rhetoric did not secure these slaves their freedom, but others were more successful in the heady atmosphere of the Revolution. In 1776 a slave man named Prince rowed George Washington across the Delaware River. In 1777, as his master, Captain William Whipple of New Hampshire, again went off to fight the British, he noticed Prince was dejected. When Whipple asked him why, Prince responded: "Master, *you* are going to fight for your *liberty*, but I have none to fight for." Whipple, "struck by the essential truth of Prince's complaint," immediately freed him (Berlin and Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom*, p. 283). Whipple was unusual in his haste, and a slave rowing Washington across the Delaware illustrated some of the ironies of the Revolution. But Whipple was far from alone. In Massachusetts, for instance, African slaves and their white allies brought freedom suits against the slaves' masters. They argued that the egalitarian language of the 1780 state constitution rendered slavery unconstitutional. A series of judges ruled in their favor, bringing slavery to an end in Massachusetts by the middle of the 1780s. In other Northern states lawmakers rather than judges abolished slavery in the midst or wake of the Revolution. In 1777 Vermont's constitution enacted gradual emancipation; in 1780 Pennsylvania did so by statute, as did Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1799, and finally New Jersey in 1804.

Nor was the effect of Revolutionary ideas confined to the North. In 1782 Virginia passed a law giving slaves easier access to manumissions by reducing restrictions on their masters. In the decade following the act, Virginia masters freed roughly ten thousand slaves. So liberalized did Maryland's manumission laws become after the Revolution that some slaves reversed the traditional assumption that African descent conferred slave status by suing (sometimes successfully) for their liberty on grounds of descent from at least one white person.

### OPENINGS FOR FLIGHT

When the war of words became a protracted military conflict, slaves took advantage of the chaos of war. Most chose flight over revolt, partly because commanders on both sides offered freedom in exchange for their services.

On 7 November 1775, faced with a solid Patriot phalanx in his colony, Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, proclaimed that any slave or indentured servant who could bear arms would secure freedom by doing so for the crown. Dunmore's proclamation set slaves in motion up and down the seaboard seeking freedom with the British.

The slaves who sought out British lines took enormous risks. There was always the possibility of recapture and reprisal by masters. Moreover, most British soldiers were hardly abolitionists and did not welcome fugitives who had no military usefulness, such as family members fleeing alongside young men. Sometimes they sold runaways, in a number of cases to loyal planters to keep the latter's allegiance. British commander Lord Charles Cornwallis mercilessly abandoned the black laborers who had dug his trenches at Yorktown, driving them out to face their masters when food ran low during the siege there. Such unreliability made the decision to flee to the British perilous.

But tens of thousands of slaves, especially in the Lower South, judged some manner of flight worth the risk. Whether by death or flight, South Carolina masters lost an estimated twenty-five thousand slaves during the eight years of the war. Georgia's prewar slave population was about fifteen thousand, of which an estimated ten thousand decamped. Thousands left the new nation along with evacuating British troops to an uncertain, but free, future.

Especially in the North, other black colonists chose the Patriot militias and the Continental Army as their route to freedom. The slaveholding commander George Washington was initially loath to admit black troops. But in response to troop shortages, Dunmore's proclamation, and the urgings of some of his subordinates, Washington abruptly reversed course late in 1775, favoring their recruitment. Congress did not follow his lead, but after 1777, when it imposed troop quotas on the states, towns and states from Maryland northward created black battalions. They had no trouble filling them with slaves eager for freedom. Black northerners thus helped all Americans win their freedom even as they seized their own. The chaos and opportunities of the war may have eroded northern slavery even more than the ideology of the Revolution.

But it was the combination of ideas and openings on the ground that gave the American Revolution its significance for slavery. In particular, it struck a death blow to slavery in the North. It thus not only gave thousands of black people freedom in the short term, but created a haven for fugitive slaves of future generations. Northern abolition also laid the groundwork for the Civil War by making the institution peculiar and sectional. For this reason alone, the Revolution might be said to be second only to the Civil War in importance for the history of American slavery and abolition.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

———. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Berlin, Ira, and Ronald Hoffman, eds. *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823.* Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Frey, Sylvia R. *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Wood, Peter H. "'Liberty Is Sweet': African-American Freedom Struggles in the Years before White Independence." In *Beyond the American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism.* Edited by Alfred F. Young. DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1993.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

*Matthew Mason*

## *Social History*

The American Revolution destroyed a monarchy and established a republic. It transformed republicanism from a failed idea to an enduring reality. It sundered one empire and began another. The Revolution worked itself out over the whole space from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from Florida to the St. Lawrence. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 defined that zone as "British." The Treaty of 1783 defined it as "American." The differences were enormous.

An economy of provinces and regions centered on London yielded to one of states and regions linked to one another. Uncertain boundaries gave way to definitive lines on maps. The Revolution began slavery's destruction. It also fostered slavery's expansion. It reshaped the use of private property, opening the way to full-blown capitalism. It replaced uneven "subjection" with equal "citizenship," but it left well over half the population with lesser rights or virtually no rights at all. Individuals and whole groups challenged their situations, and many improved their lives. But for others the Revolution brought loss and frustration.

## CONSERVATIVE BEGINNINGS, TRANSFORMING CONSEQUENCES

The Revolution began among white colonial males who wanted only to conserve a good situation. They believed they were Britons who happened to live outside the "Realm" of England, Scotland, and Wales. They accepted British authority and prospered under British protection. They had access to British markets and could afford British goods. Their British liberty was a tissue of unequal privileges. But they believed that it set them and all Britons apart. They had no problem reconciling their liberty with the unfreedom of others, including the slavery of captured Africans and their American-born descendants.

Beginning in 1763 Britain insisted that colonials were incapable of running their own societies. The surface issue was taxation by Parliament, supposedly acting for all Britons everywhere, rather than by local assemblies speaking for local communities. Beneath that issue lay a sense that the colonial economies needed to be subordinated and that colonial people were inferior. Colonials resisted and Britain retreated twice, repealing the Stamp Act in 1766 and most of the Townshend Taxes in 1770. As ordinary white colonials they found their own voices and asserted their own interests.

After Bostonians destroyed East India Company tea at the end of 1773, Britain decided to make the colonials submit. Instead of that, colonials brought down the whole structure of British power, beginning in rural Massachusetts in the summer of 1774 and culminating with the Declaration of Independence. During the collapse many more individuals and groups found their chances to assert themselves. Not all chose the American side. From New England to Georgia both elite and plebeian white men divided. Many slaves saw that their own best chances lay with the king, whose officers welcomed and armed them. So did native communities, who knew the rebels threatened their land. Yet some black people and some Indians joined the American side, insisting that its claims about equal freedom applied to them. White women began to find their own voices. Abigail Smith Adams's insistence in 1776 that her husband, John, "remember the ladies" is only the most famous instance.

## WAR AND TRANSFORMATION

The new order was born in war. The colonials had to organize and fight it themselves, though direct aid from France, indirect aid from Spain, and loans from the Netherlands proved vital. They fought the war everywhere except the New England interior. Despite patriotic images of embattled farmers springing eagerly to arms, most regular soldiers were the sort of people for whom society had little place. These included white men with no civilian prospects, slaves who substituted for masters to gain their own freedom, and even Deborah Sampson, who disguised herself as Robert Shurtliff and served undetected for more than a year.

For most of the war the supply service was a shambles. But meeting the army's needs forced producers, merchants, and supply officers into a single structure, from which the American national economy began to emerge. One problem was localism, including people's firm belief that good communities were small and protected the needs of their own people first. The constitutions of four states allowed embargoes on exports and control over prices and supplies. Other states acted on that principle, particularly when inflation beset continental and state currencies in 1778 and 1779. By forbidding the states to interfere with "obligations of contract" explicitly prohibiting states from levying import or export taxes, and giving Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce, the U.S. Constitution ended such practices, at least in theory. The needs of a national capitalist economy, not of local communities, would come first.

When the war ended the army had to be paid. So did creditors within America and abroad. One source of revenue was to tax imports. States did so until the Constitution took effect; thereafter tariffs would be federal. But land was more important in the long run. The Treaty of 1783 ceded "sovereignty" to the United States, including the exclusive right to "extinguish" the title of Native Americans to their ancestral lands. Some states claimed sovereignty over Indians "belonging" to them. The lines of authority and claims of sovereign right overlapped. Aware of the new situation, Indians resisted losing their lands, both by legal means and by force of arms. Not until the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the many "trails of tears" that it caused did the United States consider the job done. Even at that, Indian claims persisted, to be revived in a later day.

Nonetheless, what Indians had held as tribal commons became public treasure. From public domain, in turn, it became private property as governments sold it off. One goal was to pay off soldiers. Another was to establish a realm of independent farmers, good citizens who could take part in public life without fear. Another, never openly stated but very real, was to enrich privileged men who could buy large quantities and sell it off at good prices.

Under both federal and state auspices, the land would be surveyed, divided, and secured. Many colonial-era landholders had seen their property in family terms, to be passed on to sons and sometimes daughters. But in the new order land became potential capital, to buy, "improve," and sell if the price became right.

### A CAPITALIST ORDER

White people surged west to make the land their own, taking slavery with them in the South. A quarter of all the Africans brought to the British colonies and then United States—about 170,000—came during the Atlantic slave trade's final years, between 1783 and its closing in 1808. Thereafter a domestic trade flourished, taking slaves from the Chesapeake states and the Carolinas to the emerging Deep South. Some even came from the North, sold by masters and mistresses before gradual abolition could free them. These people's forced labor turned Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw land into the Cotton Kingdom.

American agriculture, in the North and South alike, sought markets. Cotton found its greatest market in England, but northern mills wanted it too. In the Northeast the consequence was rapid urbanization and industrialization. When the wars of the French Revolution, including the War of 1812, finally ended in 1815, free white migrants began crossing to America. By 1825 it was clear that New York would be a world metropolis. Philadelphia and Boston changed from regional ports to centers of industry and capital. Villages turned into small cities, particularly along major trade routes. Improved roads, canals, railroads, and steamboats allowed people and goods to cross American space in days instead of weeks or months. After 1836 the beginnings of a telegraph system allowed news to travel instantly. Invention and innovation became prized American qualities. The Erie Canal (constructed 1817–1825) brought the Great Lakes Basin into New York City's commercial hinterland. The first long-distance railroad in America linked Charleston and Hamburg, South Carolina. The eighteenth-century colonies had been prosperous, at least for white settlers. But the early Republic saw a burst of creative energy that no colonial, not even the farsighted Benjamin Franklin, could have predicted.

### EQUALS AND UNEQUALS

The biggest problem the Republic faced was the terms on which people belonged to it. For white men the answer was equal citizenship, defined by the right to vote and to seek public office. The initial state consti-

tutions, adopted between 1776 and 1780, held on to old-order beliefs about the need for voters and office holders to have property, sometimes in large quantities. They were republican, resting on their citizens' consent, more than democratic, resting on open participation. South Carolina, Rhode Island, and a few other states held on to property qualifications well into the nineteenth century. But most states abandoned them by about 1820, or weakened them to the point of meaninglessness. European visitors like Alexis de Tocqueville and Charles Dickens believed that America had become truly democratic. As far as white males were concerned, the observation was close to correct.

Even among them, however, social class meant very real distinctions. A genuine elite of white men had created the United States Constitution in 1787, and most of them expected to rule the new order. Initially they did. From George Washington to John Quincy Adams, traditional "gentlemen" filled the presidency and most other high offices. Thereafter, national power fell into the hands of professional politicians such as Martin Van Buren, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and James K. Polk. But class continued to count. In the industrializing, urbanizing North a new reality of owners and lifetime workers jibed uneasily with the belief that all men were equal. Tenant farming on great holdings remained a reality of northern agriculture. In the South the slaveholding planter class and plain-folk farmers inhabited different worlds. What united them all was that they were white.

Slavery and racism had been simple facts in the colonial period, when nobody presumed human equality. For a Republic of supposed equals, however, they were major flaws, in the North as much as in the South. The Revolution did begin slavery's destruction. Vermont abolished it in 1777, at the very moment of its own separation from New York, and Massachusetts followed six years later. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which laid out the process by which "territories" could turn into new states, forbade slavery north of the Ohio River. But the remaining northern founding states went slowly. New York adopted a gradual abolition act in 1799 and ended all slavery on 4 July 1827. Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey adopted gradual abolition acts between 1780 and 1809, but a few aging blacks remained in slavery in those states until 1840. As late as 1850 there were still three hundred blacks in New Jersey classified as servants for life.

Quick or slow, slavery's death in the North had many consequences. Free black communities emerged, their people determined that slavery itself should end. But white "democratization" in the North was accompanied by black exclusion from many job markets, and even from public places, justified by unashamed racism. Blacks voted in most of the northern coastal states, but the newer states to the west—Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—would not enfranchise blacks until after the Civil War. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which allowed blacks to vote in the early national period, would take that right away from them in the Age of Jackson. New York restricted black voting with high property requirements at the same time that it was abolishing such requirements for whites. In the South slavery weakened and free communities did emerge, especially in the cities. Black people in the South did struggle for freedom, by legal means, escape, and revolt. But in large terms slavery became the South's "peculiar" institution, a source for white southerners of profit, identity, and danger alike. By the 1820s southerners were defending slavery as a positive good, rather than saying they regretted it.

The Revolution changed the lives of American women, opening possibilities that the colonial era barely imagined. The likes of Abigail Smith Adams, Deborah Sampson, and the writers Judith Sargent Murray and Mercy Otis Warren raised questions about women's place in republican society. So did novelists, who used their fiction to imagine a better world.

In the cities, particularly, it became increasingly possible for a woman to be economically free on her own terms, particularly if she chose not to marry. "Ladies Academies" began providing demanding schooling. But colleges and professions remained closed. A married woman's property became her husband's. Like Indians, whom the Supreme Court would define as "domestic dependent nations," and like black people, whom law and custom excluded where they did not enslave, women belonged to the new Republic more in the sense of being possessed by it than in the sense of being members of it. The unsatisfactory short-term result was an ideology of "republican motherhood" that valued women's role in training sons as full citizens. But like the problems of class and race, the social meaning of gender was on the new Republic's agenda, however much the Republic's white masters tried to ignore it.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; Boston Tea Party; Class: Overview; Emancipation and Manumission; Embargo; Equality; Fiction; Inventors and Inventions; Land Policies; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Parenthood; Property; Railroads; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Technology; Townshend Act; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; Women: Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Countryman, Edward. *Americans: A Collision of Histories.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

Hoffman, Ronald, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1986.

McMillin, James A. *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783–1810.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians.* New York: Hill and Wang. 1993.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

*Edward Countryman*

## *Supply*

When the Continental Congress assumed the task of prosecuting war against Great Britain it faced the challenge of reconciling the political culture of revolution with a necessity to adapt imperial methods for providing manpower, equipment, and supplies for American military forces. This tension resulted in an ill-managed administrative system characterized by divided authority and responsibility between various congressional committees, state authorities, and military leaders who often worked at cross purposes to meet the military needs. This organizational conflict was manifested at the lowest levels in the regiments, where soldiers then, as today, could not fight unless they were properly supplied with food, weapons, and clothing.

At the beginning of the Revolution, the Americans lacked domestic sources for most provisions ex-

cept food and forage. Military transportation did not exist and there was no central control of supply within the colonies. The Continental Congress sought to provide for the army but organizational difficulties and lack of money resulted in American forces having just enough supplies to remain operational. The American economy was primarily agricultural and manufacturing was inadequate to supply large forces with ammunition, clothing, cannon, tents, shovels, and other items required for life in the field. Throughout the war, however, the Americans obtained some supplies by capturing them from the British. Another source of supply was aid from France, but American ships had to run a British navy blockade in order to deliver their cargoes. The most critical challenge throughout the war was transportation, because the road network was primitive and many areas had no roads at all. When supplies could be obtained, they often sat in storage depots due to lack of transportation to move them where needed.

In 1775 the Continental Congress authorized the quartermaster general and commissary general departments to provide the necessary food and supplies to the army formed at Boston. The quartermaster had responsibility for the procurement and distribution of supplies other than food and clothing as well as for the movement of troops and maintenance of wagons and boats. Major General Thomas Mifflin served as the first quartermaster general but quickly became frustrated by having to beg Congress and the states to provide funds, materials, and food. During operations in 1776 and 1777 the fighting consumed tons of munitions, food, and forage, and much more was lost when the British overran American positions. Horses died of wounds and wagons broke down under hard use and enemy fire. On 8 October 1777, Mifflin quit his position because of his conflicts with Congress and the bureaucratic frustration of trying to make the supply system functional. As a result, when the American army went into camp at Valley Forge in the late fall of 1777, the soldiers suffered severe shortages of food and clothing, mainly because of the breakdown of transportation.

In spite of these difficulties, some important shipments of French arms, munitions, and clothing, along with supplies captured from the British, were forwarded to the army at Valley Forge. General George Washington took a personal interest in all supply matters and authorized impressments of civilian provisions, but with proper receipt for later payment. In 1778 Washington urged Congress to appoint Major General Nathanael Greene, one of his more able officers, to replace Mifflin. Greene reorga-

nized the quartermaster department to more adequately manage the funding, purchasing, and storing of supplies and equipment. By 1780 the department had over three thousand personnel to oversee logistics operations in the areas of clothing, food, forage, and transportation, which resulted in more regular deliveries to the army. The pressure on Greene may have eased somewhat as the Continental Army became a seasoned force and accepted the supply problems as routine. The regiments learned to make do with less of everything and gradually found ways to get more out of what they had.

More than anything else, the shortage of money continued to hinder operations, and Washington often had to dismiss troops from the field or encamp them in dispersed areas to reduce the regional logistics burden. Lack of money also led to pay and enlistment grievances demonstrated by several troop mutinies in 1781. In May 1781 Congress appointed Robert Morris, a Philadelphia merchant and Pennsylvania delegate in Congress, to the new post of superintendent of finance, and his actions greatly influenced supply matters. He believed that if the country could mobilize enough funds and credit to keep the army in the field, the British would eventually quit. Morris even pledged his own personal funds to arrange for flour shipments to the army. By mid-1781, when the Yorktown campaign began, the supply situation of the Continental Army had greatly improved. Morris successfully gathered provisions and equipment, made transportation arrangements, and managed the finances that paid for it all. From a logistics perspective, the coordination of material, financial, transport, and other supply resources was almost perfect at Yorktown.

In spite of all the difficulties, procurement of supplies occurred, transportation lines remained open, enough imports got through, and every supply crisis passed. The Continental Army had enough supplies to get the job done, and they contributed to the American victory.

*See also* **Valley Forge.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Carp, E. Wayne. *To Starve the Army at Pleasure, Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Huston, James A. *The Sinews of War: Army Logistics, 1775–1953.* Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1966.

Risch, Erna. *Supplying Washington's Army.* Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1981.

*Steven J. Rauch*

## Women's Participation in the Revolution

While generations of historians virtually ignored the role of women in the American Revolution, hordes of schoolchildren grew up on the exploits of Molly Pitcher and Betsy Ross. Recent scholarship reveals that the folk wisdom of the elementary school classroom has some merit.

### TRADITIONAL ROLES AND REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS

Women played a number of important roles in the American Revolution (1775–1783). The outbreak of protest against British policy in the mid-1760s quickly evolved to include women. Although limited by tradition to roles within the household, women's roles in the household economy combined with an emerging revolutionary consciousness to produce organizations calling themselves the Daughters of Liberty, the female counterpart of the Sons of Liberty. The boycotts of British goods that emerged as part of the colonial strategy to produce a change of policy in Parliament hinged on women's participation. The nonimportation of products such as tea and English fabric could not succeed unless American women provided substitutes. Women displayed their political preferences by eschewing tea in favor of coffee or local herbal teas. More important were the activities of the traditional sewing circles. Long an opportunity for women to gather while producing for the household economy, the boycotts infused these social gatherings with a political purpose. Women's sewing circles, a traditional form of female socializing, became essential to the radical Whig cause because of their ability to replace needed goods with homespun.

The Whig leadership in many colonies recognized their contribution by urging husbands to encourage their wives' efforts, and in some colonies Revolutionary organizations endorsed the boycotts and encouraged both men and women to sign Association manifestos proclaiming their refusal to consume British goods. In some cases women issued their own petitions. Perhaps the most famous of these was dated 25 October 1774, when fifty-one women of Edenton, North Carolina, signed an Association which pledged that "we, the Ladys of Edenton, do hereby solemnly engage not to conform to the Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea." At the outset of the conflict, Anne Terrel wrote to the *Virginia Gazette*, exhorting the wives of Continental soldiers to support the war effort through boycotts and prayer as their husbands supported the "glorious cause of liberty."

### NEW ROLES

In some colonies, women went beyond the confines of the sewing circle, participating in riots and mass meetings. This was particularly true for artisan women, whose role in the streets had been established by custom and gender-determined economic practices. Rioting was a traditional Anglo-American form of political protest, and women played an important role in it and in other street activities. After the first shots at Lexington and Concord in 1775, women were important participants in organized protests. Hannah Bostwick McDougall of New York, for example, organized parades in an effort to free her husband from arrest. Other protests took on more violent overtones. This was particularly true of the many food riots led by women during the Revolution. Chronic food shortages caused by wartime conditions led some merchants to horde needed supplies and hike prices. Such efforts were met with active opposition. While many of the food rioters were men, the central role played by women in the household economy of the eighteenth-century American home often placed women in the vanguard of mob protest. Women's participation, clearly shows involvement at the popular level, with women equating fair prices with support for the Revolution. Women's participation was not isolated to popular street protest. Elite women also supported the cause. In 1780 Elizabeth DeBerdt Reed, a member of the Philadelphia elite, and Sarah Franklin Bache, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, organized a women's fundraising organization for the Whig cause. George Washington responded to the organization by requesting that instead of providing money for his soldiers, women produce clothing for them. They responded with over two thousand linen shirts by the end of 1780.

### WOMEN IN THE ARMY

Women directly supported the war through service in the army. Although women posing as men violated both law and custom in eighteenth-century America, a number of women secretly ignored this taboo and fought with Revolutionary forces. Deborah Sampson (or Samson) was among the most fa-

**A Continental Soldier.** Thousands of women accompanied the Continental Army as cooks, laundresses, nurses, and guides. This 1779 woodcut shows an American women armed for battle during the Revolution. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

mous women who saw combat. Assuming the name Robert Shurtliff in 1782, Sampson served in a light infantry unit of the Continental Army during the waning months of the war, suffering two wounds before her honorable discharge in 1783. Most women served the military in conventional ways that did not violate standard gender roles. Both the British and American armies had substantial complements of women in their ranks. Women performed many of those tasks considered outside of men's domain, laundering and mending clothing, preparing food, nursing the sick and wounded, and even bringing supplies to soldiers during combat. Such were the circumstances that led Mary Hayes to become known as Molly Pitcher following the Battle of Monmouth (1778) in New Jersey. The essential role that women played in supporting the soldiers eventually led Washington to set an unofficial quota of one woman for every fifteen soldiers in Continental Army regiments. Such "women of the regiment" drew regular rations (any children they brought drew half rations) and were subject to military disci-

pline. In the southern theater of operations, the British employed substantial numbers of African American women, who served in virtually every department of the army. Additional women traveled with the Continental force in unofficial capacities. The wives of officers, enlisted men, and refugees often accompanied the force during campaigns.

### VICTIMS OF CONFLICT

Many women were caught between the two sides during the conflict. The destruction of property occasioned by the war left many women destitute and homeless. Perhaps typical was the treatment described by South Carolinian Eliza Wilkinson. She feared the worst with the approach of British cavalry, and indeed the soldiers ransacked her home, looting every thing of value. While most armies fighting in the Revolutionary campaigns respected certain rules of war, violence and rape were not uncommon occurrences. Such risks led many women to flee at the news of an approaching enemy army.

Loyalist women were subject to much the same treatment. Continental forces practiced systematic destruction of property and rape of Native American women during their campaigns against the Iroquois in upstate New York. Loyalist women lacked the organizational structures that helped to unify their Whig sisters, and the former often found themselves abandoned by their husbands or stripped of property. In some instances, Whig legislatures passed legislation to strip Loyalists of their property. Women's status was further complicated when husbands and wives took different sides during the Revolution. Due to laws of coverture, under which the wife was "covered" or legally subordinate to her husband, wives often discovered that they had no legal claim to property in the event of abandonment by a spouse.

### A NEW STATUS FOR WOMEN?

Women embraced the concepts of Whig liberty from the earliest stages of the Revolution, but these views were filtered through uniquely feminine lenses. Membership in organizations such as the Daughters of Liberty and participation in boycotts had fostered a sense of virtuous sacrifice on behalf of the cause. Prior to the war, women's perspectives on Revolutionary ideology were scarce. Although Mercy Otis Warren published fictional satires of British officials before the war, they did not reveal a specifically female viewpoint. But during the conflict American women were clearly expressing their own distinct conceptions of liberty. Nowhere was this clearer than in the 1780 manifesto, *Sentiments of an American*

***The Birth of the Flag*** **(1912).** Elizabeth "Betsy" Ross, shown here in a painting by Henry Mosler, was operating a Philadelphia upholstery shop with her husband when he died in 1776 guarding an American weapons cache. The Continental Congress later asked the young widow to design a flag. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

*Woman*, which called upon women to support the quest for liberty through boycotts, household production, support for the troops, and virtuous self-sacrifice. In many ways, *Sentiments* captured the dilemma of the American Revolution as it applied to women; prevailing gender roles limited them to the position of helpmate in the struggle for liberty. Many women recognized this conundrum and sought greater rights for their gender. But aside from the extension of the franchise to New Jersey female heads of household in 1776 (a right revoked when universal manhood suffrage was granted in 1807), real political gains were few and far between. Despite efforts by Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray to advance women's liberties, the women's revolution generally stopped at the door of their household. Despite the limited changes in political status, the Revolution did produce some changes in legal status.

Women gained greater independence from husbands, greater access to and ability to control property, and greater availability of divorce. The struggle for women's liberty did not end with the American Revolution; it was only beginning.

*See also* **Law: Women and the Law; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gundersen, Joan R. *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740–1790.* New York: Twayne, 1996.

Hoffman, Ronald, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Women in the Age of the American Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Lewis, Jan. "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic." *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 689–721.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980.

Smith, Barbara Clark. "Food Rioters and the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly* 51 (1994): 3–38.

Young, Alfred F. *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier.* New York: Knopf, 2004.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. *A Woman's Dilemma: Mercy Otis Warren and the American Revolution.* Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1995.

*J. Chris Arndt*

**REVOLUTION, AGE OF**   The American Revolution marked the beginning of what has been called the Age of Revolution. What began as a protest over taxation in an extended empire exhausted by seven years of warfare against Catholic France gradually turned into a crisis that altered all political and social relationships not only in the British Empire but throughout the Western Hemisphere and northwest Europe, in what is now called the Atlantic world. The American Revolution profoundly influenced revolutionary rebellions in France, Haiti, Poland, Ireland, and eventually Latin America, while creating intellectual ferment in a dozen other societies in the Atlantic basin.

**ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**
The British Empire emerged triumphant from the long and desperate struggle against France known as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). France was expelled from Canada, frustrated in its designs in Germany, and largely stripped of its influence in India. Britain's triumph had been fueled by a sophisticated fiscal-military bureaucracy that funded its forces by means of deficit spending. In 1763 these debts began to come due, and the British ministry rightly believed they could not be borne by the home islands' heavily taxed populations. This conclusion, reached with no malice toward British Americans, led to the Stamp Act and the subsequent eruption of a ten-year-long protest movement.

The ideological core of that movement and the society that began to emerge from it in 1776 has been described alternatively as liberal, republican, or based on natural rights philosophy. It was in fact a fusion of a number of clearly identifiable strains of political thought. Initially, at the center of this thought lay the desire to restrict the central state's power by means of actual representation, in which representatives would be voted into office by distinct and geographically definable electorates whose interests they would serve.

The deterioration of the empire's political situation after the Boston Tea Party, the resulting Intolerable Acts, and the Quebec Act, which seemed to establish Catholic government in Britain's new Canadian colonies, led to a fundamental shift in the ideological structure of provincial thinking. What had begun as an effort to preserve the British constitution, as provincials understood it, became a movement for the establishment of an independent republic. With this shift in thinking came universalist views of human rights and human nature that profoundly challenged the assumptions of monarchical Europe and for that matter the slaveholding patricians of the American provinces themselves.

This challenge to preeminent beliefs and social structures were based on the regenerative and even utopic qualities of republicanism and natural rights thought. This thinking encouraged Americans in the restructuring of political institutions. The republican state governments that appeared between 1776 and 1780 reflected this republican utopianism and amounted to a radical experiment in self-government. Three of the states, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and what became Vermont, adopted constitutions that provided for unicameral (single) legislatures, rather than legislatures with upper and lower chambers; these state constitutions proclaimed a radical egalitarian vision of republican citizenry. Upper chambers like the colonial councils were deemed unnecessary, as were governors as they had existed in the empire. The designers of the unicameral governments threw over institutional hierarchy because, they believed, it would allow a few in power to block the collective will of a free republican citizenry. All, or at least all white male property holders, were now considered brother citizens and thus equal. Even those new states that maintained the bicameralism inherited from the colonial period weakened the governors and upper houses, established annual elections in many cases, began to do away with multiple office holdings, initiated the process of abolition in the North, and proclaimed the sovereignty of a republican people free from historical restraints of royal patriarchy and deferential traditions. Based as they were on the startling notion that human nature could be molded into a better, more virtuous form under the right, revolutionary circumstances, these governments reflected and furthered the utopian and

universalist ideals within revolutionary thought. It is these impulses that gave the American Revolution its transatlantic appeal.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE BRITISH ISLES

European intellectuals who had been studying classical history and philosophy throughout the eighteenth century now saw these ideals put into effect in a new and revolutionary society. Their fascination took on a real political force, with drastic consequences in a number of societies. The improbable, if not miraculous, American victory against a world superpower only enhanced the notion, as a contemporary put it, that the American Revolutionaries were to be "the Vindicators of the Rights of Mankind in every Quarter of the Globe." The spread of revolutionary republicanism to France greatly amplified their impact in the Atlantic world and northern Europe. After 1789 political unrest came to define life in that huge expanse. Clearly, part of what drove this unrest was knowledge of republican revolutions in America and France.

The explosion in France that began in 1789 profoundly affected all Western societies and indeed beyond. Large numbers of French subjects participated in the American cause on their own account; hundreds of French officers and tens of thousands of men fought with the formal French expeditionary force that aided the American cause after 1778, and French intellectuals studied American Revolutionary principles in reading clubs, Masonic lodges, and salons. Those who had fought in America discussed the American Revolution with friends and neighbors; American writings including the state constitutions were published in French and other languages, allowing the European intellectual caste to discuss them; and Americans themselves visited Europe and spread word of their revolutionary accomplishments. Perhaps the most famous and influential of these "visitors" was the English-born author of *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine, whose *Rights of Man* (1791) became a central text in the defense of the French Revolution from its all too numerous critics. Paine explicitly linked the French and American revolutions in his dedication of the English-language version to George Washington, whose "exemplary Virtue" in defense of freedom had helped create the preconditions where "the New World" might by its example "regenerate the old."

In America initial near-universal support for the French Revolution eventually gave way to acrimony and disagreement. In 1794 the Massachusetts Con-

stitution Society declared that on the French Revolution's success "depends not only the future happiness and prosperity of Frenchmen, but in our opinion of the whole world of Mankind." The Charleston Society of Charleston, South Carolina, petitioned the Jacobin Club of Paris for membership, which the Frenchmen quickly granted. By then, though, the radical turn of that revolution, signaled by the execution of America's former ally Louis XVI, had fractured the American body politic severely enough to lead to the rise of the first party system. The French example was blamed for much disorder in America, including the Whiskey Rebellion and the appearance of the party system itself, still seen as an undesirable development in a republican society.

The bitter struggle between the Federalists and the Democratic Republicans that dominated American society in the latter half of the 1790s was in large part driven by the question of the degree to which, if at all, the American Republic should support revolutionary France. Jefferson and his supporters among the Democratic Republicans urged assistance to a sister republic as part of a broader goal of global republicanization, whereas Washington, Hamilton, and the Federalists urged strict neutrality and leaned toward Great Britain in terms of commercial policy as manifested in Jay's Treaty. The resulting controversies almost led to civil war in America.

In Britain response to French developments quickly took on reactionary tones and led to a rallying around George III and the royal family. Although the new revolution across the Channel initially had support in some circles, the revolutionary excesses after 1792, the repudiation of Christianity, and the outbreak of war between revolutionary France and the remaining European monarchies (including Britain, which declared war against revolutionary France in 1793), steered British opinion onto a decidedly conservative path. English and Scottish intellectuals who embraced Enlightenment ideals recoiled at the bloodshed across the Channel.

However, the rejection of the radical egalitarianism associated with the American and French revolutions was not universal in the British Isles. In Ireland religious and national resentments, combined with admiration for the French, encouraged a widespread but failed uprising in 1798, the so-called Year of the French. Despite the bloodshed and anticlericalism in France, support for republicanism and revolutionary France was strong among Belfast Presbyterians, who, together with other groups, formed the United Irishmen in 1791 with the goal of establishing an

Irish revolutionary republic. By 1797 the United Irishmen had 100,000 members.

A rebellion near Dublin in May 1798 was put down by British authorities, led by the same Lord Cornwallis defeated by the French and Americans at Yorktown in 1781. Soldiers of France's revolutionary army landed in county Mayo in August 1798 in an effort to pry it from English control, but the effort came too late. Dissent continued for years thereafter, and a republican underground came into being that would exist in various guises in Ireland thereafter.

### REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN POLAND AND NORTHERN EUROPE

To imagine the effects of this republican intellectual upheaval as limited to America and France, or even America, France, and the British Isles, would be a serious error. A fourth nation, Poland, also erupted into a violent upheaval, one that would be used by its neighbors as an excuse to dismember it. Perhaps the least known (to Americans) of the republican revolutions, this unrest grew directly from the American and French examples and again involved soldiers who fought in the American war. In 1791 the Polish assembly ratified the Constitution of 3 May that in effect turned the nation into a constitutional monarchy. Prussia and Russia dismembered the Polish nation in 1792 by means of military invasion. In 1794 Thaddeus Kosciusko, who had served with distinction in the Continental Army in the southern campaigns, entered Poland and issued the Act of Insurrection, calling for a free and republicanized Poland. His rebellion was crushed by the Prussians in October 1794, and he was forced to flee to America. Republicanism, democracy, and various forms of constitutional monarchy became subjects of current discussion in intellectual and political circles throughout Northern Europe in this same period. By 1781 the constitutions of all thirteen states had been translated into Dutch, and intellectuals associated with the so-called Patriot party cited the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 in their calls to reform the government of the Netherlands in 1785. In the German-speaking nations of central Europe, a mixture of German newspapers and French, English, and German-language pamphlets carried both information about the course of events in the American rebellion and the principles of the Revolutionaries to German readers. According to one German writer, "during the American Wars, the only talk in Europe was about liberty." As in France and the Netherlands, the intellectuals of otherwise tradition-bound societies found a source of fascination and endless debate in American developments, which seemed an experiment in the enlightened ideas then afoot in learned circles in Europe. Little did they know that the end result of the embrace of these ideals in France and elsewhere would be a defeated Prussia and Austria dominated by the emperor Napoleon. Significant republican intellectual and political ferment even spread to Scandinavia, where a wave of change and reform took place and was directly linked to the earlier republican ferment in America.

### THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

The impact of republicanism in the Caribbean and Latin America was no less profound. The most immediate reaction occurred in the French-owned part of the island of Saint Domingue, in what became Haiti. There, the oppressive plantation system dominated by a small group of white planters who exploited hundreds of thousands of African slaves to provide sugar and coffee to European markets was destabilized by the spread of revolutionary ideals from Paris. Although the initial meeting of the French National Assembly did not directly attack slavery in the French Caribbean, it did raise the question of political rights for mulattos, which became the first crack in the edifice of slavery. Soon the *blancs* began fighting among themselves, some resisting revolution, others wanting a cautious revolution, still others pushing for a radical revolution including some or full political rights for the mulatto population. Finally, in August 1791 the explosion came. A huge servile rebellion, eventually involving hundreds of thousands slaves, drove the planter class from the island. Attempts by French, British, and Spanish forces to intervene failed, and Haiti was established as a free republic, much to the horror of slaveholders in the United States and elsewhere.

The continuation of republican revolutions in the nineteenth century in Latin America and Europe, the actors in which repeatedly invoked the American example to justify their own actions, speak to the profound alteration in world politics that began in the 1770s. From this period forward, movements proclaiming the ultimate sovereignty and welfare of a disembodied "people" were seen as legitimate challengers to the monarchical and oligarchic orders that dominated western society.

*See also* **America and the World; Americans in Europe; Boston Tea Party; British Empire and the Atlantic World; Classical Heritage and American Politics; Constitutionalism: Overview; Constitutionalism: American Colonies; Democratic Republicans; European Influences: Enlightenment**

Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; European Responses to America; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Haitian Revolution; Intolerable Acts; Jay's Treaty; Paine, Thomas; Philosophy; Revolution: Diplomacy; Revolution: European Participation; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; War and Diplomacy in the Atlantic World; Whiskey Rebellion.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barton, H. Arnold. *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era, 1760–1815.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

Davis, David Brion. *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Dippel, Horst. *Germany and the American Revolution, 1770–1800.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.

———. *Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Kajencki, Francis Casimir. *Thaddeus Kosciuszko: Military Engineer of the American Revolution.* El Paso, Tex.: Southwest Polonia Press, 1998.

Kim, Sung Bok. "The American Revolution and the Modern World." In *Legacies of the American Revolution.* Edited by Larry R. Gerlach, James A. Dolph, and Michael L. Nicholls. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1978.

O'Donnell, Ruan. *Robert Emmet and the Rebellion of 1798.* Dublin, Ireland, and Portland, Ore.: Irish Academic Press, 2003.

Palmer, R. R. *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959–1964.

*Brendan McConville*

**REVOLUTION AS CIVIL WAR: PATRIOT-LOYALIST CONFLICT**   The American Revolution was not simply the uprising of united American colonists fighting for independence against a British Empire unified in its desire to impose its will upon the colonies. Instead, the war involved the complex internal squabbles of a diverse population, with allegiances often hinging on uncertain circumstances. In a civil war, hostile action erupts between two groups (usually fielding conventional armies) within the same country, groups whose claims to political power and identity have proven irreconcilable. By this standard, the American Revolution often partook of the characteristics of a civil war.

### OUTLINES OF THE CONFLICT
Historians who have focused on the political ideology and religious beliefs of the colonists have illustrated several points of divergence among Americans. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Low Church Anglicans (who sought a Church of England independent of state apparatus), those who sought to foster America's economic independence, and those who supported westward expansion tended to side with the Patriots. Many of these groups eagerly participated in the revolutionary movement, with its ideas about representative government, popular sovereignty, and religious and political liberty. While these supporters of the rebellion might be found throughout the British Empire, they were concentrated most heavily in New England, the Chesapeake, and interior lands stretching southward from Pennsylvania.

Loyalism tended to flourish among High Church Anglicans (who sought greater fusion of church and state), employees of the crown, strategists who sought to limit American expansion, civilians who depended upon British military protection, and those who supported British mercantile policy. These groups were more common in the Lower South and the middle colonies, though they were significant minorities in New England and the Chesapeake as well. The British also found allies among the inhabitants of Canada and the Caribbean, important Indian tribes such as the Iroquois and Cherokee, and thousands of southern blacks who believed that the British Empire held a greater promise of freedom.

There were numerous exceptions to these generalizations; nevertheless, this broad split represented significant ideological and denominational rifts within the British Empire. Such divisions were evident on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, and they helped to raise the stakes in the minds of many Americans about the consequences of this civil conflict.

### THE CHAOS OF INTERNECINE WAR
The American Revolution resembled a civil war most clearly in the sphere of military action. In some areas, civil war was less apparent because one side or another predominated. In much of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England, rebellious Americans successfully suppressed Loyalism, just as the British effectively squelched any pockets of sympathy for

the Patriots in Canada and elsewhere. On the other hand, both sides waged an often bloody civil conflict in many other places: the coastline, the Lower South, New Jersey, New York, and the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. The Revolutionary War was not merely the unanimous uprising of Americans against a distant and monolithic British Empire, but something more divisive and complex.

Any civil war polarizes the two warring sides; in addition, civil war also creates gray areas and gray loyalties of various kinds. Apathy, hesitation, self-interest, and pacifism abounded, particularly in a war where English-speaking Protestants were fighting one another. (On the other hand, many focused on the participation of blacks, Indians, Hessian mercenaries, and French allies as a reason to fight for one side or the other.) Many Americans simply wanted to be left to their own devices. Patriots often tried to shock these fence-sitters into commitment by requiring loyalty oaths. Yet thousands of Americans clung to a desire for neutrality—during an early British siege attempt on Charleston, South Carolina, in 1779, a group of civilian leaders asked Great Britain to grant the city neutral status.

Perhaps a fifth of all people in the thirteen rebellious colonies were Loyalists, and as many as nineteen thousand Americans may have enlisted to fight for the crown. Some Americans found themselves aligning or collaborating with whichever party was more powerful in the area where they lived. Loyalism and Patriotism might spring from vengeance, resentment, fear, coercion, local disputes, opportunism, or short-term financial incentives in addition to broader ideological or economic reasons for supporting or opposing Great Britain.

British leaders could never decide whether to prosecute a relentless, destructive war or adopt a more conciliatory posture. Many Loyalists and British officers gained reputations for advocating a "fire and sword" approach toward fighting the Americans, while the Americans themselves occasionally destroyed Indian and white settlements, including large cities such as Norfolk, Virginia, during the course of the war. On the periphery of armed conflict, both sides engaged in ambushes, raids, plunder, brutality, banditry, depredations, and the settling of private scores. Cooler heads on both sides deplored such actions. Many Patriots believed that irregular war undermined the new nation's claims to civility, while some supporters of the crown hoped to reconcile the rebellious element in America. This conciliatory attitude clashed with more aggressive approaches, and Great Britain's inconsistent policy hindered its war effort.

The role of the Loyalists in the American Revolution has been both underestimated and overestimated. On the one hand, the presence of Loyalists and neutrals demonstrates how tenuous the rebels' influence might have been in North America had the British been willing and able to exert their full military might. On the other hand, Great Britain never took full advantage of the inchoate mass of Loyalists and their military potential. After 1778, when the British began attempting to mobilize Loyalists more fully, they leaned too heavily on these scattered groups of supporters, undermining any chance of military success. Through its initial hesitation, Britain failed to drive North America into full-blown civil war. Through its subsequent miscalculations, the British ministry failed to prosecute a civil war effectively.

The American Revolution pitted neighbors and families against one another as surely as any civil war. Military exigencies and deeper sources of disagreement fractured North America during the course of this long and bloody conflict.

*See also* **Loyalists; Revolution: Military History.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Calhoon, Robert McCluer. *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760–1781.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973.

Clark, J. C. D. *The Language of Liberty, 1660–1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Phillips, Kevin. *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America.* New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Shy, John. *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence.* Rev. ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Smith, Paul H. *Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964.

*Benjamin L. Carp*

**REVOLUTION OF 1800**   *See* **Election of 1800.**

**RHETORIC**   Rhetoric is the art and theory of persuasive speech and argument. A branch of scholarship that dates back to the Greek democracy, rhetoric has long been associated with service to public life and civic engagement. It is best symbolized by the idealized figure of the orator, who represented the finest characteristics of a culture and who, through eloquent speech, articulated the culture's public affairs in a manner that reflected its values. Classical rhetoricians believed that public language must be educated and refined but also approachable, free of jargon, and designed for the nonspecialist, a belief that was continued into the early national period in the United States.

During the early American Republic, rhetoric became an essential aspect of higher education for lawyers, politicians, and ministers, who formally addressed the public. In addition, male and female students at all educational levels studied rhetoric because, educators believed, it enhanced the civic engagement of the young. Whereas later in the nineteenth century rhetoric would come to have negative connotations, Americans during the early Republic felt that rhetoric taught youth to be proper members of a democratic public. The pedagogical emphasis on instruction in rhetoric reveals the extent to which the United States at that time remained a culture powerfully reliant on oratory and orality.

The Stoic philosophers of ancient Greece are credited with having caused rhetoric to be considered a significant branch of philosophy. They thought that knowledge from philosophy and other disciplines was, by itself, inert and therefore in need of rhetorical persuasion to propel it into effective use in the arena of human affairs. Early American public-speaking manuals particularly celebrated the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) as a model of eloquence and incorruptible morality and suggested that his oratory had helped to protect the Roman republic from tyranny. Americans also idealized Quintilian (35?–? A.D.), a Roman teacher posthumously famous for his writings on rhetoric in *Institutio Oratoria* (*The Orator's Education*), for his advancement of polished speech and personal integrity.

Although most refer to it as an "art," rhetoric was generally understood as a body of rules to be learned by students. According to classical practice, rhetoric was divided into five parts, each of equal importance: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. This formula meant that the orator treated the logic of an argument or the development of an idea as standing on equal ground with matters of style, such as the verbal flourishes and metaphors or the orator's vocal inflections and gesture. The orator must master all of these "parts," so the reasoning went, in order to fully engage and persuade an audience. By the mid-eighteenth century, educational institutions came to rely on classically inspired works like *A System of Oratory* (1759) by the British rhetorician John Ward, which relied heavily on the ideas of Cicero and Quintilian. Ward's *System* became the most popular text on rhetoric in American colleges until the end of the century.

Americans' eighteenth-century embrace of the classical model of rhetoric represented a sharp break with seventeenth-century American practice, which idealized a far less elaborate, plain style of delivery and made a firm distinction between "style" and "substance." This earlier view was best expressed in the rhetorical theory of Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) of the University of Paris, whose writings were imported by instructors at Harvard and other American colleges during the seventeenth century. Ramus considered logic to be the central characteristic of a good sermon, and rhetoric to be only so much verbal display. As Americans moved away from Ramistic rhetoric and toward classical rhetorics, they came into line with current European and especially British public speaking and scholarship.

This shift also reflected much broader cultural changes toward an emphasis on public opinion and the engagement and persuasion of audiences. With an upsurge in the popularity of evangelical religion and participatory politics, Ramistic rhetoric—which paid little attention to adapting a speech to specific audiences or situations—now appeared out of step with a dynamic and complex society. In keeping with these developments, American colleges began to shift in focus from primarily training ministers to providing a liberal education for men with other professional intentions, such as the law or commerce. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, colleges placed rhetoric at the center of instruction and emphasized its public and civic characteristics. Students took rhetoric in all four years, participated in daily oral disputations and oral examinations, and usually culminated their degrees with a public oration before an audience of local dignitaries. Students also formed extracurricular debating societies to further develop these skills. Such a focus within higher education reflected not only the growing sense that all well-educated men must be adept at oratory but also that they must learn to persuade diverse audiences. Neither was this a movement limited to the privileged or highly educated; in most American cities and towns

after the Revolution, groups of noncollegiate young men formed debating societies to practice skills in argument and delivery.

The new emphasis on gauging one's audience and respecting public opinion did not fundamentally change the long-standing hierarchical relationship between an orator and his audience, but it did provide new political possibilities in the American colonies. Public speaking became a key art form for Americans before the Revolution, when oratory helped to galvanize the American public and to establish an argument for independence. Annual speeches commemorating the Boston Massacre of 1770 and the fiery oratory of Patrick Henry helped to create a convincing narrative of intolerable British tyranny. Americans came to see oratory as so important that, after the Revolution, when constructing buildings for Congress and for state governments, architects added galleries from which visitors might enjoy legislative address and debate. In turn, Americans learned to associate their leaders with fine oratory and to criticize them when they failed to live up to the public's standards.

Alongside the growing importance of neoclassical rhetoric, two other important rhetorical movements arose and gained influence during the late eighteenth century. The first was the elocutionary movement, which taught adherents to convey ideas and emotions successfully to their auditors by focusing extensively on the delivery of public speech. Elocutionists provided methods for modulating one's voice, gesture, and facial expression in ways that were believed to capture emotions and "natural" expression. They argued that better training in graceful and persuasive delivery would correct the dry, logical argument that had limited the effectiveness of both secular and religious speech in the past. All forms of speech were seen to benefit from this instruction—from everyday conversations to formal public oratory—making this a far more inclusive movement than one directed solely at the high-born or to aspiring formal orators.

In part because of its seemingly universal applications, elocution became particularly influential at the American common-school level and in academies and was prescribed for both male and female students. Schools had long employed oral recitation as a fundamental aspect of daily lessons, but during the early Republic, recitation became strongly allied with elocutionary techniques to the extent that most schoolbooks contained instructions for vocal inflection and gesture reprinted from prominent elocutionary writings. Indeed, elocution was so ubiqui-

tous in childhood education that schoolbook compilers defined reading as an oral exercise, and "correct" reading as "founded upon the principles of elocution," as did Montgomery Bartlett in his *The Practical Reader* (1822).

The second rhetorical movement to become prominent in the late eighteenth century was belletristic rhetoric, which displayed a new concern with the aesthetic experience of persuasive speech. Belletristic theorists brought together rhetoric and the belles lettres (from the French for "fine letters"), a broad category often referred to as "polite literature" or "fine learning" and that encompassed a knowledge of philosophy, literature, history, biography, and linguistics. Influential Scottish writers such as Adam Smith and Hugh Blair advocated an elegant style of address that revealed the speaker's knowledge of literature. Many of the orators who came to the cultural forefront during the early nineteenth century and saw their speeches reprinted for broad dissemination, including Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, made use of this fine and lofty style. These speakers and their political contemporaries in the years leading up to the Civil War were so famous for their carefully wrought arguments and inspiring speech that this would later be called "the golden age of American oratory."

Both elocution and the belles lettres were rhetorical movements that were shared across the Atlantic; more distinctive to the American context was the middling oratorical style, or "democratic idiom," as the historian Kenneth Cmiel has termed it. This style married elements of the grander belletristic style with less formal aspects, such as colloquial language and folksy charm more common to ordinary people. As Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most popular speakers of the antebellum era, famously put it in 1835, "he is sure of popularity who can come down among the people and address truth to them in their own homely way and with broad humor—and at the same time has an upper current of taste and chaste expression and condensed vigor." The middling style of address indicated to listeners that an orator put on few airs about an elite background or education, yet retained the ability to elevate the thoughts and feelings of the audience.

One of the sources of this "democratic idiom" was the fiery religious oratory of the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century, when some of the most popular speakers were uneducated people with great skills in persuasive, direct address. Although this style would flower most fully in the 1830s, the contrast between it and the belletristic

style played an important role in the 1828 presidential election. John Quincy Adams, who had previously held the position of Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard, ran against the plain-talking Tennessee lawyer and military hero Andrew Jackson. The candidates' supporters played up the great differences in style between the two men. So, although neither candidate ever electioneered on his own behalf, Jackson's election helped to usher in a new era of popular politics that eschewed refinement and elitism.

These changes in American political culture would eventually contribute to a fundamental shift in the common understanding of rhetoric. Rather than referring to public-spirited speech by the honorable orator, "rhetoric" came to connote the inflated, empty, and even deceptive words of speakers who had their own interests at heart. During the early American Republic, however, rhetoric remained associated with virtuous eloquence that galvanized the public to unified action toward the common good.

*See also* **Education: Colleges and Universities; Election of 1828; Political Culture; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cmiel, Kenneth. *Democratic Eloquence: The Fight over Popular Speech in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Morrow, 1990; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Gustafson, Sandra M. *Eloquence Is Power: Oratory and Performance in Early America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Halloran, S. Michael. "Rhetoric in the American College Curriculum: The Decline of Public Discourse." *Pre/Text 3* (1982): 245–269. Reprinted in *Pre/Text: The First Decade.* Edited by Victor J. Vitanza. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

Moran, Michael G., ed. *Eighteenth-Century British and American Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

*Carolyn Eastman*

**RHODE ISLAND**   Rhode Island grew significantly during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, both in size and population. A very favorable boundary settlement with Massachusetts in 1747 resulted in the annexation of Cumberland and the East Bay towns of Tiverton, Little Compton, Warren, and Bristol. Newport continued to prosper commercially, but Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay, began to challenge it for supremacy. This rivalry assumed political dimensions, and by the late 1740s a system of two-party politics developed, with opposing groups headed by Samuel Ward and Stephen Hopkins. Generally speaking, the merchants and farmers of Newport and South County (Ward's faction) battled with their counterparts from Providence and its environs (led by Hopkins) to secure control of the powerful legislature for the vast patronage at the disposal of that body.

By the end of the colonial era, Rhode Island had developed a brisk commerce with the entire Atlantic community, including England, the Portuguese islands, Africa, South America, and the West Indies. Rhode Island merchants outdid those of any other mainland colony in the lucrative slave trade. Though agriculture was far and away the dominant occupation, commercial activities flourished in Newport, Providence, and Bristol and in lesser ports. In 1774 the colony had 59,707 residents, who lived in twenty-nine incorporated municipalities (up from 32,773 in the census of 1748).

**THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA, 1763–1790**
Rhode Island was a leader in the American Revolutionary movement. Beginning with strong opposition in Newport to the Sugar Act (1764), with its restrictions on the molasses trade, the colony engaged in repeated measures of open defiance, such as the burning of the British revenue schooner *Gaspée* in 1772. Gradually Ward's and Hopkins's factions came together to endorse a series of political responses to alleged British injustices. On 17 May 1774, after parliamentary passage of the Coercive Acts, the Providence Town Meeting became the first governmental assemblage to issue a call for a general congress of colonies to resist British policy. On 15 June the colony became the first to appoint delegates (Ward and Hopkins) to the anticipated Continental Congress. In April 1775, a week after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, the colonial legislature authorized raising a fifteen-hundred-man "army of observation" with Nathanael Greene as its commander. On 4 May 1776 Rhode Island became the first colony to renounce allegiance to King George III. Ten weeks later, on 18 July, the General Assembly ratified the Declaration of Independence. During the war, Rhode Island furnished its share of men, ships, and money to the cause of independence, and helped to create the Continental Navy. Esek Hopkins (broth-

er of Stephen, a signer of the Declaration of Independence) became the first commander in chief of the Continental Navy and Greene became Washington's second-in-command and chief of the Continental Army in the South.

The British occupied Newport in December 1776. An unsuccessful five-week campaign to evict them in July and August 1778 was the first combined effort of the Americans and their French allies. The highlight of that campaign was an American victory on 29 August in the Battle of Rhode Island—a ten thousand–man engagement that is the largest battle ever fought in New England. The British voluntarily evacuated Newport in October 1779, but in July 1780 the French army under Rochambeau landed there and made the port town its base of operations. It was from Newport, Bristol, Providence, and other Rhode Island encampments that the French began their march to Yorktown in 1781.

In 1783 the General Assembly removed the arbitrarily imposed disability against Roman Catholics (dating from 1719) by giving members of that religion "all the rights and privileges of the Protestant citizens of this state." Most significant of several statutes relating to blacks was the emancipation act of 1784, a manumission measure that gave freedom to all children born to slave mothers after 1 March 1784.

Newport's exposed location, the incidence of Loyalist sentiments among its townspeople, and its temporary occupation by the British led to its decline. In 1774 its population was 9,209; by 1782 that figure had dwindled to 5,532. From this period forward, Providence—more sheltered at the head of the bay and a center of Revolutionary activity—and its surrounding mainland communities grew and prospered.

In 1778 the state had quickly ratified the Articles of Confederation, with its weak central government, but when the movement to strengthen that government developed in the mid-1780s, Rhode Island balked. Because of the state's individualism, its democratic localism, and its tradition of autonomy, it resisted the centralizing tendencies of the federal Constitution. Rhode Island declined to dispatch delegates to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, which drafted the United States Constitution, and then delayed ratification until 1790. The ratification tally on 29 May 1790, thirty-four in favor and thirty-two opposed, was the narrowest of any state.

## RHODE ISLAND IN THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1790–1830

During the early years of the Republic, the always romantic and sometimes lucrative China trade flourished, then declined, and finally expired in 1841. Rhode Island weathered both a major hurricane (the Great Gale of 1815) and a locally unpopular confrontation with England (the War of 1812). Providence evolved from town to city (1832), and its political party system experienced two phases of opposition: Federalists vs. Democratic Republicans (1794–1817) and National Republican/Whigs vs. Democrats (1828–1854). In two momentous changes, the state's economy transformed from an agrarian-commercial to an industrial base, and, after a long period of reform agitation and a serious political upheaval known as the Dorr Rebellion (1841–1842), government transformed from colonial charter to written state constitution.

In 1790 a cotton-spinning frame similar to those used in England was reconstructed and put to use in a mill at Pawtucket Falls on the Blackstone River. This marked the first time cotton yarn was spun by waterpower in America. The men chiefly responsible for this promising venture were Providence merchants Moses Brown, Smith Brown, and William Almy, and Samuel Slater, a young English immigrant with technical knowledge and managerial experience acquired in the cotton mills of his native land. By the late 1820s the processing of cotton displaced commerce as the backbone of the Rhode Island economy. From the mid-1820s onward, Irish Catholics came to Rhode Island in ever-increasing numbers to labor on public works projects, such as canals and railroads, or to work in the textile mills and metals factories.

For a century cotton production, woolens production, a base-metals industry, and the manufacture of precious metals, especially gold and silver jewelry, steadily expanded and dominated the state's economic life. Meanwhile agriculture declined, and many rural towns experienced a substantial emigration. With an 1830 population of 97,210, tiny Rhode Island was emerging as America's first predominantly urban-industrial state.

*See also* **Anti-Catholicism; Cotton; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; New England; Providence, R.I.; Sugar Act.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Coleman, Peter J. *The Transformation of Rhode Island*, *1790–1860.* Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1963. Reprint 1998.

Conley, Patrick T. *Democracy in Decline: Rhode Island's Constitutional Development, 1776–1841.* Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1977.

Jones, Daniel P. *The Economic and Social Transformation of Rural Rhode Island, 1780–1850.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Lovejoy, David S. *Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760–1776.* Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1958.

Polishook, Irwin H. *Rhode Island and the Union, 1774–1795.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969.

*Patrick T. Conley*

**RICHMOND**  Founded in 1742, Richmond became the capital of Virginia in 1780. The initial city charter allowed male property owners to elect a council, known as the "Common Hall," twelve citizens who appointed the mayor from their membership. After the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1774, delegates to the Virginia Convention descended on Richmond to organize defenses and a provisional government. In support of independence, Richmond provided soldiers, guns, gunpowder, and ship rigging. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence was read publicly in Richmond, and in 1788 the Virginia Convention, meeting in Richmond, ratified the Constitution of the United States. Richmond's population grew from 600 inhabitants in 1770 to 5,706 in 1820. Early settlers included Germans from Philadelphia seeking land and Scottish tobacco merchants, but after the Revolution, European immigrants arrived from Haiti, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. Settlers included Jews, who founded the Beth Shalome synagogue, and blacks, who made up around one-half the population.

Tobacco, coal, wheat, and black laborers were essential to Richmond's economy. Tobacco was Richmond's oldest economic sector; in the city it was warehoused, shipped, and manufactured into chewing tobacco. Between 1790 and 1830, coal output near Richmond grew from 22,000 to 100,000 tons annually. Richmond shipped coal to American cities, the West Indies, and Europe. As wheat became Virginia's major crop, Richmond increased its production of flour and shipped it to South America and California. Richmond manufacturers produced iron, gunpowder, ceramics, beer, musical instruments, paper, cotton textiles, coaches, soaps, and candles. Black slaves worked not only as domestic servants, but also in the flour, tobacco, and coal mining industries. Free blacks dominated the skilled crafts, including blacksmithing, coopering, masonry, and carpentry. At Richmond's slave auctions, traders sold Virginia-born blacks locally, but also sold them south to cotton plantations. The foreign trade embargo of 1807–1809, the War of 1812, and the Panic of 1819 weakened Richmond's industries and export businesses, which did not recover until the 1830s.

In the early national period, Richmond experienced technological and political change. Transportation and communication improved with the introduction of stagecoaches, canals, bridges, and steamboats. Politically, the Republican Party prevailed in the state as a whole, but Federalists dominated Richmond. In 1800, however, Jefferson carried Richmond in the presidential election. Operating from the capital, the Richmond Junto controlled Virginia's Republican organization. The three-man junto, including Judge Spencer Roane, the newspaper editor Thomas Ritchie, and Dr. John Brockenbrough, made officeholders dependent upon their backing and, by influencing financial decisions, controlled the party's purse strings. Junto members served on the boards of the Bank of Virginia and the Farmers Bank of Virginia, both based in Richmond.

In 1800 Gabriel Prosser secretly planned an insurrection involving thousands of other slaves in Richmond and throughout slaveholding areas of Virginia and North Carolina. Betrayed at the last minute, the conspirators delayed their plans, giving whites time to respond. Gabriel's Rebellion forced whites to abandon naïve conceptions of blacks as contented within a violent slave labor system. In 1829 and 1830, delegates to a constitutional convention debated slavery and the low representation of nonslaveholding western counties in the state legislature and, ultimately, adopted a new constitution. In 1831 Nat Turner's slave insurrection reignited these issues. When the Virginia General Assembly convened in Richmond, state legislators narrowly voted down a proposal to abolish slavery.

*See also* **Constitution, Ratification of; Gabriel's Rebellion; Virginia.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berman, Myron. *Richmond's Jewry, 1769–1976: Shabbat in Schockoe.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Dabney, Virginius. *Richmond: The Story of a City.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976.

Sidbury, James. *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730–1810.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Takagi, Midori. *Rearing Wolves to Our Own Destruction: Slavery in Richmond, Virginia, 1782–1865.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999.

Ward, Harry M., and Harold E. Greer Jr. *Richmond during the Revolution, 1775–83.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977.

*Pamela C. Edwards*

---

**RIGHTS**   *See* **Natural Rights.**

---

**RIOTS**   Between 1754 and 1829, Americans violently hammered out their new national identity. From the Regulator Movement in North Carolina in the late colonial period to labor strife in New York City in the 1820s, the inhabitants of what became the United States continually invoked violence to voice social and political discontent. As often as people rioted to reshape their communities, they rioted to preserve what rioters considered acceptable behavior. Whatever their goals, most people turned to rioting only when nothing else worked.

Authorities in North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries usually considered riotous any unauthorized crowd of several people that tried to establish its will through the use of force. Force included outright violence, including physical assault on a person or persons, and intimidation. Who authorities labeled a "rioter" depended on local circumstances; they preferred to prosecute leaders of riots. Although wealthy men led some crowds, leaders usually emerged from among the crowd. The rioters' methods and aspirations did not fundamentally change from 1754 to 1829, but the Revolution qualitatively transformed rioting as participants used revolutionary language to legitimate new riots.

### COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ERAS

In the late colonial period, (1754–1775), rioters drew on various traditions of violence. Many built on the European tradition of "rough music" to correct the sometimes deviant behavior of their neighbors. In a typical example of the rite in 1754, a crowd of women in New York City chased a Mrs. Wilson and pelted her with rocks for allegedly committing adultery. Other rioters looked elsewhere for models of ritual violence. In 1763 the Paxton Boys murdered several peaceful Conestoga Indians to protest the Pennsylvania government's refusal to fund a militia to protect farmers from attacks by hostile Indians. They used the same kind of stylized violence that Indians had utilized to kill white settlers.

During the Revolutionary era (1763–1789), crowds built on these traditions of violence when they protested political and social injustice. The Stamp Act protests illustrate that although elites sometimes led crowds, they withdrew their support when riots threatened their interests. In Boston during August 1765, Samuel Adams built on celebrations of Pope's Day (5 November)—which commemorated an attempt to blow up Parliament in 1605—to protest the Stamp Act. Approximately two weeks after the crowd action he had organized, however, Adams called for the arrest of men responsible for another crowd action to protest growing disparities in wealth and power in Boston, a crowd that sacked the house of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Rural rebels of the same period, including land rioters in New York's Hudson Valley and Regulators in North Carolina, invoked the language of the Sons of Liberty when they rioted, hoping to legitimate their struggles for political and economic equality by aligning with struggles against Parliament. Authorities, some of whom were Sons of Liberty, reacted harshly to these rural riots in large part because these rioters often rejected their leadership. Rioting against British imperial rule culminated in the Boston Tea Party in December 1773 when some Bostonians refused to pay a tax that provided funds to cover the costs of colonial government. The rioters disguised themselves as Indians, boarded three ships in Boston Harbor, and dumped three hundred chests of tea into the water.

During the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), crowds made demands for subsistence part of the movement for independence. In nearly thirty instances during the first four years of the war, men and women rioted to control prices of vital commodities such as bread. In uprisings reminiscent of European bread riots, crowds of mostly women delivered ultimatums to their victims, couching their demands in the language of liberty and independence. They then assaulted these allegedly disloyal and unpatriotic shopkeepers for refusing to lower their exorbitant prices or for stockpiling goods to create false scarcities so they could then raise prices. These rioters disguised themselves, blackened their faces, and like participants in the Boston Tea Party, dressed like Indians to avoid identification.

**AFTER THE REVOLUTION**

The drive for independence forever changed rioting in the United States by giving rioters a new language drawn from that politically, socially, and culturally transformative event. After the war, rioters combined Revolutionary rhetoric with a European tradition of violence to legitimate their often-violent attempts to determine either who would rule the nation or how the nation should be ruled. Rioters who took part in Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787), the Whiskey Rebellion (1794), and Fries's Rebellion (1798) all invoked Revolutionary language to address local, state, or federal abuses of power. Similarly, Gabriel Prosser legitimated his slave rebellion in 1800 with words drawn directly from the pens of revolutionaries such as Thomas Jefferson. Animosity toward Britain lingered and exploded when rioters in Baltimore in June 1812 destroyed the presses of a printer who opposed war with Britain.

In the 1820s native-born whites, worried that immigrants jeopardized their welfare, attacked their economic opponents throughout the country, especially in cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1824 and 1825, ethnically motivated violence marked New York and Philadelphia as riots broke out among canal workers, weavers, and dockworkers, with the latter destroying ships to force employers to meet their demands. Independence and liberty meant different things to these groups, but the words bore meanings forever attached to them in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1787.

From 1754 to 1829, riotous crowds utilized European traditions of violence to voice their discontent with their rulers, their material condition, or their sexually deviant neighbors. Rioters often tried to establish their brand of authority, or their notion of what society ought to be, by temporarily turning their world upside down and by using highly ritualized institutions to attack their opponents. Some of these rioters attacked victims and took over official institutions because they knew that officials would not address the rioters' grievances and that insurgents would not receive equitable treatment in any official proceeding such as a court. These crowds used the terror and violence of rioting to achieve their aspirations. The Revolution provided those who approved of rioting with a new language to express themselves and a new tradition to justify their violence. At the same time the Revolution inspired an egalitarianism that challenged hierarchy, it prompted many Americans to try to better their status or, at the very least, preserve their position. Some did so by rioting.

*See also* **Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Fries's Rebellion; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Violence; Whiskey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gilje, Paul A. *Rioting in America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Hoerder, Dirk. *Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1765–1780.* New York: Academic Press, 1977.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Smith, Barbara Clark. "Food Rioters and the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly* 51 (1994): 3–38.

Young, Alfred F., ed. *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism.* Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976.

*Thomas J. Humphrey*

**ROADS** *See* **Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes.**

**ROMANTICISM** The late 1790s through the 1820s constitute the early or introductory period of romanticism in the United States, when radically new ideas about literature, philosophy, and theology coming out of England and Germany were first transplanted to American soil. The published works of the English poets William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in particular their *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), proclaimed a self-consciously modern literary and artistic esthetic. Inspired by the social idealism of the French Revolution, Wordsworth and Coleridge celebrated unbounded creativity and individual genius over mundane pursuits, the primacy of feelings and intuition over the rational intellect, and an awe-inspiring, infinite Creation over the finite, mechanistic universe of eighteenth-century natural philosophy. Despite this early introduction, it would be a full generation before the more serious philosophical and theological aspects of romanticism bore mature fruit on American soil in the transcendentalist movement, in the "higher criticism" of the Bible, and in the abolitionists' "higher law" arguments against slavery.

***Romantic Landscape*** **(c. 1826).** Thomas Cole's romantic view of the American natural scene was based on studies Cole made in the Catskill Mountains in upstate New York. © NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.

The romantic fascination with the marvelous and mysterious found popular expression much earlier, however, in the "romance" (also known as the "historical romance"), a literary genre first introduced in the 1810s by Sir Walter Scott's immensely popular *Waverley* novels. Scott's richly woven Scottish narratives led some American critics to lament the absence in North America of a feudal past peopled by chivalrous knights and ancient ruins, or of mist-shrouded forests filled with gloomy shadows and ghostly apparitions. Other American writers, however, most notably Washington Irving (1783–1859) and James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), were inspired by Scott's example to find in the nation's rough-hewn frontier settlements, dwindling American Indian population, and mythologized colonial and Revolutionary eras subjects suitable for distinctly American romances.

American romanticism's mature period is centered unavoidably in New England. It is important to note, however, the mid-Atlantic and Southern origins of many early American romantic writers and artists. Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), whose supernatural tale *Wieland* (1798) is considered the earliest American romance, was born in Philadelphia and spent most of his adult life in Pennsylvania and New York. Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales, a series of five novels begun in 1823 with *The Pioneers* and continued over the next decade in *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Prairie*, *The Pathfinder*, and *The Deerslayer*, together with Irving's *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1820), represent the coming of age of the American romance. Both Cooper and Irving lived nearly their entire lives in New York State. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), born in Massachusetts, spent most of his life in New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond; the poet William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), also from Massachusetts, lived and wrote in New York City. Washington Allston (1779–1843), considered the father of American romantic painting, was a native son of South Carolina.

The transition from the early, popular period of American romanticism to its mature philosophical and theological phase is best exemplified by the career of Edward Everett (1794–1865), a Massachusetts-born scholar considered by many contemporaries to be the foremost intellectual of his generation. While a student at Harvard College, Everett, like many of his classmates, first read about German romantic or post–Kantian scholarship in Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) and in the works of British writers such as Coleridge. After graduating with highest honors, in 1815 Everett accepted an invitation from Harvard to become the Eliot Professor of Greek Literature and negotiated a three-year preparatory trip to Europe. Traveling to Germany with his friend George Ticknor (1791–1871), Everett studied at the University of Göttingen under the direction of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Germany's foremost scholar of the Hebrew Bible and the leading exponent of biblical "higher criticism." Ticknor returned home after a year abroad to assume the positions of Professor of Belles Lettres and Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures at Harvard. Everett completed his studies in 1817, making him the first American to earn a doctorate at a German university.

In January 1817, Everett published a long essay on Goethe in the *North American Review*, the first significant essay on German romantic literature to appear in an American periodical. Later, as editor of that journal from 1820 to 1824, Everett published a series of influential essays that celebrated the American romance as the first indigenous national literature. A lengthy review essay on Cooper's historical romance *The Spy* (1821) triumphantly asserted that "there never was a nation whose history . . . affords better or more abundant matter for romantic interest than ours." Everett's critical promotion of German romantic literature made a lasting impression on the rising generation of New England intellectuals, in particular the young Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), who lauded Everett's intellectual influence as "comparable to that of Pericles of Athens." Everett, Emerson noted in his journal, was "the first American scholar who sat in the German universities and brought us home in his head their whole cultured methods and results."

After Everett's resignation as editor of the *North American Review*, the periodical's essayists slowly reversed their earlier positive interpretations of the American romance. Dismissing the genre as overly fantastic and cliché-ridden, critics applauded the novel's greater narrative and emotional verisimili-tude. This portentous shift, which reflected the growing cultural influence of Boston's Unitarian intellectuals, set the stage for the emergence of transcendentalism in the 1830s and for the full flowering of American romanticism in the 1840s and 1850s. James Marsh (1794–1842), a Vermont Congregational minister, was the first American transcendentalist to respond critically to this transformation of New England culture. In a long "Preliminary Essay" to the first American edition of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* (1828), Marsh condemned the arid mixture of British empiricism and Scottish common sense philosophy that dominated American intellectual and religious life. "So long as we hold the doctrines of Locke and the Scottish metaphysicians," Marsh observed, we "can make and defend no essential distinction between that which is *natural*, and that which is *spiritual*." Breaking decidedly with the Unitarians' authorization of scientific naturalism and philosophical realism, Marsh argued that self-inspection, reflecting upon "the mysterious grounds of our own being," was the only means by which individuals could arrive at certain knowledge "of the central and absolute ground of all being."

Younger New England intellectuals such as Emerson, who rejected the "corpse-cold" rationalism of their parent's generation, quickly embraced Marsh's belief that Coleridge provided the philosophical framework for a spiritually reinvigorated religious experience. Fredric Henry Hedge (1805–1890), a student at the University of Göttingen in the late 1810s and a founding member of the Transcendental Club, wrote an 1833 essay on Coleridge that presented the first clear exposition by an American writer of Kant's *Critiques* and of the post–Kantian philosophies of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling. By 1850 New England was awash in romantic and transcendentalist philosophy and theology. Hedge's literary anthology, *Prose Writers of Germany*, was followed quickly by the monumental, multivolume *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, and reviews of British, German, and French romantic writers regularly filled the pages of the *Christian Examiner*, the *Dial*, the *Harbinger*, and other progressive literary and religious periodicals.

Several other important manifestations of mature American romanticism emerged in the antebellum period. In the 1840s perfectionist strands of romantic thought inspired George Ripley (1802–1880), founder of the *Dial* and a former Unitarian minister, to organize and head the utopian community called Brook Farm in Concord, Massachusetts. Similarly, the social reformers John Humphrey Noyes (1811–

1886) and Robert Owens founded, respectively, the Oneida Community in upstate New York and New Harmony in western Indiana. Theodore Parker (1810–1860), a radical Unitarian minister and a devoted student of German philosophy and biblical criticism, stunned Bostonians in the early 1850s with the assertion that an intuited higher moral law took precedence over the recently passed Fugitive Slave Act and the U.S. Constitution. Darker romantic impulses, in turn, drove the writers Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864) and Herman Melville (1819–1891) to explore the more mysterious and irrational recesses of the American psyche and to produce the literary masterworks of the American Renaissance.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; Academic and Professional Societies; Bible; Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; Fiction; Poetry; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Carafiol, Peter. *Transcendent Reason: James Marsh and the Forms of Romantic Thought.* Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1982.

Flower, Elizabeth, and Murray G. Murphey. *A History of Philosophy in America.* Vol. 1. New York: Capricorn Books, 1977.

Long, Orie William. *Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1963.

Miller, Perry, ed. *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Orians, G. Harrison. "The Romance Ferment after *Waverley.*" *American Literature* 3 (January 1932): 408–431.

Pochmann, Henry A. *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600–1900.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Thomas, John L. "Romantic Reform in America, 1815–1865." *American Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (winter 1965): 656–681.

*Neil Brody Miller*

**ROYAL SOCIETY, AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT** John Winthrop Jr. (1606–1676), the first colonial American member of the Royal Society of London, was made a fellow of the society in the early 1660s, even before it received its charter. By 1783, fifty-two additional members had been elected from the North American British colonies, nineteen of them royal governors and hence in a position to encourage investigations in "natural philosophy." The remaining thirty-three were chosen because their interests made them likely to carry out such investigations. Winthrop—Connecticut's governor for eighteen years—satisfied both expectations. The telescope he gave to Harvard College made possible observations that were useful to Isaac Newton (1642–1727), and among his own contributions on subjects ranging from alchemy to zoology was a paper showing that maize, or Indian corn, is a nutritious human food.

Winthrop was in London seeking a royal charter for his colony when he was elected, but most other colonials were nominated by society members and elected *in absentia.* Since few of them could attend meetings, for ninety years these overseas members were treated like other Englishmen living forty miles or more from London; they were exempt from all membership fees. Beginning in 1752, however, the colonials also were assessed to help pay for the society's publication of its *Philosophical Transactions.* Colonial residents vied to put "F.R.S." after their names, and the society continued to welcome those qualified to contribute to its *Philosophical Transactions*, which printed at least 260 papers from the British colonies of North America prior to the American Revolution.

The most significant American contributor of the next generation was Cotton Mather (1663–1728), who sent his *Curiosa Americana* to the society over the course of twelve years (1712–1724) in the form of eighty-two letters. Mather's observations, both original and copied from ephemeral publications, were read to the society, although only a few were published in its *Transactions.* Many of his reports embodied the superstitions of his time, yet Mather did describe smallpox inoculation in Boston, of which he himself had learned from the *Philosophical Transactions*, and he was one of the first to study plant hybridization. He also differed from earlier colonial contributors by his willingness not merely to collect data, but to speculate on its meaning as well.

The Royal Society not only received and disseminated the observations of its members, but also guided research in directions thought to be rewarding. Resident members helped to provide supplies needed for experiments overseas. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was stimulated by the apparatus for demonstrating static electricity sent to Philadelphia by society member Peter Collinson (1694–1768), who had earlier motivated the plant collecting of the American

botanist John Bartram (1699–1777). In turn, it was to the Royal Society that Franklin submitted accounts of his experiments. After being read to the society, some of his letters were published in London's *Gentlemen's Magazine*, then collected in his 1751 pamphlet *Experiments and Observations on Electricity.* In 1753 the society awarded Franklin its highest honor, the Copley Medal, for his electricity studies. Transatlantic collegiality was further underscored when the reorganized American Philosophical Society, for which Franklin was the leading promoter, was established in 1769 in Philadelphia and patterned on the Royal Society of London.

*See also* **Botany; Franklin, Benjamin.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Denny, Margaret. "The Royal Society and American Scholars." *Scientific Monthly* 65 (1947): 415–427.

Frick, George F. "The Royal Society in America." In *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War.* Edited by Alexandra Oleson and Sanborn C. Brown. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Stearns, Raymond P. *Science in the British Colonies of America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

*Charles Boewe*

*S*
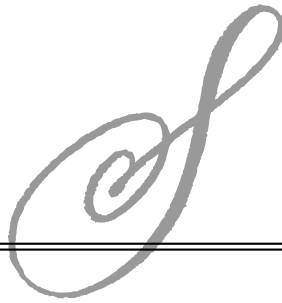
**SABBATARIANISM**  Most early Americans regarded Sunday as a day of rest, but they disagreed about how best to observe the day. Some colonists, following popular custom dating back to the Middle Ages, passed the day with feasts, ales, dances, fairs, and sporting events. Puritans and the more pietistic colonists, in contrast, regarded Sunday as the biblical Sabbath, set apart for bodily rest and worship. Conflict between these traditions continued into the early national period, gaining increased urgency as Americans debated the duties of republican citizenship.

Like their Puritan forebears, Congregationalists and Presbyterians generally embraced covenant theology, insisting that liberty was a blessing enjoyed only by those people who faithfully obeyed the commandments of God. Assuming the binding force of the Mosaic Law upon Christians, they attached particular significance to the fourth commandment (on keeping the Sabbath), which they regarded as a sign of the perpetual covenant between God and his people. From this perspective Sabbath violations threatened the foundation of civil and religious freedom.

As the nineteenth century opened, ministers tirelessly decried the widespread desecration of the Sabbath. During the War of 1812, countless state and local morals associations appeared, often spearheaded by Congregational and Presbyterian leaders, to lobby for strict enforcement of state laws against intemperance, profanity, and Sabbath breaking. From 1810 through the 1830s this Sabbatarian impulse came to focus with special intensity upon the U.S. postal system, which had routinely transported and delivered mail on Sunday since the origins of the Republic.

In 1809 Hugh Wylie, the Presbyterian postmaster of Washington, Pennsylvania, was excommunicated from his church for sorting and delivering the mail on Sunday. Wylie, who had acted in conformity with the orders of Postmaster General Gideon Granger, appealed this action to the Ohio Presbytery, the Pittsburgh Synod, and ultimately the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, only to have his excommunication upheld. Wylie had to choose between his job and his church. His dilemma prompted Congress in April 1810 to enact legislation requiring all post offices receiving mail on Sunday to be open at least one hour for delivery during the day.

Sabbatarians regarded this action as a violation of the "rights of conscience" and an improper expansion of federal power into the local arena. A broad coalition of ministers, including Boston Unitarian William Ellery Channing, joined in urging Congress to repeal the new postal law. Soon, however, evangelical Sabbatarians broadened their goals to include not only repeal but also legislation prohibiting even the

transportation of the mail on Sunday. During the following decade Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches sent hundreds of petitions to Congress demanding action to end Sunday mails.

Sabbatarian efforts intensified in 1826 when the Presbyterian General Assembly urged all members to boycott transportation companies that persisted in operating steamboats, stagecoaches, or canal packets on Sunday. The following year Josiah Bissell Jr., a Presbyterian merchant in Rochester, New York, launched a Sabbatarian stagecoach and canal packet company—the Pioneer Line—between Albany and Buffalo. Soon similar companies appeared in other parts of the United States. In May 1828 Bissell joined with Lyman Beecher, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and several hundred other evangelical ministers and laymen, in founding the General Union for the Promotion of the Christian Sabbath (GUPCS), which spearheaded a second national petition campaign against Sunday mails and worked to transform American attitudes toward the Sabbath.

The Sabbatarian war on Sunday mails had less appeal than most other evangelical crusades of the era. Many Christians believed that in an expanding capitalistic society, transportation of the mail on Sunday constituted a reasonable and even necessary public service. The petition campaigns failed to gain congressional support, while the boycott of non-Sabbatarian businesses sparked deep resentments in many communities and helped to generate an anti-Sabbatarian backlash, especially in western states and inland commercial centers like Rochester. Anti-Sabbatarians, who tended to identify with the emerging Democratic Party, rallied around U.S. senator Richard M. Johnson from Kentucky, who in 1829 gained national fame for his widely reprinted report denouncing the petition campaign as an unconstitutional effort to transform Congress into a sectarian religious body.

Despite the failure of the petition campaign, the Sabbatarian movement helped generate the persistent devotion to the Sabbath that continued to characterize American society right through the Civil War era. Moreover, many Sabbatarian leaders later entered the ranks of the abolition movement, where they applied to the antislavery cause tactics first employed in the fight against Sunday mail. Sabbatarians like U.S. senator Theodore Frelinghuysen from New Jersey, former president of the GUPCS, helped to establish the Whig Party and shape the moralistic ideology that characterized Whiggism.

See also **Reform, Social.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

John, Richard R. "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture." *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (1990): 517–567.

McCrossen, Alexis. *Holy Day*, *Holiday: The American Sunday.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Rohrer, James R. "Sunday Mails and the Church-State Theme in Jacksonian America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 7 (1987): 53–74.

Solberg, Winton U. *Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "Prelude to Abolitionism: Sabbatarian Politics and the Rise of the Second Party System." *Journal of American History* 58 (1971): 316–341.

*James R. Rohrer*

**ST. LAWRENCE RIVER** Flowing 750 miles northeast from Lake Ontario to the Atlantic Ocean, the St. Lawrence River shapes the fate of the peoples on both of its shores. The river, despite its difficult rapids, has long served as a vital transportation conduit for trade, migration, and exploration. Long before European colonization, the river provided fertile hunting and fishing grounds for members of the First Nations. In 1535 Jacques Cartier officially named the river and claimed the area for France. Seventy-three years later, Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec City and settled Montreal in 1611. With these settlements, the river functioned as a barrier between New France and Great Britain.

On its waters, empires have risen and fallen, wars have been fought, and peace has been negotiated. Access to the river helped the British secure victory in the French and Indian War (1756–1763). It allowed the British to scale the cliffs outside Quebec City in 1759, destroy New France, and claim the area for Britain. In 1776 Americans sailed down the St. Lawrence in an attempt to capture British Canada. With the American Revolutionary victory, the river became the border between parts of the new Republic and British Canada. During the War of 1812, President James Madison attempted to annex British Canada by sending a fleet of ships, under the command of General James Wilkinson, down the St. Lawrence River. The Long Sault Rapids prevented Wilkinson from proceeding. On 13 November 1813 he anchored his ships; British and Mohawk warriors soundly defeated his men in the Battle of Crysler's Farm, giving the British control of the river. With the American defeat, the St. Lawrence continued to act as a buffer

and a trade conduit between the Republic and British Canada.

The war highlighted the need for an effective navigation system. Attempts at canal and lock building began and failed as early as 1689. In 1819 the Erie Canal in New York State drew trade away from the St. Lawrence. In response, work began on the Lachine Canal, which was completed in 1821. Serious modifications continued until the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway, a system of canals, dams, locks, and channels connecting the Great Lakes, in 1959. In the 1820s the Underground Railroad moved human cargo from the United States across the river and into the freedom of British Canada. Vital trade and transportation continue along the St. Lawrence River.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Browne, George Waldo. *The St. Lawrence River: Historical*, *Legendary*, *Picturesque.* New York: Putnam, 1905.

Creighton, Donald Grant. *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence*, *1760–1850.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937.

Jenkins, Phil. *River Song: Sailing the History of the St. Lawrence.* New York: Penguin Putnam, 2001.

*Cheryl A. Wells*

**ST. LOUIS** St. Louis, known as the Gateway city, is located near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Its location made it the natural center of economic and political activity for the region as well as the logical starting point for the western expansion of the United States beyond the Mississippi. St. Louis served as the economic and political center of Spanish Upper Louisiana, the starting point for Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery, and the economic and social center of what would become the state of Missouri.

Settled in 1764 by Pierre Laclède, St. Louis was named for King Louis XV of France and his patron saint, Louis IX. Laclède was unaware that France had transferred its claims to the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River to Spain in 1762. Nevertheless, the region remained under French control until the Spanish governor arrived in 1766, after the French and Indian War (1754–1763). St. Louis then served as the seat of government for Spanish Upper Louisiana until the transfer to the United States in 1804.

The city was also the logical economic center for the fur and pelt trades up both rivers, but especially up the Missouri and its drainage. In fact, city resi-dents were so caught up in trading with the Indians that they took little interest in farming. There were some efforts at agriculture and cash crops in the region, but St. Louis was primarily a commercial city.

In May 1780 the city was the site of one of the battles of the American Revolution. A small British force, along with a few Canadians and Native American allies, assaulted Fort San Carlos. The British were repelled, but the area was on guard for some time after. The conclusion of the American Revolution brought Spain a new, unwanted neighbor, the Americans. The Spanish sought to limit the threat of the Americans to their North American possession. In 1789 the solution was to allow the migration of non-Spaniards into the region on the condition they become Spanish citizens. This offer played a role in the shift of the ethnic makeup of the region away from French and to American, so that by the time of the Louisiana Purchase there was a significant American population already in the region. The city's population growth, not fast by modern standards, was nevertheless steady during the Spanish era, growing to approximately one thousand by 1800.

In 1800 colonial Louisiana was "returned" to the French by the Second Treaty of St. Ildefonso; but France never took effective control of St. Louis or Upper Louisiana. In 1803 France sold Louisiana to the United States. As quoted by William Foley in *The Genesis of Missouri*, U.S. Army captain Amos Stoddard described St. Louis as containing "upwards of 200 houses, mostly very large, and built of stone; it is elevated and healthy, and the people are rich and hospitable. They live in a style equal to those in the large sea-port towns, and I find no want of education among them" (p. 85).

In 1804 St. Louis served as the starting point for Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery. In 1803–1804 the corps' winter camp was outside of the city in Illinois, but both leaders spent significant time in St. Louis preparing for the trip. In 1806 it served as the finishing point of the expedition. Between 1807 and 1820 both Meriwether Lewis (1807–1809) and William Clark (1813–20) would serve the region as territorial governor.

St. Louis remained central to the new district of Louisiana, which was put under the Territory of Indiana in 1804. When Louisiana became a state in 1812, the region in which St. Louis lies was renamed the territory of Missouri. St. Louis's growth accelerated under the new U.S. government as the city's location continued to make it a trade center for the Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers. In 1810 the city had an estimated population of 1,400, out of an

approximate regional population of 20,000, and by 1830 the city's population had grown to approximately 5,000. The county's population, including slaves, grew from 5,677 in 1810 to 10,049 in 1820 to over 14,125 in 1830. Slaves made up 18 percent of the population of St. Louis in 1820 and had grown to about 20 percent by 1830. In 1820 St. Louis County was second, behind Howard County in both total population and slaves; by 1830 it was first. The free black population of St. Louis County made up about 2 percent in 1820 but was down to 1.5 percent in 1830.

St. Louis County would remain a significant commercial, cultural and political center throughout the territorial and early statehood period. The United States government's 1810 "Statement on Manufactures" showed the county as the heart of the Louisiana Territory's limited manufacturing capacity (with the notable exceptions of blacksmiths, shoemakers, and distilleries). As the West was opened, commerce accelerated in St. Louis, and the city became an important center for provisioning and preparing those heading out to the frontier. The arrival of the steamboat contributed to this activity. According to the 1820 census, over 45 percent of the people reported as being involved in commerce in the state of Missouri, as well as over 30 percent of those in manufacturing, lived in St. Louis County. The year 1818 saw the arrival of Louis William Valentine DuBourg, bishop of Louisiana and Floridas, making St. Louis a Catholic See city, as well as the founding of what became St. Louis University, the oldest university west of the Mississippi. When the Diocese of St. Louis was created in1826 Joseph Rosati became its first bishop.

William Clark lost his 1820 bid to become the first governor of the State of Missouri to Alexander McNair as Missouri entered the Union as a slave state in 1821. The capital moved first to St. Charles and eventually to Jefferson City, but St. Louis continued as an important center of commerce and manufacturing in the state. Among the other significant figures with St. Louis connections were Thomas Hart Benton and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. In 1823 the city of St. Louis changed its form of government, moving from a board of trustees to an elected mayor.

See also **French; Fur and Pelt Trade; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Louisiana Purchase; Mississippi River; Missouri; Missouri Compromise; Slavery: Overview; Spanish Empire.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Foley, William E. *The Genesis of Missouri: From Wilderness Outpost to Statehood.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989.

Hodge, Frederick. *Beyond the Frontier: A History of St. Louis to 1821.* Tucson, Ariz.: The Patrice Press, 2004.

Houck, Louis. *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union.* 3 vols. 1908. New York: Arno Press, 1971.

Primm, James Neal. *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri.* 3rd ed. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, distributed by the University of Missouri Press, 1998.

Schroeder, Walter. "Populating Missouri, 1804–1821." *Missouri Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (2003): 263–294.

Stevens, Walter B. *St. Louis, the Fourth City, 1764–1911.* St. Louis, Mo.: S. J. Clarke, 1911.

*Donald E. Heidenreich Jr.*

**SALEM** Settled in 1626 by a small band of English Puritans, Salem, Massachusetts, like most early New England towns, originally encompassed a broad geographic area that was later divided into numerous smaller communities. By 1754 the town encompassed about 8.5 square miles and was one of the most prosperous ports in New England. Salem's densely populated center, which took up less than one-eighth of the town's area, faced Salem Harbor. Surrounding the town core were farms owned by Salem merchants and professionals and smaller plots owned by or rented to Salem's numerous artisans and shopkeepers, who used these lands for grazing and planting.

In 1754 Salem contained 3,462 people. Subsequent censuses reveal that the population grew to 5,337 in 1776 and to 7,291 in 1790, when Salem was the new nation's sixth most populous community. The population reached 12,613 in 1810, when a combination of factors, including the outward migration of some of Salem's most prosperous merchants and the War of 1812, slowed commercial activity in the town. Thereafter its population growth tapered off, reaching only 13,895 in 1830.

During Salem's growth years, various developments in the Atlantic world, the British Empire, and the new nation influenced its economy. Originally the community engaged primarily in "codfish commerce," where fish caught off the New England coast and timber cut from nearby forests were shipped throughout the North Atlantic and the Caribbean in exchange for goods of the West Indies, Spain, France, England, and a variety of other trading partners.

Later Salem's economy underwent a series of transitions as a result of the French and Indian War, independence, and the War of 1812. During the French and Indian conflict, enemy privateers drove much of Salem's fishing fleet from the seas and seized many Salem merchant vessels, but war-generated demand created offsetting opportunities for the town's traders as well. By 1763 Salem's fishermen were back on the water and the town's population rose, although somewhat irregularly, until 1774. Even before the Continental Congress declared American independence, Salem merchants sent out privateers. During the war for independence the town ultimately supplied over 20 percent of privateering vessels from Massachusetts and about 10 percent of all such ships in America. Following independence, Salem developed a complex trade with Europe, Africa, South America, the Far East, and the West Indies.

Although some Salem families had French, German, or African roots, the town population remained rather homogeneously English throughout these years. The African American population was less than 4 percent of the town total in 1754, and less than 2 percent in 1830. In the later year there were only eighty-eight nonnaturalized aliens in town.

From the Revolution through the War of 1812 Salem experienced a variety of political divisions. Several wealthy landed families, which prospered from salaries and fees earned as civil officials, opposed independence, while the merchant, artisan, and seafaring classes in the town supported separation from England. Most Salemites embraced the Constitution, but during the early years of the nation, when party divisions emerged, both Federalists and Democratic Republicans developed strong followings in the town.

*See also* **China Trade; Shipbuilding Industry; Shipping Industry; Work: Sailors and Seamen.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bentley, William. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts.* 4 vols. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1962.

Felt, Joseph B. *Annals of Salem.* 2nd ed. 2 vols. Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1849.

Morison, Samuel E. *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921.

Phillips, James D. *Salem in the Eighteenth Century.* Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1969.

———. *Salem and the Indies: The Story of the Great Commercial Era of the City.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947.

*Richard J. Morris*

**SANTA FE**    Santa Fe, New Mexico, is the oldest established capital city in the United States. Founded in 1608 by Governor Pedro de Peralta on the site of a Native American ruin, the Villa Real de Santa Fe (the Royal City of the Holy Faith) served as the governmental, military, and cultural headquarters of the northern province of New Spain. In 1680 Native Americans living in pueblos in northern New Mexico revolted against the Spanish and drove them out of Santa Fe and New Mexico in the most successful uprising against European settlers in North American history. The Spanish, led by Don Diego de Vargas, reconquered Santa Fe in 1692 and reestablished it as the capital of New Mexico for Spain. In the eighteenth century Santa Fe remained on the periphery of the Spanish Empire, but Hispanics and Native Americans found ways to live peacefully in the capital. In 1776 Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Father Francisco Domínguez set off from Santa Fe to blaze an overland trail to Monterey, California. They abandoned their exploration in the badlands of Utah and returned to Santa Fe. In 1821 Mexico won its independence from Spain, and Santa Fe became the capital of the Mexican state of New Mexico.

According to the Spanish censuses in the eighteenth century, Santa Fe grew from a population of 1,285 in 1760 to 4,500 in 1799. As the capital of the colony, Santa Fe attracted settlers from Mexico as well as Native Americans from the nearby pueblos, from the Navajos and the Plains tribes, and from tribes in Mexico. Many mixed-heritage people also lived in Santa Fe.

From its founding in 1608 through the nineteenth century, Santa Fe served as the terminus of several important transcontinental trails. First, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (the Royal Road to the Interior Lands) connected the colony with the rest of the world. The 1,500-mile (1,900-km) trail from Mexico City to Santa Fe delivered immigrants, priests, governmental officials, and goods to the city. Even though Santa Fe was the major city on the northern frontier of New Spain, authorities forbade trade with the other European settlements to the east. In the contest for colonial territories, Spanish officials used Santa Fe and New Mexico as a buffer between New Spain and the French, British, and then the United States territories. After Mexican Independence in 1821, Mexican authorities allowed trade with the east, and William Becknell, a bankrupt farmer from Missouri, opened up the Santa Fe Trail. In addition to bringing immigrants and trade goods to the city, the Santa Fe Trail also was the route of con-

quest taken by the United States Army during the Mexican American War in 1846. Santa Fe then became the capital of the United States territory of New Mexico in 1850.

See also **Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Mexico; New Spain; Spain.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Noble, David Grant, ed. *Santa Fe: History of an Ancient City.* Santa Fe N. Mex.: School of American Research Press, 1989.

Simmons, Marc. *New Mexico: An Interpretive History.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

*Jon Hunner*

**SARATOGA, BATTLE OF**    In 1777 the British high command attempted to win the Revolutionary War by seizing control of Lake Champlain and the Hudson Valley, isolating the Patriot movement in New England. General John Burgoyne led an army of over 8,000 men (4,000 British regulars, 3,000 Brunswickers under Baron Friedrich von Riedesel, 650 Canadians, and 500 Native Americans) from Canada into upstate New York.

Burgoyne began well and captured Fort Ticonderoga on 5 July. Things broke down quickly thereafter. Though less than one hundred miles from Albany, Burgoyne's progress was slowed to a near standstill by rugged and dense terrain, the difficulties of transporting excessive equipment and personnel, and the efforts of American militia, who placed downed trees and other obstacles in his path. The brutal murder of Jane McCrea (ironically a Loyalist) by Burgoyne's Native American auxiliaries on 27 July drove thousands of enraged inhabitants to the Patriot army being organized by General Horatio Gates. By early August, Burgoyne was in serious trouble, as evidenced by the near annihilation of a detachment of nearly 1,000 Germans under Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum sent to Bennington, Vermont, for supplies. As Gates's army swelled to 11,000 and more, Burgoyne appealed to Sir William Howe in New York City for assistance. But Howe had left New York to capture Philadelphia. To compound matters, Howe inexplicably took the sea route to Philadelphia, allowing Washington to interpose the Continental Army between the two British armies. With no assistance from New York, Burgoyne at-

tempted to fight his way to Albany. At Freeman's Farm on 19 September and Bemis Heights on 7 October, Burgoyne was repulsed by forces under General Benedict Arnold and Colonel Daniel Morgan, losing almost 1,500 men to less than 500 for the Americans. By mid-October, Burgoyne was left with few supplies and no prospect of either escape or relief. Thus, on 17 October, Burgoyne surrendered his army of 5,800 men to Gates at Saratoga.

The victory at Saratoga convinced the French government that the United States might be an effective ally. The conclusion of the French alliance in February 1778 transformed the American Revolution into an international conflict, bringing the new nation a powerful ally and forcing the British to reconsider their military strategy.

See also **Revolution: Military History.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ketchum, Richard M. *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War.* New York: Holt, 1997.

Mintz, Max M. *The Generals of Saratoga: John Burgoyne and Horatio Gates.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.

*Daniel McDonough*

**SATIRE**    Satire, the art of ridiculing human vice and folly, was arguably the most popular and politically important literary form during the Revolutionary and early republican periods. In fiction, drama, and particularly poetry, satire emerged during this time as a crucial means for shaping American social and political discourse, intervening in virtually every major controversy from the Stamp Act crisis to the War of 1812.

Befitting the political turbulence and fervor that characterized the era, early American satirists envisioned their works as weapons in a literary and ideological war to decide the future of the new Republic. During the Revolution, anti-British satires appeared regularly in newspapers or as broadsides, responding to specific events and depicting King George III and his supporters as villains or buffoons. The most prominent satirical writers of the Revolution included John Trumbull, author of *M'Fingal* (1776), a burlesque of a typical Tory magistrate, and Philip Freneau, who published dozens of burlesque portraits of the king and various colonial governors and generals. Satirists on the Loyalist side, meanwhile, employed comparable tactics against the Patriots, as in

Jonathan Odell's *The American Times* (1780), a vitriolic assault against George Washington, John Hancock, and other Revolutionary leaders.

As with much eighteenth-century American poetry, verse satire from the Revolutionary and early republican periods was highly allusive, even consciously imitative, of English Augustan masterpieces by Alexander Pope, John Dryden, and others. Still, the Revolutionary period introduced a number of uniquely American characteristics and themes. American satirists were especially drawn, for instance, to writing verse parodies of other printed texts such as newspaper articles or official government documents. During the war, broadsides proclaiming martial law or demanding the arrest of rebels were frequently answered by anonymous verse parodies, such as William Livingston's "Burgoyne's Proclamation" (1777), ridiculing not only the colonial official who issued the proclamation but the language of political authority itself. This capacity of satire to alter or subvert the meaning of other printed texts would, in turn, make possible the principal literary dynamic of the early national period: poets representing one political perspective would engage in satiric exchanges with poets from the opposing side.

After the Revolution, satirists weighed in on the numerous social and economic challenges facing the new United States, and soon individual authors were identifying themselves with specific policies and parties. During the debate over the Constitution, a group of poets later known as the Connecticut Wits (Trumbull, David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, and Lemuel Hopkins) collaborated on "The Anarchiad" (1786–1787), which ridiculed the the Articles of Confederation and its defenders as unable or unwilling to resolve the social and economic crises that arose. After the federal government was formed, writers suspicious of Washington's administration, including Freneau and St. George Tucker, commenced a satiric counterattack in the pages of Freneau's *National Gazette*. At the same time, a new assemblage of Connecticut Wits (Hopkins, Richard Alsop, and Theodore Dwight) collaborated on a series of satires directed against the emerging Jeffersonian party, particularly for their sympathy toward the French Revolution (see, for instance, "The Echo" [1791–1798] and "The Political Greenhouse for 1798"). The 1790s thus constituted the high point of verse satire in the early national period, with writers engaged in often bitter personal attacks over issues ranging from the Jay Treaty (1795) to the election of 1800.

Not all satire from this period was political; nor was it limited to poetry. John Trumbull's first important work, "The Progress of Dulness" (1772–1773), took aim at Yale College and New Haven society, while his friend Timothy Dwight ridiculed the theological doctrines of Deists and Universalists in *The Triumph of Infidelity* (1788). In drama, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787) portrayed various American stock figures in a lightly satirical, though affectionate, light, while in fiction, Hugh Henry Brackenridge's early novel *Modern Chivalry* (1792–1797) responded with more caustic irony to the social implications of increasing democratization.

After the election of Jefferson, some Federalists, such as Thomas Green Fessenden in *Democracy Unveiled* (1805), continued the earlier strategy of unmasking Jeffersonian Democracy as a false ideology that primarily benefited demagogues and Southern slave owners. More generally, however, writers after 1800 turned away from the satiric ideal of literature as a means of political intervention and toward a contrasting notion of literature as refuge from the ruthless world of politics. Thus, although satire would live on in the 1810s and 1820s, it would appear chiefly in the guise of works written to entertain rather than to spur political action, as in the essays and stories of Washington Irving.

*See also* **Fiction; Humor; Newspapers; Poetry.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dowling, William C. *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and the Port Folio, 1801–1812.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.

Granger, Bruce. *Political Satire in the American Revolution, 1763–1783.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960.

Wells, Colin. *The Devil and Doctor Dwight: Satire and Theology in the Early American Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

*Colin Wells*

**SCIENCE** The earliest scientific discoveries in North America were made by investigators sent from Europe, where they returned to publish their reports. Among them were such early explorers as Thomas Harriot (1560–1621) and Mark Catesby (1679?–1749) from England. Their mission was to explore the biosphere of a little-known part of the world, an enterprise for which Linnaeus, the great systematizer of the time, also sent from Sweden his

## VENUS'S-FLYTRAP

Found only in nitrogen-poor bogs along the Carolina coast, this little insectivorous plant was brought to the attention of European naturalists in 1759 by Arthur Dobbs (1689–1765), royal governor of North Carolina. John Bartram made several unsuccessful attempts to supply his English friends with viable seeds of what he called the "little tipitiwitchet," and finally a living plant reached John Ellis in 1768. Ellis, an English correspondent of Linnaeus, wrote that the leaf of the clever plant has "many minute red glands, that cover its inner surface, and which perhaps discharge sweet liquor, tempt the poor animal to taste them: and the instant these tender parts are irritated by its feet, the two lobes rise up, grasp it fast, lock the rows of spines together, and squeeze it to death." Such apparent volition in the vegetable kingdom caused Charles Darwin a century later to call this plant "one of the most wonderful in the world."

Ellis was wrong about the function of the red glands (they secrete digestive juice), and he got the commonplace white flowers wrong (they are in cymose clusters), but in Uppsala, Sweden, Linnaeus published his description and the scientific name he gave it. In 1768, in a letter to *The St. James's Chronicle*, Ellis wrote that "I shall call it *Dionaea Muscipula*, which may be construed into English, with humble Submission both to Critics and foreign Commentators, either *Venus's Flytrap*, or *Venus's Mousetrap*." Today it is commonly called Venus's-flytrap.

*Charles Boewe*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lloyd, Francis Ernest. *The Carnivorous Plants*. New York: Dover Publications, 1976. Nelson, E. Charles. *Aphrodite's Mousetrap: A Biography of Venus's Flytrap with . . . a "Tipitiwitchet" Postscript by Daniel L. McKinley*. Aberystwyth, U.K.: Boethius Press, 1990.

own emissary, Pehr Kalm (1716–1779). Dating from 1662, the Royal Society of London provided a natural focus for such information coming from the colonies in North America and elsewhere in the expanding British empire.

European interest centered on New World fauna and flora, especially on plants having economic or medicinal potential and, to a lesser extent, those that might enhance gardens or diversify forests. By the eighteenth century, resident naturalists were available to carry out these tasks of discovery and collection. Most notable was John Bartram (1699–1777), whose garden near Philadelphia became the major depot for the exchange of plants between the new world and the old. Bartram supplied at least two hundred new plants to English gardens, and he received from England countless new fruit trees and flowers in return. With the financial assistance of an English friend, Peter Collinson, Bartram collected plants from as far north as Lake Ontario and as far south as Florida. Collinson also encouraged Bartram's correspondence with such luminaries as Buffon in France, Gronovius in Holland, and with Linnaeus himself. Collinson published extracts from Bartram's letters in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and got him appointed Botanist to the King. Yet the time was not ripe for colonists to publish independent scientific papers. Even after independence, the Lutheran clergyman Gotthilf Henry Muhlenberg (1753–1815), who proposed a nationwide census of America's flora, continued to send his own botanical discoveries to Carl Willdenow for publication in Berlin.

Although the term "natural philosophy" originally included all varieties of scientific endeavor, by the eighteenth century a pragmatic distinction had been reached between natural philosophy (mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and, roughly, what physics includes today) and natural history (botany, zoology, and, to some extent, geology). Individuals might practice in both categories, but contributions in natural philosophy clearly brought them greater prestige. The centerpiece of the age was Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), which expounded the theory of gravitation and required an exceptional grasp of mathematics even to understand it. Mathematics was the weakest area of learning in American colleges, both before and after the Revolution. One who tried to excel in both areas was New York's Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776), educated in Scotland and best known for his *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1745–1755). Colden mastered the Linnaean system of classification so well that his catalog of plants was published by Linnaeus in Sweden; but Colden's speculative theory about the source of gravitation, which he thought improved upon Newton, was scorned by Europeans and only puzzled Americans.

After several false starts, the American Philosophical Society was firmly established in Philadelphia by 1769 and the American Academy of Arts and

servations were made in the British colonies, many of them reported both in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society and in those of the American Philosophical Society. Accurate measurements of the transit from widely separated observation points on earth were necessary for the calculation of the specific distances between bodies in our solar system, which had been known only as relative distances. For the observations in Philadelphia alone an impressive array of instruments was assembled, including four telescopes, a sextant, and the most accurate clock available. There David Rittenhouse (1732–1796) built an observatory for the event. Second only to Franklin as a natural philosopher, Rittenhouse went on to experiment in magnetism and optics. As an accomplished clockmaker, he also built mechanical models of the solar system called orreries.

Similar astronomical work was carried out by Harvard's Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, John Winthrop (1714–1779), scion of a family of natural philosophers. Winthrop not only enriched Harvard's mathematics curriculum by his introduction of calculus, but he also was a supporter of Benjamin Franklin's theory of electricity and the teacher of Benjamin Thompson (1753–1814). During the Revolution Winthrop remained a staunch Patriot, while his student Thompson, a Loyalist, eventually became Count Rumford in Europe, where his experimental work anticipated the replacement of the caloric theory of heat by the vibration theory. It remained for Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), whose experiments enabled him to explain electricity as a single "fluid" having a positive or negative charge, to become the first American scientist universally admired by Europeans.

### EARLY REPUBLIC

Once it became an independent country, the United States could encourage science by financing it, though Congress long remained reluctant to do so. The first federal project of real consequence was the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806, for which Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) was briefed by members of the American Philosophical Society on making scientific collections, while William Clark (1770–1838) was already an accomplished surveyor and map maker. Others had to describe and interpret the data they brought back, an effort attempted by several members of Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences, organized in 1812. After that, much of the early scientific exploration of the trans-Mississippi West was conducted by Europeans like the Englishman Thomas Nuttall (1786–1859). Like



**Aerial Telescope.** A mid-eighteenth-century version of an aerial telescope, used to carry out astronomical studies. © CORBIS.

Sciences in Boston by 1780. These two professional organizations, as well as a few specialized societies such as those for the promotion of agriculture, gave new momentum to American science. By providing publication outlets they also began to perform locally what earlier had depended on the Royal Society's *Transactions* and other European learned journals. They made possible, especially in Boston and Philadelphia, greater attention to natural philosophy, which often required apparatus a lone investigator could ill afford.

The first important opportunity for a significant North American contribution to natural philosophy came with the 1769 transit of the planet Venus across the sun's surface, a phenomenon that would not occur again for 105 years. This rare astronomical event could be observed in entirety only in the Western Hemisphere. In all, twenty-two sets of ob-

**Benjamin Franklin.** Franklin, shown here in an engraving (1761) by James McArdell after a painting by Benjamin Wilson, became the first American scientist universally admired by Europeans. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Nuttall, some of them were financed by the private philanthropy of members of the Academy, who, in turn, expected to reap the intellectual benefits of their investment. There resulted a struggle between the field naturalists, who did the work and wanted credit for their own discoveries, and the sedentary naturalists, who controlled the press, the libraries, and the museums that were essential for the interpretation and publication of data discovered in the field.

Because of the paucity of college courses in the natural sciences, medicine long served as a training ground for naturalists, and the nation's earliest medical journal, Samuel Latham Mitchill's *Medical Repository* (which ran from 1797 to 1824) published more on natural history than it did on medicine. In 1818 it was joined by a periodical of wider scope, the *American Journal of Science*, edited by Benjamin Silliman at Yale, where he made that university a leading center for chemistry and geology. Mitchill (1764–1831) and Silliman (1779–1864) were the chief American advocates of the transformation of chemistry being carried out by Antoine Lavoisier in France that clarified the nature of combustion and introduced the terminology for elements and compounds still used today. However, Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), who had disputed Lavoisier, continued to defend the earlier phlogiston theory of combustion after he left England in 1794 and settled in Pennsylvania.

In geology William Maclure (1763–1840) published a geological map in 1809 that covered the nation up to the Mississippi River; it derived from his own fieldwork based on the surface collection of rocks. In 1822 Amos Eaton (1776–1842) had the advantage of the cuts made for the Erie Canal to attempt a stratigraphic analysis of a portion of New York State. Both geologists relied on the mineral classification scheme devised in Saxony by Abraham Gottlob Werner. Though geology remained tied to mineralogy, C. S. Rafinesque (1783–1840) suggested in 1818 that sedimentary strata could be classified by the fossils they contain. The chemical analysis of minerals had been advanced in 1801 by the invention of the oxyhydrogen blowpipe by Robert Hare (1781–1858), who later became a professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. Like Rittenhouse before him, Hare also excelled in the construction of instruments for his experiments, including those for generating electricity.

Philadelphia and Boston remained the principal centers for scientific research. Also of great importance was the Lyceum of Natural History, established in 1817 in New York City, which changed its name to the New York Academy of Sciences in 1876 and survives as a general scientific society. Less enduring scientific societies were started in Albany, Charleston, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and St. Louis to channel professional interests as college curricula also broadened to include botany, zoology, geology, and the application of science to such utilitarian fields as surveying. The marriage of science and industry took place in 1824, for in that year was founded in upstate New York the forerunner of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and in Philadelphia the Franklin Institute—both institutions designed to provide scientific underpinning for the advancing industrial revolution.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bates, Ralph S. *Scientific Societies in the United States*, 3rd ed. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965.

Elliott, Clark A. *Biographical Dictionary of American Science: The Seventeenth through the Nineteenth Centuries.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Harkányi, Katalin, comp. *The Natural Sciences and American Scientists in the Revolutionary Era: A Bibliography.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Hazen, Robert M., and Margaret Hindle Hazen. *American Geological Literature, 1669–1850.* Stroudsburg, Pa.: Dowden, Hutchinson, and Ross, 1980.

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956; New York: Norton, 1974.

Hornberger, Theodore. *Scientific Thought in the American Colleges, 1638–1800.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1945; New York: Octagon Books, 1968.

Meisel, Max. *A Bibliography of American Natural History: The Pioneer Century 1769–1865.* 3 vols. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Premier Publishing Co., 1924–1929.

Oleson, Alexandra, and Sanborn C. Brown, eds. *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Smallwood, William Martin, and Mabel Sarah Coon Smallwood. *Natural History and the American Mind.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.

Stearns, Raymond P. *Science in the British Colonies of America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

*Charles Boewe*

**SCULPTURE**   *See* **Art and American Nationhood.**

**SECOND GREAT AWAKENING**   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

**SECTIONALISM AND DISUNION**   In early 1783 Alexander Hamilton wrote to George Washington, beseeching the retiring general to remain active in the public arena. The successful conclusion of the war had not secured the blessings of independence because the "seeds of disunion [are] much more numerous than those of union." Only Washington's ongoing efforts might offset the regrettable fact that the "centrifugal is much stronger than the centripetal force in these states."

The belief that the perpetuation of the union was at once indispensable and problematic was common currency in the early republic. Indeed from the War of Independence to the end of the War of 1812, no subject was more productive of genuine concern or more likely to be contested than the threat of disunion. The best-known assertions of states' rights and sectional interests in this period are the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798, 1799), the latter of which first employed the term "nullification" with respect to federal laws, and the Hartford Convention (1814–1815), which was preceded by loose talk of secession by extreme Federalists. But other confrontations predictably gave rise to similar discussions of the differences that separated Americans from one another, culminating in suggestions of dividing the union into discrete, smaller, and more homogeneous confederacies. During the Revolutionary War, interstate quarrels were so frequent and so fraught with mutual distrust—especially on matters of food and supplies for the Continental Army, allotment of votes in Congress, apportionment of expenses in the Confederation, and disposition of land claims in the West—that friends of the union feared it might be a mere "Rope of Sand." And each succeeding contest from the 1780s to the 1810s seemed only to confirm Hamilton's assessment of the strength of "centrifugal" forces in America.

### THE COLONIES

An examination of the "seeds of disunion" in the early Republic must begin with the colonial backgrounds of the Revolutionary states. By 1776 all of the rebellious colonies had developed separate identities and territorial claims that they had jealously nurtured over long periods. Having matured at different rates and along different lines, and with limited opportunities for interaction, the colonies were, as John Adams observed in the Second Continental Congress, "several distinct nations almost." Furthermore, political and economic rivalries, some of which had been cultivated for more than a century, predisposed these colonies to competition rather than cooperation. Even when confronted by what appeared to be an imminent threat of French invasion in 1754, not a single colony would ratify the Albany Plan, whose principal purpose was the establishment of a defensive alliance. Not surprisingly, prominent colonial commentators and imperial officials alike subscribed to the conventional wisdom of the period, which assumed that deeply ingrained differences rendered the colonies incapable of forging a union, however necessary.

The long history of the colonies as independent entities dovetailed nicely with the Revolutionary generation's distrust of power in the hands of weak human beings. Convinced that people were naturally selfish and therefore unable to resist the temptations of self-aggrandizement and avarice, the Revolutionaries were wary of surrendering superintending power to a distant authority. For radicals who had protested to no avail the actions of a parliament far removed from themselves, geographical proximity

was crucial in maintaining effective checks on rulers. They took to heart the maxim of the political philosopher Montesquieu that republics must be geographically tiny lest the public good be sacrificed to myriad conflicting private views. The federal structure created under the Articles of Confederation reflected this ideology. Small republics in isolation were easy targets of foreign invasion; a confederation of petty republics might combine the best features of internal harmony and external security. However, the league of friendship proved especially unreliable in meeting the challenge of discriminatory actions taken against it by Britain and Spain. In fact, the British exclusion of American ships from the West Indian trade in 1783 only aggravated existing fissures in the federal union. Some states contemplated separate retaliatory measures that targeted other states as well as foreign countries. Spain's closing of the Mississippi River to American traffic in 1784 further strained sectional relations after the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations produced a proposal for the United States to forgo navigation rights in exchange for Spanish commercial concessions.

Inhabitants of the western territories were particularly aggrieved by the support that John Jay—the confederation congress's secretary for foreign affairs—garnered in the North for his plan to occlude the Mississippi. Had they known of projections at the time pertaining to their permanent status in the Republic, their distress would have deepened. In Congress and in the federal Convention, northern representatives seemed to share an anti-West bias, which held that western frontiersmen, averse to work and addicted to fighting, were poor candidates for republican citizenship. Therefore, irrespective of the number of states that might eventually be carved out of the West, northerners asserted that the Atlantic states must control a majority of all votes in any future legislative assembly. Nothing came of these suggestions because a southern coalition, led by Virginia, refused to go along. Instead it welcomed the prospect of creating new states out of the western territories and admitting them into the Union as equal partners of the original thirteen. Unfavorable discriminations, it was argued, would be contrary to the logic of the Revolution. At least as important in determining southern opposition, however, was the assumption that emerging patterns of migration established an affinity of interest between the South and the West.

## SLAVERY

An inventory of centrifugal forces operating in the early Republic would be incomplete without a con-

sideration of slavery. The entrenchment of the institution in the South in the century before independence was fundamental to the eventual alignment of the sections; that alignment, however, became fixed only after the War of 1812. To be sure, in 1787, when delegates from large and small states brought the business of the Constitutional Convention to a standstill over the issue of proportional versus equal representation, James Madison famously observed that the states were divided into separate interests not by their size but by "their having or not having slaves." The ensuing debate over the three-fifths compromise, during which unyielding opponents and proponents openly broached the subject of disunion, seemed to substantiate Madison's contention. And yet the division between slave and free states was not as obvious as these actions might suggest. In 1790 all of the states save Massachusetts were slaveholding states. Although it is also true that the other New England states and Pennsylvania had recently enacted gradual emancipation laws, New York and New Jersey, each with at least 6 percent of its population enslaved, had not and would not for another decade.

The line of demarcation is clearer if a distinction is drawn between societies with slaves and slave societies. In the former, slaves were present but slavery was neither central to the economy nor paradigmatic of social relationships; in the latter, they were. Such a distinction undoubtedly underlay Madison's 1787 identification of five slave states: Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. But this division is not without ambiguity. An analysis of Convention votes reveals that Massachusetts was more often in agreement with Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia than it was with Connecticut, and Virginia more often in agreement with Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire than with South Carolina. The debate over the importation of slaves from abroad is especially instructive. No state was more spirited than Virginia in condemning the international slave trade, but South Carolina and Georgia, whose economies relied heavily on imported slaves, were quick to point out the self-interested motives of the Virginians. With a surplus of slaves, Virginia hoped to profit from a prohibition of slave imports, which would simultaneously increase the value of domestic slaves and stimulate a market for them.

## A UNION OF OPPOSING INTERESTS

In the end, something of a paradox remains. If centrifugal forces were so numerous and evidently pow-

erful, why did the Republic not dissolve into its constituent parts? The answer lies in the combination of two interrelated circumstances that ironically exerted a kind of centripetal force on the nation.

First, although separating into sectional confederations appeared logical to many, there was no consensus on their composition. Few thought in terms of a fixed North–South split; instead, members of the Revolutionary generation most often singled out the New England states by designating them "Eastern," as in east of the Hudson River, in order to differentiate them from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. And if there were two Norths, there were at least that many Souths. The Chesapeake and the Lower South, as noted above, did not form a consolidated interest in spite of their common status as slave societies. By adding to this compounded union the newer western and southwestern states, whose allegiance could not be taken for granted, the basis for a minimum of five regional confederations existed.

Second, the mutual distrust that afflicted the states tempered all talk of disunion, for it was commonly understood that the process of secession, once initiated, must lead to catastrophe by unleashing pent-up resentments. Each regional confederation would either succumb to internal divisions, leading to successive secessions into ever smaller polities that invited European encroachments, or become engaged in armed encounters, which in turn resulted in the creation of standing armies and ended inevitably in collapse under dictatorial rulers. In short, the very dissimilarities that made the persistence of the Union problematic rendered the prospect of disunion even more dubious.

All of this changed after the War of 1812, as sectional identities came to be articulated with greater clarity. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1820 that the Missouri crisis awakened him "like a fire bell in the night" and sounded the "knell of the Union," principally because "angry passions" had fixed a geographical line separating the sections that "will never be obliterated." Although he attributed these "unworthy passions" to the sons of the revolutionaries, Jefferson's own loyalty to states' rights and the slaveholding class was by this time no longer in doubt. Even his enthusiasm for the University of Virginia was grounded in part on his belief that it was a needed antidote to the doctrine of national supremacy and "anti-Missourianism" that southern youths were otherwise exposed to at northern colleges. Jefferson's transformation was reflective of two larger changes apparent in America by the 1820s. First, the presence or absence of slaves overrode all other variables, thus allowing a consensus to be formed in determining the possible shape of rival confederations. Second, the South, now outside the mainstream of an increasingly democratic America, seemed destined to constitute a permanent minority in a political system dedicated to majority rule. Together these two conditions made secession and disunion more plausible than ever before.

*See also* **Federalism; Hartford Convention; Missouri Compromise; States' Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America*, *1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Greene, Jack P. "The Constitution of 1787 and the Question of Southern Distinctiveness." In *Imperatives*, *Behaviors*, *and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992.

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Murrin, John M. "A Roof without Walls: The Dilemma of American National Identity." In *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity.* Edited by Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward Carter II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism*, *1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Yazawa, Melvin. "Republican Expectations: Revolutionary Ideology and the Compromise of 1790." In *A Republic for the Ages: The United States Capitol and the Political Culture of the Early Republic.* Edited by Donald R. Kennon. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

*Melvin Yazawa*

**SEDUCTION** Seduction is, most simply, a misleading, in the sense of leading astray. The word was used in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to denote misleadings of various kinds and in various venues: social, political, and personal. Although in the 1600s and early 1700s seduction referred almost exclusively to religious error—being seduced by Satan, for example, or by the "diabolical"

Catholic Church—by the 1770s the word was used in secular arenas. In the years leading up to and including the American Revolution, political tracts referred to the "schemes" of Great Britain in terms of seduction. "To the Freeholders, and Freemen, of the City and Province of New York," published in 1769, excoriates those English Lords of Parliament who succumb to the "sordid Seductions of Bribery" to consolidate their own wealth and privilege at the expense of Americans.

In the 1780s and 1790s, with the advent of new "American" novels of seduction, the term became most popularly, and lastingly, associated with the misleading of a woman by a man. Even these novels of intrigue, illegitimate pregnancy, and death, however, have been read by literary critics as metaphors of political power and deception. Of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747–48), one of the best-known English seduction novels of the eighteenth century, John Adams famously declared, "Democracy is Lovelace and the People are Clarissa"—a claim that puts representative government in the role of the seducer, and the common man in the role of the naive and vulnerable woman. Ideologically speaking, seduction can be said to represent anxieties about actions and emotions uncontained, as opposed to emotions organized around a central, and usually patriarchal, figure (God, parents, the state) who will keep order and balance through rule and hierarchy.

In its popular, interpersonal form, seduction and its dangers represented prevailing turn-of-the-century Anglo-American attitudes about gender. Women were considered the primary victims of seduction because they were deemed more naive, less worldly, and more impressionable than—but just as passionate as—men. Thus in his work of moral philosophy, *The Beauties of Sterne* (1788), the novelist Laurence Sterne condemned the seducer who, "Though born to protect the fair [sex]," plunges the "yet-untainted mind into a sea of sorrow and repentance" by his "alluring . . . temptations." In submitting sexually to a man who had no intention of marrying her, the woman sacrificed her peace of mind, her reputation, and her chance for marriage to anyone. As William Paley, the British theologian and philosopher, made clear in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), these losses were compounded by the "injury" done to family and to the broader community. Under the laws of coverture (which declared all women legally subsumed in, or covered by, the rights of the man who took care of her), a seduced woman's family suffered as they would if "a robbery [had been] committed upon their

property by fraud or forgery," while the "public at large" lost the "benefit of the woman's service in her proper place and destination, as a wife and parent." Although seduction clearly and severely upset the social balance of the community, Paley complained, no criminal law provided for a male seducer's punishment beyond "a pecuniary satisfaction to the injured family." Paley's critique became part of a mid-nineteenth-century movement in America to award women the right to sue their seducers.

Although in the mid-nineteenth century the "true" woman was one who was "passionless," self-sacrificing, and morally superior to men, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries women were often depicted as particularly susceptible to the "passions"—to desires rooted in and fueled by one's mental and emotional sensitivity to one's own and others' feelings. Though a potential good in itself, such sensitivity could lead the woman astray when it was manipulated by an artful and conniving man. Speaking from the male point of view, Samuel Johnson, the literary eminence of the second half of the eighteenth century, declared in *The Beauties of Johnson* (1787) that there is no thought more painful "than the consciousness of having propagated corruption by vitiating principles" in a woman who becomes, in consequence, "blinded . . . to every beauty, but the paint of pleasure; and deafened . . . to every call, but the alluring voice of the syrens [sic] of destruction." Johnson's sentiment is echoed in American literature for the next several decades, where novels of seduction depict the woman as equally the victim of male machinations and her own unguarded and powerful emotions.

Following Richardson's lead, the first American novels took seduction as their theme. The subject had political as well as personal connotations: having rebelled against their "Mother Country," England, Americans were now vulnerable to the seductive lure of liberty. Seduction novels, as they have become known, attempted to counter the dangers of unregulated freedom (and their own reputation as novels as being "fanciful" and "frivolous") by inculcating in their readers a serious regard for social responsibility and respect for parental authority. To this end, they proclaimed their own brand of "female education" often couched in melodramatic and sentimental language designed to outspeak the romantic eloquence of the would-be seducer. The first American novel, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1789), and the two most popular novels of the age, Hannah Foster's *The Coquette* (1794) and Susannah Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1797) all share a basic element of

plot—innocent women who are ruined by seduction and who die as a result—and in each of the novels it is the strength of the woman's emotions that lead to her destruction. In *Charlotte Temple*, the narrator tells us that when Charlotte's secret suitor "earnestly intreat[ed] one more interview," Charlotte's "treacherous heart betrayed her; and, forgetful of its resolution, pleaded the cause of the enemy so powerfully, that Charlotte was unable to resist." Charlotte eventually runs away with her lover, Montraville, breaking her parents' hearts; she becomes pregnant by him and, unwed, dies in childbirth. Charlotte is seduced not only by her lover, the novel consistently suggests, but by her own desire. This, of course, is the essence of seduction: the manipulation, on the seducer's part, of the other's weakness or desire to lead him or her astray. In the early Republic, such vulnerability spelled trouble not only for the woman herself, and her family and her community, but for the nation itself, which relied, both literally and symbolically, on the virtue of its women (particularly mothers). In the wake of revolution, seduction represented an unregulated passion that threatened to unravel the experiment in freedom that was America.

*See also* **Courtship; Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Fiction; Marriage; Revolution: Social History; Women: Rights; Women: Women's Literature.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Barker-Benfield, G. J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Davidson, Cathy. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Grossberg, Michael. *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

*Elizabeth Barnes*

**SEMINOLE WARS** The first Seminole War, which began in 1817, was a continuation of tensions stemming from conflicts with the Creek Confederacy during and after the American Revolution and from the presence of runaway and freed slaves in border settlements in Spanish Florida. The Seminoles were a group of Muskogee- and Hitchiti-speaking tribes



Seminole Wars
- International border
- State/territory border
- ⚔ Battle
- • Settlement
- ▫ Fort
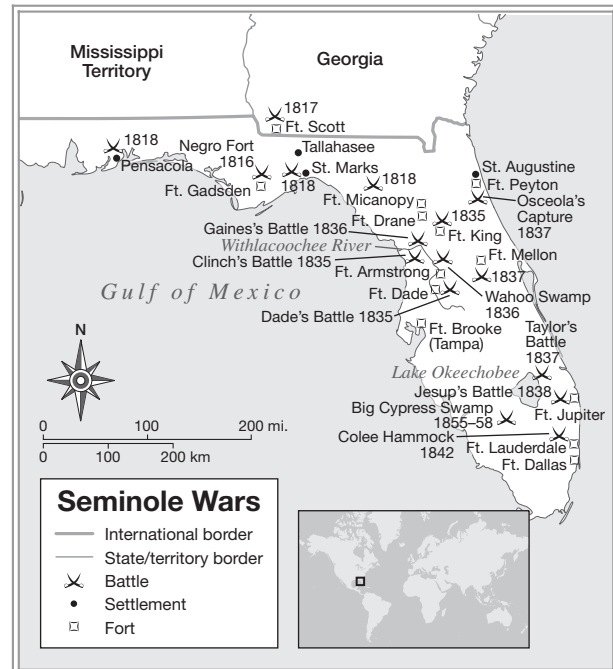
living in towns along the frontier. They incorporated within their population the militant Red Stick Creeks, refugees from the defeat of the Creeks by Andrew Jackson in 1814. These Creeks refused to acknowledge the stringent land cession terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) and continued to occupy lands on both sides of the Spanish Florida–American border. Under the protection of the Spanish, and the British as well, the Seminoles took in not just Creeks, but slaves fleeing plantations, which infuriated their white owners.

From the American perspective, the situation was exacerbated by the continuing presence of British agents during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), notably Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nicholls of the Royal Marines. He armed the Red Stick Creeks and their African American allies but was prevented from using them by the British defeat at New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent. Instead, Nicholls—recruiting two British expatriates and merchants, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister—kept up agitation amongst the Red Sticks regarding their ceded land and lands that part of the tribe had ceded to Forbes and Company and now wanted considered an illegal transaction. Many of the former slaves belonging to Nicholls's force left with the evacuating British, but some stayed, increasing American anxiety that their armed presence would encourage slaves in the United States to revolt or flee.

Open warfare began when Andrew Jackson, acting on petitions from slaveholders, ordered his subordinate, Major General Edmund Gaines, to destroy what was called Negro Fort, a Seminole and freed slave settlement fortified by the British and located over the border in Spanish Florida on the Apalachicola River. The attack, which occurred on 27 July 1816, destroyed the fort, with refugees fleeing to join other Seminole communities. In October and November 1817, American officers at Fort Scott ordered the arrest of Seminole leaders living at Fowl Town, a settlement just north of the Spanish border; they were accused of being banditti and of threatening the Americans when they attempted to harvest timber. When the Seminole leaders refused, Fowl Town was destroyed in a series of raids. Survivors retaliated with devastating force, ambushing a transport boat on the Apalachicola River and killing fifty-one Americans, four of them children. Meanwhile, raids continued to be made by both the Fort Scott soldiers against Seminole towns and Native Americans against Georgia plantations.

Jackson replaced Gaines on 9 March 1818 and proceeded to invade Spanish Florida, sacking the town of Suwanee on 16 April. Although the Seminoles did not suffer high casualties, they were driven out of settlements and lost substantial amounts of stored food to Jackson's deliberate policy of destruction. Arbuthnot and Ambrister were captured by Jackson, court-martialed for treason for their role in encouraging the tribes, and executed. The international controversy generated by the execution of these British subjects was compounded on 24 May 1818, when Jackson seized Pensacola, deposed the Spanish governor, and forced the surrender of all those Seminoles who had fled there to Spanish protection. En route to Pensacola, Jackson looted and destroyed British plantations, Seminole villages, and Spanish property, even though he faced virtually no opposition.

In 1821 Spain implemented the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 by leaving its Florida possessions, which placed the Seminoles, Creeks, and the former slaves allied with them at the mercy of Jackson and the American government. The British, also not wanting conflict, overlooked the deaths of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Some Seminole leaders, under pressure, accepted a series of treaties promising annuities and a reservation and agreed to return runaway slaves. However, these treaties, which specified that the Seminoles would join with the Creeks and also placed a limit on the annuities, proved impossible for the American governor to enforce. That only some

tribal leaders had signed also gave rebellious Seminoles reason to feel themselves not bound by the agreements, which led to further conflicts beginning in 1835.

*See also* **American Indians; Florida; Transcontinental Treaty.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler. *Old Hickory's War.* Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1996.

Knetsch, Joe. *Florida's Seminole Wars, 1818–1858.* Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2003.

Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. "Negroes and the Seminole War 1817–1818." *Journal of Negro History* 36 (1951): 249–280.

Wright, J. Leitch. "A Note on the First Seminole War as Seen by the Indians, Negroes, and Their British Advisors." *Journal of Southern History* 34 (1968): 565–575.

*Margaret Sankey*

**SENSIBILITY** Sensibility, declared the Scottish moralist Hugh Blair (1718–1800), is the "temper which interests us in the concerns of our brethren; which disposes us to feel along with them, to take part in their joys, and in their sorrows" (*Sermons*, p. 24). Blair, whose work on aesthetics and morality would later become staple reading for Harvard undergraduates like Ralph Waldo Emerson in the 1820s, took Romans 12:15 as his text for this particular sermon: "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that do weep." But the social efficacies of sensibility were not confined to the religious realm. Drawing on John Locke's theory that early sense impressions ultimately determine character, writers and moral philosophers of the eighteenth century sought to place sensibility in a social context to determine its role in shaping an ethical, productive and happy citizenry. "Sweet sensibility!" writes the anonymous author of *The Hive* (1795), "'Tis from thee that we derive the generous concerns, the disinterested cares that extend beyond ourselves, and enable us to participate [*sic*] the emotions of sorrows and joys that are not our own." Sensibility was, these writers averred, the emotional glue that held society together, countering the tendency to self-love. Blair's essay was published in New York and Philadelphia in 1790, and the Scottish common sense school of moral philosophy (including the earl of Shaftesbury [1671–1713], Francis Hutcheson [1694–1746], David Hume [1711–1776], Adam Smith [1723–1791], among others) to which he be-

longed was instrumental in defining American notions of sensibility and sentiment well into the 1830s.

Sensibility, the heightened awareness of the senses, both emotional and physical, became a popular subject not only for moralists, but also for novelists and poets in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The English author Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), about a man who travels through France encountering painful scenes over which he empathetically weeps, initiated a series of publications on the virtues of sensibility whose influence crossed the Atlantic. As the historian Roy Harvey Pearce discovered, diaries of Americans in the 1770s revealed men and women who self-consciously tried to imitate Sterne's hero. And the first American novels published in the 1790s took as their subject the joys, and the sorrows, of sensibility. The two—joy and sorrow—were, in fact, considered inextricable, since the generous nature that moves one beyond the self makes one susceptible to grief as well as to happiness. But in the emotional economy of the eighteenth century, such a trade-off was by and large represented as worthwhile. As Hannah More put it in her poem, *Sensibility* (1795), "Would you, to 'scape the pain, the joy forego, / And miss the transport to avoid the woe?"

By the end of the eighteenth century, the cult of sensibility had produced its share of critics and detractors, at first mostly British. Since, as Sterne and More implicitly suggested, even sorrow itself could become a source of pleasure, sensibility was considered, dangerously, a possible end in itself. Although ideally a vehicle to compassion and thus social harmony, extreme delicacy of feeling could devolve into emotional self-indulgence. Artificial feeling, rather than genuine and active care for another, threatened to make a mockery of sensibility. Moreover, delicacy of feeling was potentially at odds with "manly rigor." Though the true man was popularly represented in British fiction from the 1760s through the 1780s as someone capable of generosity and benevolence, writers began to worry about the effects of refined feeling on the human constitution. "The only ill consequence that can be apprehended from [sensibility] is, an effeminacy of mind, which may disqualify us for vigorous pursuits and manly exertions," wrote Vicesimus Knox in his *Essays, Moral and Literary* (1792). Women, who were believed already more susceptible to emotional instability than men, were particularly at risk in indulging their fantasies of feeling through such things as excessive novel reading. But the danger to society of overly sensitive men posed an even greater threat. As Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's widely read *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) showed, along with a feminizing of the mind and spirit was the tendency of self-reflection to produce an unhealthy desire for solitude and an aversion to the pleasures and needs of the community. Sensibility, then, while denoting at first blush one's capacity for socialization, could—when indulged too freely—result in estrangement, melancholy, and finally, even madness or death.

American writers at the turn of the century acknowledged the dangers to the body and the body politic of, as one of them said, a "too great delicacy and sensibility." But by and large, the potential for sensibility to create a feeling of community and nationhood remained a grounding principle throughout the early national period. The death of George Washington in 1799 occasioned numerous discourses on the necessity of public mourning and the bond of "social sympathy" produced by mutual grief; in one funeral oration by Samuel Bayard, such grief was declared to be a confirmation of Americans' "sensibility as men." Critiques of such views of feeling and of justice based on feeling—in the writings of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), for example—would not be taught at American universities until the 1830s. Prior to that time, notions about the relationship between politics and sentiment were predominantly framed by mid-to-late-eighteenth-century ideas that confirmed the sensitive man, embodied in the artist or poet (Longfellow, for instance), as the true American, both in his own example of sensibility, and his ability to cultivate it in others.

*See also* **Emotional Life; Fiction; Romanticism; Sentimentalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ellison, Julie. *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo–American Emotion.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Pinch, Adela. *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Todd, Janet. *Sensibility: An Introduction.* New York: Methuen, 1986.

*Elizabeth Barnes*

**SENTIMENTALISM**   Sentimentalism in arts and letters gained prominence in the eighteenth century as a particular rhetorical and literary style that sought above all to create a sympathetic connection between the author's object and audience. Sentimentalists emphasized emotion over reason and sought to ameliorate harsh Puritan morality with benevolence. Although sentimentalism pervaded various genres, it gained prominence in the English sentimental novel, a form imitated by aspiring American writers in the early Republic. A distinctive sentimental strain also ran through captivity narratives and Revolutionary rhetoric that aimed to unite the country behind the cause of independence. Sentimentalism remained a valuable rhetorical device in political rhetoric in the early nation, but increasingly in the nineteenth century it came to be associated with domestic rather than public life.

### THE SENTIMENTAL NOVEL

The first sentimental novels to arrive in the colonies were those of the Englishman Samuel Richardson (1689–1761). In 1744 Benjamin Franklin published an edition of Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). Both *Pamela* and Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747–1748) were in demand at colonial lending libraries in the 1750s. *Pamela*, with its story of the reformation of a rake by a virtuous woman, and *Clarissa*, with its story of the ruination of a virtuous girl by a rake, became the two great formulae for the sentimental novel. The novels of Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), *Tristram Shandy* (9 vols., 1760–1767) and *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768), while not as popular as Richardson's, also found their way across the Atlantic. Sterne departed from Richardson's exaltation of domestic sentimental truths to explore a broader range of sensuous emotion.

These novels spawned many American imitations. The generation that survived the Revolutionary War demanded books, and as Parson Weems (1759–1825)—employed by a Philadelphia printing house to scout southern American markets in 1798—reported, they demanded mainly novels. From the 1780s to the 1810s, American writers, primarily women, produced scores of novels that followed the sentimental formula of Richardson and Sterne. Chief among these works were *The Power of Sympathy* (1789), by William Hill Brown (1765–1793), widely recognized as the first American novel, *Charlotte Temple* (American edition, 1794), by Susanna Rowson (c. 1762–1824), one of the best selling sentimental novels of the period, and *The Coquette* (1797), by Hannah Foster (1758–1840).

These novels attracted a number of critics. Moralists, taking especial note that both the readers and writers of sentimental literature were women, charged that they corrupted moral sturdiness by encouraging romance and passion rather than revering the duties of marriage and child rearing. A wide range of republican critics such as John Trumbull (1756–1843), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), and Noah Webster (1758–1843) all lambasted the novel as trivial reading that bloated the imagination and detracted from the seriousness of life.

Sentimental novelists both responded to and anticipated this criticism by casting their novels as didactic moral lessons. Writers advertised their stories as "based on true life," a claim enhanced by their universal use of the literary device of letters and diary entries.

### CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE AND REVOLUTION

While the American sentimental novel of the 1790s was based almost entirely on English models, the innovative form of the captivity narrative had evinced sentimental traits earlier. Mary Rowlandson (c. 1635–1711) wrote the first North American captivity narrative, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, in 1682, and its enormous popularity would result in multiple editions and countless imitations in the eighteenth century. Unlike the sentimental novel, Rowlandson's narrative was a spiritual story about salvation through faith. But by creating a sympathetic identification between the narrator and the reader, Rowlandson had anticipated one of the most important features of sentimental literature. This registered potently with the colonial divine Cotton Mather (1663–1728) who reported in his *Decennium Luctuosum* (1699) that he could not write of such narratives without weeping. By the 1790s, captivity narratives had accumulated many more sentimental characteristics. They focused on the sensational threat of rape and the drama of rescue, becoming far more secularly moral than spiritual. Notwithstanding their primary function as entertaining reading, these captivity narratives also negotiated difficult issues in colonial society, such as the possibilities of communication with Native Americans and the realities of an interdependent exchange economy.

As Michelle Burnham has argued in *Captivity and Sentiment* (1997), the captivity narrative's sentimental form transformed into a metaphor for the nation during the Revolutionary period and the early Republic. Mary Rowlandson's narrative went

through seven editions in the 1770s, and the title page of the 1773 edition included a picture of Rowlandson pointing a rifle at her would-be captors, who aimed rifles at her. This cross-pollination of literary and political themes was consciously designed to analogize Rowlandson's captivity by Indians to the colonial captivity by Britain. Numerous authors picked up this trope. In his *Common Sense* (1776), Thomas Paine (1737–1809) likened the rebellious colonies to an enraged lover whose mistress (liberty) had been ravished by Britain. Images such as these became commonplace in Revolutionary rhetoric that was often designed to rouse sentiment as well as appeal to reason. Similarly, Paul Revere's famous engraving of the Boston Massacre of 5 March 1770 affectively created a psychological representation that sentimentalized the cause for independence.

Sentimental rhetoric remained important throughout the early republican period. Andrew Burstein has argued that Americans developed a culture of sentiment that emphasized compassion in order to establish "a pattern of philanthropic mission, spiritual renewal, and global conversion" (*Sentimental Democracy*, p. xiv). Masculine sentimentalism became a dominant rhetorical style in abolitionist literature after 1790, invoking the "poor Negro" to create sympathetic identification between the reader and the subject. Americans recasting citizenship and virtue in a republican mold imagined citizenship as a sentimental tie of benevolence and goodwill that bound different men together.

### SENTIMENTALISM AND DOMESTICITY

These uses of sentiment did not signal its dominance in arts or rhetoric, however. Critics regarded effusive sentimental displays as effeminate and weak, possibly threatening the vigor and discipline required for self-government. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, sentimentalism became increasingly associated with domesticity. Advice manuals, evangelical pamphlets, and women's magazines identified women as mistresses of the home, responsible for nurturing the sentimental ties that held the family together. This was in large part a reaction to the economic transformation of work in the early Republic. The growth of cities, decline of artisans, and growth of a middle class of bankers, professionals, and merchants forced men into a workplace outside the traditional boundaries of the home. In the process of redefining masculinity in the sphere of the competitive workplace, they relegated sympathetic virtues and sentimental truths to the domestic sphere of their wives.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indians as Symbols/Icons; Fiction; Romanticism; Sensibility.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Douglas R. *A House Undivided: Domesticity and Community in American Literature.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Burnham, Michelle. *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997.

Burstein, Andrew. *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.

Chapman, Mary, and Glenn Hendler, eds. *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

*H. Robert Baker*

**SEVEN YEARS' WAR** *See* **French and Indian War.**

**SEXUALITY** Sexuality, or the realm of human experience that encompasses sexual feelings and sexual expression, was in a period of transition in late-eighteenth-century America. Despite the prudish reputation of New England Puritans, there was no time when colonial Anglo-Americans were sexually repressed. They thought of sexual expression in marriage as legitimate and healthy. Throughout the eighteenth century, popular medical guides advocated regular sexual intercourse between married couples to keep bodies, minds, and marriages in a healthy balance. They envisioned particular attributes as sexually attractive: well-developed legs in men, ample breasts in women. But between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, profound changes took place, both in ideas about the relationship between sexual feelings and the self, and in customs surrounding sexual expression during courtship.

Before 1750 Americans imagined sexual feelings as "passions," fleeting and superficial. They did not

see such feelings as essential to personal identity. Unless kept within bounds, they could disrupt a healthy, stable, virtuous psyche. Moreover, early or excessive indulgence in sexual intercourse was thought to endanger physical health, especially for young men. Hence, parents closely supervised children's sexual behavior before marriage, courtships were short, and romance was discouraged. In popular literature, it was usually women who threatened men's stability by luring them into unhappy marriages, or demanding that men satisfy their insatiable lusts. Colonial writers portrayed women of color as particularly threatening and warned that intimacies with women of color would make white men more bestial, less civilized, and less European. Unbridled lust directed toward same-sex partners was thought to have the same destructive consequences as excessive passion toward the opposite sex.

Beginning around 1750, young people gained new control over their own marriage choices and, to a certain extent, new freedom to develop their sexual imaginations. Often with parental approval, they gained the ability to explore sexual desires within courtship through practices such as bundling and overnight visiting. Sexual experimentation became a normal feature of courtship, and in some American regions by the early 1800s more than 25 percent of married couples conceived their first child before marriage. Popular literature featured romantic heroines who expressed articulately their feelings about prospective lovers. Meanwhile, cultural changes also transformed ideas about sexual feelings within courtship. Sexual desire, when accompanied by deep feelings of love and mutual sympathy, became respectable, even ennobling—a civilizing rather than a destabilizing force.

Yet, at the same time, sexual feelings outside the context of courtship became increasingly differentiated from legitimate or "virtuous" desire. Novels depicted men who remained true to their fiancées as manly and men who seduced women without marrying them as base, foppish, and effeminate. White women who pursued their sexual desires in the context of virtuous courtship were admirable, but women of color (who were often legally forbidden from marrying white men) were brazen and lustful. Simultaneous changes occurred in the realm of homoerotic sex, and men who experienced sexual desires for other men were increasingly coming to be thought of as innately different from heterosexual men.

See also **Contraception and Abortion; Courtship; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood;** **Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Parenthood; Seduction; Sexual Morality.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bloch, Ruth H. "Changing Conceptions of Sexuality and Romance in Eighteenth Century America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 13–42.

Godbeer, Richard. *Sexual Revolution in Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Lombard, Anne S. *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

*Anne S. Lombard*

**SEXUAL MORALITY** Sexual morality in the early Republic was sustained by biblical, legal, and customary injunctions that in theory restricted sexual activity to heterosexual, monogamous, lifelong marriage. In practice, such restriction was never fully successful, and parts of the country's population ignored or even resisted official norms. But a general presumption of the moral value of premarital chastity and postmarital sexual fidelity provided the basic framework governing normative private sexual conduct.

Biblical prohibitions on fornication derived from key chapters in Paul's First Corinthians, as in 1 Corinthians 6:18: "Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body." Adultery, that is, sexual congress between a married person and someone not the lawful spouse, found prominent denunciation in the Ten Commandments. Many of the early colonial governments imported these moral offenses into their legal codes, criminalizing fornication and adultery to a far greater extent than was the case in England. By the time of the American Revolution, however, legal prosecution of sexual offenses had gone into a steep decline. For example, the court at New Haven, Connecticut, prosecuted 112 cases of fornication in the 1730s, the all-time decade high, while in the 1780s only 3 offenses were tried in that court. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts averaged 72 fornication cases per year in the decade before the Revolution, but only a handful of cases came to prosecution in 1790.

### DECLINE IN PROSECUTIONS
Available evidence indicates that fornication itself was not at all in decline, at least not before the 1790s. Indeed, a widespread and dramatic rise in premarital

pregnancy (measured as the percentage of first births occurring within the first seven months of a marriage date) can be tracked in towns with good vital registration data, which show a rise before and during the decades of the war with Britain and a gradual decline setting in by 1800. In some jurisdictions in New England, the proportion of brides pregnant on their wedding day approached 40 percent; since marriage ensued and regularized these prenuptial pregnancies, however, families and communities seem to have tolerated the deviation from biblical prohibitions on fornication. A popular courtship practice called "bundling," in which a courting couple was allowed nighttime privacy in bed together, likely facilitated the upsurge in early births. The new state governments, some with and some without fornication statutes, backed away from prosecuting consensual sexual acts, perhaps in response to this period of relaxed attitudes about premarital chastity, or perhaps in response to a growing sense of the importance of separation of church and state. Some churches took sexual infractions very seriously, bringing up unwed mothers and, less often, putative fathers for disciplinary action such as sanctions and fines. But the days of whipping fornicators were a half-century or more in the past.

### RENEWED ATTACKS ON PREMARITAL SEX

Around 1800, a renewed emphasis on premarital chastity as the standard for respectable womanhood becomes visible in the historical record, not only in the decline of premarital pregnancy rates but also in works of popular fiction and in court cases arising over seductions. Two best-selling sentimental novels—*Charlotte Temple* (1790), by Susanna Rowson, and *The Coquette* (1797), by Hannah Foster—featured heroines ruined and reduced to death by unprincipled libertine men, and the theme of the seduced and abandoned woman emerged as a staple in light fiction published in literary and ladies' periodicals and eagerly read by rising numbers of literate females. A common plot line of romantic fiction placed a trusting, naïve young woman in the hands of a heedless rake whose promises of love and marriage mask his real intention, that of sexual conquest and satisfaction.

While the novels portrayed male rakes as unsavory characters, in real life libertine men benefited from a double standard of morality in which women alone seemed to suffer the consequences of illicit sex in the form of unwed motherhood and ruined reputation. Concern over sexual seduction and the victimization of young women became manifest in

growing numbers of legal suits for seduction, in which an aggrieved father or master of a seduced woman brought action under the civil law of torts against an alleged offender. In such cases, the plaintiff had to ground the suit on a claim for compensation for lost service or labor from the young woman. But starting around 1815, judges' opinions openly acknowledged that loss of service was a legal fiction and that the real injury addressed was the serious harm to the reputation of the girl and her family. Courts thus added momentum to the idea, gaining popularity in these early decades of the nineteenth century, that "respectable" women by nature had lower sexual energy than did men and could not easily be construed as aggressors or even equal partners in instances of illicit sex. Newspapers frequently publicized such suits, and the news that seduced women, always framed as victims, could collect damages ranging from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars from judges and juries sent a message that a high price was now attached to white female virginity.

### SLAVES AND THE WORKING CLASS

In many states, and universally in the South, interracial sex was restricted both by laws against fornication and interracial marriage and by religious injunctions against adultery. Yet sex across the color line was a common southern occurrence, and legal intervention rarely ensued. Careful local studies have found that interracial sexual activity was often a matter of wide community knowledge. The spectrum of interracial sex ranged from long-term, child-producing unions to coercive sexual assault. In view of the unequal power relations between free white men and enslaved black women, even the most benign and familial of these relationships contained inherent coercion. Clearly, for some white slave owners, sexual entitlement over slaves overrode legal and religious canons of morality.

Blacks in bondage were not subject to the dominant white culture's laws of sexual morality and were only subject to customs and traditions insofar as individual white owners insisted on them. Legal marriage was denied to enslaved couples, as was the expectation of lifelong monogamous marriage. Under these circumstances, slave communities developed their own codes of sexual morality, with distinct features such as a tolerant view of children born to mothers not yet settled into coupled relationships.

Working-class neighborhoods in the rapidly growing cities of the early Republic supported a bawdy culture of unruly sexual relations, where

bastardy, prostitution, self-marriage and self-divorce were not uncommon. City leaders erected almshouses and houses of refuge to contain and support unwed mothers judged to be worthy of public aid; prostitutes were notably excluded. Benevolent and church-based women's organizations targeted poor urban women with their messages of the value of chastity, domesticity, and religiosity. Yet exposés and studies of prostitution in the 1830s made it clear that the male clientele for prostitution was cross-class. The foundational elements of sexual morality—premarital chastity and marital fidelity—were thus far from monolithic.

*See also* **Homosexuality; Interracial Sex; Prostitutes and Prostitution; Sexuality; Women: Women's Literature.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cott, Nancy. "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Anglo-American Sexual Ideology, 1790–l840." *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 4 (1978): 219–236.

Dayton, Cornelia Hughes. *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Godbeer, Richard. *Sexual Revolution in Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925.* New York: Random House, 1976.

Lewis, Jan. "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 44 (1987): 689–721.

Rothman, Joshua D. *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Ulrich, Laurel T. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

*Patricia Cline Cohen*

**SHAKERS** The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (commonly called the Shakers) was organized in the United States in 1774 under the prophetic leadership of Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784), who had fled religious persecution in England. Lee, the daughter of a Manchester blacksmith, had little education and worked in a textile mill and an infirmary. In 1758 she joined a religious society formed by two dissenting Quakers, James and Jane Wardley. The Wardleys formed a group that was derisively known as the "Shaking Quakers" because they sang, dance, and spoke in tongues in imitation of the practices of the French enthusiastic group, the Cevenoles, who had come to England in the early eighteenth century. In 1762 Lee married; she bore four children, all of whom died in infancy. Deeply troubled by their deaths, Lee believed they were punishment for her sins, particularly sins of the flesh. Sin had entered the world, according to Lee, when Adam and Eve had sexual knowledge of each other.

In 1770 Lee was acknowledged as the leader of the Shakers. The Shaking Quakers took to the streets of Manchester preaching a gospel of repentance, regeneration, and the celibate life, attacked the worldliness of the churches, and refused to take oaths or observe the Sabbath. They were persecuted for their beliefs, and Ann Lee was imprisoned in 1772–1773. She later stated that Christ had appeared to her in prison, telling her that she was Jesus Christ in the female form. In 1774 eight members left for America. Lee believed that it would be in the New World that her vision would take hold and that a chosen people awaited her arrival.

After a brief stay in New York City, Lee and her small band went north to Albany. In 1776 they established their first congregation at nearby Watervliet, New York, and began to attract other converts by their preaching and celibate lifestyle. In the Shakers' early days, they gathered for enthusiastic meetings, with Lee preaching the Shaker gospel throughout New England from 1781 to 1783. They had occasional conflicts with local authorities, who suspected the Shakers' pacifist tendencies and thought they were British spies. The Shaker societies that developed over the next century held several core beliefs: that Mother Ann Lee had ushered in a period of spiritual rebirth; that she was the manifestation of Jesus Christ in spiritual form; that salvation would come through the Shaker family; and that sexual intercourse was at the root of evil and a covenant with the devil.

There were five separate periods in Shaker history. The first (1774–1783) was characterized by Lee's messianic style and premillennial beliefs. In the second period (1784–1803), two elders, Joseph Meachem and Lucy Wright, became leaders of the sect, organizing new colonies, requiring the membership to sign formal covenants, and regularizing the sect's practices. During the third phase (1803–1837), the Shakers moved westward, establishing colonies in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky under the guidance and direction of the central ministry at Watervliet. By 1826 nineteen permanent communities had been es-

tablished. At Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, for example, the Center Family Dwelling House contained forty rooms and took ten years to complete. In this period the communities were organized into "families" of thirty to one hundred members. Within each "family" there were deacons and deaconesses who oversaw the temporal work while elders and eldresses supervised the spiritual life. An additional layer of elders (two men, two women) led the community and reported to the elders at the lead ministry in New Lebanon, New York.

As the Shaker societies grew and the older generation of Shakers passed away, a fourth phase (1837–1848) of intense spiritual and religious revivals, known as "Mother Ann's Work," occurred in all the societies. This revitalization movement was part of the evangelical upsurge following the Second Great Awakening, a period of renewed religious revivals in the early nineteenth century. During this phase members conducted seances, made spirit drawings and paintings, and created songs and poems to exalt Mother Ann Lee's mission. However, revitalization proved to be disruptive for the Shakers. In the final phase (1848 to 1875), the Shaker societies began to lose members and found it increasingly difficult to recruit new ones, particularly males. Earlier they had been able to attract adult converts and accept orphans abandoned by their families. At their height in the 1850s, the Shakers had about four thousand members in over twenty separate colonies. By 1880 the membership stood at 1,850, by 1900 at 850, and by the mid-1930s less than a hundred, as many of the communities closed their doors.

See also **Quakers; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brewer, Priscilla J. *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986.

Fogarty, Robert S. *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Kern, Louis J. *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Stein, Stephen J. *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

*Robert S. Fogarty*

**SHAYS'S REBELLION**   The event that became known as Shays's Rebellion stemmed from the widespread belief in western Massachusetts that the new state government was no better than the government of King George III. Thousands of western Massachusetts men had fought in the Revolution. But what had been accomplished? Power, in the judgment of the chief justice of Berkshire County, had just been shifted from one set of "plunderers" to another. Even clergymen who denounced Shays's Rebellion blamed it on the "venality" and unrealistic demands of the legislature.

Since 1782 town leaders had pleaded with the state legislature to address their concerns. Their petitions had been polite, deferential, and at times groveling, but again and again they had raised embarrassing questions. How, for example, were farmers to pay debts and taxes with hard money when no hard money was available? What about the "poor soldiers" who had actually fought the war? Were they to be taxed at outrageous rates to pay off a handful of government favorites who did nothing during the war? And where was the tax money going? To pay off a handful of Boston speculators who had bought up the state's war debt for virtually nothing? Why did honest men have to cope with so many layers in the court system? Was it just so that well-connected lawyers and court officials could collect fees at every step of the way? Why was there was a state senate? Was it created to provide just another bastion of power for the privileged and well-born? And why was the government in Boston anyway? Was it to allow the mercantile elite to pass oppressive laws when distance and bad weather kept the people's representatives from getting to Boston?

Such thoughts had circulated in western Massachusetts for years, and each year the legislature ignored the complaints. So in the summer of 1786, roughly ten years after the Declaration of Independence, the selectmen of Pelham and a handful of other towns called for countywide protest meetings. The largest took place in Hatfield on 22 August 1786. The plan, according to one of the fifty delegates, was to list a set of grievances against the state government, call for a new state constitution, and then seize the county court, the one symbol of state authority, the following week. That they did. A week after the Hatfield meeting adjourned, hundreds of armed men converged on Northampton and stopped the judges from holding court. In the weeks that followed, other armed men prevented the courts from convening in other shire towns.

The participants in these court closings called themselves "Regulators," thus identifying themselves with the backcountry and the Revolutionary tradition that the people had a duty to rebel when their government got out of control. Needless to say, Governor James Bowdoin and the Massachusetts legislature rejected this idea. They deemed the rebellion "horrid and unnatural." At first the governor called on the militia to defend the courts. To his dismay, however, one militia unit after another refused to serve. Finally, in desperation, the governor and 153 Boston merchants hired a mercenary army under General Benjamin Lincoln to put down the uprising. As Lincoln's men marched west, the Regulators tried to seize the federal arsenal at Springfield on 25 January 1787. Had they succeeded, they would have been armed better than the state. But a militia unit under General William Shepard seized the arsenal first and turned its cannons on the insurgents, routing them and leaving four dead on the field. Ten days later General Lincoln caught up with the main rebel army at Petersham, surprised them at daybreak, and forced them to scatter, the leaders fleeing to Vermont, the rank and file returning home. Thus ended what state authorities came to call "Shays's Rebellion."

In calling the uprising Shays's Rebellion, Governor Bowdoin and his followers were clearly attempting to discredit the entire affair. As a rule, they blamed it on the down-and-out, and in many respects Captain Daniel Shays, a Continental Army officer from the small hill town of Pelham, fit the bill. His contingent was the largest, and he was a debtor. But he neither instigated the rebellion nor controlled it. He was just one of many veteran Revolutionary officers who led troops in battles of the uprising. Well over four thousand men later confessed to taking up arms against the state, and it is clear that most of them had been called to arms by someone other than Daniel Shays. Some were "hard-pressed debtors," like Shays, but others were clearly men of considerable wealth. Over half were veterans. Most marched alongside relatives and in-laws.

As for what happened to Shays and other participants who took part in the rebellion, for some, the immediate outcome was dire. The nominal leader, Daniel Shays, fled the state, lost his farm, and eventually settled in western New York. John Bly and Charles Rose, two minor rebels, were hanged, and sixteen others spent months anticipating a hangman's noose before being reprieved. Judge William Whiting, the chief justice of the Berkshire County court, had his judgeship taken away from him for blaming the rebellion on the state's leadership. Similarly, State Representative Moses Harvey was kicked out of the legislature and forced to stand an hour at the Northampton gallows with a rope around his neck for blaming the rebellion on his fellow legislators. Hundreds of others had to cope with indictments filed by the state, or damage suits filed by neighbors, and some four thousand temporarily lost their right to vote, sit on juries, hold office, and work as teachers and tavernkeepers. Within a matter of months, however, most of these Regulators regained their former positions within their communities. Indeed, from their standpoint, they emerged victorious, as the new 1787 state legislature passed a moratorium on debts and cut direct taxes 'to a bone.'

The Massachusetts uprising had far-reaching effects. In Massachusetts, it ended the effort to pay off the state debt at the expense of backcountry farmers. For George Washington and other conservatives, it symbolized the unruliness of the backcountry in general. One of his key advisors blamed it on the "licentiousness spirit" prevailing among the people; another on the "leveling principle" that had captured the hearts of the poor and desperate. Were all men of property thus in danger? Was the Republic in peril? Nationalists seized upon such fears, pointed out the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, and convinced Washington to attend the Philadelphia convention in May 1787 that dispensed with the Articles and wrote the Constitution. They also used the specter of Daniel Shays to get the Constitution ratified by the states. Shays's Rebellion and the Constitution have been thus linked ever since.

*See also* **Fries's Rebellion; Gabriel's Rebellion; Massachusetts; Militias and Militia Service; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Vesey Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Gross, Robert A. ed. *In Debt to Shays: The Bicentennial of an Agrarian Rebellion.* Charlotteville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Richards, Leonard L. *Shays's Rebellion: The American Revolution's Final Battle.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Szatmary, David P. *Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

*Leonard L. Richards*

**Construction of the *Philadelphia*.** During the era of the Napoleonic Wars, war with either France or England appeared imminent, and a number of frigates were built in response, including the *Philadelphia*, shown under construction in Philadelphia in the late 1790s in this engraving by William and Thomas Birch. I. N. PHELPS STOKES COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS, AND PHOTOGRAPHS, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

**SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY** The shipbuilding industry played a critical role in the economic and political development of early America. From the arrival of the first colonists to the formation of the new nation, America relied on the sea for subsistence, transportation, commerce, and communication. The necessity of maritime travel demanded a strong shipbuilding tradition.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENT

The first vessels built in the colonies were small craft for local travel and fishing. Sponsors of the new colonies sent shipwrights from England to build ships, as most of the colonists did not know anything about their construction. While most vessels of the early seventeenth century were small, a few larger ships were built for transatlantic crossings.

As the colonies grew, the need for supplies from England and communication with the rest of the empire increased. Different regions became known for specific exports. The southern colonies produced agricultural products like tobacco, cotton, rice, and indigo. The middle colonies, such as Maryland and Pennsylvania, exported flour, wheat, and corn. New England traded fish, furs, and timber, but initially British merchants did not actively seek these products. Without a desirable commodity, the New England colonies soon found difficulty in attracting English ships for trade. Specie, or currency, was hard to come by, and colonial merchants were unable to obtain credit from their British associates. With little

purchasing power, the colonists could not trade for manufactured goods from the mother country.

These difficulties in New England provided the impetus for the development of the shipbuilding industry; born out of necessity, it rapidly became an important facet of the economy. Several early building sites rose to prominence, including Salem and Boston in Massachusetts; New London and New Haven in Connecticut; and Newport, Rhode Island. Shipbuilding in the middle colonies lagged slightly behind, but it was well established in New York City and Philadelphia by 1720. In the south, where British merchants regularly sent vessels to trade for agricultural goods, the industry was much slower to develop and did not become significant until the late eighteenth century.

Local shipowners and merchants in Britain represented the major market for colonial vessels. Under the Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century, British merchants were only allowed to use English- or American-built ships for trade. Because of the ready availability of timber, American vessels were usually less expensive than those built in England, making them popular with British shipowners.

By the eve of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), the colonial shipbuilding industry was well established. While values are difficult to determine because of the nature of available records, scholars have estimated that at least one-third of the British merchant fleet at that time was American built. Americans were selling approximately 18,000 tons (a measurement of vessel size or capacity) or £140,000 worth of vessels each year to Britain, out of a total production of about 40,000 tons per year.

### SHIPBUILDING IN THE NEW NATION

The onset of the Revolutionary War meant major changes for the shipbuilding industry. Its fate was closely tied to the success of shipping and trade in general, so when British blockades and the dangers of war brought shipping to a near standstill, American shipbuilding suffered as well. After the Revolution, shipwrights soon found that their best market was no longer available; under the British Navigation Acts, American ships were now excluded from legal use by British merchants. To assist the ailing shipbuilding industry, the new American government implemented regulations, including tax breaks, that favored American-built ships. In addition, trade soon resumed between the two nations and reached an all-time high in 1807.

During the period following the Revolution and into the nineteenth century, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia remained top shipbuilding sites. The development of larger shipyards in these cities allowed some builders to receive national attention for their work, including Henry Eckford, Adam and Noah Brown, Christian Bergh, Stephen Smith, Donald McKay, and Isaac Webb. Locations in the Chesapeake also began to rise to prominence, particularly Baltimore. In the South, shipbuilding remained a minor industry.

Critical developments for the industry during this period included the invention of steam-powered ships and the creation of a network of inland canals. Although side-wheel steamboats were in operation on the East Coast by the 1790s, their use did not become practical until Robert Fulton's designs of 1807. The western river steamboat, with its rear paddle wheel, was not commonly used until the 1820s. The utilization of steam power, which allowed vessels to travel upstream, and the construction of inland canals opened up the interior of the country to water transportation and provided a new direction for the shipbuilding industry.

At the peak of trade in 1807, political upheaval caused another major disruption in shipbuilding. In response to harassment by Britain, President Thomas Jefferson placed an embargo on all trade with that country, hoping to resolve the conflict by economic means rather than by force. When these measures failed and war was declared in 1812, dangers at sea and the dramatic decrease in trade brought the shipbuilding industry to a virtual halt. A few shipwrights were able to find work building privateers and naval vessels, but many remained unemployed. According to U.S. Bureau of the Census statistics, in the years preceding the war from 1801 to 1807, the shipbuilding industry was producing an average of 110,000 total tons per year. At an estimated value of $55 per ton, annual sales would have averaged over $6 million. During the war, annual production fell to a mere 30,000 tons.

The shipbuilding industry was quick to recover after the war, however, with an average of 100,000 tons being built each year through the 1820s. With most American cities located on the sea or on rivers, the nation still depended heavily on maritime activity for food, transportation, and trade. Western expansion made shipbuilding as essential as ever to provide steamboats, barges, and passenger ships to reach new regions of the nation. Shipwrights remained focused on small-scale carpentry and carefully handcrafted vessels, leading to a high demand for quality ships. By the end of the 1820s, the industry was

poised to begin the golden age of America's merchant marine from 1830 to 1860.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRY

From the colonial period to the early nineteenth century, the organization of the shipbuilding industry remained fairly static. Most shipwrights built vessels only after receiving an order, although occasionally they built on speculation. To purchase a vessel, a colonial merchant chose a shipwright, and after they had agreed on the size and type of the ship, a written contract was signed. Payment was usually made in installments, with part of the cost paid up front as cash. To amass the total capital needed for the construction of a new ship, investors purchased shares ranging from one-half to one sixty-fourth of the vessel's cost.

After the contract was signed, the master shipwright would plan the vessel's design based on what the merchant wanted and then purchase the supplies. A variety of tradesmen were needed to complete a ship, including additional shipwrights, joiners, caulkers, painters, sawyers, carvers, and plumbers. For the most part, these tradesmen worked "freelance," taking temporary jobs as they became available. In some cases, trained free blacks and slaves filled some of these roles in the shipyard, most often working as caulkers. Escaped slaves, such as Frederick Douglass, could later use these skills to earn a living as free men. Work in the maritime industry, either on the wharves or at sea, provided free African Americans with a much greater degree of equality and pay than most other jobs available to them in the early nineteenth century. Shipwrights were trained by an apprenticeship, usually from four to seven years in length, followed by temporary work until the shipwright found a permanent position or had the opportunity to purchase his own yard. Entering the industry was relatively easy for the prospective master shipwright, as little capital was needed. The only requirements were a small plot of land located near the water, a set of tools, and the necessary timber for a vessel. Except for perhaps a small supply of seasoned wood, timber was usually purchased as needed for orders. Shipyards tended to be small throughout this period, and because vessels were built by hand, production was generally low. By 1820, a successful yard completed between two and five oceangoing vessels a year, measuring from two hundred to three hundred tons each.

*See also* **Foreign Investment and Trade; Shipping Industry; Steamboat; Transportation: Canals and Waterways;**

**Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bass, George F., ed. *Ships and Shipwrecks of the Americas: A History Based on Underwater Archaeology.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

Chapelle, Howard I. *The History of American Sailing Ships.* New York: Norton, 1935.

Fassett, Frederick G. *The Shipbuilding Business in the United States of America.* 2 vols. New York: Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, 1948.

Goldenberg, Joseph A. *Shipbuilding in Colonial America.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976.

Hutchins, John G. B. *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy*, 1789–1914. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941.

Labaree, Benjamin W. et al. *America and the Sea: A Maritime History.* Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, Museum of America and the Sea, 1998.

*Kellie M. VanHorn*

**SHIPPING INDUSTRY** The shipping industry was vital to the early American economy. Before the Revolutionary War, the colonies' annual exports averaged £2,846,000, while imports totaled £4,233,844. Only the South maintained a favorable balance of trade; that region mainly focused on growing and exporting its extremely lucrative crops: tobacco, rice, and indigo. The situation was different in the North. Though the middle colonies had a staple crop in wheat, merchants there still imported twice as much as they exported. New England's rocky soil did not permit a staple crop; the region had to import foodstuffs from other colonies, and its imports were triple its exports. Lacking the valuable agricultural products of the South, northern merchants turned to shipping and merchandizing services. Between 1768 and 1772 colonial shipping earnings averaged £610,000, a figure second only to tobacco exports, which had an annual value of £766,000. (This was followed by bread and flour, £410,000; rice, £312,000; fish, £115,000; indigo, £113,000; corn, £83,000; pine boards, £70,000; staves and headings, £65,000; and horses, £60,000.)

### COLONIAL ERA

Philadelphia and New York City were the major ports of the middle colonies; merchants varied in

their income and prestige, but some of them, such as Stephan Girard and Robert Morris of Philadelphia and Peter Livingston of New York, were among the richest men in the colonies. Wheat was the main middle colony export, but merchants also dealt in flour, flaxseed, barrel staves, and meat, dividing their trade among Britain, southern Europe, and the West Indies. Like their New England counterparts, middle colony merchants (with the exception of Quakers) dealt in slaves. Early on, merchants used British-owned ships, but by 1770, three out of five ships clearing New York and three out of four in Philadelphia were locally owned, giving rise to an active regional shipbuilding industry.

Of New England's exports (which included livestock, salted and preserved fish, wood products, rum, and potash), 60 percent went to the West Indies, 19 percent to Britain and Ireland, 15 percent to Europe, and 3 to 4 percent to the African slave trade. Boston and Newport were the region's primary ports; secondary centers included Portsmouth, Salem, and Gloucester, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; and New Haven and New London, Connecticut. Such New England merchants as Thomas and John Hancock of Boston, the Tracy and Jackson families of Newburyport, and Robert "King" Hooper of Marblehead amassed substantial wealth and built palatial homes from their earnings in shipping.

In the Chesapeake, the main crop was tobacco, shipped primarily through Scottish and English factors employed by British merchants. By the 1770s Chesapeake farmers had diversified into wheat production and were exporting 100 million pounds of tobacco and 3,000 tons of flour and bread annually. The grain trade produced new settlements, including Alexandria, Fredericksburg, and Richmond, Virginia, and Baltimore, Maryland, which had become the nation's leading flour market by 1800. These cities did not approach northern urban centers in size, but they offered more commercial services than the small towns where tobacco factors worked.

In the Lower South the main port was the wealthy city of Charleston, South Carolina. Rice was by far the most valuable export; merchants shipped two-thirds of the crop each year to Britain and sold the remainder to southern Europe and the West Indies. Other products included indigo, naval stores, and lumber products, which went mainly to Britain, and grain and meat products, sold in small quantities to the West Indies.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) profoundly affected American shipping. An influx of money accompanied British troops to America. The House of Hancock in Boston, for example, owed much of its considerable fortune to supplying British forces during the war. However, with peace the general prosperity ended. In 1764 and 1765 Parliament imposed the Sugar and Stamp Acts, which attempted to tax the colonies to help pay for the war, and in 1767 they passed the Townshend Act, which imposed import taxes on tea, glass, lead, and paper. These actions prompted American merchants, some more willingly than others, to sign nonimportation agreements. The Tea Act of 1773 had a similar but even more devastating effect on shipping; when a group of Bostonians destroyed a valuable shipment of tea in protest, Parliament passed a bill closing Boston's port. This and other Coercive Acts (1774) prompted the newly formed Continental Congress to curtail shipping (except for the lucrative rice trade) to Britain and the British West Indies.

### THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER

When war broke out officially in April 1775, American overseas trade shut down completely; later that year Congress authorized trade with the West Indies, and in 1776 trade resumed with other non–British areas. However, until 1778 British ships blockaded New England (except Boston) and middle colony ports; after 1778 the British moved the blockade south to Savannah and Charleston. Some American merchants gave up their ships to the fledgling American navy, but others turned to smuggling or privateering or ran blockades to trade with France, Spain, and Holland, though commerce never reached prewar levels.

After the Revolution, the nation experienced numerous economic problems, some directly linked to the struggling shipping industry. Britain prohibited American trade with the West Indies, placed high duties on rice and tobacco, and declared American-built vessels (no matter who the owner) ineligible for imperial trade. Spain and France also withdrew or curtailed their wartime trade agreements. Moreover, now that America was no longer under Britain's protection, pirates from the Barbary States in North Africa harassed American ships and demanded bribes in return for safe passage.

American exports rose after 1793, when France and Britain went to war; both countries converted their merchant vessels to warships, and American shippers found markets for food and other supplies in Europe. However, trade came at the risk of losing ships and sailors to the French and British navies, as each side resented America doing business with the

other. (From 1798 to 1800 America and France waged a Quasi-War over this issue.) The problems of ship seizures and impressments continued when France and Britain resumed hostilities in 1803 after a two-year lull. In response, President Thomas Jefferson imposed the Embargo of 1807, which prohibited American ships from engaging in any foreign trade. The disastrous embargo particularly affected New England, where reliance on shipping was greatest; it was lifted in 1809 with certain restrictions. Continuing interference with shipping led America to declare war on Britain in 1812, and exports fell drastically until the war ended in 1815. (The crisis prompted some northern merchants to invest in manufacturing, especially textile and shoe production, to ease reliance on imports.)

Despite these interruptions, in the early nineteenth century American ships were involved in the China tea, California hide, international whaling, and cotton trades, as the shipping industry benefited from the technological, transportation, and managerial innovations that characterized this era. With the invention of the cotton gin, cotton became the South's major crop. Between 1793 and 1815, annual production rose from 3 million pounds to 93 million pounds; by 1840 cotton comprised half of all U.S. overseas shipments. New designs in ships meant increased efficiency and cargo space; capacity grew from an average 300 tons in the 1820s to 1,000 tons by the 1850s. As Americans expanded further west, new canals, turnpikes, and steam-powered riverboats streamlined the movement of farm products to eastern and southern ports. In 1818 New York's Black Ball Line introduced regularly scheduled transatlantic crossings, a move that helped New York surpass Philadelphia as the nation's premier port. By 1829 the nation was poised on the brink of a golden age of American shipping, symbolized by swift, tall-masted clipper ships and expansion into distant markets. The British development of an iron-hulled, oceangoing steamship signified that even more change was imminent, but until 1860 wooden sailing ships continued to dominate the industry.

*See also* **China Trade; Embargo; Foreign Investment and Trade; Merchants; Quasi-War with France; Shipbuilding Industry; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Steamboat; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; War of 1812; Whaling.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baxter, W. T. *The House of Hancock.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1965.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Green, Jack P. *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Shepherd, James F., and Gary M. Walton. *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

*Diane Wenger*

**SHOEMAKING**    Shoemaking was the most ubiquitous of all crafts in the new American nation. Since nearly everyone, including slaves, wore shoes, shoemaking was arguably the most typical manufacturing occupation in the early United States.

The craft of shoemaking occupied the lower reaches of the craft occupational hierarchy. Easily learned and requiring scant physical labor, shoemaking paid poorly and most shoemakers lived only a few steps above poverty for most of their lives. In times of widespread economic distress, shoemakers' families often joined the families of tailors and day laborers in the nation's poorhouses. Even the small handful of shoemakers who produced custom shoes and boots for the wealthy elite only earned a place near the middle of artisan incomes, making little more than a successful carpenter or stonemason.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the technology of shoemaking was little changed from what it had been in the Middle Ages. A skilled master shoemaker used a pattern to cut the pieces of leather that would come together as a shoe. This was the most critical part of the production process, for ill-cut pieces would ruin a shoe and make the costly leather into scrap. Once cut, the master formed the leather over a three-dimensional mold called a last, pulling and curving the leather into the shape of a shoe. The most skilled work completed, the master typically passed the cut and formed leather to a journeyman, who stitched the parts of the shoe together and then sewed the upper part of the soon-to-be shoe to the sole, using an awl to push heavy thread through the accumulated layers of leather. At this point the new shoe only needed finishing—

trimming, making holes for laces, and polishing. These tasks were left for apprentices or, more often, to family members. The kitchen tables of many shoemakers' homes were perpetually covered with half-finished shoes as wives and children worked on them at free intervals between their daily household chores.

Living at the margins of self-sufficiency, shoemakers were not surprisingly at the forefront of America's first labor movement. By the 1820s, a growing number of crafts had succumbed to the economic pressures of central shops and early manufactories, which produced goods at costs well below what artisans could manage. While shoemaking would not be mechanized until the 1850s, the reorganization of labor in central shops posed a serious threat to the long-standing trade. Central shops were usually owned by master craftsmen or wholesale merchants, who used a simple division of labor to produce large quantities of shoes at reduced prices. Breaking craft traditions, shop owners either cut the leather shoe pieces themselves or hired a skilled master shoemaker to perform that critical task. The shop owner then hired semi-trained journeymen or apprentices, paying them weekly wages to perform routine tasks under their direction. By having their employees perform a small set of tasks repetitively and then passing their work on to the next worker, central shop owners were able to take advantage of the economies of divided labor to outproduce small, independent shoemakers using the traditional craft organization of labor.

In this way, growing numbers of would-be shoemakers became permanent employees in central shops. As these central shops proliferated, competition brought shop owners to push down wages in an attempt to remain solvent. Wage cutting thus became a way of life for workers employed in central shops. Still tied to the traditions of independence that lingered in the declining crafts, journeymen shoemakers soon began to protest the constant shaving of their wages by their employers. Reasoning that their labor was the bedrock of the new nation itself, a number of journeymen shoemakers, tailors, and cabinetmakers in America's largest cities began to organize, threatening to withdraw their labor entirely if livable wage levels were not maintained. For their efforts, in 1806 the leaders of Philadelphia's journeymen cordwainers society were arrested, tried, and convicted in the city's mayor's court for common law conspiracy in restrain of trade. The cordwainers' trial was the first labor law ruling in the new nation, and it established a precedent effectively outlawing

workers' organizations until it was overturned in 1842.

The 1806 trial ended the cordwainers' strike, but it was not forgotten in the ensuing years. When, in 1827 and 1828, William Heighton, a Philadelphia journeyman shoemaker, organized the nation's first citywide union, the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations (MUTA), overturning the precedent set by the cordwainer's case was one of his major concerns. In the face of legal threats, the MUTA and its shoemaker leadership fought a long and often successful battle with Philadelphia's employers and in the process set a model for union organization that would last into the twenty-first century. Thus, although the weakest of the new nation's trades, shoemaking established one of the most important and enduring legacies in the history of American labor.

*See also* **Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop; Work: Factory Labor.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dawley, Alan. *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Faler, Paul G. *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.

Schultz, Ronald. *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

*Ronald Schultz*

**SIBLINGS**   In the large households of early America virtually everyone had siblings, and they must have mattered a great deal, but this has not promoted the study of siblicity by family historians or scholars of the history of childhood. Lateral functional, affective, and power relations have been neglected in family narratives organized around the rise, dominance, and erosion of "patriarchal" systems of household government. Formidable problems of evidence help to explain this neglect, but the price paid in distorted understandings of the evolution of the American social structure may be considerable.

Everywhere historians look between 1750 and 1830, brothers and sisters are found shaping each others' lives and fortunes. Jane Martin was orphaned near Philadelphia in 1747. Her siblings scat-

tered through a network of foster families, but for five decades—as a disowned Friend, the separated wife of a Loyalist refugee, and a single mother and businesswoman—her life oscillated around that of her brother John. The emergence of Joseph Brant (1742–1807), the Mohawk warrior, as a leader of Iroquois resistance to colonial expansion was mediated by his sister, Mary, the wife of a British imperial official. Throughout his life, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) considered his younger sister, Jane Mecom, to be one of his closest allies. Charles Wollstonecraft was sent to America in 1792 by his English sister, Mary (1759–1797), to become a farmer. He remained her "favourite" sibling, although his subsequent career as a soldier in an army raised for the Quasi-War against revolutionary France might not have gratified her radical political sensibilities if she had lived long enough to know about it. In New England seaports like Salem, during the generation after independence and before the emergence of institutional merchant banking, strategic marriages between sets of siblings in merchant families provided capital and guarded against legal liability for members of small firms engaged in international commerce.

Anecdotal cases, alas, do not bodies of knowledge make, and most generalizations about sibling relations are based on little more. What systematic study has been done has paid more attention to southern societies than to northern ones, despite the wealth of demographic and genealogical data in the latter regions. There are hints that the practice of "putting out" northern children for socialization or apprenticeship purposes disrupted intragenerational ties, while the prevalence of orphanages and blended households intensified fraternal-sororal bonds in the South. Some scholars assume that there was an inherently oppositional tension between sibling and patriarchal dynamics. Relatively equal power among sibling cohorts, it is thought, allowed their members to interact in less deferential ways than those required between parents—especially fathers—and children, or husbands and wives, possibly helping to soften or even subvert long-standing imbalances of gendered power among adults.

Scholars may mistake snapshot data samples from particular times or places for evidence of either enduring structures or meaningful trends. Sibling dynamics under some circumstances may have facilitated the reproduction and intergenerational transmission of familial power structures that scholars call patriarchal, but under others undermined them. The absence of mature household heads or young

adult men from farms and shops caused by the Revolution—or by post-Revolutionary efforts to settle the trans-Appalachian frontier—may have begun processes of change by which the authoritarian family types experienced by Cotton Mather (1663–1728) and Abigail Adams (1744–1818) evolved into the more companionate ones familiar to the generations of Noah Webster (1758–1843) or Mary Todd Lincoln (1818–1882). These conjectures, speculations, and "may have beens," while hardly congenial to the sensibilities of encyclopedic curiosity, show the need for historical attention to this subject. When stronger generalizations are found, it will be in studies that begin with cohorts of children being socialized in nuclear hearths, rather than with adult siblings already operating in their own separate worlds. The latter actors may generate more accessible and articulate evidence, but the former harbor the secrets of siblicity.

*See also* **Domestic Life.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Atkins, Annette. *We Grew Up Together: Brothers and Sisters in Nineteenth-Century America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Glover, Lorri. *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds among the Early South Carolina Gentry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

*Wayne Bodle*

# SLAVERY

This entry consists of eight separate articles: *Overview*, *Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities*, *Slave Insurrections*, *Slave Life*, *Slave Patrols*, *Slavery and the Founding Generation*, *Slave Trade*, *African*, and *Slave Trade*, *Domestic*.

## *Overview*

During the Revolutionary era an array of forces combined to strike a powerful blow against the institution of slavery. Foremost among them was a burgeoning and well-articulated, Quaker-led, religious attack on slavery. This religious opposition combined with the political philosophy of natural rights embedded in the Declaration of Independence, as well as a growing anti-British sentiment, increasingly associated with human traffic between Africa and Britain's colonies, to produce a Revolutionary philosophy that espoused not only freedom from British oppression, but also political and personal freedom

**Certificate of Manumission.** This document from the Recorder of the City of New York certified that a slave named George was freed in 1817. © BETTMAN/CORBIS.

for all Americans. The demands for freedom from British "enslavement" were not lost on those who were locked in slavery. During the political and military conflict, enslaved African Americans acted in ways that further loosened the bonds of slavery and forced a national reevaluation of the place of slavery in national life. What had appeared to be a smooth and unwavering development of human slavery was halted in some parts of the new country; in others it was stopped in its tracks. Where slavery did not end immediately or gradually, it would receive more legal and political support in the new nation than it had ever enjoyed under British supervision.

Resistance to British authority was intense in cities like Boston and Philadelphia, which were also centers of agitation against the international slave trade. Before the 1770s, few American voices had been raised against slavery, and those most frequently heard were directed not at domestic slavery but at the African slave trade. The quick and easy convergence of anti-British and antislavery sentiment brought thousands to the cause of antislavery. American patriotism, as Thomas Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence had revealed, could accommodate a throbbing antislavery vein. The early activism of the Quakers and other religious groups, such as the Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, Methodists in the Chesapeake region, and Baptists in New

England, provided the physical and moral platform on which a more radical antislavery could be built. At the same time, however, Revolutionary agitation also came from planters in Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, as well as slaveholders with smaller holdings in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. Slavery was of course legal in all of the thirteen colonies when they declared independence from Britain, and the overwhelming majority of Patriot masters saw no contradiction between fighting for their own liberty and continuing to hold other people as slaves. Indeed, many masters would have said that their liberty was tied to their status as owners of property, including slaves.

Military leaders on both sides of the conflict soon recognized the benefits of recruiting enslaved African Americans into their ranks as soldiers, sailors, or ancillary workers. African Americans were equally quick at sensing an opportunity to win their freedom. Many slaves in Virginia answered Lord Dunmore's call in November 1775 to join the British army to help suppress their Patriot masters. This was the first of many ironies attached to the status of slavery during the Revolution: freedom for slaves was as likely or more likely to come from the "tyranny" of Britain than the "liberty" of the American cause.

On the other hand, in New England hundreds of slaves and free blacks answered the call to fight the British, and in so doing helped destroy slavery in that region. Initially General George Washington was shocked by the black faces among his troops. A Virginia planter who owned a considerable number of slaves, he could not fathom the idea of arming black men. By the end of the war he had come to rely on his black soldiers. At Yorktown he relied on a mostly black unit to charge a key British position. Indeed, military necessity made armed black soldiers a common sight throughout the duration of conflict. In return for enlisting, slaves received freedom, sometimes freedom for their families, and a vague promise of more.

The war undermined slavery throughout the North. By the end of the war Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and what would become the fourteenth state, Vermont, had adopted constitutional provisions to abolish slavery. Pennsylvania had passed a gradual abolition act that would end slavery over a number of years. Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar laws in 1784. In the next two decades New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804) passed similar legislation. The slow pace of abolition in those two states reflected both conservative politics

**Slavery in the
United States, 1830**

Slaves as a percentage of
total population, 1830

- Greater than 50%
- 30%–50%
- 10%–30%
- 1%–10%
- No data

tinuation had to be compared with the problem and consequences of its abolition" (MacLeod, p. 29). However powerful the moral or political impetus, pragmatic considerations predominated.

Leading Southerners, like Virginia's Patrick Henry, for example, were, as Henry put it, "drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them." A fellow slaveholder, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, was adamant that "without them South Carolina would soon be a desert waste." These and other Southern states, having witnessed firsthand the fighting ability of their slave population, were uniquely concerned about the economic and social cost of emancipation. Supporters of slavery were soon equating emancipation with economic disaster, personal danger, and social chaos. Not surprisingly, the moderates in Southern legislatures were those who considered it unnecessary to reopen the African slave trade. There was little support for measures that would undermine rather than repair and strengthen the institution of slavery.

Although not completely absent in the South, antislavery sentiment took on a distinct hue. One of the South's leading antislavery supporters was St. George Tucker of Virginia, who advocated for equal justice for free black Americans yet like most slaveholders in the South supported black removal. If black people were to remain in the North it would be as second-class citizens; in the South, they had to be enslaved. The natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence would not apply in any meaningful way to the masses of black Americans, slave or free.

### REVOLUTIONARY IDEALS AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALITIES

In compromising their principles of human freedom in the new and egalitarian society, the founding fathers created a constitutional legal order that protected both black slavery and white male supremacy. The very principles that had propelled and supported the Revolutionary struggle and struck a body blow to the institution of slavery would succumb to the exigencies of nation building. Although the United States Constitution never mentioned the words "slaves" or "slavery," it acknowledged and protected the property rights of slaveholders. Among the several compromises was the federal ratio (Article I, section 2). Better known as the three-fifths clause, this provision counted slaves on a three-fifths basis in allocating representation in Congress and also in allocating votes in the electoral college. The three-fifths clause would give the South extra political muscle in

and a larger slave population. In 1790 New York had more than 21,000 slaves and New Jersey more than 11,000.

In the South thousands of slaves escaped to freedom during the war, while thousands more joined the British or, less frequently, the American Army, to gain their freedom. In 1782 Virginia allowed masters the right to free their slaves, and the state's free black population grew rapidly, from about 2,000 in 1780 to over 30,000 by 1810. For most southern slaves, however, the Revolution meant little. The rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that southern whites claimed for themselves were not available for their slaves.

### THE RISE OF SLAVERY

In 1790, 94 percent of the 698,000 slaves in the United States lived in what would emerge, in the coming decades, as "the South." In spite of this crucial demographic, the frequent denunciations of slavery by Southern political leaders suggested a general move toward the curtailment of human slavery. It soon became clear to antislavery Northerners, however, that the southern slaveholders' position on slavery and abolition was fundamentally at odds with their own. For Southerners, the "evil of its con-

Congress and provide the margin of victory in the vote over the Missouri Compromise in the House of Representatives. More important, perhaps, Thomas Jefferson's electoral college victory in 1800 came from the presidential electors created by the three-fifths clause.

The federal ratio gave to the slave states a voting power in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college (ultimately responsible for the election of the president) far beyond that to which their free population entitled them. Effectively, every 20,000 free white persons with 50,000 slaves controlled the political representation equal to 50,000 free white persons outside the slave states. The antislavery promise of the Revolution was sacrificed in the name of national unity.

In addition to the three-fifths clause, the Constitution protected the rights of masters to recover runaway slaves through the fugitive slave clause, prohibited taxes on exports such as tobacco and rice (which Southerners viewed as a way of taxing slavery), and guaranteed that the national government would suppress insurrections and rebellions (which included slave rebellions). The Constitution prohibited Congress from ending the African slave trade for at least twenty years but did not guarantee an end to it after that. In the heated debate over this clause, Connecticut's Oliver Ellsworth explained that he would support the demands of the Deep South, because "What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the states are the best judges of their particular interest."

Most important, the Constitution created a government of limited powers, and those powers did not include the regulation of the domestic institutions of the states, which included slavery. As General Pinckney told the South Carolina House of Representatives, "We have a security that the general government can never emancipate them, for no such authority is granted and it is admitted, on all hands, that the general government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several states." While the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia to write the Constitution, the Congress meeting under the Articles of Confederation passed the Northwest Ordinance, which prohibited slavery in the territories north of the Ohio River and implicitly allowed slavery in the territories south of the river.

When the new government was established under the Constitution, slavery was firmly entrenched in the nation. With a total population of just under four million, the new nation had about 700,000 slaves, almost all of them concentrated in the states south of Pennsylvania.

### PLANTATION SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH

In Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Virginia, plantation owners faced different demands. Tobacco farmers in the Chesapeake region of Maryland and Virginia increasingly turned to wheat as a money crop—the labor needs associated with growing this grain, when combined with liberalized ideas on slavery and freedom, sometimes led to a willingness to end the slave trade. During the mild agricultural depression of the 1780s and early 1790s, these sentiments grew as there actually seemed to be a region-wide surplus of black slaves. It was a different picture farther south, where the flight of tens of thousands of bondsmen to British and Spanish lines had caused a substantial decline in the number of black workers available to tend damaged and neglected plantations. Here, agricultural output suffered, causing the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo to fall well below prewar levels. In the rice and indigo regions of the Carolinas and Georgia, the desire to replace wartime slave losses and rebuild levees and rice irrigation canals triggered a demand to keep the African trade open.

In 1793 Eli Whitney of Connecticut, while visiting the Georgia plantation of Nathaniel Greene, made a simple refinement of the old roller gin and thus removed the main obstacle to large-scale production of cotton in the Southern states. The early spread of cotton was slow but steady as farmers made the adjustment from other more familiar staples. Between 1800 and 1808 the Deep South would import about 100,000 new slaves from Africa to help satisfy its seemingly insatiable demand for more laborers. The nation would gain another 30,000 slaves through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The closing of the African slave trade in 1808 shut off legal importations, although the nation would gain another 10,000 slaves with the acquisition of Florida in 1821. After 1808, however, cotton production in the United States was so widespread that planters demanded more labor, and an illegal African slave trade brought perhaps another thousand slaves a year to the nation. The high birth rate among slaves, as well as the last burst of legal importations, led to a growing slave population. Between 1790 and 1830 the slave population nearly tripled, from about 700,000 to over two million.

The expansion of cotton into the Old Southwest—Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisi-

ana—led to a huge migration of slaves and masters. Some slaves were moved west as their owners abandoned depleted land in the east for the rich soil of the Black Belt and the Mississippi Delta. Other slaves were simply sold away, marched west in chains to carve out plantations in the emerging Cotton Kingdom. Mississippi, for example, had about 3,000 slaves in 1800 and over 65,000 by 1830; Louisiana went from 34,000 slaves to 109,000 in the same period. Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas were the main sources of slave migration, and the main importing states were first Kentucky and Tennessee and later, with the opening of the West, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. So rapid was the expansion of cotton production, with its insatiable demand for black labor, that in a few short years parts of the South became unrecognizable. Many areas that only a generation earlier had been characterized by white family farms were drawn into cotton cultivation and slavery. One result of this change was a decline in the number of manumissions and the slow disappearance of antislavery sentiment in the region.

### WESTWARD EXPANSION

Despite the constitutional agreement on slavery, the subject was never far from the center of most political issues. The slave rebellion in St. Domingue (Haiti) and the ever-present specter of slave rebellion at home struck a chord at all levels of American society. It gave the enslaved hope of their own liberation, buoyed the growing band of antislavers, and deeply disturbed slaveholders who imagined themselves surrounded by would-be rebels. The Gabriel Prosser slave insurrection in Richmond, Virginia, in August 1800 only added to the national tension and intruded in the upcoming elections. Southerners were quick to distinguish their man, Jefferson, who owned slaves, from incumbent President John Adams, who did not. Jefferson did not discourage this new development, authorizing his leading spokesman in South Carolina to point out his conviction that the Constitution "has not empowered the federal legislature to touch in the remotest degree the question respecting the condition of property of slaves in any of the states."

With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Jefferson's first major act as president, the United States more than doubled its boundaries, and once again the issue of slavery in the nation crept slowly to center stage. Of course, the South shared Jefferson's excitement at the opportunity to extend the nation's frontier so far, so quickly. Whereas slaveholders envisioned a "boundless agrarian empire," most people in the

North had in mind an expanding nation of family farms, towns, and cities. Indeed, the years from 1810 to 1819 saw the population of the trans-Appalachian region more than double, and five new states joined the Union.

### THE MISSOURI CRISIS

In 1790 some 47 percent of the nation's population lived in the slave states. Excluding the slave population, the region constituted only a little more than a third of the whole. Thus, aided by the growing number of black slaves, a third of the nation's white population controlled 46 percent of the seats in the House of Congress. By 1820 the region's share was still a high 42 percent despite the decline in the relative size of the slave states' white population. The near political parity was a direct result of the federal ratio, without which the slave states would have had a clear minority status and far less influence in Congress and the electoral college. In 1820 the slave states had twenty more seats in the House of Representatives than they otherwise would have had if their slaves had not been counted toward their representation. As Senator Rufus King of New York argued, under the unfair rule of slave representation, the vote of five Southerners was equal to that of seven Northerners in selecting both the president and members of the House.

On the eve of Missouri's application for entrance into the Union as a slave state, the Senate had an equal number of senators representing free and slave states. Missouri's entrance would tip the balance in favor of the slave states and so upset the equilibrium in the Senate. There was no obvious reason why the Southern politicians should have anticipated any difficulty with Missouri's application. That the territory's constitution protected slavery caused no great alarm. Slavery had been legal in Missouri under both the French and Spanish. As a part of the Louisiana Purchase, the United States government had guaranteed the preservation of slavery. Between 1803 and 1819, therefore, slavery had been a legitimate part of the American Missouri. Indeed, prior to 1819, Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Louisiana (1812), and Mississippi (1817) had all gained admission with little discussion. Even the recent admission of Alabama in December 1819 had presented few problems.

Missouri's entrance caused such a stir in part because Missouri's petition for statehood was the first attempt to allow slavery in a state that lay north of the implicit dividing line of the Ohio River established by the Northwest Ordinance. As Missouri lay direct-

ly west of Illinois, a free state created out of the Old Northwest Territory from which Congress had barred slavery in 1787, it appeared to some people that its admission as a slave state would take slavery beyond its traditional bounds. For the first time since the constitutional debates, supporters of slavery and its expansion would face a sustained attack on the institution. Southern politicians took a stand and made a public and passionate defense of their system of slavery; in so doing they deepened their region's commitment to the institution. For the second time, the slave states declined the opportunity to begin the process of gradually loosening their attachment to human slavery and chose instead to tighten their grip on what would become known as "the peculiar institution." The main element in the compromise reached over Missouri's entrance into the Union was that the nation would be formally divided into free states and slave states.

Slave rebellions, such as the Haitian Revolution abroad and Gabriel's rebellion at home, made Southerners increasingly fearful of any antislavery agitation. In the 1820s the forces for and against slavery became increasingly entrenched. The publication of the *Appeal* (1829) by David Walker, a free black man, encouraging the enslaved to rise up and throw off their chains, and radical abolitionism under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison threatened the institution of slavery. When slave rebel Nat Turner led his band of the enslaved against their enslavers, Virginia's response was brutal. After a short period of postrebellion calm, Virginia legislators conducted a debate on the states' future attachment to human slavery not unlike those that had taken place four decades earlier in Northern states.

While Virginians argued over slavery, the political and moral center of Southern leadership and its defense of slavery shifted to South Carolina. Under the leadership of John C. Calhoun and a growing band of Southern nationalists, Southern slaveholders pursued a "positive good" defense, which originated in the 1820s, in an articulation of the general benefits of slavery. This defense would soon become Southern orthodoxy. In a desperate need to retain their influence in the national political arena and so protect their institution, Southern leaders would shift the battleground to the western territories and employ a new strategy: the geographical extension of slavery.

## CONCLUSION

The ideology of revolution had a profound impact on the institution of slavery. It triggered the first na-

tional debate that pulled together nascent antislavery individuals and groups and witnessed the geographical fall and rise of the institution. Revolutionary ideology allowed religious folk to combine their Christian principles with the natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence. This offered large numbers of the enslaved the opportunity to aspire to freedom and armed their supporters with a powerful new political weapon. Wartime cracks appeared in a system, which under the British government had not yet coalesced into a social system driven by racial subordination. What was the racial norm in regions of the South was largely unfamiliar in most areas of the North. Revolutionary ideology shook slaveholder and slave alike, sharply dividing the country. Indeed, by 1819, when the nation engaged in a second national debate on slavery, it could only agree to formalize the status quo and require supporters of slavery and its expansion to provide a positive justification for what they now considered a fixture on the American economic, political, and racial landscape. The new nation had drifted a long way from the lofty ideals of its Revolution.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Overview; African Americans: African American Responses to Slavery and Race; Antislavery; Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Emancipation and Manumission; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Louisiana Purchase; Missouri Compromise; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Plantation, The; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Vesey Rebellion.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Frey, Sylvia R. *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Hudson, Larry E. *To Have and to Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum South Carolina.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

MacLeod, Duncan. *Slavery, Race, and the American Revolution.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1947.

McManus, Edgar J. *Black Bondage in the North.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1973, 2001.

Nash, Gary B. *Race and Revolution.* Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1990.

Nieman, Donald G. *Promises to Keep: African-Americans and the Constitutional Order, 1776 to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Wiencek, Henry. *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003.

*Larry E. Hudson Jr.*

## Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities

From the beginning of slavery in colonial Virginia, slaves ran away from their owners for a variety of reasons. Some were dissatisfied with working conditions; others had been severely punished; others attempted to follow loved ones who were sold to distant locations; still others simply wished to take a break from the drudgery of bondage. Although the motives of runaways were as varied as slavery itself, the profile of those who ran away varied little over time. The great majority were young men in their teens and twenties. Because of the dangers and difficulties of taking children along, only about one in five was female. Most who ran away were described in advertisements as intelligent, cunning, active, bold, artful, friendly, or polite. Some were thought to have forged passes. They ran away during every season of the year and they ran off in every direction.

Beginning in the early years of Virginia and South Carolina slavery, and continuing after the colonial period, some African- and Caribbean-born slaves ran away to the woods, swamps, mountains, or dense forests near their plantations, where they established settlements. Called "outliers" or "outlying slaves," they sometimes absconded to negotiate concessions, such as improvements in food, housing, living conditions, work routines, and family visitation privileges, from their owners before they would return on their own. As time passed, it was rare that owners dealt with slaves by striking a bargain for their return. Although their numbers fluctuated over time, pockets of outlying slaves, in the Caribbean known as Maroon communities, were always a part of the region's landscape. During the 1730s some fugitives fled to Spanish Florida. In 1765 some forty runaways, including women and children, lived in a settlement with four substantial buildings in the swamp north of the Savannah River in South Carolina. In the Chesapeake region the terrain and majority white population made establishing runaway encampments difficult. One group of African-born slaves ran away to the mountainous backcountry. There men, women, and children attempted to re-create an African society on the frontier.

Over time, the main change in the population of runaway slaves was the decline in the number of African-born slaves. By the nineteenth century, most runaways were American-born and ran off alone. They often headed for the nearest town or city and hoped to blend in with other slaves and free blacks. Another difference between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was that in the early period more runaways were described as "black" or "negro" (usually meaning black) than in the later period, when a significant proportion were described as persons of mixed racial origin. In fact, an analysis of newspaper advertisements in five states during the 1850s found the more than 40 percent of the slaves who absconded were described as mulatto, light-skinned, brown, yellow, copper, red, "rather light," bright yellow, or "a negro, but not of the blackest cast." At the same time, persons of mixed origin, according to the census, represented only about 10 percent of the slave population. Mulatto slaves were often given positions as house servants, maids, cooks, tailors, waiters, and barbers; with such skills, they could more easily attempt to pass as free blacks.

From the colonial period until the end of slavery, bands of runaways, living in isolated, heavily wooded or swampy areas, or running to the mountains and beyond, attempted to maintain a separate existence. Some of these groups sustained their cohesiveness for several years, a few for longer periods. They made forays into populated farming sections for food, clothing, livestock, and trading items. Sometimes they bartered with free blacks, plantation slaves, or whites who owned no slaves. Only the Great Dismal Swamp, on the border of Virginia and North Carolina, and the marshes and morasses of south-central Florida sheltered generational communities of outlying slaves in North America, and even these two were not comparable to Maroon societies in other parts of the New World. The primary reason outlying bands failed to sustain themselves in the United States was the concerted effort on the part of slave owners, militiamen, and patrollers to find and destroy the outliers. It was only when the terrain was impenetrable that fugitives were able to remain at large.

If runaway gangs seldom lasted more than a year or two and often ended with many among them being killed, some individual slaves managed to sustain themselves by posing as free blacks. In the towns and cities of the South, a number of escaped slaves, especially the most skilled, were able to hire their own time and sometimes meld into the free black population. Although there were ebbs and flows in

the economies of Southern cities, in most periods hired slaves were in demand. In many urban areas, as competing whites pointed out, slaves dominated certain occupations. Although prohibited in most places by law, self-hire was widespread; if runaways could convince a potential employer that they had been sent by their owner to find work, they could often be hired with few questions asked.

A few runaways, often the most ingenious, persistent, and lucky, made it to the North. Some of them received assistance from Quakers, the Underground Railroad, and antislavery whites. Traversing the great distance from the Deep South to the North was extremely difficult, but some were able to find assistance along the way and in the North or Canada.

Owners, of course, had the right to pursue their human property. In 1793 and again in 1850, the Congress passed fugitive slave laws outlining the procedures of how owners could claim their slaves in the North and return them to the South. Those who persisted in absconding usually paid a heavy price. Most contemporaries affirmed that what were called habitual or perpetual runaways received cruel and brutal punishments. Slaves escaped with the mark of the whip on their backs, irons on their ankles, missing fingers and toes, and brands on their cheeks and forehead. Indeed, the power of those in control was brought to bear with rapid efficiency against slaves who sought to sustain themselves in freedom. What is surprising, given the odds against them, was the growing stream of runaway slaves that continued unabated over many decades. Conservative estimates put the number at about fifty thousand blacks each year during the antebellum period, with perhaps two thousand making it to freedom. Despite their lack of success, runaways served as a constant reminder to the slaveholding class that the property they were seeking to control was not controllable and the image they were trying to project, as benevolent paternalistic masters, was false.

See also **Antislavery; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Law: Slavery Law.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Franklin, John Hope, and Loren Schweninger. *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation.* New York: Oxford Press, 1999.

Meaders, Daniel E., ed. *Advertisements for Runaway Slaves in Virginia, 1801–1820.* New York: Garland, 1997.

Parker, Freddie L. *Running for Freedom: Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1775–1840.* New York: Garland, 1993.

Schweninger, Loren, ed. *The Southern Debate over Slavery: Petitions to Southern Legislatures and County Courts, 1778–1864.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

*Loren Schweninger*

## Slave Insurrections

Resistance to slavery in the early national United States took a form very different from the large-scale slave insurrections that arose in South America and the Caribbean. Massive slave rebellions were far less common than day-to-day resistance or individual acts of violence for a combination of reasons: the presence of a heavily armed white majority in every state except South Carolina (and, toward the very end of the antebellum period, Mississippi); the lack of an impregnable hinterland to accommodate Maroon colonies from which runaway slaves could besiege plantations; the relatively dispersed nature and small size of slaveholding; and the fact that the landlord class was in residence, not absentee. In the years after the Revolution, slaves achieved living space enough to build stable families and rich spiritual communities. Given the odds against success, it is hardly surprising that the handful of slaves bold enough to rise for their freedom found their rebellions reduced to unsuccessful conspiracies and their fellows doomed to die in combat or on the gallows.

Insurgent slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, far from uniformly sharing the same vision and goals, differed from one another as much as did white Revolutionaries in the same era. Jemmy, an Angolan who led an agrarian uprising in 1739 near Stono River, South Carolina, tried to hasten his African followers to freedom across the border into Spanish Florida. Caesar Varick, who only two years later conspired to burn New York City and flee with other bondmen to French Canada, which was then at war with the colonies, lived in one of North America's largest urban centers with an Irish wife. In 1800 Gabriel, a young, secular rebel who had turned away from African traditions, hoped to stay and work in a more egalitarian Virginia. Denmark Vesey, an aged free black who bought his freedom the year before Gabriel died, expected to achieve a limited exodus for his family and followers by leading them out of Charleston to Haiti. In 1822 Vesey and his chief lieutenant, "Gullah" Jack Pritchard, an East African priest, fused African theology with the Old Testament God of wrath and justice, whereas in 1831 Nat Turner relied on Christian millennial themes and hoped to bring on the day of jubilee for black Virginians. Beyond their obvious abilities as leaders and

their equally obvious desire to breathe free, bond rebels in America fit no simple pattern.

### METHODS AND AIMS

If slave rebellions in North America correspond to any single model, it is that they proliferated during times when the white majority was divided against itself. Colonial insurgents in South Carolina and New York City turned to violence at a time when their masters were at war with France and Spain. Gabriel, the most politicized of all the slave rebels, formulated his plans during the divisive election of 1800, when Federalists and Republicans threatened to take up arms against one another. The rebels in the Tidewater area of Virginia, despite the memory of the repression that followed Gabriel's death, began to organize again during the chaos of the War of 1812. Having read of the Missouri debates in Charleston newspapers, Vesey prayed that Northern whites would prove tardy in riding to the rescue of the estranged Southerners. Slaves near Natchez, Mississippi, began to plan for their freedom in 1861, following the outbreak of the Civil War.

Most of all, slaves, who well knew what they were up against and rarely contemplated suicidal ventures, plotted for their freedom only when safer avenues had been closed to them. For most of the seventeenth century, for example, when the high death rate in the southern colonies made inexpensive white indentured servants far more numerous than costly African slaves, enterprising bondpersons relied more on self-purchase than the sword. It was only after landless whites and hard-used white indentured workers under the command of Nathaniel Bacon burned Jamestown in 1676 that southern planters made a concerted effort to replace white servants with African slaves. The comprehensive Virginia Slave Code of 1705, the first of its kind in colonial North America, crushed the hope of industrious slaves that they might be upwardly mobile. Only then, as North American racial walls rapidly hardened, did desperate slaves turn to physically hazardous paths toward freedom. In April 1712 twenty-five Coromantee Africans burned several buildings in New York City and killed nine whites. Several rebels committed suicide before they could be captured, but those taken alive were broken on the wheel and hanged in chains as a warning to future rebels.

In the early eighteenth century, mainland revolts rarely posed much real danger to the slaveholding regime. Because the Atlantic slave trade was at its peak, every colony included large numbers of native Africans who sought to escape from bondage by building isolated Maroon communities in remote areas. There they tried to re-create the African communities they had lost. Even the two most significant rebellions of the period—the 1739 Stono River uprising and Varick's 1741 plan to torch New York City—were led by Africans who dreamed only of ending their own bondage, not of ending unfree labor in general. The price of failure was high. New York authorities ordered Varick and twelve of his followers burned alive; eighteen others were hanged and seventy more bondmen were banished from the colony.

### SLAVE REBELLION IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

The American Revolution alternately discouraged and stimulated slave rebellions. Although the British invasion and the animosity between Patriots and Loyalists presented slaves with a unique opportunity to organize, most slaves chose instead to take advantage of the dislocation of war to escape with their families into the growing cities or behind British lines. (The Revolution was the one time in North American history when equal numbers of female and male slaves ran away.) The aggressive bondmen who cast their lots with the military forces of King George were precisely the sort of bold, determined slaves who tended to organize slave conspiracies; thus the bloody fighting in the southern states after 1778 actually diminished the prospect that a mainland counterpart of Toussaint Louverture, the Haitian liberator, would rise out of the tobacco plantations.

Nonetheless, as Eugene D. Genovese suggests in his influential study *From Rebellion to Revolution* (1979), the age of revolution, and especially the slave revolt in Saint Domingue (Haiti) in 1791, marked a change in patterns in black resistance. The Caribbean rebels under the leadership of Boukman and Toussaint Louverture sought not only to destroy the power of their Parisian absentee masters but also to join the societies in which they lived on equal terms. For black Americans determined to realize the egalitarian promise of the American Revolution, the news from the Caribbean reminded them that, if they dared, the end of slavery—not only their own freedom—might be within reach. Born in 1776, the blacksmith Gabriel, who with his lieutenants in 1800 instigated the most extensive plot in Virginia history, hoped to force the white patriot elite to live up to its stated ideal: that all men were created free and equal. Leading a small army of slaves in Henrico County, he planned to march into Richmond under a banner proclaiming, "Death or Liberty." Governor James Monroe and other white authorities did not doubt that Louverture's victories had an enormous effect on blacks in the early national South.

In several cases, bondmen who had been carried from revolutionary Saint Domingue by their masters participated in North American slave revolts. In 1792 slaves on Virginia's Eastern Shore proposed to "blow up the magazine in Norfolk, and massacre its inhabitants." Although the rebel leader Caleb, a favored servant and driver, was evidently American-born, several of his recruits were Haitian refugees, and all—according to trial testimony—had been inspired by the example of Saint Domingue. Two decades later, in 1811, one of the most extensive conspiracies in the history of the United States erupted in southern Louisiana, only a few miles upriver from New Orleans. Slaves led by a mulatto driver named Charles Deslondes, reputedly aware of events in Saint Domingue, announced their intention of marching on the city "to kill whites." Eyewitness accounts placed the number of rebels at 180 to 500.

### ISOLATED REBELLIONS

After Gabriel's execution and the death of twenty-five of his followers in the fall of 1800, slave rebellions on the eastern seaboard became both less common and less politically conscious. Slaves who worked along the rivers in southern Virginia and Halifax County, North Carolina, under the leadership of Sancho, a ferryman, formed a loosely connected scheme to rise on Easter Monday of 1802. But Sancho, despite having been involved in Gabriel's plot, shared little of Gabriel's dream of a multiracial republic. Even when the dislocations of the War of 1812 and a second British invasion of the Chesapeake once more gave bondmen in Virginia an opportunity to rise for their liberty, an ideological dimension was lacking. Gloucester County authorities jailed ten slaves in March 1813, and the following month found rebels in Williamsburg "condemned on a charge of conspiracy and insurrection." By the late summer and early fall, rumors of revolt unnerved inhabitants of Norfolk and Richmond as well.

White authorities crushed these isolated rebellions with relative ease, reminding leaders in the slave community that the determined white majority in the American South posed a formidable obstacle to insurgents. Denmark Vesey of Charleston, perhaps the most pragmatic of all the rebel leaders, realized that Gabriel's dream of forcing mainland elites to accommodate blacks' aspirations to freedom and economic justice was impossible. Vesey plotted, therefore, not to end slavery in South Carolina, but instead to lead a mass escape from Charleston to the Caribbean, where he had lived and worked as a boy. Hoping to take control of the city on the night of 14 July 1822, Vesey's recruits—many of them Africans—intended to slaughter the inhabitants of the city and seize bank reserves before fleeing to Haiti, an embattled black republic sorely in need of capital and skilled labor.

Despite the overwhelming amount of evidence testifying to black rebelliousness, some historians attribute servile conspiracies to white paranoia, or even to Machiavellian plots on the part of white authorities to eliminate potential black leaders. One scholar suggests that insurgents never planned for their freedom in New York City in 1741, Antigua in 1736, the Chesapeake in the 1790s, and southern Virginia in 1802. Another historian, Michael Johnson, argues that "the evidence cannot sustain a credible interpretation that the Stono Revolt was a slave rebellion," and he also doubts that Gabriel's conspiracy and Vesey's plot constituted "incipient rebellion[s]."

No modern scholar, however, has challenged the reality of Nat Turner's bloody revolt. Fifty-seven dead white Virginians are hard to explain away. Yet the Southampton uprising of 1831 stands as the least practical of the nineteenth-century revolts. Unlike Gabriel, who believed it possible to fight his way into Richmond's political society, or Vesey, who simply planned to flee the country, the isolated geography of southern Virginia raises questions as to what the black general planned to do with his soldiers. Quite possibly, Turner hoped to march east and establish a Maroon colony in the Dismal Swamp. Equally possible is the prospect that the evangelical Turner avoided careful planning and preparation as he expected to leave the aftermath of rebellion in the hands of God.

More than four decades later, by the end of the Civil War, 180,000 African Americans (one out of every five males in the Republic) had served in Union forces. Those former slaves who marched back toward the plantations of their birth singing "General Gabriel's Jig" rightly understood themselves to be a part of the largest slave rebellion in the history of the United States.

*See also* **Antislavery; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Law: Slavery Law; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Vesey Rebellion; War and Diplomacy in the Atlantic World; War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aptheker, Herbert. *American Negro Slave Revolts.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Frey, Sylvia R. *Water From the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Genovese, Eugene D. *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979; New York: Vintage Books, 1981.

Greenberg, Kenneth S., ed. *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hoffer, Peter Charles. *The Great New York Conspiracy of 1741: Slavery, Crime, and Colonial Law.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

*Douglas R. Egerton*

## Slave Life

The roughly three-quarters of a century between 1754 and 1829, during which United States nationhood evolved and consolidated, also witnessed an extraordinarily dynamic period of change and development in the lives of slaves. Although slavery existed in all of the North American British colonies, by 1750 it was clear that slavery was evolving differently below what would later become the Mason-Dixon line. With nearly 90 percent of slaves concentrated in the southern colonies, slavery was undeniably more important to the economic and social order in the Chesapeake and Lower South than it was in the middle colonies and New England. Generally speaking, the work, culture, and treatment of slaves varied according to geographic location and historical progression.

Slave life shifted not only across geographic space but across time as well, as is evident in cultural differences between slave generations. Slaves of the Plantation Generation, which ran from 1700 to 1775, were more likely to have direct personal ties to Africa. Slaves of the Revolutionary Generation, which lasted from 1776 to roughly 1829, inherited a more synthesized African, European, and Native American way of life that was truly African American. National events and politics played a role in defining the boundaries of this developing African American culture. Most noticeably, the mixed economies of societies with slaves such as those of the middle colonies and New England rapidly gave way to free labor after the American Revolution. Additionally, when the direct importation of slaves was banned in 1808, the domestic slave trade flourished, as slaves largely from the Chesapeake were sent to clear land

and produce cotton in the rapidly growing Deep South. Daily life changed radically for many forced migrants, who were separated from family and community and thrown into plantation labor to which they were not accustomed.

### WORK

With most of their waking hours for six or more days per week spent in uncompensated labor, the lives of slaves revolved around work. In New England and the middle colonies, outside the plantation system, slaves performed a variety of tasks in a mixed economy. Often concentrated in major port cities such as New York, Philadelphia, or Newport, slaves worked in a variety of skilled and unskilled positions as craftsmen, artisans, and domestic servants. Slaves made significant contributions to the maritime industry by making sails, barrels for merchandise, repairing ships, and sometimes as crew. For these slaves in the North, daily labor was often in small, racially heterogeneous, independent groups and usually alongside free laborers.

Slave labor and life was much different in the South. Whether producing tobacco in the Chesapeake region of Virginia and Maryland, rice in the swampy low country of South Carolina or Georgia, or cotton in the emergent Deep South, most slaves from both the Plantation and Revolutionary Generations worked in a gang system of labor that demanded participation irrespective of gender or physical maturity to produce staple cash crops for sale in a global market. Slaves in these regions lived in communities in which blacks usually vastly outnumbered whites, sometimes by a margin of ten or more to one. Typically, an enslaved black driver worked under the direction of a white overseer, who was employed by a plantation owner. In the Chesapeake, plantation owners tended to live on-site, whereas those in the Lower South were generally removed from the plantation's daily routine and thus maintained less regular contact with slaves.

Because depleted soil in the tobacco-producing Chesapeake could not yield a sufficient crop for more than three consecutive years, slaves in this region not only worked within the monotonous yearly cycle of standard tobacco production but also engaged in the backbreaking toil of clearing and preparing land in the hilly piedmont region for the expansion of plantation agriculture. At the American Revolution's onset in 1775, this extraordinarily wealthy region held over half of the new nation's slaves. In 1790, just three years before Eli Whitney's cotton gin would begin to revolutionize global capitalism and

The husband and wife, after being sold to different purchasers, violently separated....never to see each other more.

**Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa.** The possibility of being sold was a constant threat to slaves' bonds of family and community. This engraving from the antislavery tract *Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa*, printed in Philadelphia in 1804, depicts a "husband and wife, after being sold to different purchasers, violently separated . . . never to see each other more." THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

stimulate America's cotton boom, the lives of most slaves in South Carolina and Georgia revolved around rice. Work in rice paddies regularly entailed arduous manual labor under a hot subtropical sun while wading up to one's thighs in mosquito- and reptile-infested swamps. Rice required constant attention in planting, irrigating, weeding, and protecting from birds. In the winter off-season, slaves on low-country rice plantations erected and repaired the massive irrigation system of dams and levees that this labor-intensive crop demanded. In both the tobacco- and rice-growing regions, gang labor was a central facet of the daily life and cultural development of slaves. That blacks were a visible majority in these regions was also a significant feature of slave life.

Time off was granted at the discretion of plantation management. For most slaves working under the gang-labor task system, Sunday was a break from the week of compulsory labor. This is not to say that it was a day of traditional rest and relaxation. Rather, Sundays were often spent working on a variety of chores including mending clothing, hunting or fishing to supplement relatively meager dietary rations of corn meal or rice, and tending one's small personal plot of vegetables, fowl, or cash crop for sale at the local market. Rural slaves also used Sunday time to acquire a pass to visit friends and family on a neighboring plantation; slaves in and around cities such as Charleston and New Orleans gathered at well-known public squares to exchange goods, dance, and socialize.

### CULTURE

Slave culture drew largely from a shared African heritage and, with the passing of generations, developed into a unique African American slave culture. In regions with a greater concentration of blacks and first-generation African slaves, slave culture was more distinctly African; the culture of slaves with deep heritage on the North American mainland, who lived and worked as a minority among whites, was more distinctly European American. Nevertheless, a creolized African American culture was recognizable by the onset of antebellum slavery. This developing African American culture is evident in slaves' handmade pottery and cooking techniques; musical instruments, syncopated rhythms, and fluid dance; folk tales; root medicine; and courtship patterns. Even in New England, Africa's presence in the development of late-eighteenth-century slave culture is noticeable in the mimicry of African royalty during the election of southern New England's slave gover-

nors. Winners of these annual elections, which fused Yankee local democracy with some aspects of African royalty, had authority over minor issues within the slave community.

By the late eighteenth century, one of the most important cultural institutions of slave life was an extensive network of kin and fictive kin. In its fully developed stages, this kinship network bound adult slaves together in a community of mutual obligation in which the entire slave community was responsible for rearing and socializing slave youth, supporting widows, and ensuring the general well-being of fellow slaves. Increasing immunity to both malaria and respiratory infections, coupled with the relative increase in material comfort connected to Revolutionary-era humanism, helped slave families to consolidate and regenerate. Although slaves were not granted the legal protection of marriage, many of them were involved in long-term monogamous relationships with slaves from their own or neighboring plantations or nearby free blacks. The bonds of family and community were constantly threatened by outside forces such as sale or a master's decision to relocate. After the 1808 ban on American participation in the international slave trade, the domestic slave trade sharply increased, shattering slave families and entire slave communities. At the same time, the rise in the domestic slave trade caused African American slave culture to spread into new territory. The names of slave children born in America, many taken from the names of close kin who were lost, reflected the lingering bonds of family.

The amount of daily interaction slaves had with whites, as well as the proportion of Africans with whom they lived, affected their acquisition and mastery of English-language skills. Many slaves from Delaware to Georgia spoke an invented pidgin form of African-influenced English that was barely decipherable to the untrained white ear, but slaves reared and working in the mixed economies of New England and the middle colonies often fully mastered spoken English. Likewise, domestic servants who maintained close contact with masters had a firm grasp of English-language skills. Advertisements seeking the return of runaway slaves often commented on the slaves' English-language skills, revealing that many slaves used English as a tool for liberation. Indeed, runaways with advanced English skills could hope to pass as free blacks on their journey toward liberty.

### RELIGION

Deciding how much English they would learn was just one of many choices slaves made in the dynamic

cultural times of the Plantation and Revolutionary Generations. Like language, slaves' choice of religion was also a major component of their identity and helped determine their degree of acculturation. Slave religion, especially for those who had just survived the Middle Passage, was deeply infused with African spirituality that sometimes included Islamic monotheism. African Muslims were a distinct minority, and well into the eighteenth century most slaves had never heard of Jesus. Despite a language barrier and the inability of most slaves to read Scripture, the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began actively proselytizing slaves during the mid-eighteenth-century Great Awakening. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists made early inroads into converting members of the slave community with an emphasis on the spontaneous worship and experiential spirituality characteristic of African religions. By 1776 Virginia's Baptists had effectively courted many slave converts. By 1829 slaves and free blacks in the North were developing their own formal religious institutions and consolidating their form of Christianity. For these slave converts, a deep African worldview fundamentally influenced their synthesized version of Christianity. Indeed, it was rare for slaves to adopt fully Christian forms of religious practice. Despite efforts at conversion, most common slaves from this era maintained a fundamental reluctance to compromise or alter their religious worldview.

### RESISTANCE

Slave culture incorporated both accommodation and resistance. Although slaves might obey orders and defer to an owner, they could and did resist slavery. A massive slave rebellion like those that occurred in the Caribbean and South America never transpired; but slaves did resist or subvert their bondage through covert arson and poisoning, direct challenges of overseers, and small but significant acts such as sabotage. Although owners often interpreted a slow pace of labor, destruction of tools, or malingering to laziness or stupidity, these individual acts of subversion were part of a spectrum of slave resistance that included Gabriel's Rebellion of 1800 in Virginia, and the 1811 uprising of five hundred New Orleans slaves armed with hand weapons that was squelched by federal forces cooperating with the local militia. Gabriel Prosser's co-conspirator, Jack Bowler, summed up the spirit of slave rebels across generations, testifying that "we had as much right to fight for our liberty as any men."

Slave revolts became more organized and aggressive when changing racial demographics meant that slaves were no longer drastically outnumbered by whites. In short, the racial imbalance that developed as a direct result of the plantation system provided fertile ground for violent slave rebellions.

One of the more frequent methods of slave resistance was absconding. Especially in the Deep South, where the absence of a free black community virtually equated skin color with slavery, running away was a logistical nightmare; slaves had to traverse unfamiliar and hostile terrain, avoid regular slave patrols, and rely almost exclusively on other slaves for sustenance. In light of these objective difficulties, many slaves fled for only a few days or a week, using this time away from work to visit friends and family on nearby plantations or take a break from the labors of slave life. In some cases, truancy was a method of resisting changes in the daily regimen such as an increased workload under the task system or the denial of an expected day off during harvest time.

American independence represented both a birth of freedom and an extension of slavery. Although Enlightenment ideology and a changing economy effectively smashed slavery in the North, the removal of British limitations on trans-Appalachian settlement allowed chattel slavery to spread well beyond the eastern seaboard. The federal ban on imported slaves in 1808 had an enormous impact on slave culture, yet the new federal government did nothing to protect the slave family by regulating the interstate slave trade. Likewise, no early federal legislation extended civil rights or equal protection to enslaved African Americans. As demonstrated by their willingness to fight alongside both Patriots and the British, slaves did not hold allegiance to any country. Rather, their allegiance was to freedom.

*See also* **Chesapeake Region; Cotton Gin; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Law: Slavery Law; Plantation, The; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Vesey Rebellion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aptheker, Herbert. *American Negro Slave Revolts.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

———. *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.

Gomez, Michael A. *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebel-*

*lum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925.* New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro–American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Morgan, Kenneth. *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: A Short History.* New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Stevenson, Brenda E. *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Stuckey, Sterling. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

*David Lucander*

## Slave Patrols

The slave societies of the American South formed slave patrols to control their slaves and enforce the slave codes, laws that attempted to regulate slave behavior. Slave patrols were usually locally organized groups of young white men, both middle-class slave owners and lower-class yeomen farmers. Patrollers generally had three main duties: searching slave quarters; dispersing slave gatherings; and safeguarding white communities by patrolling the roads.

Fear of growing slave populations and the threat of foreign invasion drove southerners to institute and later expand slave patrols. Due to its early black majority and threats from Native Americans and the Spanish, South Carolina established the earliest slave patrol in 1704; Virginia followed in 1727, North Carolina in 1753, and Georgia in 1757. As new territories and states formed across the Deep South and West in the early nineteenth century, they too established slave patrols. The Territory of Mississippi formed patrols in 1811, as did Missouri in 1823. The city of Washington, D.C., established citizen patrols in 1838; in 1842 they became an auxiliary night police to patrol the city's streets and enforce a "colored curfew."

Slave patrols reinforced a sense of white solidarity in the South between slave owners and non-slave owners, all of whom shared a desire to keep the non-white population under control. However, conflict sometimes arose between slave owners and patrollers. Some planters felt that patrollers abused slaves who had permission to travel, while other planters neglected to write the required passes. Much of the burden of patrolling fell to non-slave owners, who sometimes resented what they saw as serving the planter class.

It is unclear how effective slave patrols were at actually regulating slave behavior. However, it is quite clear that slaves feared and learned survival skills to thwart patrollers. Francis Henderson was nineteen years old when he escaped slavery in 1841. He recalled,

> The slaves are watched by the patrols, who ride about to try to catch them off the quarters, especially at the house of a free person of color. I have known the slaves to stretch clothes lines across the street, high enough to let the horse pass, but not the rider; then the boys would run, and the patrols in full chase would be thrown off by running against the lines.

A number of post–Revolutionary changes created more work for patrollers. African Americans understood the Revolutionary rhetoric of liberty and many slaves made escape attempts after the Revolution. Other slaves became free through manumission. In the Upper South, some masters freed their slaves because they believed slavery conflicted with Revolutionary ideals, while other masters freed or sold their slaves because of economic changes that reduced the need for slave labor. Those who sold their slaves often took part in the new domestic slave trade to the Deep South, which slaves greatly feared and from which they would flee. Patrollers therefore had to track runaway slaves and investigate the activities of the growing free black communities.

In this atmosphere of change and with the inspiration of abolitionist activities and the Haitian Revolution of 1791, free and enslaved African Americans throughout the South rebelled against slavery. Among the most noteworthy slave rebellions were Gabriel Prosser's planned rebellion in Virginia in 1800; a large rebellion in Louisiana that lasted for three days in 1811; a battle between slaves, Indians, and the U.S. Army at Fort Blount in Florida in 1816; and Nat Turner's Virginia rebellion in 1831, during which slaves killed at least fifty-five whites. White leaders brutally put down each of the rebellions, but not before fear spread throughout the slave societies, which responded with stricter laws and severe penalties for any hint of rebellion. After the Nat Turner rebellion, much of the South became an armed camp in which slave patrols were stepped up and black movement, gatherings, and the presence of free black communities were limited.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Frey, Sylvia R. *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Fry, Gladys-Marie. *Night Riders in Black Folk History.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

Greenberg, Kenneth S., ed. *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents.* New York: St. Martin's, 1996.

Hadden, Sally E. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

*Laura Croghan Kamoie*

## Slavery and the Founding Generation

The United States was founded upon an apparent paradox: the new nation was conceived in liberty but preserved slavery. In 1780 about half a million people, one-sixth of all Americans, were enslaved; 40 percent of southerners were slaves. The institution was not confined to the South: in the Revolutionary era, for example, slaves made up 3 percent of the population in Connecticut and 14 percent in New York. Historians still struggle to document and understand the political, social, legal, and moral aspects of how the founders dealt with slavery. Some modern-day observers have taken the founders to task for not abolishing slavery; others say that the founders deserve credit for putting slavery on the road to ultimate extinction.

Thomas Jefferson and John Jay, two leaders of the time, both wrote that in the decades prior to the Revolution the majority of white Americans, in the South and the North, had little cause to question the justice of slavery. Even the deeply religious communities of Puritans and Quakers held slaves in the colonial era. The evangelist George Whitefield, who owned a plantation in Georgia worked by seventy-five slaves, said in 1751 that slavery was lawful, that God had made the colony of Georgia an ideal place for slave labor, and that slaves should be treated with Christian forebearance. David Brion Davis has written that, in the worldview of many people of the time, slavery "conformed to the natural structure of the universe, which evidenced an infinity of gradations and subordinations" (1975, p. 152).

By the 1760s, however, slavery was being denounced by religious leaders like John Wesley and political thinkers like the Boston patriot James Otis. Otis's pamphlet *Rights of the British Colonies* (1764) proclaimed, "The Colonists are by the law of nature free born, as indeed all men are, white or black. . . . Does it follow that tis right to enslave a man because he is black?" As the Revolution gathered momentum, the moral contradiction between slavery and the ideals of the Revolution became more and more evident to the founders. In 1775 Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, "I wish most sincerely there was not a single slave in the province; it always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me [to] fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."

When Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," he likely meant to include African Americans as among those who possess the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In an earlier statement of grievances against the Crown, the *Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), Jefferson declared, "The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object in [these] colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa." In 1776 he unsuccessfully proposed a clause in Virginia's new constitution whereby "no person hereafter coming into the state would be held in slavery." Jefferson thus sought the emancipation ("enfranchisement") of the slaves, though he wanted them to enjoy their rights elsewhere—his subsequent proposals for emancipation hinged on forced exile of the people freed.

### THE GATHERING MOVEMENT TOWARD EMANCIPATION

Thousands of African Americans bore arms for the American cause from the first day of fighting at Lexington to the last at Yorktown. When George Washington took command of the American army at Cambridge in July 1775, he found black men, both free and enslaved, among his soldiers. In a series of orders issued in the summer and fall of 1775, Washington barred recruiters from accepting any blacks. In December Washington reversed himself and allowed free blacks to serve. Amid acute manpower shortages later in the war, Washington initially supported a plan put together by his aides John Laurens and Alexander Hamilton to emancipate thousands of slaves in South Carolina and Georgia, with compensation to the owners, and form the freedmen into

battalions. As Hamilton wrote, the army will "give them their freedom with their muskets." The Continental Congress unanimously approved the plan, which William Whipple of New Hampshire declared would "lay a foundation for the Abolition of Slavery in America." At a critical moment Washington withdrew his support from the plan, which at any rate the legislatures of South Carolina and Georgia also rejected. Numerous slaves served in the Continental Army as substitutes for their owners. The British offered freedom to slaves who could reach their lines, and after the war the British evacuated some thirteen to fourteen thousand former slaves over vehement American objections.

Military service by blacks exposed, for the first time, a North–South divide on the subject of slavery. In the autumn of 1775 Southern delegates to the Continental Congress, led by Edward Rutledge of South Carolina, demanded the expulsion of all blacks from the army. Though Congress voted down the proposal, thereafter some northern political leaders hesitated to take any action that would incite Southern slaveholding interests. Fearful of offending the South Carolinians, John Adams spoke against the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and opposed the formation of an African American home guard unit in New Jersey. The need to preserve national unity began to emerge as the overriding factor in any political discussion regarding slavery.

George Washington seems to have believed that the Revolutionary War presented an opportunity to launch some broad mechanism of emancipation, but the moment was lost. He wrote that "the Spirit of Freedom" evident early in the war, a spirit that would have sacrificed anything, had subsided by 1779 and was replaced by "every selfish Passion." After the war Washington expressed the hope that support for emancipation would "diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country" so that an emancipation "by degrees" might be effected "by Legislative authority." Washington's cautious, gradualist approach—grounded on a desire for a structured, legally sanctioned process of emancipation supported by a consensus of whites—probably reflected the thinking of other whites sympathetic to the idea of emancipation. The Revolutionary ideal of liberty for all collided with another ideological tenet—the sanctity of private property. Freeing some slaves, with the consent of their owners, would jeopardize the slave property of other owners, since people remaining in bondage would grow restive and attempt to escape or rebel. The ideological conflict was summed up in the remark of a judge who rejected

one slave's claim to freedom: "I know that freedom is to be favored, but we have no right to favor it at the expense of property" (quoted in Finkelman, p. 39).

A patchwork of emancipation plans emerged. In 1782 Virginia passed a law allowing private manumissions, overturning a ban that had stood since 1723; Delaware and Maryland enacted similar legislation. Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire abolished slavery in their constitutions, but those states had relatively few slaves. Pennsylvania enacted a gradual emancipation plan in 1780, followed by Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784 and by New York in 1799. In 1784 Jefferson proposed an ordinance for territorial government that would have banned slavery after 1800, but the bill failed in Congress by just one vote because a New Jersey representative was sick; in 1787, however, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, which banned slavery in the territory that would form the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. (After attaining statehood in 1824, Illinois held a referendum to legalize slavery, which was voted down.)

This fragmented, halting movement toward emancipation confronted an onrushing economic tide. Popular belief has long held that slavery as an institution was waning in North America during the Revolutionary period and that it was revived only by the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, but the opposite was the case. Even before the cotton gin, slavery was rapidly expanding into the southern piedmont and new western lands. Slaves formed about one-sixth of the population in Kentucky and the Southwest. So at a time when the institution might have been challenged politically, slavery was growing and becoming more entrenched in the economy than it had ever been. After the Revolution the slave trade revived; indeed, it accelerated. With New England providing most of the ships and Georgia and the Carolinas receiving most of the cargoes, more enslaved Africans were brought into the United States between 1790 and 1807 than in any previous twenty-year period.

Foreign visitors to the new Republic were appalled by slavery and its consequences. With some shock, the Polish traveler Julian Niemcewicz wrote of seeing slaves clad in rags, described wretched housing at Mount Vernon, and wrote that most Virginia masters "give to their Blacks only bread, water, and blows." In his will Thaddeus Kosciusko left funds to emancipate American slaves, a bequest that was

not carried out. The marquis de Lafayette begged both Washington and Jefferson to end slavery.

### SLAVERY IN THE CONSTITUTION

As the founders hammered out a new constitution in the summer of 1787, the issue of slavery was discussed, but no one proposed abolishing it. Delegates denounced the injustice and immorality of slavery and the slave trade, but the main thrust of Northern antislavery arguments was against the extra political power that slave states would obtain by virtue of possessing slaves who could be counted in apportioning representation. Southern delegates feared any clause that *might* at some future time be used against the institution of slavery, but no one proposed any language aimed at abolishing or limiting slavery in the future, except a ban on the international slave trade after 1807. In general, Southerners adamantly protected slavery; Northerners were largely indifferent, except in cases where they believed proslavery clauses gave the South too much power. The issue of how to count slaves in determining a state's representation in Congress, and thus in the electoral college as well, was resolved by a compromise: three-fifths of the slave population would be added to the white population of a state.

The morality of slavery surfaced most powerfully in the convention in the debate over the slave trade. Luther Martin of Maryland declared that importing slaves "was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character." John Rutledge of South Carolina replied, "Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is whether the Southern states shall or shall not be parties to the Union." He added that it was in the financial interest of the Northern states to allow an increase in Southern slaves: "If the Northern states consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves, which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers." Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut agreed: "Let every state import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the states themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the states are the best judges of their particular interest." Pennsylvania delegate Gouverneur Morris said that a compromise was needed if the Southern states would not yield: "These things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States."

Slave interests won important victories in several clauses of the Constitution, beginning with the manner of electing the president. James Madison preferred a direct election, but realized that this method would give the advantage to the North, and so he threw his support to the electoral college system, in which the added three-fifths weight of the slave vote gave the advantage to the South. The ban on taxing exports, ardently sought by the South, favored their international commerce in slave-grown tobacco, cotton, and rice. The fugitive-slave clause allowed owners to pursue escaped slaves in free states. The slave-trade clause, an exception to the federal power to regulate commerce, allowed slaves to be imported for another twenty years. The guarantee clause compelled the federal government to put down slave rebellions.

The compromise in the Constitution over slavery was challenged in 1790 when a Quaker group petitioned Congress to consider an immediate end to the slave trade and a gradual emancipation. The proposals enraged Southern representatives, who asserted that the Constitution had settled the issue of slavery, that slavery was a necessary evil, and that prejudices held by both blacks and whites precluded the two races from ever peacefully getting along together—an idea most famously developed by Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on the State of Virginia.* The Southerners heaped ridicule on the Quakers, asking whether they would mind having their sons and daughters take black spouses. The House passed a resolution declaring that Congress had no authority to promote the emancipation of slaves or to interfere in the treatment of slaves within any of the states, further tightening the protections given slavery in the Constitution.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON'S DILEMMA

Just before taking office as the first president, George Washington spoke to an aide of his regret over slavery and his wish to see it end. Twice during his presidency Washington planned in secret to free his own slaves and those held by his wife's family. He likely had in mind the pleas of Lafayette, who had urged Washington to free his slaves and set an example that might render manumission a general practice. Washington was frustrated in his attempts to free his slaves while in office. In a private letter he expressed fears over the political repercussions of a sitting president freeing his slaves, an act which might divide public opinion. He had earlier stated that the greatest evil faced by the nation was disunion, though he would also say that nothing but the rooting out of slavery would preserve the Union. Washington freed all of his slaves in his will, written in

1799. A quarter century later, Jefferson, at his death, freed a handful of slaves but left about 130 to be auctioned. Both Washington and Jefferson foresaw that slavery would bring catastrophe upon the United States. Their fellow Virginian George Mason had said that slavery would "bring the judgment of Heaven."

### AFTERMATH

The founders' intent with regard to slavery became an issue in the nineteenth century. In deciding the *Dred Scott* case in 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney found that, for African Americans, the Constitution recognized "no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Taney stated that the Constitution gave Congress the power and the duty to protect the property rights of slave owners. In his Gettysburg Address and other statements, Abraham Lincoln gave primacy to the principle of equality in the Declaration of Independence over the recognition of slaveholders' property rights in the Constitution. Ironically, John C. Calhoun, an apologist for slavery, shared Lincoln's view that the Declaration included blacks in its proclamation of individuals' rights, but this, he said, was a grave error by Jefferson. Contrary to the wishes of the founders, but perhaps not contrary to their expectations, the issue of slavery was finally decided not by legislative or judicial deliberation, nor by a popular consensus attained through the political process, but by war.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Antislavery; Law: Slavery Law; Natural Rights; Property; Proslavery Thought; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Slavery: Overview.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira, and Ronald Hoffman, eds. *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1983.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966.

———. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

———. *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Ellis, Joseph. *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Freehling, William W. "The Founding Fathers, Conditional Antislavery, and the Nonradicalism of the American Revolution." In his *Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Gawalt, Gerard W. "Drafting the Declaration." In *The Declaration of Independence: Origins and Impact.* Edited by Scott Douglas Gerber. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002.

Gerber, Scott Douglas, ed. *The Declaration of Independence: Origins and Impact.* Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002.

Kaminski, John P., ed. *A Necessary Evil? Slavery and the Debate over the Constitution.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1995.

Kaplan, Sidney, and Emma Nogrady Kaplan. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution.* Rev. ed. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.

Miller, John Chester. *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.

Morgan, Edmund S. "Negrophobia." *New York Review of Books*, 16 June 1988.

Nash, Gary B. *Race and Revolution.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1990.

Thelen, David. "Reception of the Declaration of Independence." In *The Declaration of Independence: Origins and Impact.* Edited by Scott Douglas Gerber. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002.

Wiencek, Henry. *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

*Henry Wiencek*

## Slave Trade, African

The African slave trade to North America began in earnest about 1700 and reached its peak in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The trade declined dramatically in the decades following the Revolution, was resurrected in 1803, and then experienced a "political death" with federal abolition on 1 January 1808 and subsequent suppression.

Modern estimates of the total number of Africans imported vary widely, from a low of some 292,000 to a high of about 650,000. About one-third were taken to the Chesapeake region (Virginia and Maryland), while over half (53 percent) went to South Carolina and Georgia. In general, between 4 and 5 percent of all enslaved Africans taken across the Atlantic were bound for the territories that became the United States.

**Advertisement for the Sale of Slaves.** This poster (c. 1760) advertised the sale of "a choice cargo" of slaves on board the ship *Bance Island* at Ashley Ferry, near Charleston, South Carolina. The advertisement indicates that "the utmost care" had been taken to prevent the Africans from contracting smallpox. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

## WAVES OF IMPORTATIONS

New evidence based on shipping records suggests that there were four waves of importation. Between 1716 and 1740 traders brought 85,500 new slaves to the various colonies, with about half taken to Virginia. In the colonial golden age (1751–1775), at least 115,000 Africans were shipped, with about two-thirds intended for South Carolina. In the 1780s and 1790s Louisiana under Spanish administration was the major receiving region, where planters and merchants brought about 25,000 Africans to develop new sugar plantations. It is also likely that in the eastern states during the early national period there was relatively significant smuggling, perhaps bringing numbers equal to those legally imported to Spanish Louisiana. Finally, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of Africans were imported in one final tidal wave, mostly through the port of Charleston. And though the decade after federal abolition saw some smuggling, perhaps amounting to 10,000 Africans illicitly imported, suppression after 1820 was effective. Hence a large statistical sample of over 310,000 Africans imported into colonial and early national North America gives an indication of likely distributions over time and space as well as of the approximate coastal origins of

Africans thrown by force or by circumstance into the slave trade.

## PROVENANCE AND DISTRIBUTION

In Virginia, settlement of the piedmont region and the consequent expansion of tobacco production (from the 1720s to 1760s) brought nearly 80,000 Africans to the colony. A large sample of some 50,000 slaves shows that nearly half (47 percent) were from the Bight of Biafra in West Africa, with another quarter from Greater Senegambia and one-sixth from West-Central Africa.

In South Carolina during the colonial golden age (1751–1775), rice became king and low-country plantations produced great wealth for the larger planters. In these two and a half decades the slave trade shifted southward, and Carolina planter-merchants brought some 72,500 Africans to the colony. A comprehensive sample of some 65,500 imported slaves shows that a clear majority (56 percent) originated in Greater Senegambia. The next major coastal grouping was from West-Central Africa, representing one-sixth of those sent to the colony in this time.

In Louisiana during the Spanish period (roughly 1763 to 1803), perhaps 25,000 Africans were imported. Though no comprehensive shipping records exist for this branch of the slave trade, indirect evidence strongly suggests that West-Central Africans, especially "Congo," formed a large proportion, with some number from Greater Senegambia and others in smaller numbers originating in the hinterlands of the Bights of Biafra and Bénin.

Finally, pent-up demand in the early national period, following two decades of post-Revolutionary restrictions and state-level prohibitions, and the impending federal abolition, exploded in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In just five years (1803–1807), over 55,000 Africans were transported to Jeffersonian America. The vast majority were taken to South Carolina, in particular through the port of Charleston. A sample of some 40,500 Africans whose coastal provenances are known shows that nearly half (48 percent) were from West-Central Africa, with about a quarter from Greater Senegambia. Perhaps half of all of these newly imported Africans were re-exported, likely bound for rapidly settling Deep South territories and states such as Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi but also for the emerging cotton black-belt of the eastern piedmont regions.

In short, the flows of people in the large-scale forced migration that was the African slave trade suggests the importance of captives from the Bight

of Biafra (and Senegambia) in the Chesapeake; and from West-Central Africa and Senegambia in the Carolina low country and in the emerging Deep South, including Louisiana. The relative scarcity of peoples from the hinterlands of the Gold Coast, the Bight of Bénin and Southeastern Africa (Madagascar and Mozambique), respectively, in the African trade to North America is striking. Of the six basic Atlantic African regions, however, three were closely integrated with the slave trade to the U.S.: the Bight of Biafra, Greater Senegambia, and West-Central Africa. About 85 percent of Africans bound for North America came from these three regions. Though the African trade to North America was always a relatively marginal one in the larger Atlantic world context, colonial and early national planters established important commercial relations with merchants, factors, and brokers in particular Atlantic entrepôts (intermediary trade and shipping centers) in the modern countries of Great Britain and France, Nigeria, Senegal and Gambia, and Congo and Angola.

### "THIS EXECRABLE COMMERCE"

As was the case in Great Britain itself, the early antislavery movement in America began as a moral and religious issue among dissenting Evangelicals. The conversion of first Quakers and then Methodists to antislavery, between the 1750s and 1770s, however, was followed by the rise of a natural-rights critique of both the slave trade and slavery by late-Enlightenment propagandists such as Thomas Jefferson.

In America opposition to the slave trade quickly became politically popular. Some colonial assemblies in the 1760s and early 1770s repeatedly sought to restrict importations by imposing tariffs and customs duties, nearly all of which were vetoed by royal governors and the Crown. It also became convenient to blame the Crown for the trade itself. Jefferson's bill of particulars against George III, published as "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774), included a strong condemnation of "this infamous practice" of slave trading. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence (June 1776), Jefferson expanded his political use of antislavery to rhetorically lash the Crown for "suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce."

Of course, for the larger slaveholders (including Jefferson), limiting importations of new Africans also reflected a basic economic rationale. In an economy such as late-colonial Virginia, where planters were heavily in debt to metropolitan merchants, any

> Thomas Jefferson, in "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled" (June 1776), included the following clause in his indictment of King George III. Congress struck it from the final Declaration of Independence:
>
> > He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation hither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he had deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.
>
> *Douglas B. Chambers*

sustained increase in the value of one's property in slaves similarly increased financial equity against which it was possible to borrow further. In general the slave trade tended to depress prices because new Africans were comparatively cheap, thus lowering the financial value of slaveholdings as capital assets. The quickest way to inflate prices and increase the value of slave property was to restrict the slave trade. No doubt many of Jefferson's contemporaries in the southern colonies, canny merchant-planters that they were, implicitly understood their common economic interest on this issue. Jefferson's genius was to converge the failure to enact such restrictions with the rising tide of ideological and religious antislavery thought and then to put it all to specific political purposes: blaming the Crown.

### REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

The *rage ideologique*, the ideological fervor, of the Revolutionaries—fired by the sense of striking a daring blow for liberty against an impending slavery of tyr-

anny—bubbled over to a conditional antislavery position throughout the colonies. In December 1774 the First Continental Congress imposed a ban on slave imports. Effectively instituted in Virginia, where the slave trade ended in 1775, and implemented in Connecticut, it was followed in 1776 with a comprehensive prohibition by the Second Congress. Between 1776 and 1780 a number of the former colonies either banned such importations or abolished slavery or both at the state level, and only a handful of slave shipments made it through the British naval blockade.

During the war an estimated 100,000 slaves ran away from their masters. Between 1781 and 1790 the new southern states wrestled with balancing Revolutionary ideology and economic exigency. It was a confusing time of variously enacting and then repealing restrictions on the slave trade, but by 1786 only South Carolina and Georgia still allowed importations. In the 1780s some 10,000 Africans were legally imported and probably an equal number illicitly smuggled, mostly to South Carolina.

### CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISE

By 1787 a half-dozen states had abolished slavery either directly or by gradual emancipation schemes. Slavery had been prohibited in the newly organized Northwest Territory north of the Ohio River; and the African slave trade was restricted to just two states. The next decade would see another wave of state-level restrictions on slave trading, including temporary prohibitions on imports into South Carolina, the emergence of a new organized antislavery movement, and further state-level abolitions, so that by 1790 all states in New England had formally ended slavery. When Vermont was admitted to the Union (1791) it entered as a free state and was immediately followed by Kentucky (1792) as a slave state.

The framers of the new Constitution, however, reached a working compromise on the issue of the African slave trade. In effect they relegated its regulation to the states, where such restrictions generally were popular if porous, and thereby put off any substantive federal action for twenty years. Even South Carolina suspended its participation in the trade in 1787. On the federal level, the Constitution merely stated (article I, section 9) that Congress was prohibited from enacting any ban on the "Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit," without specifically mentioning slaves. This constitutional compromise was set to expire in 1808.

### A POLITICAL DEATH

In the fifteen years between 1787 and 1802, the African slave trade to the United States slowed to a relative trickle, though it boomed to unprecedented heights elsewhere in the Americas. By 1793 Georgia was the only remaining state officially to allow importations, though imports from the West Indies and Spanish Florida were prohibited. In the 1790s some 7,500 slaves were taken mostly to Georgia, and likely an equal number were smuggled.

By the end of the decade, when Congress refused to prohibit slavery in the Mississippi Territory (1798), and especially with the Louisiana Purchase (1803), pressure mounted to reopen the African trade. In 1803 South Carolina formally did so, also allowing importation from Latin America and the Caribbean. Though Louisiana and Georgia also permitted slave imports, Charleston merchants nearly monopolized this last tidal wave of the African slave trade, controlling over 90 percent of the shipments and making several new fortunes in this human commerce. But following President Jefferson's formal encouragement to Congress (1806) to end the trade as soon as the Constitution permitted, on 22 March 1807 Congress abolished the African slave trade to the United States, effective 1 January 1808.

Total suppression of actual trading took nearly a decade, though it was relatively effective even in the first ten years. With the 1819 Slave Trade Act, in which, though the act was short-lived, the United States joined England in sending a small naval squadron to patrol the coasts of West Africa, as well as Congress's definition of slave trading as piracy in 1820, the African slave trade to the new American nation died a largely political death. In the antebellum era very few slaves were smuggled; an occasional ship did run the American gauntlet. In 1842 the United States signed the Ashburton-Webster treaty with England and through 1861 sent between three and eight warships annually to West Africa to suppress the Cuban branch of the trade. During the sectional crisis just before the Civil War, some prominent Southerners argued for reopening the slave trade to the nascent Confederacy, largely for political reasons and to little end. The last recorded slave ship was the *Clothilde*, which arrived in Mobile Bay, Alabama, in 1859.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barry, Boubacar. *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade.* Translated by Ayi Kwei Armah. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Coughtry, Jay. *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700–1807.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981.

Curtin, Philip D. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

Eltis, David. *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Eltis, David, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, eds. *The Trans–Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD–ROM.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Gould, Philip. *Barbaric Traffic: Commerce and Antislavery in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Klein, Herbert S. *The Atlantic Slave Trade.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Manning, Patrick. *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Miller, Joseph C. *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angola Slave Trade 1730–1830.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

Postma, Johannes. *The Atlantic Slave Trade.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Rawley, James A. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History.* New York: Norton, 1981. Rev. ed., with Stephen D. Behrendt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

*Douglas B. Chambers*

## Slave Trade, Domestic

The domestic slave trade, for much of the eighteenth century a small-scale localized activity, grew exponentially during the late colonial and early American years. The tremendous growth of this practice was aided by a combination of political and technological factors in post-Revolutionary America. Chief among these are Eli Whitney's 1793 invention of the cotton gin and the resulting entrenchment of cotton as a staple agricultural cash crop, the 1808 federal prohibition of importing slaves through the international slave trade, and the rapid rate of western settlement in the early nineteenth century. By the antebellum period the domestic slave trade had fundamentally altered America's racial demographics, acting as a "Second Middle Passage" that yearly relocated thousands of African American slaves who had established deep generational roots on the eastern seaboard of mainland North America.

Until the early nineteenth century the economy of Virginia and Maryland relied almost exclusively on tobacco cultivation. The plantation system's torrid pace of raising this notoriously nutrient-depleting crop left soil in these traditional slave societies seriously eroded. Planters were left with a significant surplus in their slave labor force as the less profitable and labor–intensive seasonal cultivation of wheat replaced tobacco as the Chesapeake's primary crop. Outnumbered by their slaves, planters constantly feared slave rebellions, for they recognized the latent revolutionary potential in a mass of underemployed bondsmen. Chesapeake planters such as George Mason vehemently opposed the international slave trade partly because the ubiquitous threat of revolt was intensified with each shipment of Africans arriving on America's shores. Ever conscious of their surplus in bound laborers, Thomas Jefferson and other members of the Chesapeake planter elite aggressively advocated opening the recently acquired Louisiana Territory to slavery. The line between self–interest and altruism was nearly indistinct as 1808 federal legislation closed America's shores to the international slave trade. Many of the most vocal advocates for withdrawing from the international slave trade were members of the elite Virginia vanguard, acutely aware of their own self-interest. Despite their opposition to importing slaves, Chesapeake planters left little doubt of their support for slavery by taking the lead in exporting over 200,000 slaves between 1790 and 1829.

### THE RISE OF COTTON

The rise of cotton as a staple cash crop in the Southern economy coincided with the agitation to close America's borders to slave importation. Profits from cotton were seemingly boundless, limited only by how much space was available for its cultivation and how much labor was available to work the land. No one could have predicted that in less than half a century the crop would have so great an impact on America's economy, settlement patterns, race relations, and politics. This enormously profitable cash crop left no part of the Southern interior untouched; Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas all eventually provided an unquenchable demand for the surplus of bound laborers in the Chesapeake and Upper South.

Of course, cotton plantations could not spread south and west into largely uncultivated land without significant federal involvement. Free from British restrictions against settling beyond the eastern seaboard, settlers flooded into the trans–Appalachian West with the aid of federal troops who aggressively cleared Native Americans from what would eventually become known as the Black Belt. With indigenous peoples out of the way and seemingly un-

bounded land available, planters utilized a largely enslaved labor force to clear forests and prepare grassland for producing cotton. By the 1820s much of what is now Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana was gainfully settled and quickly incorporating slaves into the plantation system.

### EXPANSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Cotton production, the conclusion of America's involvement with the Atlantic slave trade, and westward expansion would together stimulate the voracious demand for slavery in the Deep South. As planters who exported their human chattel from declining slave economies in the Upper South and Chesapeake readily met this demand, professional slave traders rose to act as middlemen. Although before the Revolution a living could be made in transporting bound servants away from New England, the middle colonies, and the Upper South, the profession flourished when the only significant source for slaves could be found in the dense surplus of slaves inhabiting the Chesapeake. Slave traders and speculators generally used inland waterways and coastal shipping routes to transport this human traffic to Georgia, where a consistent average of over two thousand slaves were received every year, and onward toward larger markets in Alabama, Louisiana, and Missipi. A standard coastal route for antebellum slave traders departed from Norfolk and arrived in New Orleans after stops to pick up or drop off human cargo at southern port cities such as Baltimore, Alexandria, Richmond, and Charleston.

By the 1820s New Orleans filled a role previously played by Charleston during the international slave trade's heyday by becoming the domestic slave trade's central hub. Ideally situated in the burgeoning Deep South and located at the mouth of the Mississippi River, New Orleans was easily accessed via both coastal and inland waterways. Louisiana's slave population grew as New Orleans's eager participation in the domestic slave trade coincided with the rise of plantation-based sugar cultivation in and around the flourishing city. Given the growing tendency of owners to use sale as a punitive measure for unruly slaves, it is not surprising that in 1826 Louisiana closed its harbor to the domestic slave trade as a measure of public safety. With large profits slipping away the ban was short-lived, and by 1829 New Orleans reclaimed its position as the destination of choice for slave traders and prospective buyers throughout the Deep South. The only change made was a bureaucratic reform requiring all slaves entering the city's slave market to be certified for good conduct by a previous owner.

While New Orleans's domestic slave market flourished because of its relatively easy access through established trading routes over waterways, inland routes of the Upper South transported slaves chained or roped together in "coffles" of thirty to forty slaves that marched over twenty miles per day. While coffles were generally used for covering shorter distances, it was not uncommon for prolonged journeys from Virginia to Louisiana to take over a month. Regardless of how they arrived at trading centers, slaves involved with the nineteenth-century domestic trade often occupied the same or similar rigidly controlled slave pens that were made infamous by the campaign to abolish the international slave trade.

### IMPACT ON SLAVES

America's 1808 decision to criminalize participation in the Atlantic slave trade was a pivotal event in the lives of African Americans throughout the nation. This decision had an impact on slave culture by virtually ending the introduction of "saltwater" Africans to America's shores. More important, it meant that slaves from the older slave states—mostly from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas—would be used to satisfy the seemingly insatiable demand for human chattel throughout the Deep South's budding slave societies. In the North the security of free blacks was constantly jeopardized as kidnappers became a prime threat to their precious liberty. Free blacks vigilantly defended their freedom by ensuring that their free papers were in order and spreading word throughout the community when suspected kidnappers were in town. In the Upper South and Chesapeake, slaves could no longer realistically hope for paternalist-minded owners to offer manumission as a reward for prolonged meritorious service. In short, although new slaves were no longer legally allowed to penetrate America's borders, obtaining freedom within the nation was becoming more difficult.

With relatively easy sale as an option, rebellious or unruly slaves often faced sale and forced migration as a punitive measure. By the antebellum period this method of labor management had solidified, and being purged "down the river" was one of the most dreaded fates that could befall a slave. Rebels and troublemakers were not the only slaves to endure the Second Middle Passage. The typical slave involved in the domestic trade was a young adult, physically healthy, and potentially productive as both a laborer and a parent for future slaves. Although not all

slaves relocated through the domestic slave trade, the internal slave trade affected nearly all slaves by shattering established communities and kinship networks that had developed over generations along the eastern seaboard. Those who were sold faced the intimidating prospects of forced relocation and an uncertain future. Remaining members of these now bifurcated slave communities that had lined the Chesapeake and Upper South had to readjust to life without the presence of loved ones who had provided crucial support throughout the trials of enslavement.

Because the deep bonds of African American slave kinship and community regularly transcended the boundaries of one's immediate plantation, any plantation's closure or en masse liquidation affected slaves' lives by the hundreds. The transfer of just one slave sold to transform a wilderness into a commercially viable plantation could rob the community of a parent, grandparent, sibling, or uncle or aunt. Multiplied by the thousands each year during the early nineteenth century, such reciprocal losses nearly obliterated entire communities. For enslaved women, the trauma of sale could be much deeper. In addition to separation from their family and community en route to an unknown land, advertisements highlighting their reproductive capabilities reveal that African American women's fertility had been transformed into a marketable commodity.

The American Revolution and ensuing nationhood had a profound impact on the domestic slave trade's establishment and rapid development. By removing the trans–Appalachian barrier on settlement and aggressively relocating this region's indigenous population, the federal government provided an ideal environment for the steady westward expansion of slavery below the Mason–Dixon line. Although the Constitution explicitly allowed federal oversight of interstate commerce, the 1808 prohibition on participating in the international slave trade also ensured that the internal slave trade would remain undeterred and unregulated. The Cotton Kingdom's brisk growth throughout the Deep South firmly debunked the notion that westward diffusion of slaves would lead to the institution's gradual demise. Thus the new American nation never passed legislation protecting slave families or regulating the terms and conditions of chattel slavery. Stimulated by an insatiable appetite for surplus bondsmen in the eroding slave societies of the Chesapeake and Upper South, driven by colossal profits from plantation cultivation of cotton, and unimpeded by federal supervision, the Second Middle Passage tore apart African American families and shattered slave communities while simultaneously spreading slave culture throughout the Deep South and forever changing the racial landscape of America.

*See also* **Cotton Gin; Expansion; Louisiana Purchase; Plantation, The.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

———. *Generations of Captivity: A History of African–American Slaves.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.

Deyle, Steven. "The Irony of Liberty: Origins of the Domestic Slave Trade." *Journal of the Early Republic* 12, no. 2 (spring 1992): 37–62.

Finkelman, Paul, ed. *Slave Trade and Migration: Domestic and Foreign.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1989.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925.* New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.

Kulikoff, Allan. "Uprooted Peoples: Black Migrants in the Age of the American Revolution, 1790–1820." In *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution.* Edited by Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth–Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Tadman, Michael. *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, 1996.

*David Lucander*

**SMALLPOX**   Smallpox is a highly infectious disease whose normal mode of transmission is through inhalation. Case mortality can be as high as 30 percent, and the disease is also feared for the permanent scarring it leaves. It was introduced to the Americas by Spanish explorers. Credited with the extinction of the indigenous Amerindian populations of the Caribbean islands by 1519, smallpox also contributed to the conquest of Mexico and Peru. In the 1760s Sir Jeffrey Amherst ordered the deliberate spread of the disease among Native Americans participating in Pontiac's War in western Pennsylvania.

The British also inadvertently brought smallpox to the territory of what would become the United States. As early as 1633, William Bradford noticed severe cases among Indians living near the Plymouth colony. The spread-out population of the English colonies—with regular replenishment of new smallpox cases disembarking from transatlantic voyages—meant that smallpox was sporadic but also more dangerous to nonimmune populations. Throughout the eighteenth century, natural outbreaks continued to afflict Indian populations. In 1763, for example, a group of Indian converts to Christianity who lived in Philadelphia lost one-third of their members to the disease.

Many Old-World cultures developed the practice of deliberately inoculating smallpox in order to confer lifetime immunity. Around the same time that this procedure was brought to England, the Puritan clergyman Cotton Mather independently learned of it from his slave, Onesimus. With the assistance of the physician Zabdiel Boylston, Mather began inoculating in Boston during an epidemic in 1721. During a 1731 epidemic in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin hailed inoculation, and over the course of the following decades, the practice became more popular in the Philadelphia region than elsewhere in the colonies.

Inoculation was a dangerous procedure since it bore the risk both of killing the inoculated person and of spreading the disease. As a consequence the procedure was generally restricted to more substantial members of the community, who could be more easily isolated and better cared for. In 1774 Philadelphians established a Society for the Inoculation of the Poor, whose work was soon suspended because nonimmune delegates to the Continental Congress (mainly from the South) were concerned about infection. During the War of Independence, George Washington had himself and his troops inoculated, in part because the British were rumored to be deliberately spreading smallpox. The fact that an eminent Virginian encouraged the practice may have led to inoculation becoming official policy of the Continental Congress.

In 1798 Edward Jenner published his *Inquiries*, detailing how inoculation with the relatively mild cowpox (or *vaccinia*) would immunize the patient against smallpox. Inoculation with smallpox now became known as "variolation" (*variola* being the Latin name for smallpox), and was gradually replaced by vaccination. Vaccination was introduced to the new Republic in 1800 by Benjamin Waterhouse of the Harvard Medical School, and President Thomas Jefferson immediately became an advocate of the new procedure. In 1802 Valentine Seaman of New York organized a system to provide free vaccination to the poor.

During his administration, James Madison encouraged the distribution of smallpox vaccine, and public health statutes from the colonial period into the early nineteenth century were concerned primarily with isolating smallpox patients among immigrants. In Pennsylvania, for example, it was only in 1824—when variolation was outlawed—that smallpox became a reportable disease and the isolation hospital within the city began receiving smallpox patients.

Although it had its opponents, vaccination gained general acceptance rapidly, and smallpox incidence in the United States declined significantly during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately this led to complacency, and after 1830 the United States experienced a number of devastating epidemics.

*See also* **Death and Dying; Epidemics; Health and Disease; Medicine.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fenn, Elizabeth Anne. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

Stearn, E. Wagner, and Allen E. Stearn. *The Effect of Smallpox on the Destiny of the Amerindian.* Boston: Bruce Humphries, 1945.

Wolman, Roslyn Stone. "A Tale of Two Colonial Cities: Inoculation against Smallpox in Philadelphia and in Boston." *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 45, no. 6 (1978): 338–347.

*Edward T. Morman*

**SOCIAL LIFE: RURAL LIFE**   Throughout rural America, as the New Englander Lyndon Freeman recalled, families "found occasions to meet together." At the level of detail, these ways of socializing differed substantially by region and cultural tradition. But there are broader patterns that can be distinguished, rooted in an ox- and horse-drawn world of pre-telegraphic communications, unmechanized agricultural and household labor, and an only partially commercialized rural economy.

Beyond the limits of each family's house or farmstead was a village or a country neighborhood, a small community that set the bounds for daily social experience. However, the meanings of "neighborhoods" and "neighboring" differed importantly

across the United States. Much depended on the density of settlement and the difficulties of local travel.

### THE NORTH

The villages and neighborhoods of the settled northern countryside had comparatively dense social webs. "It was a uniform custom," wrote Freeman of his Massachusetts boyhood, "for the women to visit . . . from house to house, to take tea and enjoy a social afternoon." Men were brought together by frequent exchanges of work and goods and by trips to tavern and store. Children knew each other from attending school.

The densest rural settlements were central place villages—small hubs for commerce, transportation, professional services, worship, and local government. A growing number were mill villages, small settlements built around waterpowered textile factories. More dispersed country neighborhoods had vaguer borders but were named and thoroughly known by their inhabitants. In some places they were roughly defined by the boundaries of rural school districts. A sizable minority of families never stayed long enough in any community to become deeply enmeshed in its life. But those who remained for any length of time in well-established settlements visited and traded with their neighbors weekly, if not daily.

Although the reach of rural sociability was broad, it did not transcend class and race. Elite rural families sometimes socialized widely with their neighbors and sometimes held aloof. The poorest and most transient, along with free people of color generally, were for the most part excluded.

### THE WEST AND SOUTH

In the more geographically dispersed settlements of the West and South, the structure of social life was inevitably different. Migrating families often felt it intensely. To move from New Jersey to Kentucky around 1800, wrote Daniel Drake, was to leave "the village and public roadside, with its cavalcade of travellers, for the loneliness of the wood, a solitude which was deeply felt by all of us." In response, widely scattered families sought to create a social web across the distances that separated them. Their "desire for society," Drake recalled, was like "the desire of a hungry family for food."

These families defined their neighborhoods more widely in space than those living in denser settlements, and they built their social networks on more intermittent contact. This desire for society was shared by the masters and mistresses of great planta-

tions as well as yeoman farmers. A Southern planter's "notions of space" were "so liberal," the *Universal Traveler* noted in 1835, "that he will readily ride a dozen miles to dine." If less frequent, sociability was often more intense. Southern and western families embraced customs of open hospitality to strangers as well as acquaintances that surprised northern observers.

In these more thinly settled parts of America, the problems of distance bore most heavily on women. They were tied to children and a daily round of domestic tasks and were constrained by custom from traveling far on their own. Men spent much of their time in solitary labor in the fields but could find intermittent occasions to leave the farm while hunting, trading, or attending public gatherings.

On the plantations, enslaved communities had a social life that was only partially known to their masters. After their day's work, families passed their evening hours in visiting, moving freely in and out of each other's cabins on the street, or talking and singing outdoors. Young men going courting and those bent on seeing separated kinfolk often took to the road to visit other plantations.

Although some masters tried to curtail evening socializing and off-plantation travel, enslaved Americans showed great tenacity in maintaining an autonomous social life. Even when cabins were locked to keep out late-night callers and patrols guarded the roads, young black men climbed down chimneys and walked across the fields.

### PLACES AND OCCASIONS OF SOCIABILITY

Across the regions of America, weddings and funerals, held at home and usually marked by both drinking and rituals of hospitality, involved community as well as kinfolk. Critical locations of rural sociability were the church, the tavern, the country store, and the county courthouse. For millions of churchgoers in the countryside, Sunday meetings offered not only worship but abundant opportunities for visiting, courtship, and quarreling. Because economic transactions and social relations were deeply intertwined in rural life, stores offered similar opportunities for men and women to meet; purchases could be long, conversational transactions.

Taverns were perhaps the most widespread rural institutions of all, the centers of an almost exclusively male sociability. They brought men together for heavy drinking, smoking, and alcohol-fueled talk—and often gambling and fighting. The rural calendar was punctuated by militia training days, yearly state and local elections, and the periodic sessions of cir-

cuit-riding courts. On court days, training days, and election days, men—and some women—poured in from the countryside to township centers and county seats, as much to socialize as to do public business.

Rural Americans came together for many occasions of cooperative labor: corn huskings, house and barn raisings, "logrollings" for clearing timber, "stone bees" for ridding fields of rocks, even "dunging frolics" for spreading manure on the fields. There were also all-female gatherings: spinning frolics, quiltings, apple-paring bees. Farm families usually kept these gatherings outside the explicit web of the rural economy; even farmers and artisans who carefully recorded the most minute transactions with neighbors in their account books almost never charged the time spent in "mutual assistance."

The social patterning of these cooperative activities varied from region to region, but overall they gave American rural life a distinctive texture. Everywhere they allowed neighbors to accomplish a large task quickly and to mark its completion with a kind of festival. In varying degrees they emphasized competition and courtship. Male corn husking teams in Kentucky contested, sometimes violently, for first place; in New England's mixed husking parties, the men sought to find the occasional "red ear" that would earn them a kiss from the women.

### THE SEASONS

Sociability in the American countryside moved inversely with the seasons of agricultural work. This occurred most dramatically in the rural Northeast. In July, during the exhausting labor of getting in the hay crop, most other activities were suspended. Stores, shops, and taverns stood almost empty, visits sharply declined, few couples married, and few children were conceived. Cutting against the grain was the one universally observed American holiday, the Fourth of July. Independence Day came at a remarkably awkward time for a nation of farmers, in the midst of the heaviest work of the summer. Probably it was all the more valued by country people on that account.

The end of the growing season marked the beginning of greater leisure. Winter was the courting season, a time often pleasantly remembered for its parties and frolics, singing schools and dances. It was also "marrying time" in most communities. The months just after harvest or just before spring planting showed the highest number of marriages. Yet in the North it was also a time of growing discomfort. Family life contracted into a room or two, and even routine outdoor chores grew increasingly difficult as

the temperature dropped. In severe cold and storm, households could spend weeks in isolation. At times the leisure could be enjoyed; when traveling was good, on sleighs over frozen roads, "alternating visiting through a neighborhood in the evening was quite common," as Lyndon Freeman remembered. At times it could only be endured: "tavern haunting, tippling, and gaming," Samuel Goodrich declared, "were the chief resources of men in the dead and dreary winter months."

### CHANGES OVER TIME

Well-established as they were, these patterns were not permanent. By the 1820s there were clear signs of change, particularly in the rural Northeast. Temperance reform was not only diminishing tavern clienteles but changing the character of socializing for many men. Huskings and frolics were beginning to disappear under the pressure of more instrumental and progressive ways of organizing farm work, although house and barn raisings—whose economic logic could not be assailed—endured for many decades. Traditional forms of neighborhood sociability were now competing with the claims of the new voluntary organizations—lyceums and debating societies; charitable, missionary, and maternal associations; and groups devoted to temperance, antislavery, and other reform causes. For some rural families, weddings and funerals were becoming more private occasions, focused more narrowly on immediate family and close friends and excluding wider community participation.

A few decades later, there was a sense that the old world of rural sociability had disappeared entirely in some parts of America. In the communities of his Vermont boyhood, wrote Horace Greeley in 1859, there had been "more humor, more fun, more play, more merriment . . . than can be found anywhere in this anxious, plodding age."

*See also* **Frontier; Frontiersmen; Work: Agricultural Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, Richard D. "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760–1820." *Journal of American History* 61 (1974): 29–51.

Drake, Daniel. *Pioneer Life in Kentucky.* Cincinnati, Ohio: R. Clarke, 1870.

Faragher, John Mack. *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Rorabaugh, W. J. *The Alcoholic Republic, an American Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Underwood, Francis H. *Quabbin: The Story of a Small Town with Outlooks upon Puritan Life.* Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1893.

*Jack Larkin*

## SOCIAL LIFE: URBAN LIFE

**SOCIAL LIFE: URBAN LIFE**   Despite their rarity, early America's towns served a vital role as social centers for much of period before 1820. Prior to 1783, large cities with ten thousand or more residents were distributed across the eastern seaboard, from Boston in the north to Philadelphia in the middle colonies, and Charleston in the South. The immediate post-Revolutionary decades witnessed a reorganization of this hierarchy. By 1800 Charleston had lost ground while Baltimore had joined this elite of urban centers with twenty-seven-thousand residents; furthermore, Philadelphia and New York, with over sixty-thousand residents each by that time, were easily the largest cities. Overall, just 5 percent of the early American population lived in towns, a proportion that would not increase until well into the nineteenth century. As social hubs for both townsfolk and the residents of their hinterlands, however, these cities fulfilled a role much greater than their relative size would suggest.

### RURAL AND URBAN SOCIABILITY

For many Americans, social life revolved around the rural homestead. Among whites, social calls to the houses of their neighbors (who often resided at some distance) provided entertainment and cemented a sense of community. In highly rural areas of the South, such as Virginia, centers of sociability that had, in the Old World, been situated in or near towns—churches, racecourses, and courthouses, for example—were also located in the countryside. Deprived of the freedom to move away from their rural places of work, many enslaved black Americans of this era had little choice but to create a social life that revolved around agricultural labor and plantation life. The function of towns as economic and political centers, however, meant that many black and white Americans could at least sometimes engage in social activities there. And, over the course of the eighteenth century, social amenities unique to the townscape started to spring up throughout the colonies, making certain leisure pursuits possible only in an urban environment. As the American population became more stratified by race and class in the years after 1750, cities also proved essential as the only places offering socializing opportunities to all sectors of society.

### ELITE AND MIDDLING AMERICANS

In the decades before the Declaration of Independence, towns across the English-speaking Atlantic became indispensable to the leisure activities of elites and middling classes. Taverns, theaters, assembly rooms, public gardens, teahouses, and coffeehouses were for the most part exclusive to towns and constituted the main spaces in which wealthy free men and women sought company, entertainment, and conversation. In particular, towns assisted the New World's privileged classes in fashioning themselves as "genteel" individuals: people with good manners, a graceful posture, a fashionable appearance, a keen appreciation of the arts, and a font of educated conversation at their fingertips. In taverns, clubs and societies convened in the name of a wide variety of causes: drinking, literary discussion, celebration of a shared nationality, charity for the poor, Masonic rituals, and political debate. Mostly homosocial in character, these organizations represented the extension of a British sociability to early America; but, at the same time, they also reflected unique facets of New World society. Hence, Scottish, German, or French societies were indicative of the colonies' ethnic diversity, and the conflict between the elitist "modern" Freemasons and their more populist "ancient" brothers exposed the more democratic character of club life in America from the 1750s onwards.

Outside of clubs, elites and middling sorts passed much of their free time participating in dancing assemblies, promenading in gardens, attending concerts and plays, and drinking tea. By the 1760s, all of early America's largest cities had the amenities necessary to the pursuit of such activities, and some towns, like Charleston, South Carolina, thrived precisely because they were an essential refuge for gentry (the agricultural elite) seeking entertainment and a healthier environment away from their plantations. As central marketplaces and shopping centers, moreover, America's towns were also essential to the provision of the accoutrements of the genteel lifestyle; towns hosted shopping districts where strolling, buying, and socializing could be combined into a single leisure activity. Throughout the Revolutionary period, and into the era of new nationhood, America's cities continued to play this central part in the social lives of the wealthiest citizens.

### THE POOR

Because of their physical size and the diversity of their spaces, towns also furnished special social op-

portunities for poorer early Americans—slaves, free blacks, and whites alike. In the harbor areas of all port towns on the eastern seaboard, there was a plethora of legal tippling houses and taverns, as well as innumerable illegal, temporary establishments. There, sailors, workers, apprentices, free blacks, and urban slaves all gathered to enjoy drinking, gambling, or popular games such as dice, billiards, and bowling. Increasingly, theaters proved to be sites of entertainment for those working poor whites who could afford the price of an entrance ticket.

All of these social activities, however, cost money that many did not have, and for this reason the open, shared spaces of towns were also favored as gathering places. Greens or fields provided the ideal location for slaves to come together in cities, a habit brought to light by the discomfort that this caused among white authorities. Streets also served as social spaces among the urban poor, and there one could often find traveling entertainers or tricksters surrounded by their audiences. Importantly, such offerings represented socializing opportunities for slaves unimaginable on the plantation, and for blacks fortunate enough to be sent to sell produce at town markets by their owners, even the commercial spaces of early America's towns could be turned into hubs of conversation, gossip, and entertainment.

Such activities, of course, were all a very long way from the genteel urban environment that elites were striving to fashion, and the conflict between their social goals and the culture of the lower sorts went far beyond protests against slave gatherings on the town green. Until the nineteenth century, America's cities were not divided into clear districts distinguished by the wealth of their residents. In southern towns, free blacks and poor whites lived in tenement housing that was frequently situated between—or behind—the townhouses occupied by the wealthy. In these circumstances, wealthy whites were forced to make a conscious effort to erect barriers between their genteel social lives and the popular pursuits of the poor, something that they achieved by instituting high subscription fees and entrance restrictions for their clubs, and even by cordoning off open spaces within towns for their exclusive use. Such actions merely reflected the increasing chasms between rich and poor, and black and white, that were emerging in American society before 1783.

**THE EARLY NATIONAL ERA**
During the early Republic, two new trends manifested themselves in the social lives of the new nation's burgeoning cities. Before independence, cities

had been the focus for many annual social events that linked Americans to the British Empire of which they were a central part. From Boston to Charleston, fireworks and dinners in honor of the king's birthday and the celebration of British victories against the French and the Spanish studded the urban social calendar. With new nationhood, however, such events were transformed into landmarks of independence, with Fourth of July commemorative feasts, balls, and parties becoming quickly established as annual celebrations of identity and unity. Elsewhere, independence made itself felt in urban club life. Masonry, with its emphasis on fraternal values, flourished in these decades, its values practically inseparable from those of the new nation. As well as embodying a new national unity, urban social life also began to display more of the features of class division than ever before. Most noticeably, the social lives of urban middling sorts emerged as a clear strand all of its own. This was a sociability characterized less by the drinking, gambling, and dancing enjoyed by elites and more by a quest for improvement of morals among poor or black citizens. Often, this middling drive for reform stemmed from a collective identity founded around evangelical religion, temperance, and a growing sense of gentility and propriety.

*See also* **City Growth and Development; Class; Dance; Gambling; Holidays and Public Celebrations; Recreation, Sports, and Games; Slavery: Slave Life; Taverns; Theater and Drama.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Bridenbaugh, Carl. *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776.* New York: Knopf, 1955.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Random House, 1992.

Lebsock, Suzanne *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860.* NewYork: Norton, 1984.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

*Emma Hart*

**SOCIETY OF ST. TAMMANY**   The Society of St. Tammany, or the Columbian Order, originated in New York City in the late 1780s. During the Revolu-

tion, Tammany Societies, so called in honor of a mythical Delaware Indian chief, Tamamend, had appeared in Philadelphia and elsewhere to spread patriotism and republicanism and as a counter to more elitist organizations like the Society of the Cincinnati. When its early aspirations to become a national organization withered after independence, the society came to be associated most closely with New York. The first Tammany Society appeared in the city in 1786 or 1787 but attracted few recruits until 1789, when John Pintard, a merchant, and William Mooney, an upholsterer, assumed its leadership. Initially a fraternal order dedicated to the preservation of the art and natural history of the United States and the commemoration of the country's history, the society came to see itself as a bulwark of republicanism and democracy against aristocracy. Modest initiation fees and annual dues ensured a broad membership. Artisans and mechanics made up the bulk of members by the mid-1790s, but the organization also included lawyers and merchants. In keeping with its Indian motif, the society was organized into "braves" and "tribes," who elected a board of directors made up of thirteen "sachems." They, in turn, selected a grand sachem, a position held first by William Mooney and then by William Pitt Smith. The Society held monthly meetings where members debated current events over dinner and drinks; supported local charities; and, in Indian regalia, marched in parades celebrating patriotic holidays.

As partisanship intensified in the early 1790s, the society's political activities grew. The city's artisans and laborers became disenchanted with Federalism and gravitated to the emerging Democratic Republicans. During the debates over the French Revolution, Tammany sided with France, organizing pro-French demonstrations in New York in 1793 and 1794 and denouncing the Jay Treaty the following year. In 1795 Federalist members withdrew when the society refused to endorse Washington's denunciation of the new Democratic Societies, leaving the Republicans in control. Over the next decade, pro-Jefferson Tammany Societies were revived in several states, but in most places they retained their fraternal character and were rarely a major political force.

Tammany's emergence as a political organization dates from the intense factionalism of New York politics in the early nineteenth century. By 1807 the supporters of Aaron Burr, known as Martling Men because they met at Martling's Tavern, had gained control and turned Tammany into a base of opposition to DeWitt Clinton. For more than a decade thereafter, New York politics revolved around the struggle between Clintonians and Tammanyites. In 1812 the society moved to the corner of Nassau and Frankfort Streets, the home of Tammany Hall until 1868. By 1820 Tammany had allied with Martin Van Buren's Bucktails against Clinton. Together they successfully pushed for state constitutional reform and universal male suffrage and built the political organization that carried New York for Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party in 1828. Despite scandals and internal divisions in the 1830s and beyond, by mid-century Tammany Hall was well on its way to becoming one of the most formidable political machines in American history.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; New York City; Patriotic Societies.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burrows, Edwin G., and Mike Wallace. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Mushkat, Jerome. *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789–1865.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971.

Myers, Gustavus. *The History of Tammany Hall.* 2nd ed. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1917.

*L. Ray Gunn*

**SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI** In May 1783 officers of the Continental Army, led by Henry Knox and Frederick von Steuben, created a veterans organization named the Society of the Cincinnati, after Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, the legendary general and patriot who led the Roman army to victory, then returned to his farm. Their aim was not only to preserve the fraternal bonds between the officers, but also to pursue their common interest in outstanding pay and pensions during peacetime. George Washington, while uninvolved with the society's formation, agreed to serve as its president. Soon, the Cincinnati numbered over two thousand members, including many prominent figures such as Alexander Hamilton, George Clinton, and James Monroe.

The society was open to all officers of the Continental Army who had served for three years or, regardless of length of service, to those who had served to the war's conclusion or had been rendered supernumerary. It also offered hereditary membership from father to eldest male offspring. The original charter provided for a general society with annual

meetings in Philadelphia and thirteen state societies with local chapters. It also permitted membership for selected officers of the allied French army and navy, who soon formed a French society of their own. Furthermore, the society provided for a charitable fund, honorary memberships, and a commemorative medal, which Peter Charles L'Enfant changed into a bald eagle decoration to be worn.

The society proved highly controversial. In *Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati* (1783), Aedanus Burke of South Carolina denounced the Cincinnati as a nascent hereditary nobility that would inevitably subvert the American Republic and possibly establish a corrupt monarchy. Burke's pamphlet was spread nationwide, and soon others joined in the outcry. John Adams despaired that nobility would replace republicanism in America, Elbridge Gerry feared the Cincinnati would rule the nation covertly, Thomas Jefferson urged Washington to separate himself from the organization, Stephen Higginson feared that the society was a tool of the French, and Benjamin Franklin mocked the officers for mimicking European nobility. Congress declared that the Cincinnati was not an official knightly order of the United States.

The Cincinnati were not even a political faction, much less an aristocratic conspiracy, yet they had to react. Washington persuaded the general society in 1784 to propose a reform dropping hereditary membership and other controversial features. This revised charter was well publicized and did much to muffle criticism, but it was never ratified. Only a few state societies endorsed the reform, others insisted on retaining hereditary membership. Consequently, largely unnoticed by the public, the revised charter never took effect. Still, the general society practically ceased to function in the following years, and in subsequent decades several state societies withered. The Cincinnati came close to vanishing, but revived in the late nineteenth century. At the start of the twenty-first century, the general society, the thirteen state societies, and the French society are alive and well, the oldest of American patriotic societies.

At times the anti-Cincinnati rhetoric, which was especially widespread between 1783 and 1785 but persisted sporadically until 1790, verged on conspiracy theory. It resembled the anti-Illuminati hysteria of the late 1790s and the anti-Masonic movement of the 1820s. Why did one part of the Revolutionary leadership effectively accuse another of anti-republican subversion? The answer lies in the difficult situation of the mid-1780s, when it often seemed that America had won the war but might lose the peace. For American politicians who had been reared on radical Whig ideology and thus had learned to distrust concentrated power, the machinations of ambitious men, and all things military, the society seemed a threat to the Republic. The members of the Cincinnati, while innocent of the crimes they were accused of, had made themselves vulnerable by adopting the unegalitarian principle of heredity.

As the young American Republic stabilized, the most dire accusations against the Cincinnati faded. By the 1790s, many Democratic Republicans, including historian Mercy Otis Warren, continued to associate the largely unpolitical society with conservative Federalist politics. However, the controversy never regained its old strength.

*See also* **Anti-Masons; Patriotic Societies; Soldiers.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Burke, Aedanus. *Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati.* . . . Charleston, S.C.: Timothy, 1783.

Meleney, John C. *The Public Life of Aedanus Burke: Revolutionary Republican in Post-Revolutionary South Carolina.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Myers, Minor. *Liberty without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Warren, Mercy Otis. *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution.* Boston: Manning and Loring, 1805. Reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1988.

*Markus Hünemörder*

**SOLDIERS**   From colonial times through the nineteenth century, the colonies and later the United States usually eschewed creating large formations of regular soldiers to engage in wars and skirmishes. This was due, in large part, to historical antipathy toward the expense and to fear of maintaining a regular standing army.

### COLONIAL MILITARY UNITS
As a result, three early types of units were organized for both defensive and offensive colonial military operations: local militia, provincial units, and rangers. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the colonies supplemented the regular royal regiments sent to North America with these types of troops. The militia and provincial soldiers, with the notable exception of a ranger force established by Robert

**Revolution-era Recruiting Poster.** Most American soldiers were recruited from the lowest rungs of society. In order to attract men to such dangerous service, colonial officials offered enlistment "bounties" and promised to clothe and feed soldiers for the duration of their service. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Rogers of New Hampshire, did not enjoy an especially high reputation with the regular British military establishment. However, historical scholarship has demonstrated that the colonial militia was an effective defense against Native American or local military threats on a variety of occasions.

The standard militia laws of nearly every colony required all able-bodied adult white males between ages sixteen to sixty to serve in the militia. (In most colonies, the laws made it illegal for slaves, indentured servants, and Native Americans to serve as part of any militia organization.) They allowed some conspicuous exemptions from service for community members deemed critical to the economic health of the locality, such as political leaders, judges, bakers, and millers. The militia usually trained in a formal session at least once a month, with each man providing his own weapon, powder, and shot. They were paid from local treasuries for their training time and were sent, if ordered by the colonial governor, on campaigns that usually did not extend beyond a single season. In reality, they were best suited for local defense for periods of short duration.

However, ranger forces, such as that of Rogers' Rangers, were paid on a full-time basis. Rogers trained his rangers in the tactics and style of Native Americans, fighting in loose formation; he also adapted their dress and weaponry for woodland

fighting. Rangers could operate in austere wilderness conditions for extended periods of time, a tradition continued by modern U.S. Army Rangers and Green Berets. While colonial rangers proved to be effective against the hit-and-run style of their Native American opponents, they were very expensive to maintain on a long-term basis; therefore, most colonies opted to rely on their own local militia.

Of the three types of units, provincial forces had the worst reputation for discipline, morale, and battlefield effectiveness during the colonial era. They were usually recruited from the lowest rungs of society and were essentially contracted for a specific period of service or campaign duration. Most had only rudimentary training in the use of their weapons and in military drill. In order to attract men to such dangerous service, colonial officials usually offered enlistment bounties and promised to clothe and feed these provincial soldiers for the duration of their service. When these promises failed to materialize, many of these soldiers deserted.

### CONTINENTAL ARMY

During the first year of the American Revolution, the colonies relied nearly entirely on local New England militia forces. However, it soon became apparent, after a disastrous winter campaign to seize Canada, that the lax discipline and irregular military habits of part-time soldiers would no longer do and that well-trained, long-termed, disciplined soldiers were now necessary. Commanded by General George Washington, Congress created a Continental Army of eighty-eight battalions. Each state was given a quota based on its prewar white adult male population. All the states failed to meet their quota for Continental troops, forcing Washington constantly to harangue state governors for augmentation of the Continental Army with state militia units, which were usually available for only very short durations of service.

In return for their agreement to serve faithfully and continuously for three years (or the duration of the war), Continental recruits were initially given an enlistment bounty of approximately $20, promised an annual suit of clothes (a uniform, shoes, and a blanket), and a specified ration of three daily meals in addition to a monthly salary of about $6.67. Many men formed informal "messes" and combined their rations in order to barter for supplements to their bland and meager daily diets. A typical soldier's mess consisted of anywhere from four to eight soldiers who would share just about everything they had in camp. As the war lengthened and inflation robbed soldiers of the value of their bounties and sal-

aries, the difficulty of finding agreeable recruits increased and enlistment bounties being offered for both Continental and state service skyrocketed. Life in Continental Army camps like those at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, and Morristown, New Jersey, proved to be especially arduous. Frequently lacking adequate shelter, clothing, and food, the soldiers were known to have suffered from great privation and desertion. Occasionally, Continental Army command even had to contend with mutiny.

Following the Revolution and indeed throughout much of the nineteenth century, the United States continued its traditional policy of maintaining a miniscule regular army establishment, and the federal government called for state militia and volunteer augmentation only during times of national emergency or to fight local Native American wars. However, these units began to be augmented by state "volunteer" units that were clothed and equipped by either the state or federal government. Regular soldiers still served for lengthier periods of service than state regiments or militia units, were furnished a monthly salary, and were provided with an agreed-upon ration and regular replacements of military uniforms.

A typical day in the life of a soldier in camp during this era consisted of reveille in the morning, followed by camp police details (cleaning), breakfast, morning guard mount (where soldiers detailed to guard posts received their assignments, usually for a period of twenty-four hours) for some and drill for everyone else, dinner (in the afternoon), more drill and other details, supper and evening "tattoo." Life on the march during wartime was more arduous. During the War of 1812 (1812–1815), Captain Henry Brush noted that soldiers were given "unbleached, tow-linen hunting shirts and trousers. On their heads they wore low-crowned hats, on the left side of which were black cockades about two inches in diameter." Each soldier carried a musket, bayonet, a cartridge box, a knapsack, and a "quart-sized tin canteen." The knapsack and blanket were covered with an oilcloth to protect them from rain. "A soldier's arms and pack weighed about 35 pounds, and troops traveled about 25 miles a day on foot." Despite official attempts to standardize army clothing and equipment, most soldiers modified their outfits as they saw fit. Militia units were the most notorious for this practice and arrived at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) wearing a wide variety of apparel and carrying equally diverse weaponry.

The practice of combining regular federal, state militia, and volunteer units for military service dur-

ing wars and emergencies and using small numbers of regular forces as constabulary units on the American frontier between wars continued until the end of the nineteenth century. It was not until nearly the beginning of World War I that this hodgepodge system was eschewed in favor of a more professional and "regular" standing military force.

See also **Army Culture; Army, U.S.; Camp Followers; Continental Army; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Militias and Militia Service.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Fred. *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

———. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Borneman, Walter R. *1812: The War that Forged a Nation.* New York: HarperCollins, 2004.

Crackel, Theodore J. *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801–1809.* New York: New York University Press, 1987.

Ferling, John. *Struggle for a Continent: The Wars of Early America.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1993.

Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Higginbotham, Don. *War and Society in Revolutionary America: The Wider Dimensions of Conflict.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

Martin, James Kirby, and Mark Edward Lender. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic, 1763–1789.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1982.

Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army.* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Remini, Robert. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking, 2002.

Shy, John. *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence.* Rev. ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

*Charles Patrick Neimeyer*

**SONS OF LIBERTY**   The Sons of Liberty were the first broad-based, intercolonial organization to encourage American resistance to Britain. Emerging suddenly during the latter half of 1765, chapters of the Sons of Liberty formed throughout the American colonies for the singular purpose of forcing Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. Although future events would mythologize them as the original revolutionaries, their goals were far from radical, seeking only to convince the British to restore the imperial Constitution. The Sons' methods of mobilizing protest, including the participation of many diverse socioeconomic groups, the development of effective propaganda and communication networks, and a concern for restraining violence and wanton destruction, would become the formula for the movement leading up to the Revolution.

Beginning in the summer of 1765, groups that identified themselves as the Sons of Liberty appeared in several American cities, including Boston, New York, Providence, Newport, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charlestown. In many cities the Sons of Liberty grew out of established urban clubs and societies, most famously the Loyal Nine in Boston. As these organizations became known as the Sons, they also broadened their social bases to include politicized artisans, shopkeepers, and tradesmen. During the Stamp Act riots, the Sons made alliances with mob leaders like Ebenezer McIntosh, leader of Boston's South End gang, for the dual purpose of mobilizing mass resistance and keeping their own participation hidden. Perhaps the most important constituency in the Sons, however, was newspaper printers. Printers Benjamin Edes (*Boston Gazette*), William Goddard (*Providence Gazette*), Samuel Hall (*Newport Mercury*), and William Bradford (*Pennsylvania Journal*) were all members of their local Sons of Liberty; the printers' participation ensured that the Sons' message would reach a wide audience.

Although attention has generally focused on the role of the Sons in Boston's Stamp Act riots, the attempts of Isaac Sears, John Lamb, and the New York Sons of Liberty to organize intercolonial communication networks were also significant. Beginning in November 1765, the New York Sons sent representatives to chapters in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts proposing alliances and establishing avenues to share information. Although short-lived, the importance of this initial effort by the New York Sons to make connections with colleagues in other colonies would later become clear: it was a first step toward continental unity and the creation of a common cause.

The Sons of Liberty movement declined after Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in March 1766. Having achieved their goal, many groups, including the pivotal New York Sons, saw no need to continue resistance. Devoted to maintaining order and restoring "balance" to the British Constitution, the Sons were not yet revolutionaries. Still, they did not com-

pletely disappear. The Boston Sons remained intact; in fact, by the late 1760s its membership had evolved from its artisan roots to include many elite leaders, including Samuel Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, Joseph Warren, and John Adams. In 1768 the Boston Sons began corresponding with John Wilkes, a popular English radical whose political persecution made him a celebrity in America.

By the 1770s, however, the term *Sons of Liberty* had lost its specific meaning. Instead, it became a general label like *patriot* or *Whig* that referred to a supporter of American rights. Symbolic for its reference to one of the clearest successes of American resistance, the label did resurface at certain points during the imperial crisis, most importantly as the name of the group responsible for the Boston Tea Party in 1773.

The Sons of Liberty movement of 1765–1766 would become a model for future American protests against the British. Later organizations would follow the Sons' strategies of focusing political energy, loudly broadcasting grievances, restraining violence, establishing communication networks between the colonies, and mobilizing broad groups of people to support the common cause.

*See also* **Boston Tea Party; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davidson, Philip. *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

Maier, Pauline. *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776.* New York: Knopf, 1972.

Morgan, Edmund S., and Helen M. Morgan. *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

*Robert G. Parkinson*

**SOUTH** A southern migration, commencing during the American Revolution and producing six states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri) by 1821, led to great changes in the westernmost parts of the southern United States. The result was the growth of not one South, but a set of discrete subregions.

### CLIMATE, TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL, AND CROPS

"Let us begin by discussing the weather," wrote the eminent southern historian, Ulrich B. Phillips, as the first words of the best-known book on the South, "for that has been the chief agency in making the South distinctive." Certainly, the South's sultry climate has always set it apart from the rest of the nation. Lying roughly between thirty-nine and thirty degrees north latitude (thus covering some five hundred miles from north to south) aside from Florida, the summer temperatures in much of the South stay consistently over ninety degrees during the summer months, with nearly 90 percent relative humidity in the Lower South states. While the border area receives nearly the same amount of precipitation— twenty-four inches—as the southern Piedmont during the warm seasons, it receives between ten and fifteen inches less precipitation, so vital to most staple crops, than do most of the Deep South states in their warm seasons. Conversely, the South's winters vary more widely in degree: while the Upper South has at best two hundred frost-free growing days per year (even less west of the Appalachians, which shelters Virginia and Maryland from the driving cold fronts that chill the Middle Border subregion), the Deep South boasts some forty or fifty more than that, allowing the Deep South states an extra six growing weeks or more between the last killing frosts in spring and first killing frosts in the fall. The average minimum temperature in the Upper South is as much as thirty degrees colder than in much of the Lower South (even more than in the coastal Sea Islands area and Florida), meaning nearly twenty more inches of frost penetration into the soil. Although western migrants who began moving to the border states as early as the 1770s may have attempted to replicate or even better the society of their former homes, the distinctive climate of the Upper South forced adaptations upon the social landscape.

The South's topography varies as widely as its climate, and it influenced migratory patterns that resulted in distinct intraregional cultures. The Appalachian Mountains slash southward through the easternmost southern states, forming a barrier of sorts between the Atlantic seaboard and the country further west that influenced migratory patterns. Settlers who moved westward from the Upper Chesapeake along with those from the mid-Atlantic states most often used the Ohio River for westward transportation, settling predominantly in the border regions of Kentucky and Missouri and creating a cultural admixture of northern and southern influences. Settlers from southwestern Virginia and North Carolina more often traveled through the

Cumberland Gap, settling Tennessee and central and southern Kentucky, while settlers from South Carolina and Georgia avoided the mountains completely by migrating to the Gulf States. The Appalachians themselves, along with the Ozarks, became a destination for later settlers, often Scots-Irish, who set up distinctive and often isolated communities separated by mountain valleys. The Lower Mississippi Valley was a place apart from the rest of the South, largely as a result of its French and Spanish heritage (the area did not become a part of the United States until 1803), but this Latin South had a slave population that was far more Africanized in the nineteenth century than in other parts of the South.

The South's soils vary widely as well: rich loess in the Missouri and Ohio River valleys; rich alluvial soil in the Mississippi Delta; flinty limestone in the Appalachian and Ozark Mountain highlands; sandy loam in the Tidewater and coastal lowlands; and distinctive red clay in the Appalachian Piedmont. While soil did not in itself influence the resulting economy as much as did climate, the thin soils of the mountain and sand-hill areas proved less capable of producing the staple crops that characterized large subregions of the South. Those crops, in many historians' estimation, and more specifically the cultures that evolved from their prolonged production, gave the South its most distinctive character. Tobacco, colonial North America's first export crop, dominated in southern Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri, ultimately sharing preeminence there with hemp as well as wheat, the latter of which by the 1820s had replaced tobacco as the subregion's largest export crop. Farther south, rice dominated the South Carolina and Georgia low country, while sugar reigned over much of lower Louisiana. Cotton, which became the South's signature cash crop after 1810, extended through the Piedmont plantation belt and between the too-cool tobacco belt and the too-wet rice and sugar belts, extending westward by 1830 into the Old Southwest. Needing 180 growing days, and with cultivation periods that complemented those for food crops such as corn (thus maximizing labor efficiency), cotton had by the 1820s already become the nation's leading export, earning it the designation King Cotton. Remarkably, the output of cotton doubled every decade after 1800, the largest growth rate of any agricultural commodity in the nation; by 1830, southern cotton constituted two-thirds of the value of the nation's exported commodities.

## MANUFACTURING AND CITIES

Though more agricultural in nature than much of the North, the South developed its own manufacturing base, one that illustrated the stark differences between the Border and Upper Souths on the one hand and the Lower South on the other. Eighty percent of the South's manufacturing capacity lay in the Border South. The industrial growth of the Border South drove urbanization and stimulated the growth of the area's population. By 1830, three of the South's five largest cities—Baltimore, St. Louis, and Richmond—lay in the Border and Upper Souths, their populations eclipsing all other southern cities save New Orleans and Charleston. Their trade networks extended northward and eastward by rail lines far more than by any traditional river or ocean links with the Lower South and Europe. Some 45 percent of the South's population lived in the Border States alone.

## RELIGION

The South's religious heritage profoundly influenced its distinctive culture away from the cultures that characterized the northern states. Nowhere was this more evident than in the intense revivals that erupted throughout the region, especially in the Border and Upper Souths, at the outset of the nineteenth century, reshaping these subregions' religious contours and helping to develop their unique character. Where the Great Awakening of the early eighteenth century had introduced a class-based evangelicalism that emplaced the Baptist and Methodist sects as egalitarian alternatives to the elitism of the Anglican church in Virginia, the Revolutionary era and its aftermath empowered them (along with Presbyterians) as denominations throughout the South. The rapid rise of the western states and the proliferation of a slave-based, staple crop economy soon brought on personal uncertainties about material advancement just as rampant secularism caused church attendance to decline precipitously. Initially suspect, itinerant ministers soon softened their condemnations of such "declension" as they sought communicants. Meanwhile, western settlers, and especially women, were seeking relief from the burdens and vicissitudes of frontier life. What resulted was a series of revivals that swept the Border and Upper Souths over several decades, the largest of which occurred at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801, when some twenty thousand persons assembled for an immense outdoor, interdenominational camp meeting marked by emotional preaching and mass conversions. This religious fervor soon spread and swelled the congregations of the evangelical churches throughout the entire South as they eagerly reached out to black and

white, male and female converts. Ironically, evangelical religion set down the rhythms of southern religious culture just as it linked the new subregions of the South with the older seaboard states and helped to distinguish all of them from the culture of the North.

### SLAVERY

Above all other regional aspects, and in tandem with the development of the staple crop economy, slavery shaped the South's distinctiveness from other regions of the country. Yet the "peculiar institution" also magnified the South's intraregional variances. Between 1790 and 1830, as the South's overall white population nearly tripled from 1.3 million to 3.7 million, its slave population kept pace, increasing from 675,000 to more than two million. As the Border and Upper Souths' transition from staple crops to food crops and industry changed their economic bases, so the population density of slaves shifted southward. Where in 1790 slaves comprised one-third of the Upper and Border Souths' populations (including the District of Columbia), by 1830 that figure had fallen to 30 percent; meanwhile, the Lower South's slave population increased from 41 percent of the subregion's whole to more than 47 percent. The proportion was lowest in the Border and mountain Souths, where but 14 percent and less than 5 percent of their overall populations, respectively, were bondpeople. Though it boasted only a quarter of the South's white population in 1830, slaves in the Lower South comprised 47 percent of its states' populations; in some coastal areas, slaves constituted as much as 90 percent of the residents. Facilitated by the internal slave trade, which would move some half-million slaves southwestward from the Border and Upper Souths, and the economic transitions underway in those subregions, the South was fast becoming a region comprised of white belts and black belts, with the blackest belts in the Lower South, the Mississippi Valley, and the Tidewater area of Virginia (where slavery had begun in the early seventeenth century).

**Subregional variation.** Although slaves labored in the South's factories, on its docks, and in its fashionable homes, agricultural labor chained some 90 percent of its bondspeople to the southern countryside. The Lower, Upper, and Border Souths had remarkably different slave cultures, depending on their staple crops. The dependency on slavery varied greatly, distinguishing the regions, as the historian Ira Berlin has argued, as being either slave societies or a societies with slaves. The Lower South was clearly a slave

society. Its plantations often encompassed thousands of acres and held as many as a hundred slaves each, often working in gangs (especially on cotton plantations) and living apart from their owners' homes in discrete, concentrated slave quarters. Conversely, in the Upper and Border Souths, plantations and farms (as they were invariably referred to west of the mountains) were often smaller and boasted far fewer slaves, who commonly worked side by side with masters and hired white workers in the fields, even living in their masters' homesteads.

**Slavery and power.** Slaveholding created a unique culture of power in the South. Planters, or those who owned substantial holdings of land and slaves, dominated the economy and the society of the region. Many were sons and grandsons of men in the colonial era who had made substantial beginnings on the family position and fortunes by way of staple production as well as, especially in the Upper South, mercantile and banking activities. Always few in number, such planters held disproportionate shares of political and economic influence, especially in the Lower South and the Tidewater, and zealously protected them through intermarriage with other gentry families and by largesse offered to the white lower classes. Below the planters were the yeomanry, independent landholders and small slaveholders who sought upward mobility but who clung doggedly to their hard-won freehold status, even above slave ownership. Most numerous among the populations of the Upper and Border Souths, these yeomen acceded to the local planters' political dominance in part for the economic advantages the latter afforded them in return, but more as a check against those below them in their respective subregions, namely restless and landless poor whites and black slaves. Indeed, the South's most notorious (and by the 1830s regionally distinct) cultural ritual—the duel—not only reflected all of these social constructs of power (patriarchy, class status, masculinity, personal honor, clannishness, and violence) but was itself dying out in all but the Lower South.

After the colonial period, few class upheavals occurred in the South, in contrast to the North, where they grew more common. Historians generally explain this phenomenon as a product of the South's "herrenvolk democracy," which guaranteed white men equal access to political participation (especially after the decline of property requirements in the 1820s) while excluding African Americans, free and slave, from the rights of full citizenship. This entire social system, based upon deference, patriarchy, reciprocal rights, obligations, coercive violence, and

perhaps above all racial hierarchy and chattel slavery, sustained the South uncomfortably as it matured in the years of the early Republic.

### SECTIONALISM

The last decade of the early national period witnessed the emergence of national and even intraregional divisions that would soon come to be characterized as "sectionalism." As the nation reeled from its first national economic downturn beginning in 1819 (and felt particularly by cotton-growing states like South Carolina, where the Panic of 1919 severely depressed cotton prices), the congressional debate of 1819–1820 over Missouri statehood revealed that national politics had begun to sectionalize over the issue of slavery. In 1822 South Carolina was shocked by the discovery of a widespread rebellion planned by Charleston slaves and led by a literate free black named Denmark Vesey. The plot was aborted and during subsequent trials, testimony implicated northern antislavery politicians as having influenced Vesey by way of printed speeches. An "Old Republican" states' rights political stance was articulated by leading Virginians such as John Randolph. They sought to curb the nationalizing tendencies of the Virginia Dynasty—presidents from Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe as well as Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall)—which had strengthened the power of the national government, presumably at the expense of the states and, more specifically, the southern states. Like the members of that dynasty, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee and Henry Clay of Kentucky stood as conflicting symbols to southerners. They were at once large slaveholders and "southern" leaders, but they were also principled advocates of a nationalism that seemed to ignore states' rights principles. The Tariff of 1816, decried by southerners as favoring northern industries at the expense of southern exporters, provided a powerful and enduring symbol for southern anger. In 1828, when Congress raised the tariff to its highest level yet (earning for it the southern epithet "Tariff of Abominations"), John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Jackson's vice president, secretly authored a sectional response. His *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* reinvigorated the doctrine of states' rights (originally articulated by Jefferson and Madison in their Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions [1798]) by offering a mechanism through which a state could check federal power: conventions that would "nullify" within their states' borders any harmful actions by the federal government. Although white southerners had not yet fashioned strong polemical defenses of slavery such as those that would emerge immediately after 1830,

political and social events during the last decade of the early national period shaped the emerging proslavery ideology that would ultimately most characterize the South as a distinct region.

*See also* **Agriculture: Overview; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Proslavery Thought; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism; Sectionalism and Disunion; Slavery: Overview; States' Rights.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abernethy, Thomas P. *The South in the New Nation, 1789–1819.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961.

Aron, Stephen. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Boles, John B. *The South Through Time: A History of an American Region.* 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1999.

Cashin, Joan E. *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Cooper, William J., Jr., and Thomas E. Terrill. *The American South: A History.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Phillips, Ulrich B. *Life and Labor in the Old South.* Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1929; repr., 1963.

*Christopher Phillips*

**SOUTH CAROLINA**   From 1754 to 1829, South Carolina evolved from a politically divided colony to a state united in defense of slavery. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, South Carolina grew slowly, with black slaves outnumbering white inhabitants: in 1761 around fifty-seven thousand blacks lived in the colony, compared to thirty thousand whites. Slavery was strongest in the low country and Charleston, the state's only significant city; only 4 percent of slaves lived in the backcountry (defined in the eighteenth century as beginning fifty miles inland). During the 1770s, white farmers from Virginia and Pennsylvania began to move south and settle in the backcountry districts of South Carolina. By the 1770s the colony's total population was around 180,000. But low country planters, worried that new residents in the backcountry were not sufficiently concerned about protecting slavery, retained political control. It would take a radical shift in the distribution of slave ownership before low country leaders were willing to share power.

For their part, backcountry residents chafed at the political power of the low country elites. While

numerous parishes (election districts for the Commons House of Assembly) served the small white population of the low country, only one—created in 1757—served the backcountry. Since the parishes provided, in addition to legislative representation, the services of local government, the result was a lack of order in the backcountry. One source of conflict was a general lawlessness that went unchecked given the lack of law enforcement personnel and courts. Another source of conflict was the Cherokees on the northwestern frontier. In October 1767, Regulator groups sprang up to provide order where the royal government did not; they demanded that courts, jails, and schools be provided. Although Regulators were an extralegal force, they were largely small planters and property owners, not vagrant thugs. Regulators remained strong until the low country power structure began to make concessions to the movement, deflating the Regulators' power. In 1768 two additional parishes were established in the backcountry, and courts and jails were established by the Circuit Court Act of 1769.

It was in this context that South Carolina entered the Revolutionary War, which had the feeling of a civil war in the backcountry. After the Declaration of Independence, an armed force had to be sent to subdue Loyalists there. Backcountry residents also battled the Cherokees in a war that concluded in 1777 with the latter ceding their land in the state. In 1780 the British laid siege to Charleston, which signaled the initiation of sustained southern hostilities in the war. The city fell on 12 May 1780, but the British were unable to capitalize on their success. British tactics in the countryside, exemplified by the ruthless Banastre Tarleton, added to the popular support for Patriot partisans led by men such as Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter. The British could not root out the partisans or destroy General Nathanael Greene's Continental Army, and so they withdrew from the state in December 1782. The intense fighting across the state left it in economic ruin.

South Carolina's Charles Pinckney was a leading critic of the Articles of Confederation, and when the Constitutional Convention met in 1787, he played a major role in designing the new document. Pinckney and his cousin and fellow delegate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, helped insure that slavery was protected in the Constitution. Many of Charles Pinckney's proposals, such as counting slaves as three-fifths of a person for the purposes of apportioning representatives in the federal legislature, were adopted by the convention. Although some in the South Carolina backcountry opposed the new Constitution,

South Carolina's ratification of the document was never in doubt, thanks to a power structure that still privileged the low country. The ratification convention overwhelmingly approved the document in May 1788.

With war and independence decided, South Carolinians focused again on political conflict between backcountry and low country. A redistribution of the slave population helped bring about political changes in South Carolina. Slaves were rapidly being brought to the area north of the fall line as backcountry farmers began adapting to cotton production; whereas only 14,415 slaves lived in this area in 1790, 43,578 did in 1810. The integration of the backcountry into the plantation economy and the rapid growth of slavery in the area finally made low country elites comfortable with extending political power to the remainder of the state. In 1785 county courts were created to help establish legal structure in the backcountry. The following year, the General Assembly moved the state's capital from Charleston to the middle of the state in the new city of Columbia. The compromise of 1808, a constitutional amendment, apportioned the state's house of representatives on the basis of population and wealth, finally bringing more equitable representation to the backcountry. The state's population reached 249,073 in 1790, 345,591 in 1800, 415,115 in 1810, 502,741 in 1820, and 581,185 in 1830.

This period also saw the Denmark Vesey plot, which garnered a swift response from the state. In May 1822, a slave exposed the plot to his master: a free black, Denmark Vesey, supposedly intended to lead an army of thousands of slaves against the whites of Charleston. The city council responded with a series of trials that resulted in the hanging or expulsion of dozens of slaves. The state also passed an act that December making it illegal for free black seamen to associate with slaves, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston was demolished.

Events in 1828 brought South Carolina to the center of the national stage: native sons Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun were elevated to the presidency and vice presidency, respectively, and Congress passed the "Tariff of Abominations," which sparked the state's nullification movement. Although South Carolina's attempt to nullify federal law ultimately failed, it laid the groundwork for South Carolina's eventual departure from the Union in 1860.

*See also* **Charleston; Constitution, Ratification of; Regulators; Revolution as Civil War:**

Patriot-Loyalist Conflict; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Tariff Politics; Vesey Rebellion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edgar, Walter. *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict That Turned the Tide of the American Revolution.* New York: Morrow, 2001.

Egerton, Douglas R. *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1999.

Freehling, William W. *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina*, 1816–1836. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Klein, Rachel N. *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry*, 1760–1808. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Paquette, Robert L., and Douglas R. Egerton. "Of Facts and Fables: New Light on the Denmark Vesey Affair." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 105 (2004): 8–48.

*Aaron W. Marrs*

**SPAIN**   Charles III came to the throne of Spain in 1759 as its third Bourbon monarch. Under his enlightened reign Spain experienced growth by almost every measure of national success. His death in 1788, however, brought an abrupt end to this era of expansion and prosperity. The reign of Charles IV, who ruled from 1788 until 1808, was marred by a series of governmental blunders, incompetent ministers, and the successful efforts of Napoleon to assume control of his neighbor to the south. By the time Charles III's equally incompetent grandson, Ferdinand VII, came to the throne in 1808, Spain was in serious decline. Under Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, Spain lacked the political, military, or diplomatic means to block Anglo-American expansion into the Spanish Borderlands of North America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

### THE REIGN OF CHARLES III (1759–1788)

Charles III assumed the Spanish throne during the initial stages of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in Europe. Spain entered the war during the final year of fighting; militarily Spain did not fare well. The loss of Havana to the British in January of 1762 brought Spain to the peace table in Paris as a defeated nation anxious both to regain its major Cuban port and also to distance its future foreign policy from that of France. Charles III accomplished both tasks at the Peace of Paris in 1763, where he gained France's

Louisiana colony while ceding Spanish Florida to the British. With peace restored, Charles III surrounded himself with a talented group of ministers and advisors, all of whom were university-educated adherents of the Spanish enlightenment. They embarked on an ambitious program of urban renewal, educational development, the revision of taxation, a reorganization of the military, and the implementation of free-trade regulations throughout the Spanish empire. They also began to formulate a foreign policy that would be more independent from that of their long-standing ally, France.

The international crisis precipitated by the American Revolution became a major diplomatic concern for Charles III and his ministers. The Spanish government adopted an official policy of neutrality while issuing secret instructions to Spanish military commanders in Cuba and Louisiana to provide covert assistance to the rebels. Spain instructed a wealthy Bilbao merchant, Diego de Gardoqui, to create a fictitious merchant house that would serve as a secret conduit for military supplies and munitions to the Continental Army; much of these supplies eventually passed through Havana or New Orleans. Spain did not wish to enter the conflict until it had fully prepared its New World forces. At the same time, ministers at Madrid already worried at this relatively early date about the territorial pressures the infant United States might bring to bear on the lower Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast. Finally, during the summer of 1779 Spain entered the war but did not sign a treaty of alliance with the Continental Congress. The Spanish court sent Juan de Miralles to Philadelphia as an unofficial envoy. The Congress appointed New Yorker John Jay to represent the interests of the United States at Madrid. Jay, who arrived in Spain during 1780, was never fully accepted by the Spanish government and accomplished little of diplomatic import. Spain's entry in the war did provide an opportunity for Bernardo de Gálvez, the governor of Spanish Louisiana, to achieve a series of important victories. His armies took the entire lower Mississippi Valley and northern Gulf Coast in a series of daring campaigns between 1779 and the Battle of Pensacola in May 1781.

The Peace of Paris in 1783 favored Spanish interests. Charles III regained possession of Florida while the Mississippi River became the western boundary of the United States, with the City of New Orleans remaining under Spanish control. The treaties, however, did not adequately define the southern boundary of the United States. Spain believed the boundary fell north of Natchez on the Mississippi, whereas the

United States thought it fell much farther south. This proved to be a long-standing point of diplomatic contention between the two nations. Diego de Gardoqui arrived in the United States two years after the Peace of Paris as Spain's fully accredited chargé d'affaires. Gardoqui worried about the western movement of frontier settlers from the United States, in the process employing the concept of "defensive colonization" for Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. He invited English-speaking American land agents to organize settlements of people from the United States, who would take loyalty oaths to the Spanish king in exchange for land. George Morgan was the first of these agents, founding the settlement at New Madrid south of St. Louis.

### THE REIGN OF CHARLES IV (1788–1808)

The ascension of Charles IV to the throne marked a drastic change in the fortunes of Spain and its monarchy. Unlike his father, the new king was an inept, incompetent, and indolent individual with few, if any, qualities of leadership. His wife, Queen Maria Luisa, proved to be strong-willed and opinionated, an activist who constantly meddled in affairs of state. Charles IV inherited several of his father's most accomplished ministers; after a few years of frustration, they left their offices as an unlikely successor, Manuel de Godoy, became the king's chief minister and major advisor. A dashing young army officer, Godoy had caught the eye of Queen Maria Luisa and reputedly became her lover. With her support and powerful royal patronage, he advanced rapidly at court, becoming chief minister while still in his early twenties. Godoy presided over Spain's reaction to the French Revolution. Most Spaniards at court, including Godoy, naturally worried about the spread of French republicanism to Spain. These distractions created a favorable atmosphere for the United States to negotiate a treaty with Spain to resolve the disputed Florida boundary and secure free navigation of the Mississippi River. Godoy accordingly signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo on 27 October 1795 with American envoy Thomas Pinckney, an accord known in United States history as Pinckney's Treaty. This agreement set the northern boundary of Florida at the thirty-first degree of latitude and gave United States citizens free navigation of the Mississippi.

The rise of Napoleon presented Spain with serious foreign policy problems, which Godoy resolved by signing the Treaty of San Ildefonso with France in 1796. By this accord, Spain rejoined its Bourbon neighbor as a diplomatic and military ally. This strategy proved to be a disaster for Spain and the beginning of the end of its international power. In 1803 Napoleon bargained Louisiana away to the United States; although Spain strongly disagreed with this transfer, it was powerless to stop it. In the wake of the Louisiana Purchase, a circle of discontents that had formed at court around Crown Prince Ferdinand sought to place the younger Bourbon on the throne. A palace coup in March 1808 resulted in the indolent king's abdicating to his son, who became Ferdinand VII.

### THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VII (1808–1833)

The new king had little chance to establish himself before Napoleon summoned both him and his father to France. Napoleon compelled Ferdinand VII to abdicate the throne of Spain as well. Both former monarchs found themselves under arrest while Napoleon declared his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to be the new king of Spain, José I. Many Spaniards immediately greeted their new French king as a pretender, launching the Spanish War of Independence, or the Peninsular War as the British styled it. The country split into regional factions while José I and his French-backed army controlled major urban centers. Napoleon temporarily appeared in Spain during 1809 in an unsuccessful effort to bring order to the situation. This resulted in a British intervention, with the duke of Wellington leading a British army in support of Spanish resistance to French intervention. Battles fought at Talavera and Victoria marked major French defeats at the hands of the British army.

A government in support of the exiled Ferdinand VII eventually appeared at Cadiz in 1812. Known as the Cortes de Cadiz, this government wrote a new constitution for Spain that retained the monarchy but promised some reforms. The disarray of the Peninsular War guaranteed that Spain could not sufficiently protect its American colonies, especially those bordering on the United States. Between 1810 and 1814, Americans made several attempts to take Spanish territory along the lower Mississippi and Gulf Coast. The West Florida Revolt of 1810 and the intervention of the United States Army at Mobile in 1813 successfully brought these areas under American control. The unsuccessful Patriot War in East Florida during 1812 and 1813 was a similar incursion. The Cortes de Cadiz did dispatch a diplomat, Luis de Onís, to the United States as its representative to protest these occurrences. President James Madison, however, refused to extend diplomatic recognition to Onís because he was not the envoy of an accredited government, which in theory still rested

with the exiled monarch Ferdinand. Onís nonetheless remained in Washington, where he unofficially spoke for Spain and provided his government with much information about events in the United States. The Spanish diplomat finally received recognition when Ferdinand VII returned to Spain after the abdication of Napoleon in 1814. Onís thereafter continued vigorously to protest events in Florida but also began to believe that Spain might profit from negotiating a treaty definitively defining a boundary between the United States and Spain's North American colonies. The Spanish envoy's views caught the attention of John Quincy Adams, whom James Madison named as his secretary of state after his election to the presidency in 1817. Onís and Adams entered into informal discussions, which soon accelerated. The following year, Adams and Onís signed the Transcontinental Treaty giving both East and West Florida to the United States while drawing a boundary line across the entire continent. Onís returned to Spain, where he worked diligently to win ratification of this treaty by the government of Ferdinand VII, an approval that eventually came in 1821.

The resolution of Spain's boundary problems with the United States constituted the least of its international concerns during the ten years following the Peninsular War. The restoration of the monarchy, upon Ferdinand's return to Spain in 1814, did not go smoothly. Once home, the king rejected the liberal reforms of the Cortes de Cadiz and ruled as an absolute monarch. This disgusted many of his former supporters, including many Creoles in Spain's New World colonies. The restoration of the monarchy under such circumstances inflamed the colonial independence movement, which had already begun to fester for a variety of reasons. Already in 1810 a Mexican priest had launched an unsuccessful coup against the royal government in that colony. The movement for independence spread rapidly throughout the Spanish Indies. The early 1820s saw the loss of every important Spanish colony located on the mainland of North and South America. For a short while at the start of the decade, a group of European nations known as the Holy Alliance, composed of conservative monarchs in Europe, including the czar of Russia and the king of Prussia, contemplated sending an expedition to the Spanish Indies for the purpose of restoring Spanish colonial rule. The Monroe Doctrine, however, put Europe on notice that the Americas remained closed to further colonization. Hence, by 1825 the Spanish colonial era in the Western Hemisphere had essentially come to an end, as only a few small possessions (especially Cuba) remained in the hands of the weak Ferdinand VII, who would reign until 1833. Thereafter, the independent successors to Spain in the Americas, especially contiguous Mexico, continued to deal with the United States and its westward expansion.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Concept of Empire; European Responses to America; Expansion; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Mexico; Monroe Doctrine; Monroe, James; Revolution: Diplomacy; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Black, Jeremy. *Eighteenth Century Europe.* 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.

Chavez, Thomas. *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Cummins, Light Townsend. *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775–1783.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991.

Esdaile, Charles. *The Peninsular War: A New History.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Herr, Richard. *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

*Light Townsend Cummins*

**SPANISH BORDERLANDS**    The historian Herbert Eugene Bolton coined the term "Spanish borderlands" in his 1921 book of that title. The Spanish borderland colonies included Florida, the northern Gulf Coast, Spanish Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, present-day Arizona, and California, along with the northern provinces of Mexico that bordered them. Borderlands historians examine these provinces from a Hispanic viewpoint as the "other" colonial history crucial to understanding national development. The Spanish borderlands are customarily divided into two geographic areas: the eastern and western borderlands. The eastern grouping includes Florida, the Gulf Coast, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Valley drainage system—all areas controlled by Spain by the end of the eighteenth century. The western grouping includes Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Spain's first attempt to put colonies in the borderlands was Panfilo de Narvaez's unsuccessful effort in the 1520s to plant a settlement near present-

day Tampa, Florida. In quick succession came the expeditions of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and Hernando de Soto; in 1565 Pedro Menéndez de Avilés founded St. Augustine. Spanish settlers pressed into New Mexico a little over thirty years later with the expedition of Juan de Oñate. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Spanish established a number of settlements in both Florida and New Mexico. In spite of some spectacular setbacks, such as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Spain came to view these colonies as territorial buffers between the rich heartland of Mexico and the expanding North American colonies of France and Great Britain. The settlement of Texas, starting in the 1690s, further expanded the Spanish borderlands; at the same time, missionaries began to push into present-day Arizona. Alarmed by the French incursion into Louisiana during the late seventeenth century, Spain reacted with the founding of Pensacola. Hence, by the eighteenth century the Spanish borderlands encompassed Florida in the east, including fortifications on both the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, with French Louisiana sandwiched between and the two main Spanish colonies to the west, Texas and New Mexico.

### THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) forever changed the territorial balances of the major European colonial powers in North America. With the Peace of Paris (1763), Canada passed to the British while France surrendered all of its Louisiana colony to Spain, a former ally during the war. The British, who had defeated both Bourbon adversaries during the conflict, wanted Spain to administer Louisiana as a drain on its international resources. Additionally, all of Spanish Florida went to Great Britain, as the British organized two new colonies, East and West Florida, with their respective capitals at Pensacola and St. Augustine.

The territorial shifts of 1763 ensured that Spanish Louisiana would play a significant role in the American Revolution. New Orleans quickly became a supply depot for the Continental Army once the military phase of the revolt began in 1775. Starting in that year, regular shipments of supplies to Fort Pitt found their way up the inland conduit of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to supply the troops commanded by George Washington. An Irish merchant, Oliver Pollock, served as an agent of the Continental Congress at New Orleans for most of the Revolution, working in liaison with Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, who supported the rebel cause. With Spain's entry into the conflict in 1779, Gálvez began

a series of campaigns against British positions in West Florida, capturing Baton Rouge in 1779, Mobile in 1780, and Pensacola in 1781. By the time of Yorktown, the entire Gulf Coast and the whole Mississippi Valley had come into Spanish hands. Spanish participation in the Revolution, however, did not create a new ally for the United States. King Charles III and his ministers in Madrid worried that frontier pressures created by a new nation in North America would only be a substitute for their traditional territorial rivalry with Great Britain. Hence, although Spain declared war against the British, there was no alliance with the United States. Spain did send an unofficial representative, Juan de Miralles, to the Continental Congress, and he monitored Spanish interests there.

The Peace of Paris, which ended the War of Independence in 1783, created additional territorial shifts in this region, further confirming the fears of the Spanish court. The peace settlement legitimized territorial rivalries in the borderlands that would determine the nature of United States–Spanish competition for the next fifty years. Spain regained control of both East and West Florida and received undisputed title to the entire west bank of the Mississippi River and the Isle of Orleans, where the great city stood. Great Britain ceded the east bank of the Mississippi above New Orleans to the United States. However, the boundary along the east bank of the river differed in the respective treaties the British negotiated with Spain and the United States, guaranteeing diplomatic problems. For fifteen years thereafter, Spain and the United States wrangled over the boundary between Spanish Louisiana and the United States, with the dispute not resolved until the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795. Two years later the Americans took possession of Natchez.

### UNITED STATES EXPANSION INTO THE BORDERLANDS

The Spanish borderlands of the Floridas, Louisiana, and Texas became a region of enduring controversy between Spain and the United States, motivated in large part by the frontier expansion of the young Republic. From the 1780s to the 1820s, thousands of English-speaking frontier folk from the United States moved into Spanish territory. This process began in the late 1780s when Louisiana governor Esteban Miró began a policy of "defensive colonization," which permitted migrants from the United States to receive land grants in Spanish territory if they swore a loyalty oath to the king and officially professed Roman Catholicism as their religion. Defensive colonization became an intermittent part of Spanish poli-

cy well into the 1820s, when the governor of Texas allowed Moses Austin and other entrepreneurs to settle Americans there. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 did not slow the process of expansion because this important territorial transfer did not include either the Floridas or Texas. In fact, as early as the 1790s an American resident of Natchez, Philip Nolan, had begun leading filibustering expeditions west of the Sabine River into Texas. (The term "filibuster," from the Spanish *filibustero* [freebooter], was applied to Americans stirring up insurrections in lands controlled by Spain.) His execution by the Spanish in 1801 did not stop these incursions, either in Texas or elsewhere throughout the borderlands. Indeed, the period from 1803 until the 1820s can properly be called the filibustering era, as almost a half-dozen major American expeditions, sometimes characterized as "revolts," had as their object Spanish territory bordering on the southern and southwestern United States.

The territories in Spanish Florida north of New Orleans became the first objective for some of these expeditions. After an unsuccessful uprising in 1804, a group of Anglo-Americans raised the Stars and Stripes at Baton Rouge as they declared the Republic of West Florida in 1810. Some historians view this act as a cover for United States expansionism that was legitimized the following year when President James Madison incorporated this region into Louisiana. The War of 1812 also provided opportunities for expansion by Americans into the borderlands. Most notably, General George Mathews led a group of insurgents into East Florida in 1812, taking possession of Fernandina and laying unsuccessful siege to St. Augustine. Some historians have argued that this so-called Patriot War in East Florida had the unofficial yet explicit support of the United States government. In addition, Americans took control of Mobile from the Spanish in 1813 and added it to the Mississippi Territory. In that same year, a frustrated Mexican independence fighter, Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, led a major military incursion into Spanish Texas. Gutiérrez organized an unsuccessful filibustering expedition that counted many Americans in its force. Six years later, Dr. James Long led another group of adventurers into Texas.

Perhaps the most spectacular of all these incursions, however, was the invasion of East Florida by General Andrew Jackson in 1818. All this activity helped motivate the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, signed by Luis de Onís, the Spanish secretary of state. By this treaty, Spain ceded all of the Floridas to the United States and agreed to a transcontinental boundary line that ran from Sabine Bay on the Texas Gulf Coast northward up the Red River of the East, westward to the Rockies, and then north to the Pacific Northwest. This 1819 boundary, however, did not stop American expansionism; English-speaking settlers began to spill across the Sabine into Texas, brought there by legal immigration agents known as *empresarios.* This settlement continued during the 1820s, culminating in the Texas Revolution of 1836. By that time, however, following the War of Mexican Independence in 1821, Spain had left the borderlands. It thus fell to Mexico to deal with the final chapters of United States expansion into the western borderlands of Texas and California, culminating in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

*See also* **Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Florida; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Spain; Spanish Empire; Texas.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Chávez, Thomas. *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Cummins, Light Townsend. *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775–1783.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Kukla, Jon. *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America.* New York: Knopf, 2003.

Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

*Light Townsend Cummins*

**SPANISH CONSPIRACY**    The Spanish Conspiracy involved a plot to open the Mississippi River by a Kentuckian angry at the economic impact caused by Spain's closing of the waterway to American trade. The conspiracy began with James Wilkinson (1757–1825). A brevet brigadier general during the Revolutionary War until he participated in a plot to replace George Washington, Wilkinson moved with his family to Kentucky in 1784. During the same year, Spain closed the Mississippi River to American commerce. The United States made no effort to restore the right of navigation, much to the anger of settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee. The lack of a good road system left settlers on the frontier dependent upon waterways. Without access to the Mississippi, settlers had difficulty getting goods to market and acquiring necessary supplies. Wilkinson suffered a severe financial setback and soon amassed huge debts.

In July 1787 a desperate Wilkinson sent a cargo of tobacco and other Kentucky products down the Mississippi River to the Spanish port of New Orleans. Typically, the Spanish would confiscate American goods. When Esteban Rodríguez Miró, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, attempted to do just that, Wilkinson made a number of questionable claims. He declared that Kentucky was near separation from the United States and that he could determine what course his fellow settlers pursued. He insisted that he could prevent an invasion of westerners set on opening the Mississippi by force and bring Kentucky into the Spanish orbit if only Spain would open the river. Failure by the Spanish to cooperate would force Kentucky to turn to Britain for protection. With its weak defenses, Louisiana would undoubtedly fall to the British.

Wilkinson persuaded Miró to change the policy of confiscation to give him a monopoly of American trade on the Mississippi. He also obtained the promise of a royal pension and a suitable position when Kentucky became part of Spain. For his fellow Kentuckians, Wilkinson requested that they be granted religious liberty and their own English-speaking government. When the Spanish agreed, Wilkinson signed a declaration of allegiance to Spain and began to supply Miró with information. However, considerable doubt exists as to whether Wilkinson ever planned to do more than enrich himself.

As the only outlet in New Orleans for Kentucky produce, Wilkinson reaped enormous profits and spent vast amounts on a lavish lifestyle. Questions about his activities were raised in Kentucky, but he commanded enough respect to participate in its politics. During debates over the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1787, Wilkinson proposed independence for Kentucky under the protection of Spain. But other Kentuckians failed to support separation and Wilkinson quickly stopped advocating it, except to the Spanish. For the next ten years, Wilkinson continued to write to the Spanish in Louisiana, hinting that Kentucky might abandon the United States for Spain. The Spanish assigned Wilkinson the title of Secret Agent No. 13 and promised him a pension for his efforts. In 1795 Pinckney's Treaty opened the Mississippi to free navigation and the need for Kentucky independence evaporated. Wilkinson was acquitted of treason in 1811.

*See also* **Kentucky; Mississippi River; Spanish Borderlands.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Green, Thomas Marshall. *The Spanish Conspiracy.* Cincinnati, Ohio: R. Clarke, 1891. Reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967.

Watlington, Patricia. *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779–1792.* New York: Atheneum, 1972.

*Caryn E. Neumann*

**SPANISH EMPIRE** When the United States entered the community of independent nations in 1783, its neighbors to both the south and west were territories of the Spanish Empire. Spain claimed sovereignty over the North American continent west of the Mississippi River and the Florida territory. These holdings, though vast, were not as significant—or wealth producing—for Spain as were its colonies in Central and South America, particularly the viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru. By 1783, though, Spain's presence in the New World had become tenuous. A significant reason was the influence and ambitions of its colonies' newly independent neighbor. Through both its ideology and its expansionist agenda, the United States would play a significant role in the ultimate fate of Spain's American domain. As had been the case with Great Britain and its North American colonies, Spain would eventually see its American possessions drift into independence, but the process by which it occurred would be markedly different.

**TREATY OF PARIS, 1763**

Compared to the other European colonial powers in the Americas—especially Britain and France—Spain had assumed second-tier status by 1754, when the French and Indian War, the North American phase of the Seven Years' War, broke out. Allied with France in a losing cause, Spain lost Florida to the victorious British in the Treaty of Paris (1763) at war's end. The treaty also granted Spain the Louisiana Territory (the western portion of the Mississippi River valley) to compensate for the loss of Florida (seen as more valuable), but the British motivation here was not so much to placate Spain as to expel the French from America entirely. When the thirteen British North American colonies rebelled and declared independence in 1776, the Spanish government saw an opportunity possibly to undo some of the damage done in 1763 to its colonial holdings. Certainly France saw things this way, and the French government was able to convince the more hesitant Spanish to enter the American Revolution (1775–1783) on

the side of the pro-independence Patriots. While France provided the lion's share of assistance to the war effort in America, Spain engaged Britain in Europe. First on the Spanish agenda was reclaiming Gibraltar; that promontory, situated strategically at the mouth of the Mediterranean, had gone to the British along with Florida in 1763. After the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781, peace negotiations began at Paris. The Spanish, however, had yet to recover Gibraltar, and only through French pressure did Spain reluctantly abandon its Mediterranean project and agree to the Treaty of Paris of 1783. The treaty did, however, return Florida to the Spanish.

### POLICY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

The Americans' successful anticolonial revolution concerned the Spanish Crown. By the 1770s, the Bourbon monarchs of Spain were well into the process of reforming and restructuring the management of their colonial empire. Beginning in the reign of the first Bourbon king, Philip V (r. 1724–1746), and continuing with his successors Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–1759) and Charles III (r. 1759–1788), the Bourbon Reforms significantly altered the administration of Spain's colonies, as well as their relationship to the metropolis. Influenced primarily by the principles of mercantilism, the Spanish Crown sought to tighten the lines of authority over what had become a dangerously autonomous colonial elite and to extract what it saw as the proper amount of revenue from its American possessions. The reforms unsettled the many Spanish colonists who were concerned about the increased presence of direct royal authority where previously a wide latitude had existed. Many in the colonial elite were influenced to a degree by elements of the Enlightenment-based thought that so pervaded this revolutionary era. The writings of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution— these and similar writings had some impact upon the changing political culture of the Spanish colonies. Yet many of the revolutionary currents in the larger Atlantic world alarmed these colonial elites. In particular, the French Revolution's increasingly radical nature alienated most of this traditionally conservative group. The violent revolution in France's colony of St. Domingue, led largely by the island's black population, alarmed the elites even more. Certainly, then, the potential for radical upheaval was far less in Spain's colonies than in other areas of the Americas. Nevertheless, the monarchy was concerned about these stirrings of colonial discontent—as well as the perceived threat from the first independent republic in the hemisphere, the United States.

Spanish policy toward the United States reflected this wariness. As soon as Spain recognized the independence of the United States, it proclaimed the Mississippi River, and the port of New Orleans at its mouth, closed to Americans. This peremptory action was at best of questionable legitimacy in terms of international law, as Spain claimed ownership of the whole Mississippi by virtue of possessing land only on its western half. Protests from the U.S. government centered around this issue. In 1784 negotiations between John Jay, foreign secretary under the Articles of Confederation, and Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish foreign minister, proved fruitless; it would take another decade until the issue would be resolved.

Western settlers suffered most from the closing of the Mississippi River and New Orleans to Americans. Deprived of the easiest and least costly outlet for the transportation of their produce (downriver to the Mississippi and New Orleans, as opposed to overland across the Appalachian Mountains), westerners began to doubt whether the federal government truly valued their needs and concerns as the prohibition dragged into the 1790s. Indeed, some westerners, particularly those in western Tennessee and northern Alabama, contemplated shifting their allegiance to the Spanish if that would make their lives and commerce easier. For much of the 1790s General James Wilkinson, commander of the southwestern department of the U.S. Army, was also in the pay of the Spanish, who sought to exploit any unrest that they could on the edge of American settlement. Wilkinson personified what one historian has called "the problem of neighborhood" faced by the United States in its frontier regions; shifting allegiances, prompted by distinctly western concerns, meant that loyalty and union could be problematic notions west of the Appalachians. Coupled with its failure to address the Native American "menace" on the frontier, the U.S. government's inability to budge the Spanish on the Mississippi question was a primary element in the East-West sectional tensions that so plagued the Republic in its early years.

### SPAIN AND FRANCE

The vicissitudes of the French Revolution dramatically altered the course of colonial and diplomatic events for the nations of both the American and European continents by the mid-1790s. When the French revolutionary regime began to wage war on the other European powers in 1793, Spain allied itself with the antirevolutionary monarchies, led by Great Britain. By this point, however, Spain's leadership had declined in both vigor and ability. Charles III had prov-

en the most effective of Spain's Bourbon monarchs, but his successor Charles IV (1788–1808) was closer to the other end of the spectrum. Additionally, he found himself in the unenviable position, along with his controversial and unpopular foreign minister, Manuel de Godoy, of suborning Spain under Napoleon Bonaparte and his French Empire. Fearing that its alliance with Britain might bring repercussions should France gain the upper hand in the conflict, Spain reversed diplomatic course and began to take measures to placate France, its expansionist neighbor. This was the immediate context for the conclusion of a treaty with the United States in 1795. Believing that the previous year's treaty between the United States and Great Britain (Jay's Treaty) had drawn those two nations into an alliance, Spain sought to smooth any rough edges that remained in its relationship with America. Pinckney's Treaty, also called the Treaty of San Lorenzo, allowed for American access to the Mississippi and the right of deposit for American goods at New Orleans. Thus, from Spain's diplomatic and military distress came a coup for the United States, as one of the most significant festering issues faced by the Republic was finally resolved.

But Spain's best efforts to make things right with an ever-more-menacing France proved unsuccessful. In 1801 Napoleon forced the Spanish Crown into the Treaty of San Ildefonso, which retroceded the Louisiana territory to the French. This action had ominous ramifications for the United States. The French began to limit American access to the Mississippi and New Orleans in violation of the terms of Pinckney's Treaty. Realizing that the United States would have to move well into the British orbit to counter the French hold on New Orleans, President Thomas Jefferson (who was certainly no Anglophile) sent Robert R. Livingston to Paris to purchase Florida and New Orleans. Napoleon, reconsidering his American ambitions in the wake of the revolution in St. Domingue and needing money to finance renewed warfare in Europe, offered the entire territory to the United States for $15 million. Thus, while it can be said that the Louisiana Purchase was made possible by the peculiarities of France's situation, ultimately the chain of events that led to it started from the circumstances of France's weaker neighbor, Spain.

Spain was not yet through with Napoleon Bonaparte, either. In 1804 Napoleon had forced Charles IV into a treaty under which Spain was responsible for yearly subsidies to France. The burden of these payments quickly proved to be untenable, and Spain's economy—already experiencing serious difficul-

ties—further suffered. The next year, a combined Spanish and French fleet engaged and lost to the British, under Admiral Horatio Nelson, at Trafalgar. This defeat severed Spain's maritime link to its American colonies. When Charles IV abdicated in 1808, Napoleon mediated between claimants to the Spanish throne, including Ferdinand VII, whom most Spaniards regarded as the legitimate successor. Napoleon, however, put his brother Joseph at the head of the Spanish Empire, which set off the chain of events that led to that empire's disintegration over the next two decades. Loyalists of Ferdinand VII established juntas throughout Spain, and the same step was undertaken in the colonies. But in the Americas, these movements often only wore the "mask of Ferdinand"—they professed loyalty to a "legitimate" Spanish monarch but in fact worked for colonial autonomy and even independence. By 1810 Spain's colonies were moving into rebellion, with insurgencies having erupted in Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina. The Wars of Independence in Spain's American dominions would last for over a decade, but at their end, what was once a far-reaching colonial dominion had become a collection of independent republics. Even after the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in 1814 and the final defeat and exile of Napoleon the following year, Spain's empire continued to unravel.

### THE UNITED STATES AND FLORIDA

Much of this imperial collapse originated within internal dynamics of the empire itself, but in the case of Florida, Spain's weakness and declining power were underscored by the actions of the United States. That nation had long been interested in the territory; southern slaveholders resented the presence of Florida as a haven beyond American jurisdiction for fugitive slaves, and many in the region also feared various Indian groups like the Creeks and Seminoles, whom they believed were urged by Spanish authorities to attack American settlements. In 1806 Jefferson attempted to get funds appropriated for secret negotiations with Spain in an attempt to purchase Florida. Congress approved the funds, but the negotiations in Paris (1806–1807) failed.

The issue was brought forth again in 1818–1819 by General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Charged by President James Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun with suppressing the raids on American settlements in the Southeast carried out by the Seminole nation, Jackson—who had advanced his military career fighting Indian allies of the British in the War of 1812—carried his mission into Spanish

Florida itself, where the Seminoles' raids had originated. Quickly seizing the fortress at Pensacola, Jackson forced the Spanish governor to lower the Spanish colors, which in effect meant acknowledging American sovereignty in the area, even if temporarily. Jackson also arrested and subsequently executed two British citizens whom he accused of providing the Seminoles with both the arms and the encouragement to attack American settlements. While Jackson accomplished his goal of halting Seminole incursions into American territory, he also provoked an international incident; Britain was outraged at the executions of its citizens, and Spain protested vigorously at the general's actions, which could be interpreted as waging war on Spain. For his part, Jackson believed that he had acted with Monroe's implicit approval; he himself had long been an advocate of taking Florida as a means of ending Indian "hostilities" on the southern frontier.

While most of Monroe's cabinet demanded disavowal of Jackson's actions and a formal censure of the general, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams realized that in this imbroglio lay an opportunity for the acquisition of Florida. Declaring to the Spanish ambassador Luis de Onís that Spain had demonstrated a singular inability to control its colonial possessions, Adams insinuated that the United States reserved the right to engage in similar incursions in the future, should Spanish authorities be unable to control the native populations of Florida. Forced to concede the point, Onís and the Spanish agreed to an 1819 treaty that ceded Florida to the United States in return for an assumption of $5 million in American claims against the Spanish government. The treaty also established a distinct line between the Louisiana Territory and Spanish territories in the west, which would hold great portent for U.S.–Mexican relations in subsequent years.

### U.S. HEMISPHERIC DOMINANCE

The Adams-Onís Treaty, also known as the Transcontinental Treaty, dramatically illustrated the contrasting arcs of the United States, the ascendant power in the Western Hemisphere, and Spain, the hemisphere's first preeminent power but now a shell of its former potency. By 1819 much of Spain's colonial dominion had already escaped its grasp in all but the formal sense. In 1821 Mexico won its independence. By 1825 South America (except for Portuguese Brazil) was a collection of independent states as well. Save for a few Caribbean colonies, including Cuba, Spain's New World Empire was no more. The United States moved quickly to foster its role as the "mother republic" in the hemisphere. Part of the reason for this was a sense of obligation, variously articulated, to support those nations that sought to emulate the republican forms successfully launched by the United States. There was a very real sense for many Americans that the Western Hemisphere represented the new republican era, as opposed to the declining and superseded monarchical age of the other side of the Atlantic.

Additionally, there was an element of marked self-interest; the roots of what would become the ideology of Manifest Destiny were already evident in such actions as the acquisition of Florida. American (mostly southern and slaveholding) migration into the Mexican province of Texas, beginning in the early 1820s, was another such manifestation of American expansionism. Though these migrants entered Texas by the invitation and sanction of a Mexican government eager to populate its northern frontier, within fifteen years the province would be lost to Mexico; another five years after that, Texas was part of the United States and Mexico had lost the rest of its northern territories in a humiliating and one-sided war with the growing Republic to the north.

Perhaps the most famous—at least in retrospect—articulation of what Americans perceived their role in the Western Hemisphere to be was the Monroe Doctrine. Articulated in President Monroe's December 1823 annual message to Congress, the policy statement—actually formulated by Secretary of State Adams—declared that the Americas were no longer to be seen as areas of colonization for European powers. Instead, the Western Hemisphere was a hemisphere of republics, with the United States playing the role of defender and guarantor of this state of affairs—the first among equals, as it were. While the European response to this proclamation was mostly bemused condescension, the Monroe Doctrine was an important assessment of America's opinion as to where it stood in the hemispheric and in the international community, and it would continue to be the backbone of U.S. foreign policy into the modern era.

It is this persistence of the ideology inherent in the Monroe Doctrine that is the most significant factor in assessing the relationship between the United States and the areas that were formerly the colonial empire of Spain. Many Americans (most notably Henry Clay) were warm advocates of the "sister republics" of Latin America, seeing these nations as attempting to travel the same admirable republican road traveled by the American Revolutionary generation. But others, while professing similar ideals, saw

Latin American nations as something else—perhaps inferior nations, destined to be conquered and absorbed; perhaps seedbeds of dangerous radicalism; perhaps, later, as areas in which to expand the institution of chattel slavery. Ultimately, the United States forged a relationship with the Latin American republics that in many ways was remarkably similar to that between the United States and Spain in an earlier era: sometimes as an ally, sometimes as an adversary, but consistently acting in self-interest. Latin Americans would thus exist in the same ambivalent, and often unequal, hemispheric partnership as had their former colonial masters.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Florida; Jackson, Andrew; Latin American Revolutions, American Response to; Louisiana Purchase; Mexico; Monroe Doctrine; Presidency, The: John Quincy Adams; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Conspiracy; Texas; Transcontinental Treaty.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aguilar, Alonso. *Pan-Americanism from Monroe to the Present: A View from the Other Side.* Translated by Asa Zatz. Rev. ed. New York: MR Press, 1968.

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *Pinckney's Treaty: A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783–1800.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1926.

———. *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy.* New York: Knopf, 1949.

Griffin, Charles C. *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810–1822: A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and with the Rebel Spanish Colonies.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

MacLachlan, Colin M. *Spain's Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Rodríguez O., Jaime E. *The Independence of Spanish America.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Weber, David J. *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest under Mexico.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Whitaker, Arthur Preston. *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941.

*Kevin M. Gannon*

## STAMP ACT AND STAMP ACT CONGRESS

After the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the government of Great Britain faced a financial crisis. During the war, Britain's national debt had doubled, from approximately £70 million to £140 million. More significantly, the cost of administering Britain's North American colonies skyrocketed with the acquisition of Canada from the French and Florida from the Spanish. The government planned to maintain an army of 7,500 soldiers in its newly acquired territory, a substantial portion to be posted in remote garrisons along the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. This military establishment would cost about £350,000 annually. American customs, the chief source of revenue for the British government from its colonies, generated only about £2,000 annually.

Faced with these financial realities, Prime Minister George Grenville proposed in early 1764 that Parliament enact a stamp tax in the American colonies. The proposed tax was actually a series of duties levied on legal and economic transactions. Newspapers and legal documents would have to be printed on stamped paper purchased from a royally appointed stamp distributor. Liquor licenses and land patents would also be subject to a stamp duty, as would some common nonessential consumer items, such as playing cards and dice. Such a system of taxation already existed in Britain, where the king's subjects paid at a rate higher than that proposed by Grenville for America. Colonial agents in London objected to Grenville's proposal but offered no alternative other than having the crown requisition funds as needed from colonial assemblies, a system that had failed to raise adequate revenues in the past.

When Parliament passed the Stamp Act in March 1765, no one in Britain or America anticipated the furor it would unleash in the colonies. The colonists objected to the Stamp Act primarily on two grounds. First, they claimed it violated their right as British subjects to no taxation without representation because no American representatives sat in Parliament. Patrick Henry famously made this argument in a speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses in May 1765, sparking the passage of a series of resolutions against the Stamp Act that were widely circulated and imitated among the other colonial assemblies. Second, the colonists objected to a provision in the Stamp Act that gave vice-admiralty courts jurisdiction over cases arising from enforcement of the tax. The colonists considered this measure another violation of their rights, because vice-admiralty courts

**"The Times are Dreadful, Dismal, Doleful, Dolorous, and Dollar-less."** The masthead features a skull and crossbones in place of the official stamp. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

typically tried crimes committed on the high seas and did not use juries.

At the suggestion of the Massachusetts assembly, nine of the colonies sent delegations to a meeting in New York in October 1765 to frame joint petitions to the crown and Parliament against the Stamp Act. The twenty-seven delegates at the Stamp Act Congress—representing Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina—spent two weeks carefully drafting these petitions, which acknowledged their loyalty and submission to the king and Parliament but stated unequivocally their constitutional claim to no taxation without representation.

While elites met in assembly halls, the common folk practiced a different kind of politics out-of-doors. The first crowd actions occurred in Boston in August 1765, when a mob tore down the home of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson and ran

Andrew Oliver, the person expected to be appointed the colony's stamp distributor, out of town. Similar riots and intimidation of stamp distributors occurred in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina. As the stamped paper necessary to carry out the Stamp Act arrived in colonial harbors, it was either destroyed by mobs or locked up by government officials for safekeeping. When the date set for the act to take effect, 1 November 1765, arrived, neither a single sheet of stamped paper nor a single stamp distributor was available to anyone who might have wished to comply with it. Merchants, lawyers, and printers cautiously resumed business once it became apparent that the act was unenforceable.

Meanwhile, changing political winds in Britain opened the door to repealing the act. For reasons unrelated to its American policy, the Grenville ministry fell out of favor and a new one led by Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham,

took over. British merchants who feared the disruption of their American trade organized petition drives for repeal in seaports and manufacturing towns. In February 1766 Parliament debated the subject. The political hero of the Seven Years' War, William Pitt, gave a famous speech defending the American position, and Benjamin Franklin, working in London as a colonial agent, acquitted himself brilliantly as a defender of American liberties. With the tide of opinion clearly against enforcing the Stamp Act, the Rockingham ministry devised a solution to the crisis. The act of repeal was accompanied by the Declaratory Act, which asserted Parliament's power to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." Both measures became law on 18 March 1766.

The Stamp Act brought forth the constitutional issues on which the colonies and Britain would split. The colonists, believing they had achieved a great victory for their rights as British subjects, never budged from their contention that Parliament had no right to tax them. In Britain, subsequent measures intended to ease the government's financial burden in America, such as the Townshend Act (1767) and the Tea Act (1774), tried to raise money by levying imposts on the colonists' overseas trade, but like the Stamp Act, they met stiff American resistance. The Stamp Act Congress had proved the efficacy of united colonial opposition to such measures, and mob actions remained the most prominent tactic in the Patriot cause.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bullion, John L. *A Great and Necessary Measure: George Grenville and the Genesis of the Stamp Act, 1763–1765.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982.

Morgan, Edmund S., ed. *Prologue to Revolution: Sources and Documents on the Stamp Act Crisis, 1764–1766.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

Morgan, Edmund S., and Helen M. Morgan. *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution.* Rev. ed. New York: Collier, 1963.

Thomas, P. D. G. *British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis: The First Phase of the American Revolution, 1763–1767.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

*Timothy J. Shannon*

**"STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"** "The Star-Spangled Banner," the national anthem of the United States, was inspired by the flag that flew over Fort McHenry in the harbor of Baltimore, Maryland, during the War of 1812 (1812–1815). During that conflict, the British conducted frequent raids on American towns and harbors along the Atlantic coast, including forays into Chesapeake Bay. Some American harbors were fortified, including Baltimore, whose five-pointed, star-shaped brick fort named Fort McHenry prepared to face certain attack by British forces. In anticipation of such an attack Major George Armistead, commander of Fort McHenry, wanted a U.S. flag made so large that the British would clearly see it waving from a great distance as a symbol of bold defiance of their invasion. A Baltimore widow, Mary Pickersgill, had experience making ship flags and agreed to sew a flag that would measure thirty feet wide by forty-two feet long. Pickersgill spent several weeks measuring, cutting, and sewing the fifteen stars and stripes that, because of their size, had to be assembled on the floor of a nearby brewery. In August 1813 Pickersgill presented the flag to Major Armistead and was paid $405.90 for her work.

In August 1814 a large British force landed in Maryland and marched toward Washington, D.C. The British easily defeated the American army at Bladensburg, then entered the capital and burned several public buildings, including the White House. The British subsequently returned to their ships and moved to attack Baltimore. The combined naval and army force coordinated a three-day attack on the city fortifications both in the harbor and on land. On the morning of 13 September 1814, British ships began hurling over fifteen hundred shells, bombs, and rockets toward Fort McHenry from positions in the Patapsco River beyond the reach of the fort's guns. The bombardment, which lasted about twenty-five hours, was designed to divert attention from a British army landing at North Point to be followed by a march overland to take Baltimore.

In the meantime, apprehensively watching this activity from an American truce ship anchored in the river was a Georgetown attorney named Francis Scott Key. Key had visited the British fleet to negotiate the release of a Maryland doctor, William Beanes, who had been taken prisoner by the British during the attack on Washington. Key was successful in obtaining Dr. Beanes's release but could not depart until the attack on Baltimore was concluded. During the night, Key watched the British fire hundreds of projectiles toward the fort but heard only occasional sounds of McHenry's guns returning fire. Unsure if the fort had fallen to the enemy, at the break of dawn Key peered through a telescope and saw the fort's enormous flag waving in the morning breeze, a symbol of defiance and triumph in the face of the enemy.

Relieved and inspired by the sight, Key took a letter from his pocket and on the back wrote some poetic verses about the events he had witnessed.

Once the defeated British forces departed, Key completed his four-verse poem on 16 September and sent it to a printer for distribution the next day as a handbill entitled, *The Defense of Fort McHenry*. He had composed the poem in the form and meter of a well-known English melody titled "To Anacreon in Heaven." The new combination of song and poem soon became known as "The Star-Spangled Banner," which slowly grew in popularity as a patriotic tune throughout the nineteenth century. During the early twentieth century, various patriotic and veteran organizations lobbied for the song to become the official national anthem, a wish granted by Congress on 3 March 1931.

As for the inspiration for the anthem, Armistead acquired the flag after the war. A few weeks after the battle he provided pieces of the flag to a soldier's widow to bury with her husband. In later years he distributed additional pieces for similar purposes. The flag was kept by his descendents. In 1907 Eben Appleton, Armistead's grandson, loaned the flag to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., for an exhibit. He donated it permanently in 1912 on the condition that it never be removed so that all U.S citizens could view the Star-Spangled Banner. In 1965 the flag was moved to the Smithsonian's new National Museum of American History in Washington and given a prominent place as the first exhibit inside the museum's entrance on the National Mall. Conservation work on the flag at the turn of the twenty-first century (1998–ongoing) will ensure its preservation as a symbol of U.S. strength and independence for succeeding generations of Americans.

*See also* **Music: Patriotic and Political.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lord, Walter. *The Dawn's Early Light.* New York: Norton, 1972.

Rukert, Norman G. *Fort McHenry: Home of the Brave.* Baltimore, Md.: Bodine, 1983.

Sheads, Scott S. *The Rockets' Red Glare: The Maritime Defense of Baltimore in 1814.* Centerville, Md.: Tidewater, 1986.

*Steven J. Rauch*

**STATEHOOD AND ADMISSION** The early years of the new nation saw the United States grow from the original thirteen eastern seaboard colonies to, by 1821, a sprawling Republic of twenty-four states that extended beyond the Mississippi River. The principle that new states could join the Union on an equal footing was an important, if problematic, facet of republican political theory in America. The reality of westward expansion made debates over statehood one of the key political battlegrounds of the early national era. The statehood question became, increasingly, the site of the growing sectional conflict over slavery. The Missouri crisis of 1819–1821 over the admission of a new slave state was the first of the major crises that foreshadowed the Civil War.

After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the original thirteen Atlantic colonies considered themselves to be independent states. During the Revolution each state but Rhode Island and Connecticut enacted its own state constitution. The Articles of Confederation treated the states as sovereign republics, loosely allied but under a weak national government. The framers of the U.S. Constitution of 1787 provided for a union with a more powerful central government, with the thirteen original states to become full members by ratifying the Constitution. In Article IV, section 3, the Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate the admission of new states into the federal Union. This acknowledged implicitly the principle that the new nation would allow its territories outside the original states to become full and equal members of the Union—in contrast to the British colonial system from which the Americans had broken away.

### CONCERNS OVER EXPANSION

From the beginning of the Republic, the notion that the federal Union would continue to admit new states in addition to the original thirteen had caused concern among some who opposed an increase in the power of the central government at the expense of the original states—especially those states such as Virginia that had extensive claims in the western lands. But Virginia in 1784 and the other states agreed to cede their western claims to the national government, opening the way for the creation of new states. Another problematic matter regarding the admission of new states was the idea that an expansive national republic conflicted in part with the traditional republican theory that had influenced many in the founding generation. That theory, articulated by British opposition thinkers and Enlightenment philosophers such as Montesquieu, generally held that the republican form of government worked best only on a small scale, in societies small in physi-

cal size and culturally homogenous. But James Madison's essays in the *The Federalist* (1787–1788) addressed and sought to allay these concerns by arguing in favor of an extensive republic in North America tied together by commerce and common political beliefs.

Most Americans, however, had never been bothered by these considerations; from the founding of the Republic they had supported the concept of adding new states on an equal footing. Also, the reality of western expansion made the question of new states a pressing issue. Having been prevented from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains by the British Proclamation of 1763, American settlers after the Revolution began to pour into the western territories. Just a few years after the Constitution was ratified, the first new states of Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796) were added to the Union.

### EQUALITY FOR NEW STATES

In fact, before the Constitution was even drafted, the principle of adding new states on equal footing had been determined by the Continental Congress. The question of how to dispose of the western territories was influenced by the need to pay off the vast Revolutionary War debt, in part by the sale of land; by the desire to provide an orderly process for settling the territories through provision of security, the rule of law, and protection of property rights for U.S. citizens who migrated west; and by the pragmatic reality presented by the speedy westward migration after the Revolution. Shortly after Virginia's land cession, Congress in April 1784 approved an ordinance designed by Thomas Jefferson for settlement and state formation in the territories north of the Ohio River, with the new states to be equal to the old ones. That ordinance was superseded by the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The Northwest Ordinance set forth provisions for interim territorial governments as well as a specific process for achieving statehood, based on the criteria of reaching a certain level of population and self-government. Reenacted by the new federal Congress in 1789, the ordinance explicitly enshrined as national law the principle that new states could join the Union on an equal footing. Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), and later Michigan (1837) and Wisconsin (1848) were admitted to the Union under the terms of the Northwest Ordinance.

### NEW STATES AND SLAVERY

Sectional politics began to play a major role in considerations of state formation in the early 1800s. The Constitution had brokered an uneasy compromise on slavery, permitting the southern states to protect the institution. Because each new state would add two voting members to the U.S. Senate as well as members of the House of Representatives, whether new states would be slave or free would affect national policy. With the admission of Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), and Alabama (1819), all slave states, the issue gained nationwide attention. The balance of slave and free states in the Senate remained equal. When Missouri applied for statehood in 1819, it launched the first of the sectional crises that preceded the Civil War.

Missouri at the time of its application for statehood already had thousands of slaves. But Republican representative James Tallmadge of New York in 1819 introduced in Congress two amendments to the Missouri statehood bill that would ban the importation of new slaves into the state. These amendments galvanized northern antislavery sentiment and rallied northern congressmen of both parties to vote against the admission of Missouri to the Union. In 1821 the two houses of Congress compromised by admitting Missouri as a slave state on certain conditions, while also admitting Maine, previously a part of Massachusetts, as a free state. While the Missouri Compromise defused the sectional crisis temporarily by preserving the free state–slave state balance, it only delayed the eventual reckoning of the slavery issue in the new nation, which led ultimately to the Civil War.

The process of state making and state formation occupied a prominent place in the political discourse of the new nation. It made important contributions to the history of the United States by establishing the principle of admitting new states on an equal footing, by regulating the expansion of the Union, and by foreshadowing the coming sectional crisis.

*See also* **Missouri Compromise; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Onuf, Peter S. *Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Wilentz, Sean. "Jeffersonian Democracy and the Origins of Political Antislavery in the United States: The Missouri Crisis Revisited." *Journal of the Historical Society* 4 (2004): 375–401.

*Matthew J. Festa*

## STATES' RIGHTS

**STATES' RIGHTS** The concept of states' rights presupposes a federal relationship among states. In the case of the United States, the constitutional principle of states' rights can be traced to the federal Union's creation by the states for limited purposes. As embodied in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, states' rights became one of the founding principles of the Jeffersonian Republican Party that dominated federal politics in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, the chief points on which the colonists insisted were the "rights of Englishmen" and the prerogatives of their colonial legislatures. The Sugar Act (1764), the Declaratory Act (1766), the dissolution of the New York assembly (1767), the Tea Act (1773), the Massachusetts Government Act (1774), the Boston Port Act (1774), the Administration of Justice Act (1774), and various other of the parliamentary initiatives to which the colonists objected so stoutly should be understood as having offended them primarily as they impinged upon the colonists' right of self-government. At first, this inherited right was said to extend to an exclusive right in the provincial assemblies to tax the colonists; Patrick Henry's Stamp Act Resolves of 1765 based this right on a cogent account of Virginia's colonial history, and the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, drawn from nine colonies, asserted this exclusive right in Pennsylvanian John Dickinson's resolutions.

In 1766 Parliament repealed the Stamp Act. Simultaneously, it adopted the Declaratory Act, in which it claimed authority to legislate for the colonists "in all cases whatsoever." Americans would remember that claim.

By the time the fighting started in 1775, radical colonists such as Thomas Jefferson were going further than Dickinson's resolutions. For Jefferson, in his pamphlet entitled *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonists at all; the only legitimate constitutional tie between the colonies and the mother country was that they shared a common crown. When the Second Continental Congress declared in 1776 that the thirteen colonies were and of right ought to be free and independent states, it based its claim on a Lockean account of government that culminated in an assertion that King George III had effectively abdicated his role in regard to the thirteen colonies. Among George's supposed misdeeds was his failure to prevent the British Parliament from legislating for North America.

Besides coordinating American foreign and defense policy, the First and Second Continental Congresses had, by default, to establish the working federal relationship among the states. Each time Congress claimed authority, it met with opposition from those states that could expect to carry the most of the burden or, in some cases, to be negatively affected. Nowhere was this clearer than when it came to the states' western land claims.

Several states claimed extensive lands beyond the Proclamation Line of 1763. From its earliest days, Congress endeavored to provide rational national policies for the governance of those lands, but the states with western claims, particularly Virginia, rose to the defense of their parochial interests. In defending their claim to exclusive jurisdiction over their trans–Ohio River territories, Virginia members of Congress such as George Mason, James Madison, and James Monroe developed a sophisticated theory of states' rights and reserved powers that would later be resuscitated and reinvigorated by the Virginia-centered Jeffersonian Republican Party.

In 1777 Congress submitted the proposed Articles of Confederation to the states. After four years of debate, the Articles—America's first federal constitution—were ratified. Leading figures from all sections of the country recognized the inadequacy of the Articles, particularly when it came to the federal government's taxing power, but tiny Rhode Island stood in the way of their favorite proposal: an amendment to the Articles granting Congress power to levy a tariff.

### A NEW CONSTITUTION

In response, self-styled Federalists plotted to hold a continental convention to reinvigorate the federal government. Led by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, and with the support of General George Washington, they finally succeeded in convening a group of delegates from twelve states at Philadelphia in May 1787.

The Federalists' purported goal was to formulate acceptable proposals for amending the Articles of Confederation to give the government adequate powers. In fact, however, their true goal was to substitute a new government for the old one. Seeing through Federalist pretensions, several notable American politicians, including New York's George Clinton, North Carolina's Willie Jones, and Virginia's Patrick Henry, refused to participate; Rhode Island rejected the invitation to send delegates altogether.

Why? Henry, James Monroe, and other Virginians believed that a stronger congress would be willing and able to sacrifice Virginia's rights for the majority's benefit. Henry's concern had been raised by Congress's 1786 attempt to trade American rights to navigate the Mississippi River for limited access to Spanish colonial ports in the Caribbean Sea. Both in the Philadelphia Convention and in the subsequent state ratification conventions, proponents of leaving the preponderant legislative authority in the states opposed the nationalist program of the Federalists. They did so largely out of concern for the primacy of the states in the federal system. At Philadelphia, that insistence resulted in the state legislatures' power to elect U.S. senators and in the defeat of James Madison's proposal that Congress have a veto over all state laws; in the ratification conventions, it shaped the debate in myriad ways.

Most important, concerns for state sovereignty elicited from Virginia governor Edmund Randolph, a Philadelphia Convention delegate and the leading Federalist orator in the Richmond ratification convention of 1788, repeated avowals that the new federal government would have only the powers it was "expressly delegated" by the Constitution. Fellow Federalist delegate George Nicholas, a lieutenant of Madison's, picked up on this formulation, and the two of them forcefully repeated that claim at the convention's end. Nicholas and Randolph were two of the five delegates chosen to draft Virginia's instrument of ratification, which reserved certain rights to the people. It was on this understanding that Virginia ratified, and Federalists in other states—notably South Carolina—made similar assurances.

Federalists had already proven untrustworthy: they had promised that the Philadelphia Convention would merely propose amendments to the Articles. Therefore, several ratification conventions proposed amendments akin to what became the Tenth Amendment, which says that any powers not delegated through the Constitution to the federal government are reserved to the states respectively or to the people. To remind federal officials of their intention to hold them to Randolph's pledge, the majority of the Virginia General Assembly in 1790 adopted a resolution written by Patrick Henry to the effect that Hamilton's bill for assumption of the state debts was unconstitutional because in adopting it, Congress exercised a power not "expressly" granted to Congress.

## THE EARLY 1790s

The First Congress saw a heated discussion of the idea of taxing slave imports. Members of Congress from the Deep South insisted that the Constitution's denial to Congress of a power to prohibit slave imports before 1808 implicitly denied it the power to tax slave imports. Ultimately, South Carolina representative Aedanus Burke said that if a special tax were placed on slave imports, South Carolina would secede from the Union. Georgia delegates echoed this threat, and the proposal failed.

Through the 1790s, self-styled Republicans would repeatedly insist that the federal government, in exercising powers not "expressly" granted it by the Constitution, were violating the Tenth Amendment; that is, they would say that virtually every controversial measure of the federal government amounted to an impingement upon states' rights.

For example, James Madison's opposition in the House of Representatives to the 1791 bill granting a federal charter to a bank rested ultimately on the idea that the power to grant such charters had been reserved to the states. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, at the request of President Washington, made a virtually identical argument in the cabinet. Federalists consistently rejected this argument, as Washington ultimately did in signing the bank bill. So far as they were concerned, the federal government was a sovereign in the international system. Since it alone represented the American people abroad, it could tax and spend for all the purposes of government.

Republicans remained steadfast in their insistence that various federal measures violated the reservation of residual powers to the states throughout the 1790s. Thus, the Virginia politician John Taylor of Caroline insisted that the federal excise tax on carriages was unconstitutional because the power to levy it had not been expressly granted and because of its disproportionate sectional incidence (only two carriages were taxed in all of Connecticut, he asserted, but virtually every substantial planter in Tidewater Virginia had one); for rhetorical effect, Taylor added that if the federal government could overstep the bounds of its authority to tax a particular type of property held mainly in the South in this instance, that would be a dangerous precedent for taxing another type of property that was held mainly in the South. From the beginning, then, the Republican insistence on states' rights was tied to slavery, not only by U.S. senators and representatives from the Deep South but by leading Republicans in Jefferson's home state.

One result of this Republican campaign was the Eleventh Amendment, affixed to the federal charter in 1795. This amendment grew out of the unpopularity of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Chis-*

*holm v. Georgia* (1793). The majority of the Court said in the decision that Georgia could be made a party defendant to a suit in federal court even without that state's consent. Legislatures from Massachusetts to Virginia protested, and the result was an amendment denying the federal courts authority to make a state a party to a suit against its will. Popular opinion seems to have been behind the amendment.

### THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS

The climax of the Federalist-Republican debate of the 1790s came at the decade's end. In response to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the Republican-dominated legislatures in Virginia and Kentucky promulgated the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. The federal government, according to these Republican resolutions, had been created by the states, had only the powers granted it by the states, and must, in the last resort, be kept by the states from depriving Americans of their rights. Virginia's version, secretly penned by Madison, said that the remedy to unconstitutional and dangerous federal legislation was state "interposition"; the first draft of Kentucky's, secretly written by Jefferson, called the proper remedy "nullification."

Alexander Hamilton believed that "Virginia" (meaning the Republican Party) meant to dismember the Union. Some leading Republicans, such as Taylor and the U.S. representative from Virginia, William Branch Giles, were contemplating precisely that in 1798. The Virginia General Assembly, meanwhile, took steps to invigorate Virginia's militia. Vice President Jefferson wrote to Taylor in June 1798 that the time for secession had not arrived yet. In the days before the election of 1800, he believed that what he called the "reign of witches" would be dispelled by the arrival of the tax bill associated with the Federalists' military buildup.

In the interim between 1798 and the election of 1800, things did not look very promising for the Republicans. Federalists achieved their largest congressional majority in the elections of 1798, and ten states responded to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions with staunch, in some cases resounding, disapproval. Several of them rejected the idea that it was a state's right to interpret the federal Constitution, saying that this authority lay in the federal courts. In 1799, Kentucky adopted a second set of Jefferson-penned resolutions, this time saying it would be among the very last to secede because it loved the federal Union for the purposes for which it had been created. In Virginia, Madison left retirement to sponsor his *Report of 1800* as a member of the House of Dele-

gates. Along with asserting the unconstitutionality of virtually every controversial Federalist measure of the 1790s, the *Report of 1800* also clarified what the Republicans meant when they said the states had created the federal government: a "state," in this context, was the sovereign people of a particular state. The government of a state was not sovereign, the people were.

### REPUBLICAN PRESIDENCIES

Once Jefferson assumed the presidency in 1801, he changed his tune. The Revolution of 1800, as he came to call it, had proven not that Americans hated taxes, but that they approved of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. States' rights would be the Jeffersonian gospel ever after.

Jeffersonians gleefully pushed their platform of limited federal government and low taxes through Congress in 1801. That platform circumscribed their options in foreign policy markedly, leading to the military fiasco that was the War of 1812. Hit harder than the rest of the country by the war's economic repercussions, Federalist governors of some New England states exercised their states' right to refuse to send militiamen to fight beyond their states' boundaries. In 1814, as the war went badly, New England Federalists staged a regional convention to consider their options. Although some of the instigators of the Hartford Convention of 1814 favored New England independence, most did not. Still, Republicans succeeded in branding the conventioneers as disloyal, and the coincidence of the war's end with the convention's end spelled doom for the Federalist Party as a national force.

Still, by the war's end in 1815, even President Madison found himself constrained to concede that the Principles of '98 had seemed far more practical in theory than they had proven in practice. In 1816, he asked Congress to charter the second Bank of the United States. State-level Republicans in several states disapproved, and they enacted legislation intended to impede operation of bank branches within their bounds. One state, Maryland, imprisoned the chief operating officer of its bank branch, and he appealed the case to the Supreme Court.

*McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) was the result. In his opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court, Chief Justice John Marshall wrote a Hamiltonian reading of the Constitution into constitutional law, where it remains enshrined. Rejecting the argument that Jefferson and Madison had made against the constitutionality of the first bank in 1791 and that had been repeated by framer Luther Martin before the Court,

Marshall held that the Constitution granted Congress very broad authority to legislate for the common good. Maryland, the Court ruled, had no right to interfere with the bank's operations.

President Madison left office in 1817 with a ringing states' rights veto message as his last official act. Leaders in Congress intended for the federal government's share of bank profits to be used in construction of various public works. Madison responded that he found no mention in the Constitution of a congressional power to fund construction of roads, bridges, canals, and other internal improvements, so the advocates of these improvements must first secure a constitutional amendment. Observers noted that Madison's position in his Bonus Bill Veto Message of 1817 clashed with his signature on the 1816 bill chartering the bank.

Virginia's dominant Republicans had other opportunities to joust with John Marshall's Supreme Court, including *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816). In that complicated litigation, the Supreme Court issued a writ ordering Virginia's highest court to send a certified copy of the record in the case so the Supreme Court could consider an appeal. Spencer Roane, a states' rights–minded Jeffersonian on the Virginia Court of Appeals, took the bait: he wrote that the Supreme Court had no authority to order the Virginia Court of Appeals to do anything. Virginia's court system and the federal court system were coordinate systems, he said, and each must conduct its business without the interference—much less oversight—of the other. In his opinion for the Supreme Court, which still stands as the keystone of American judicial federalism, Justice Joseph Story said that all matters of federal law ultimately could be appealed to the Supreme Court. Both *Martin* and *McCulloch* provoked furious responses from leading Jeffersonians in speeches, in books, and in newspapers (and, in Jefferson's case, in private correspondence), but these had no notable effect on the Marshall Court. Jefferson lamented that the Court seemed to be undoing the Republicans' repeated victories at the polls. Roane, for his part, never certified the record in *Martin* for Supreme Court review.

**The Missouri crisis.** In 1819 citizens in the Missouri Territory submitted their draft constitution to Congress with an application for statehood. A Republican representative from New York, James Tallmadge, touched off the Missouri crisis by responding that while Missouri should be admitted to the Union as a state, it must do so with a constitution banning slavery from its territory. In the main, northerners—whose states had either eliminated or virtually elimi-nated slavery—agreed, while southerners held that slavery must be allowed in Missouri if its citizens wanted it. Jefferson, in retirement, said that the issue was states' rights, specifically the right of the state of Missouri to make for itself a decision—whether to allow slavery within its territory—that every other state had made for itself. (Jefferson was wrong about that, as he should have realized, for the Northwest Ordinance had decided the issue without giving any say to citizens in the states carved out of the Northwest Territory.) The Missouri Compromise respected Jefferson's principle in regard to Missouri, but rejected the idea of allowing citizens of future states carved out of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern border to decide that issue for themselves. President James Monroe, with the concurrence of War Secretary John C. Calhoun, accepted the Missouri Compromise as a suitable solution to a very difficult problem, despite its arguably anti-southern and anti–states' rights elements.

**Divided Republicans.** By the time Monroe left office in 1825, the blurring of the Republican Party's old principles had become so marked that John Quincy Adams, his generation's leader of what a Republican member of Congress once dubbed "the American House of Stuart," succeeded him as Republican president. In his Inaugural and his First Annual Address, Adams called for an expansive federal spending program. He also tried to send a diplomatic delegation to a conference that would feature representatives from the Republic of Haiti, recently established by history's only successful slave rebellion. Opposition to President Adams swelled among those who remained devoted to the old Jeffersonian nostrums of states' rights and strict construction. Soon enough, the Republican opposition to this Republican president would give birth to a new party, the Jacksonian Democratic Party, with the same constitutional emphases. While states' rights might sometimes be ignored by those who trumpeted them most loudly, the idea that the states came first and that the federal government had limited power retained great influence upon the American imagination at the end of the early Republic.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Bank of the United States; *Chisholm v. Georgia*; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitution: Eleventh Amendment; Constitutional Convention; Hartford Convention; Internal Improvements; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; *Martin v.***

*Hunter's Lessee*; *McCullough v. Maryland*; **Missouri Compromise.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Berger, Raoul. *Federalism: The Founders' Design.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Carpenter, Jesse T. *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789–1861.* 2nd ed. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Ellis, Richard E. *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights, and the Nullification Crisis.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Farrand, Max, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* 3rd ed. 3 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927.

Gutzman, Kevin R. C. "Edmund Randolph and Virginia Constitutionalism." *The Review of Politics* 66 (2004): 469–497.

———. "The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Reconsidered: 'An Appeal to the *Real Laws* of Our Country.'" *Journal of Southern History* 66 (2000): 473–496.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 19 vols. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–2003.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Lenner, Andrew C. *The Federal Principle in American Politics, 1790–1833.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House Publishers, 2000.

McDonald, Forrest. *States' Rights and the Union: Imperium in Imperio, 1776–1876.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000.

Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

*Kevin Gutzman*

**STEAMBOAT**  A particular stroke of genius of American inventors was applying steam power to a boat to create the steamboat. In the late eighteenth century John Fitch, James Rumsey, and Oliver Evans produced different types of steamboats. Fitch tested his boat in 1787 on the Delaware River. This ungainly craft had engines that powered six paddles on each side; it was never a commercial success. Robert Fulton produced a paddle wheel steamboat, which was the first viable craft. Fulton had met Robert R. Livingston, U.S. minister to France, while in Paris, where Fulton was working on the development of a submarine. Livingston persuaded Fulton to return to the United States and build a steamboat. The wealthy Livingston also provided the financial resources for Fulton's work. In 1807 Fulton successfully tested the *North River Steamboat of Clermont* on the Hudson River. Although the *North River* had sails, it did not use them during the 150-mile voyage from New York City to Albany. Fulton's boat quickly became a commercial success because it was practical and stressed passenger comfort.

Fulton and Livingston also succeeded in gaining the exclusive right to operate steamboats on the waters of New York State and within the territory of Lousiana, but their monopoly was short-lived. Fulton's success and the relatively low cost of building a steamboat encouraged rivals to enter the business, and after a period in which a number of conflicting grants were given to individuals by local authorities, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the landmark case of *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) that the commerce clause of the U.S. constitution gave the authority for such agreements only to the U.S. government. This formally negated the agreements that Livingston and Fulton had obtained, although competitors had in fact been challenging their control for over a decade.

As more builders entered the steamboat industry, they improved the overall design of the boats, manufactured better engines, and strengthened hulls. Northeastern steamboats were most noted for their passenger and tourist trade, although they also carried some cargo.

Steamboats had their greatest impact on the waters of the Mississippi River system. Nicholas Roosevelt, the grand-uncle of Theodore Roosevelt, piloted the first steamboat on the Mississippi in 1811. The boat was a product of the Mississippi Steam Navigation Company, a partnership of Roosevelt, Fulton, Livingston, and Livingston's brother Edward, a prominent attorney and legislator. Henry Shreve, a former flatboatman from Pennsylvania, brought his own steamer to New Orleans in 1814. Shreve and others modified the traditional structure of steamboats, widening and lengthening the deck, reducing the draft, placing the engine on the main deck, and adding several stories. This is the design most familiar to twenty-first century Americans. These improvements enabled western steamboats to operate in shallow waters (sometimes as low as six feet) but still carry enormous amounts of cargo.

Steamboats produced a revolution in commerce in the Mississippi River valley. In 1810 river travel

from New Orleans to Louisville took at least four months. By 1830 goods and passengers could make the same trip in a mere eight days. The cost of shipping goods plunged, too. In 1815 it cost five dollars to ship 100 pounds of freight from New Orleans to Louisville; the cost in 1860 was twenty-five cents. Westerners used steamboats to ship an amazing array of items. Surviving manifests reveal that steamboats carried everything from farm implements to pianos. Steamers also carried live cargo: cows, mules, chickens, and slaves. The boats stopped at towns, farms, and plantation landings along the river, making it easy and affordable for westerners to purchase just about anything.

Steamboats were also a catalyst for the development of the Cotton Kingdom. It was difficult to stack cotton bales on flatboats, but western steamboats accommodated the cotton trade well. When steamboats stopped at a plantation, roustabouts wrestled the five-hundred-pound bales onto the boats. The wide decks of the western steamers meant that cotton could be stacked as high as the pilothouse before being tied down. By 1830 it was common for these "cotton boats" to carry over four hundred bales (about eighty tons) of cotton on a single trip.

These economic advances encouraged westward settlement: the steamboat brought both migrants and civilization to the Mississippi River valley. Wealthier customers traveled as cabin passengers. Staying in individual rooms, they ate sumptuous meals and spent their days conversing, reading, listening to music, or playing cards. Most steamboat travelers, however, were deck passengers, who slept and ate alongside the cargo. They prepared their own food in what was essentially a floating barn and slept wherever they could find room. Deck passengers usually participated in wooding, which involved scrambling ashore with the crew to carry several cords of wood on board for fuel.

Steamboats also changed the lives of slaves. Many bond servants worked on steamboats, being either owned by crewmembers or hired from owners on a yearly or monthly basis. Slave porters served meals to the cabin passengers, while slave firemen tended steamboat furnaces—work that was difficult and dangerous. Bond servants sometimes took advantage of their work on steamboats to escape or locate lost family members. Milton Clarke, a slave who had been hired to work on a steamboat, found his sister in New Orleans after she was sold to an interstate slave trader.

*See also* **Economic Development; Mississippi River; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic;** Steam Power; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buchanan, Thomas C. *Black Life on the Mississippi: Slaves, Free Blacks, and the Western Steamboat World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Hunter, Louis C. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History.* New York: Dover, 1993.

Sale, Kirkpatrick. *The Fire of His Genius: Robert Fulton and the American Dream.* New York: Free Press, 2001.

*Robert H. Gudmestad*

**STEAM POWER** Steam power development during the colonial and early republican periods was initially hesitant but ultimately decisive. Beginning as an import with only slight relevance to the domestic situation, the steam engine then became a power source that was adapted to local needs. Technological breakthroughs eventually placed America at the forefront of steam power development, and by the close of the period it was a technology poised to overrun the American continent.

### ORIGINS AND EARLY APPLICATIONS

Steam power has its beginnings in the British reliance on coal as a fuel and the flooding that occurred as increasingly deep coal seams were mined. The steam engine built by Thomas Newcomen (1663–1729) in 1712 was the first practical application of steam to the problem of pumping out flooded mines. Although the early steam engines were inefficient and troublesome, their widespread adoption in England was ensured because they performed a crucial function and, in most cases, consumed a fuel that was mined on the premises.

The first application of steam power in the New World took place in New Jersey. In 1748 Philip Schuyler, who owned a severely flooded copper mine close to Newark, ordered an engine from the Hornblowers, a family of steam engine builders in Cornwall, England. The machine, accompanied by Josiah Hornblower and numerous duplicate components, was shipped in 1753 and finally made operational in 1755. This engine returned the mine to profitability and continued to operate, sporadically at least, for over fifty years.

Two decades were to pass before the next attempt to employ steam in America. Christopher Colles (1739–1816), an Irish immigrant, undertook the

fabrication of two engines for water pumping installations—one in 1773 for a distillery in Philadelphia and another in 1776 for New York City's first public waterworks. Although the Philadelphia engine remained unfinished, these two engines were the first to be constructed in the colonies. One other engine was made about 1780 for pumping water from the mine at Joseph Brown's Hope Furnace near Cranston, Rhode Island.

## ADAPTATION

Just as steam power's origins arose from the English situation, so the first American breakthroughs arose from local needs, specifically the traversal of long distances via water navigation. Developments in England during the final quarter of the eighteenth century were again of assistance. Successive improvements to Newcomen's basic engine by the Scottish engineer and inventor James Watt (1736–1819) had resulted in steam engines that were more thermally efficient, smaller, smoother running, and capable of providing rotary motion.

Although Robert Fulton (1765–1815) is widely accepted as the originator of the steamboat, John Fitch (1743–1798) is credited with operating the first successful steam-powered boat in the United States. But Fitch's 1787 steamboat is to steam navigation as the Schuyler mine engine was to stationary steam development—a successful but isolated first step. Fulton chose New York City as the location for the 17 August 1807 inauguration of his large vessel, the *North River Steamboat of Clermont.* The *Clermont* was a success, not only technologically but also economically—Fulton immediately began regular fare-paying operation from New York City to Albany and used the proceeds to begin building improved boats. Other steamboat experimenters such as Nicholas Roosevelt and John Stevens and his son Robert began to build similar vessels. Just four years later Fulton's Pittsburgh-built *New Orleans* departed for its namesake port, and a new era in river navigation in the United States began.

## HIGH PRESSURE

In 1804 the American inventor Oliver Evans (1755–1819) provided the major impetus for the American steam revolution when he successfully operated an experimental engine that employed high pressure steam. Richard Trevithick made the same breakthrough completely independently in England at the same time. "High pressure" engines were, for a given power output, more compact than Watt-type engines. Their economy was such that they could be designed for use in both modest and large applications—thereby extending steam power's reach beyond steamboats and pumping installations into flour, sugar, and saw mills. Despite being covered by Evans's patent, the subsequent building and refinement of high pressure engines and boilers took place largely outside the patent system—a circumstance helped no doubt by the isolation of many installations and compounded with grass roots ingenuity, expediency, and commercial considerations. Evans, already known for his 1795 work, *The Young Millwright and Miller's Guide*, also had considerable influence through his 1805 *Abortion of the Young Steam Engineer's Guide*, perhaps the most accessible steam treatise of the period. The ubiquitous horizontal stationary engine of nineteenth-century America owed its bare-bones sophistication to the high-pressure steam engine as first applied and adapted to river navigation.

## RAILROADS

By the late 1820s another era of steam power in America was just beginning—that of the railroad. The earliest successful steam locomotives had been developed for use in English collieries, and by the mid-1820s this technology was being applied to public railways connecting towns and rural communities in the north of England. Predictably, accounts of these ventures found their way to the United States. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, organized in 1823, proposed the incorporation of a section of railroad into their planned canal route and to that end ordered four locomotives from England. The first to be steamed, the *Stourbridge Lion*, was road tested in August and September of 1829. It was an outright failure, largely because the locomotive was too heavy for its track. But this, unlike the failures of the earliest steam installations on the American continent, was only the slightest of setbacks. By this time the numbers of practical mechanics—a groundswell of mechanical knowledge diffused in the close to four hundred steamboats plying the Mississippi and its tributaries, and concentrated in machine shops and foundries in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere—was such that this false start did no more than neatly presage the ensuing divergence of American and British railroad practice. At the end of the 1820s working methods rooted in the American situation had emerged—methods that were poised to fully adapt steam technology to the American situation.

*See also* **Inventors and Inventions; Railroads; Steamboat; Technology; Waterpower.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hawke, David Freeman. *Nuts and Bolts of the Past: A History of American Technology*, 1776–1860. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States*, 1780–1930. Vol. 2: *Steam Power.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985.

———. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1949; New York: Dover, 1993.

Pursell, Carroll W. *Early Stationary Steam Engines in America: A Study in the Migration of a Technology.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969.

Sale, Kirkpatrick. *The Fire of His Genius: Robert Fulton and the American Dream.* New York: Free Press, 2001.

*J. Marc Greuther*

**SUGAR ACT**   The Sugar Act (1764), also known as the American Revenue Act, was the first overt imperial tax raised by Parliament in British America. It was one of a series of measures introduced by the ministry of George Grenville in an effort to reduce Britain's national debt by defraying the cost of colonial administration and the defense of a much-expanded empire in the aftermath of the French and Indian War (1756–1763). The Sugar Act yielded the largest revenue of any imperial tax before the Revolutionary War.

The Sugar Act revised the earlier Molasses Act (1733). It decreased the duty on foreign molasses imported into North America from six pence per gallon to three pence, prohibited the importation of rum, and increased the tax on sugar imports from five shillings to one pound seven shillings per hundredweight. It imposed new or higher duties on foreign textiles, coffee, and indigo and on wines directly imported from the Madeira and the Canary Islands. In an effort to close a tax loophole, it doubled the duties on foreign goods reshipped from Britain to America. It added iron, hides, whale fins, raw silk, potash, and pearl ashes to the list of goods permitted to be exported by the colonies to Britain. Of perhaps greater significance, it introduced elaborate enforcement regulations and new trial procedures in the vice-admiralty courts. Furthermore, it was more effectively enforced than the earlier Molasses Act, partly in consequence of more rigorous efforts by the collectors of customs but also because of the intervention of the Royal Navy.

The act did not provoke the same unity of opposition among the thirteen colonies as the Stamp Act did the following year. This was because, although the preamble had clearly stated that it was a revenue measure, it conformed in many ways to the tradition of navigation acts that sought primarily to regulate trade. Furthermore, it did not affect all levels of society or equally impact all the thirteen colonies. The opposition was therefore limited primarily to merchants in the northern and middle colonies, where refineries depended upon the cheap and plentiful supply of molasses from the French Caribbean. The Sugar Act was soon overshadowed by the much more unpopular Stamp Act. Nevertheless, it caused colonies to correspond with one another and some cities to sign nonimportation agreements, thereby setting precedents for opposition to the Stamp Act. The Sugar Act was relatively popular in the British Caribbean, where planters wanted to secure the monopoly of the North American market because they were unable to compete profitably with the rival French. Indeed, the Patriot opposition complained that it was sacrificed to the lobbying power of the British planters in the Caribbean. The act was a major obstacle to a united colonial alliance of the North American and West Indian lobbies in London.

The Rockingham ministry revised the Sugar Act when it repealed the Stamp Act in 1766, reducing the tax on the import of molasses from three pence to one penny per gallon. North Americans nevertheless protested the new Sugar Act with formal petitions from the merchants of New York, followed by Boston and the legislature of Massachusetts. Their attempts to win further concessions to trade openly with the French Caribbean widened the breach with the British Caribbean and diverted the colonial lobbies from uniting against other measures like the Currency Act (1764) and Townshend Act (1767). The legislation played an important role in alienating colonial opinion against the vice-admiralty courts and the Royal Navy.

*See also* **British Empire and the Atlantic World.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bullion, John L. *A Great and Necessary Measure: George Grenville and the Genesis of the Stamp Act*, 1763–1765. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982.

Lawson, Philip. *George Grenville: A Political Life.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

O'Shaughnessy, Andrew Jackson. *An Empire Divided. The American Revolution and the British Caribbean.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

*Andrew O'Shaughnessy*

**SUMMER OF 1816**  *See* **Natural Disasters.**

**SUPREME COURT** The "least dangerous" branch was Alexander Hamilton's classic description of the U.S. judiciary in Federalist No. 78 (1788), because it had "no influence over either the sword or the purse." This description was still accurate in 1828, but dramatic changes had occurred during the intervening four decades. However committed to the separation of powers, the framers of the Constitution emphasized the political branches. The order of their presentation demonstrates the level of their concern. Article I defines legislative authority in 2,279 words. Article II presents the executive in less than half that space, 1,012 words. By comparison the judiciary, provided for in Article III, seems almost an afterthought, described in only 365 words. The Supreme Court is established in the first sentence: "The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." Another sentence provides a brief but highly significant list of authorities granted to this court (or courts), including "all cases . . . arising under this Constitution and . . . the laws and treaties . . . under their authority." Seven additional sentences assure judicial independence, assign areas of original and appellate jurisdiction, guarantee criminal jury trials, and define rules for treason cases.

### JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789

Original jurisdiction granted by the Constitution to the Supreme Court was limited to "Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party." All other cases were supposed to reach the Supreme Court through appeals—but appeals from whom? The most contentious judicial issue in the Constitutional Convention, whether there should be subordinate federal courts or whether state fears should be mollified by advancing federal issues only from state courts, was left for the first Congress to resolve. Therefore, it was important that Congress act promptly and creatively in determining the structure of the federal judiciary, including even the structure of the Supreme Court. The first Senate rose splendidly to the challenge. While the House of Representatives focused on economic and administrative issues, the Senate's first major assignment was to create the Judiciary Act of 1789, described as one of the great-

est, and certainly one of the longest lasting, laws in American history. It survived nearly unchanged for a century and early in the twenty-first century remains an essential part of the American judiciary.

Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut chaired the Senate's grand committee, ably abetted by William Paterson of New Jersey. Having succeeded in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in guaranteeing a strong role for small states such as theirs, they now cooperated in the Senate to establish a strong judiciary despite their earlier concerns that state judiciaries would be weakened unjustly if forced to compete with federal courts at the local level. Both would soon be appointed to the Supreme Court that they created, Paterson in 1793 and Ellsworth in 1796 as chief justice. The legislation was reported in June and then debated for sixteen weeks until it became law on 24 September 1789. It established a Supreme Court of six justices, augmented by thirteen district courts and three circuit courts to which federal issues could be appealed. Districts were linked to state boundaries, except that Maine and Kentucky, which were not yet states, each had its own district court. Because of delays in the ratification of the Constitution, North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet been added to the new nation while the judicial legislation was in process. The single judge in each district court would sit with two Supreme Court justices to staff the circuit courts. Most important (and controversial) was section 25, which allowed appeals to the Supreme Court from state courts. President George Washington, obviously waiting anxiously for passage of this legislation, sent the names of six justices on 24 September; they were confirmed two days later by the Senate.

### JUSTICES ON HORSEBACK

The Supreme Court justices' early years were devoted to incessant travel to circuit courts and to vigorous protection of judicial independence. They soon learned how exhaustive service in circuit courts ranging from New Hampshire to Georgia could be. Congress granted a single concession in response to continual complaints and occasional resignations regarding this burden. Beginning in 1793 only one justice was required for each circuit court, sitting with a district judge. Despite the resentment and exhaustion, the justices' presence in local courts provided important opportunities for them to establish their independence. In particular, on circuit they were able to establish a foundation for the judicial review that would be confirmed later by the Marshall Court. Without strong objection, circuit courts ruled ac-

**The Old Supreme Court Chamber.** The U. S. Supreme Court met in this room in the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., from 1810 to 1860. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

tions by the Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont legislatures to be in conflict with the U.S. Constitution. In *Hayburn's Case* (1792), two circuit courts ruled that Congress had exceeded its constitutional limits by assigning Supreme Court justices to nonjudicial functions. The justices softened this affront by carrying out their assignment as "special commissioners" rather than as judges. In *Hylton v. U.S.* (1796), the Supreme Court ruled that a carriage tax passed by Congress was not a violation of the Constitution; ruling that the tax was constitutional at least implied that it might instead have been found to be unconstitutional.

Nine of Washington's ten appointees were Federalists in both senses of the word: strong supporters of the Constitution as well as active participants in the political party that would soon be known as Federalists. The exception was Samuel Chase, whose strident Federalist partisanship offset his initial opposition to the Constitution. John Adams's three appointees all voted Federalist, while all seven of the justices appointed after Marshall were Republicans—although Joseph Story embraced John Marshall's Federalist jurisprudence. Marshall and Henry Brockholst Livingston had likewise supported ratification of the Constitution as young men.

### JUDICIARY ACT OF 1801

Partisanship proved a massive barrier to Congress's one attempt to remove the responsibility that caused so many to resign or refuse appointment to the Supreme Court. The Judiciary Act of 1801, approved just weeks before Thomas Jefferson became president, sought to relieve the justices of circuit-riding responsibilities. It created six new circuit courts and, most important, provided circuit judges for all of those courts. Under it, Supreme Court justices would no longer rule on issues that they had already decided on circuit. Much of value was included in the legislation, but the timing was abominable. President Adams and a Federalist-dominated lame duck Senate quickly proved the accuracy of Republican assump-

tions that all sixteen new circuit judges and their accompanying clerks and marshals, plus a few new district judges, would be Federalists. Even decreasing the Court from six to five, which had the virtue of reducing the number of tie votes, was also suspect because it would not become effective until the next justice died or retired. Jefferson would not only inherit Federalist judges with a prospect of lifetime service, he would not even be able to appoint a replacement when the first Federalist Supreme Court justice died. Worse yet, these "midnight appointees" to the circuit courts were given increased jurisdiction, further threatening the viability of the state courts.

The Republican Congress rescinded the Judiciary Act of 1801 at the first opportunity, early the following year, abolishing the new courts and judges and consigning Supreme Court justices again to the circuit courts. This blow was softened somewhat by the Judiciary Act of 1802. It increased the number of circuit courts to six, with one justice assigned to each one for two sessions. Justices' travel burdens were lessened further by decreasing Supreme Court responsibilities from two two-week sessions annually to a single four-week session. Judicial reform was so politicized in 1801 and 1802 that significant change remained nearly impossible for decades.

Fortunately, the Federalists who still packed the Supreme Court shared the realism of their new leader, the politically adept Chief Justice Marshall. He recommended quiet acquiescence in the changes; only the volatile Samuel Chase demanded that they refuse to return to the circuit courts. Paterson, who had been second only to Chase in blatant partisanship when addressing juries in sedition cases, rendered his greatest service as a justice when he ruled in *Stuart v. Laird* (1803) that the Judiciary Act of 1802 was constitutional.

### FINALLY SOME REPUBLICAN JUSTICES

Federalist justices maintained their majority on the Supreme Court throughout Jefferson's presidency and most of Madison's first term. The first Republicans were appointed in 1804 and 1806. Even Kentuckian Thomas Todd's appointment in 1807 did not bring the Republicans to equal representation, because he was named to a seventh position, established to serve the new western circuit. Not until 1812, after Gabriel Duvall (November 1811) and Joseph Story (February 1812) had replaced two deceased Federalists, did Marshall and Bushrod Washington finally become a Federalist minority, albeit a very influential one.

In fact, Marshall's most productive years came during the Republican ascendancy. Republicans on the bench did not really become Federalists, as Jefferson sometimes contended, but Marshall's congenial personality and the responsibilities of the bench often persuaded them to side with his judicial nationalism. Because Madison did not share the antagonism that Jefferson had long felt for Marshall, the chief justice in turn acted less politically on the bench during Madison's presidency. Marshall never crossed over to the Republicans, but by 1817 there was really no Federalist Party to abandon.

Chief Justice Marshall introduced significant revisions of court procedures without need for additional judiciary legislation. His first decision, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), marked an advance from *seriatim* decisions (in which justices individually read their own opinions) to majority opinions that could be accompanied by dissenting and concurring opinions. During Chief Justice Ellsworth's brief tenure, individual decisions were sometimes abandoned; after 1803 *seriatim* decisions were rare. The Jay Court, where each justice stated his own opinion with the chief justice speaking last, sometimes left the public wondering just what the Supreme Court had said. When John Marshall spoke for the majority, the message came loud and clear.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Constitutional Law; Judiciary Act of 1789; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; *Marbury v. Madison*; Marshall, John; Presidency, The: John Adams; Supreme Court Justices.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Casto, William R. *The Supreme Court in the Early Republic: The Chief Justiceships of John Jay and Oliver Ellsworth.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Johnson, Herbert A. *The Chief Justiceship of John Marshall, 1801–1815.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997.

Marcus, Maeva, ed. *Origins of the Federal Judiciary: Essays on the Judiciary Act of 1789.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Urofsky, Melvin, and Paul Finkelman. *A March of Liberty: A Constitutional History of the United States.* 2nd ed. Vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

*Donald O. Dewey*

**SUPREME COURT JUSTICES** Half of the twenty justices of the U.S. Supreme Court who served from 1790 to 1828 were appointed by Presi-
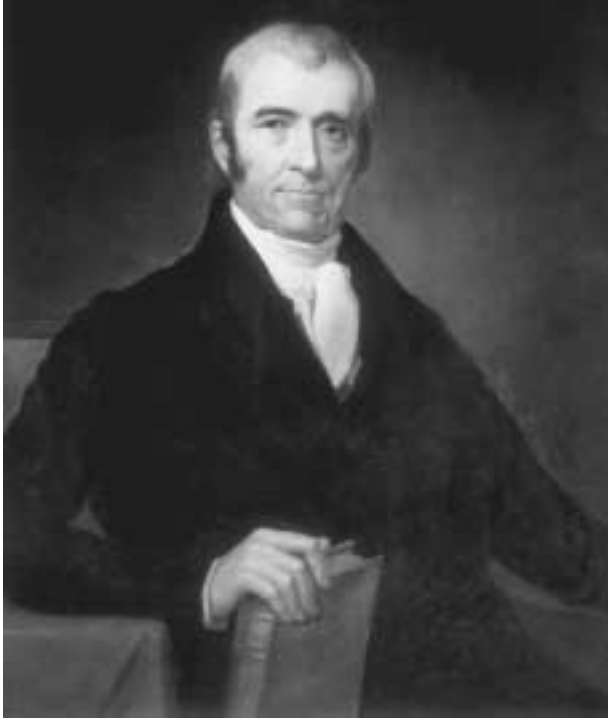
**John Marshall.** Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835, in a portrait by James Reid Lambdin after Henry Inman. THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

dent George Washington. When John Adams's three appointees are added to Washington's ten, the two Federalist presidents named nearly two-thirds of the justices in the nation's founding years. Thomas Jefferson complained to Connecticut merchants on 12 July 1801 about the lack of vacancies in federal offices: "Those by death are few, by resignation none." This would prove especially true of Federalist justices. During seven consecutive Republican administrations, Jefferson named three justices, James Madison two more, and James Monroe and John Quincy Adams one each. Two of the Federalists, Chief Justice John Marshall and Bushrod Washington, outlasted Jefferson, who died in 1826. Marshall served until 1835, near the end of Andrew Jackson's two terms as president.

**FEDERALIST DOMINANCE**

Selection of the six members appointed to the first Supreme Court of the United States was largely influenced by two dominant considerations: the need for geographical balance and for extensive government or judicial experience, including a demonstrated commitment to the success of the newly adopted U.S. Constitution. Because the justices spent much

more of their time in the circuit courts than in the Supreme Court, it was essential that they be widely distributed. The order of appointment of the initial six justices followed a clear North–South pattern while also rewarding the populous states: Chief Justice John Jay (New York), John Rutledge (South Carolina), William Cushing (Massachusetts), John Blair (Virginia), James Wilson (Pennsylvania), and James Iredell (North Carolina).

All members of this first Supreme Court had demonstrated firm commitment to the Constitution. Jay's lengthy career in the Continental Congresses and in diplomacy had made him one of the leading American nationalists. He was not at the Constitutional Convention that developed the Constitution but wrote three important essays urging ratification in *The Federalist* (1787–1788) and would have written several more if not prevented by poor health and injuries. Wilson and Blair were signers of the Constitution and members of their state ratifying conventions; Wilson's contributions to the Constitution were exceeded only by those of James Madison. Rutledge was also a signer. Cushing supported the Constitution in the Massachusetts ratifying convention and Iredell supported it both in the North Carolina convention that rejected it in 1788 and in the reconstituted convention that approved it in 1789.

Similar credentials were held by all but one of Washington's remaining appointments. Thomas Johnson (1791) was in the Maryland ratifying convention. William Paterson (1793), another signer, worked avidly in the convention and afterward as a New Jersey senator to develop a strong judiciary based on the supremacy clause that he contributed to the Constitution. He and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, who would become the third chief justice in 1796, were the principal authors in the first Senate of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which provided the basic ground rules of the federal judiciary for the next century. Ellsworth was on the committee of detail, which assembled the first draft of the Constitution, as were Wilson and Rutledge, who chaired it. Ellsworth led the campaign for Connecticut's ratification of the Constitution, as did Paterson in New Jersey.

Samuel Chase, also appointed in 1796, represented a new criterion of eligibility. During his radical years he had opposed Maryland's ratification of the Constitution. In Congress during the Revolutionary War, however, he had consistently supported General Washington and, more important, by 1796 he had become deeply committed to the Federalist Party. Commitment to the new political parties

would from that point be joined with geographical balance to determine appointments. John Adams appointed only Federalists and his four successors appointed only Republicans.

Federalist Senates dutifully confirmed all but one of Washington's appointments. Rutledge was twice appointed but only once confirmed, thus confusing statistics on Court membership. Technically the senior associate justice, Rutledge had sat with circuit courts but never attended the Supreme Court when he resigned in 1791 to become South Carolina's chief justice. He later changed his mind and requested appointment as Jay's successor. Washington promptly granted an interim appointment and Rutledge acted as chief justice for the August 1795 term. By the time the Senate convened four months later, however, Rutledge's attacks on the Jay Treaty (1794) had made him politically unacceptable to Federalist senators, and he was rejected by a narrow vote.

Rutledge was not alone in deciding that the Supreme Court was less appealing than he had expected. Jay found the office too limiting and the time and energy devoted to circuit court duties too enervating, so—while still sitting on the Court—he became Washington's special envoy to Great Britain, where he negotiated Jay's Treaty (1794). He was elected governor of New York while abroad and resigned from the Court in 1795. In 1800 he was reappointed and confirmed as successor to Chief Justice Ellsworth (ironically his own successor), but he rejected the position, which he described as lacking "energy, weight and dignity." Ellsworth also took a year off to negotiate peace with France and resigned upon his return. Despite the brevity of his period as chief justice, Ellsworth achieved a major procedural change. Sometimes he persuaded his colleagues to replace *seriatim* opinions (justices individually reading their own opinions) with majority opinions that might be accompanied by dissenting and concurring opinions. Thomas Johnson served only two years before refusing ever again to ride circuit. Alfred Moore of North Carolina, who joined the Court in 1800, served only four uneventful years before making the same decision.

### JEFFERSONIANS GAIN GROUND
Adams's two Virginia appointees were major exceptions from this pattern of short tenures. Bushrod Washington, favorite nephew of George Washington, served from 1799 to 1829. John Marshall was an even greater political coup, serving as chief justice from 1801 to 1835. Taking note of the young ages of Adams's successful appointments (Marshall at age

forty-five and Washington at age thirty-six), the three succeeding Virginia presidents appointed Republicans young enough to survive all but those two Federalists. William Johnson (South Carolina) served thirty years from 1804, Henry Brockholst Livingston (New York) sixteen years from 1806, Thomas Todd (Kentucky) nineteen years from 1807, Gabriel Duvall (Maryland) twenty-three years from 1811, Joseph Story (Massachusetts) thirty-four years from 1812, and Smith Thompson (New York) twenty years from 1824. The exception was John Quincy Adams's lone appointee, Robert Trimble, who served only two years before dying in 1828.

Political affiliation trumped geography when it came to appointments of chief justices. Washington appointed the South Carolinian Rutledge to become chief justice as successor to Jay of New York, Washington then gave consideration to the Virginian Patrick Henry as Rutledge's successor (after Rutledge was rejected by the Senate) before finally turning to Ellsworth. Next, Ellsworth was succeeded by Marshall, even though another Virginian Bushrod Washington was already on the Court.

### LIMITS ON JUDICIAL GRANDEUR
Ironically, neither of the great early justices was first choice of his presidential appointer. John Adams turned to Secretary of State John Marshall only six weeks before the presidency and the appointment would be lost to Jefferson. Jay had been appointed but declined. A young Philadelphia attorney was next considered and Adams at least talked of considering the ailing Justice Cushing, who had been unwisely appointed and confirmed as chief justice in 1796. Fortunately, Cushing recognized even then that his physical and mental health would not allow him to accept. (Ninety-eight years would pass before the next associate would be appointed chief justice.) Unwilling to wait longer, Adams turned to Marshall, from whom he could receive a timely response because they were face-to-face in Washington, D.C. Even at that precarious moment, High Federalists in the Senate stalled in hopes of coercing the president to appoint William Paterson instead. Marshall would soon become so powerful a figure on the Court that there were only limited opportunities for others to shine.

The monumental exception was Joseph Story, whose appointment by President Madison was even more confused because finding a reliable Republican lawyer in New England was difficult. Former Attorney General Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts was appointed and confirmed but declined because of ill

health and near blindness, Alexander Wolcott of Connecticut was appointed but overwhelmingly rejected by the Senate, and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts was appointed and confirmed unanimously but preferred to remain ambassador to Russia. Only after trying Lincoln one more time did Madison conclude that Story was adequate despite Jefferson's strong objections. While lobbying for Lincoln, Jefferson described Story as "unquestionably a Tory and too young." Elsewhere he branded him a "pseudo-Republican." At age thirty-two Story became the youngest justice in the history of the Supreme Court. He was Marshall's perfect teammate, providing the legal scholarship to enhance Marshall's common-sense decisions. Most of the memorable decisions that were not delivered by Marshall were written by Story.

Samuel Chase might have achieved greatness if not for his rapidly declining health and his violent temper and partisanship. His first opinion (*Ware v. Hylton*, 1796), ruling that legislation violating a U.S. treaty was unconstitutional, is regarded as the greatest Supreme Court opinion prior to Marshall's *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). Chase's *Calder v. Bull* (1798) set permanent limits on the Constitution's ex post facto clause. Sadly, his offensively partisan charges to juries, especially in Sedition Act cases, while on circuit made him in 1804 the only member of the Supreme Court ever to be impeached. The following year, the Republican-dominated Senate fell well short of the two-thirds majority required for removal. Thenceforth, the Jeffersonians' impeachment threat was withdrawn and the judges, in turn, became less politically pugnacious.

Judicial experience was desirable for would-be justices, but not mandatory. Only Cushing, Chase and Blair had extensive judicial experience and Todd had spent considerable time on the bench. At the other extreme, Wilson, Paterson, Moore, Washington, Marshall, and Story had been in court only as lawyers. The others had spent limited time on various local benches. It should be added that Story and Wilson could be fairly described as the Supreme Court's prominent early scholars.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Judiciary Act of 1789; Marshall, John; Supreme Court.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY
Casto, William R. *The Supreme Court in the Early Republic: The Chief Justiceships of John Jay and Oliver Ellsworth.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Friedman, Leon, and Fred L. Israel, eds. *The Justices of the United States Supreme Court, 1789–1978: Their Lives and Major Opinions.* 4 vols. New York: Chelsea House, 1980.

Johnson, Herbert A. *The Chief Justiceship of John Marshall, 1801–1835.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997.

Stites, Francis N. *John Marshall, Defender of the Constitution.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1981.

Urofsky, Melvin, ed. *The Supreme Court Justices: A Biographical Dictionary.* New York: Garland, 1994.

*Donald O. Dewey*

**SURVEYORS AND SURVEYING**   Despite their generally poor training, colonial surveyors played an important role in shaping the early American landscape. Their primary instrument was the Gunter's Chain, which helped minimize the errors made by surveyors with limited mathematical skills. The chain contained one hundred links and measured sixty-six feet. A square with ten-chain sides enclosed an acre, and eighty chains measured 5,280 feet, or one mile. Most early surveys were done by traverse, which meant that from a starting point the surveyor created the boundaries around a property using a mariner's compass to measure the angles and a Gunter's Chain to measure the sides. In the North, most colonial land surveys were roughly rectangular and contiguous, but in the South surveying by "metes and bounds" meant that claimants were free to draw boundaries around any piece of land unclaimed by another. Surveys were recorded in two ways. A written description of the tract was usually accompanied by a map or plat, while on the land itself boundaries were identified by markings on trees, buried stakes, or piles of stones.

In the mid-eighteenth century, surveyors were in high demand by large landowners whose lands were vulnerable to squatters. A recorded survey meant that landowners could persuade squatters to take on a lease or be forced out. In Virginia, Lord Fairfax employed as surveyors both George Washington and Peter Jefferson, the father of the future president. The hardships of surveying and the value of the service meant that surveyors commanded salaries on a par with lawyers. For George Washington and many others, however, surveying not only provided large fees but also the opportunity to identify desirable tracts for their own land speculations.

In 1763 the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania hired the English astronomers Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon to conduct a survey of

the long-disputed boundary separating their colonies. Assisted by the colonial astronomer David Rittenhouse, the group used custom-built equipment and astronomical surveying techniques to ensure the accuracy of the 244-mile border of the present states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. This boundary became known in the nineteenth century as the Mason-Dixon Line, the division between slave and free states.

In the decade prior to the American Revolution, speculators formed several companies for the purpose of acquiring lands in the trans-Appalachian West. Despite the Proclamation Line of 1763 prohibiting settlement in this region, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin were two of the many prominent colonial figures involved in these ultimately futile attempts to make large-scale land acquisitions. Men such as Daniel Boone pushed far into the wilderness in the employ of private speculators and land companies who paid them to find and survey choice tracts for future purchase.

Following the American Revolution, a surge in western migration caused the Continental Congress to pass the Land Ordinance of 1785. In an attempt to prevent widespread squatting, this law called for the western territories recently ceded by the states to be surveyed and sold by public auction. The land was to be divided into townships of six miles square, each subdivided into thirty-six sections. North-south boundaries were called township lines and east-west ones range lines. The starting point for the survey was designated as the place where the Ohio River crossed the western border of Pennsylvania. Thomas Hutchins was given a three-year commission by Congress to serve as the first geographer of the United States. He received a salary of six dollars per day to supervise a team of surveyors to be drawn from each of the states. They were to survey the first seven ranges north and west of the Ohio River, and on 22 September 1785 Hutchins began surveying the first range line. With teams of axmen clearing the path ahead, the rear chainman stood by the starting stake holding one end of the chain while the front man carried the chain toward a mark sighted using compass bearings, unrolling it as he went. At the end of sixty-six feet, the spot was marked, the rear chainman came up, and the process was repeated. In this manner the surveying teams inched their way across the landscape.

Hutchins's efforts were hampered by conflicts of interest involving his surveyors, several of whom were agents for land companies seeking to purchase large tracts for resale to individual settlers. Indian unrest also helped delay the survey, and the work itself was not only late, but poorly done. Hutchins died in 1789, but the general speed and accuracy of survey work did not improve until the appointment of Jared Mansfield as surveyor general in 1803.

Mansfield was a Yale-educated mathematician who began immediately to regularize the survey system. Beginning one mile west of Indiana's border with Ohio, Mansfield designated the First Principal Meridian. This was a carefully surveyed north-south township line from which east-west range lines were run at precise right angles. He then personally surveyed the Second Principal Meridian. From that point the landscape began to take on the checkerboard pattern that is still recognizable from the air. Mansfield's successor, Edward Tiffin, introduced the practice of correcting for the convergence of longitude lines (as they approach the poles) by decreeing that after every four or five ranges, new meridians be marked off at precisely six-mile intervals.

In 1816 Ferdinand Hassler, a professor of mathematics at West Point, was appointed the first superintendent of the U.S. Coast Survey and he began the massive job of surveying the nation's coasts. Within two years, however, the survey was suspended by Congress, which feared that Hassler's methods were too slow and expensive. Work on the survey resumed in 1833 after Hassler's reappointment by Congress. He continued to work on the coast survey until his death in 1843.

*See also* **Land Policies; Land Speculation.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cajori, Florian. *The Chequered Career of Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler.* Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1929.

Linklater, Andro. *Measuring America: How an Untamed Wilderness Shaped the United States and Fulfilled the Promise of Democracy.* New York: Walker, 2002.

Price, Edward T. *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789–1837.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Theberge, Albert. *The Coast Survey, 1807–1867.* U.S. Dept. of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, NOAA Central Library, 1998.

*John E. Reda*

**TAMMANY HALL**   *See* **Society of St. Tammany**.

---

**TARIFF POLITICS**   A tariff, or schedule of custom duties on goods, generally serves one of three purposes: raising government revenue, protecting domestic production, or attempting to persuade foreign countries to change specific policies. Tariff policy in the early Republic was a particularly divisive issue, highlighting the nation's diversity of philosophies and interests and, in some cases, sparking constitutional debates.

### THE FIRST TARIFF

Under the Articles of Confederation, states set tariff levels, often leading to conflicting policies and leaving the general government dependent on the states for revenue. To end this, the drafters of the Constitution of 1787 required uniform duties and in Article I, section 8 gave Congress the sole power to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States." To ensure open access to overseas markets, they also expressly forbade Congress from passing export duties. This seemingly simple framework, however, left considerable room for disagreement over the means and ends of tariff legislation.

On 8 April 1789, only days after the first Congress reached quorum, James Madison introduced the first piece of tariff legislation, a revenue proposal designed to ensure that the Treasury benefited from spring imports. Almost immediately, several members of Congress questioned whether duties should not also protect American manufacturers. Representatives from Pennsylvania, a state with a history of protective state duties, sought higher levels. Southern states, committed to exporting staple crops, desired little or no protection for manufacturers. After serious debate, a compromise measure passed both houses. It set ad valorem rates of from 7.5 to 10 percent on specific luxury and manufactured goods and 5 percent duties on the rest.

### HAMILTON'S *REPORT ON MANUFACTURES*

The following year Congress asked Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to assess the best way to promote national manufacturing. His famous *Report on Manufactures* was submitted to Congress on 5 December 1791. This document laid the groundwork for an activist government by supporting high tariffs and promoting a diversified economy. The *Re-*

*port* suggested the usefulness of government aid for manufacturing through duties, patents, and especially direct subsidies or bounties. Yet Hamilton's commitment to an active international commerce and the revenue it brought (which helped fund the national debt) led him to advocate only modest tariff increases. He proposed raising rates on some twenty products by from 5 to 10 percent, eliminating or reducing tariffs on others deemed necessary for manufacturing, and temporarily increasing the base ad valorem rate from 5 to 7.5 percent. Subsequent opposition to Hamilton's plan, much of which Congress passed over southern objections in early 1792, targeted not specific rates but the *Report*'s broad construction of the "general welfare" clause in offering bounties to specific industries. While Hamilton favored the encouragement of manufacturing, his policies do not suggest he favored high tariffs to protect them. As with most of his contemporaries, Hamilton envisioned a national economy founded primarily on commercial agricultural production for Atlantic markets. By 1797 the base tariff had been incrementally raised to 12.5 percent as part of the efforts to further reduce the national debt.

### WAR, PEACE, AND PANIC

Military and commercial warfare during the Jefferson and Madison administrations slowly began to change some groups' perspectives on the appropriate economy for the country. Restricted trade led many Republicans to praise a more diversified national economy and the realities of war drove tariffs to new heights. In 1804, support of a small navy to protect ships against Barbary pirates raised the ad valorem schedule another 2.5 percent. Jefferson's embargo and the War of 1812 against Britain created conditions favorable for industrial growth, leading many Republican artisans and manufacturers to support protection. When war with Britain began, tariff rates were doubled in July 1812.

The return of peace in 1815 raised concern that British goods would destroy nascent American industries. Over the objection of most (but not all) southern Republicans and many Federalists, National Republicans in Congress retained protected levels to support iron and textile producers. These efforts proved only marginally successful, and when the Panic of 1819 threatened to ruin manufacturers, Philadelphia publicist Mathew Carey (1760–1839) and U.S. representative Henry Baldwin (1780–1844) from Pittsburgh called for further increases of between 5 and 10 percent. Though successful in the House, the measure failed in the Senate by one vote,

as its supporters were unable to overcome the South's almost unanimous opposition (1 to 15 against).

By 1824, however, despite continued resistance in New England and the South, heavy majorities from the mid–Atlantic region and the West narrowly passed a tariff raising average rates from 27.4 to 34.5 percent. The legislation's success rested on support for an expanding home market for American goods and a belief that self-sufficiency, rather than a favorable balance of trade, determined national wealth. Besides manufacturers, western grain producers—seeking federally funded internal improvements and restricted in lucrative markets by the British Corn Laws—also supported higher tariffs, a major plank of Henry Clay's emerging American System. Southern tobacco, rice, and cotton producers, however, sent over two-thirds of their crops to foreign markets. Joining some northern merchants in opposition, they contended that the measure forced them to pay more as consumers and restricted trade with European nations, which might look elsewhere for their supplies. According to these free traders, protectionists sought a monopoly of southern trade and a redistribution of southern wealth to the North.

### THE TARIFF OF ABOMINATIONS

Efforts on behalf of and against the tariff reemerged in 1827, when protectionists sought to raise the tariff on woolen textiles to nearly 50 percent. The bill passed the House by 106 to 95 but failed in the Senate when Vice President John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) of South Carolina cast the tie-breaking vote against. Both angered and emboldened, manufacturers organized a large convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to gather their strength. Fearing the inevitability of a higher tariff and the increased consolidation of wealth and power that might result, South Carolinians Thomas Cooper (1759–1839) and Robert Turnbull (1775–1833) argued it was time for the South to "calculate the value of union" and suggested radical constitutional remedies such as state nullification of the tariff or even secession. Other former nationalists, including George McDuffie (1788–1851) and Calhoun, hoped that the tariff could be rolled back by political means.

When tariff legislation was offered in 1828, southern Congressmen sought to make the bill objectionable to key New England senators by helping to pass extremely high tariffs on raw materials for manufacturing. This strategy of out-protecting the protectionists backfired, however, when former free

trade allies such as Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster (1782–1852) "swallowed the bitter pill," accepting the higher tariff on raw materials in exchange for protective levels for their manufactured goods. The resulting tariff was as high as 50 percent on many goods. According to most southerners, this "tariff of abominations" confirmed the region's minority status and violated at least the "spirit of the Constitution." Subsequent efforts at legislative compromise in 1832 defused the issue for many but failed to appease the most avid southern free traders. Some called for a constitutional convention, others for nullification, a strategy that a number of South Carolinians believed might be a useful tool in an anticipated struggle to protect slavery. Only after a convention of South Carolinians nullified the tariff and President Andrew Jackson threatened to force compliance with tariff laws did legislators reach a compromise that resolved the impasse by incrementally reducing the tariff to revenue-only levels.

Until the 1980s, modernization theory and developmental economics led historians to see free trade opposition to protective tariffs as a reaction against modernity. A more positive understanding of free trade, however, has led many economists to suggest that, at least until the 1850s, antebellum tariffs, in addition to harming southern interests, were probably too high to optimize national economic production. Regardless of its effects, the debates over the tariff left lasting scars in both the North and the South and continued to remain an important issue up to and through the Civil War.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Hamilton, Alexander; Jackson, Andrew; South Carolina.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Freehling, William W. *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816–1836.* New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

Irwin, Douglas. "New Estimates of the Average Tariff of the United States, 1790–1820." *Journal of Economic History* 63, no. 2 (June 2003): 506–513.

James, John A. "The Optimal Tariff in the Antebellum United States." *American Economic Review* 71, no. 4 (September 1981): 726–734.

Peskin, Lawrence A. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Pincus, Jonathan. *Pressure Groups and Politics in Antebellum Tariffs.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

Stanwood, Edward. *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century.* 2 vols. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1903. Reprint, 2 vols., New York: Russell and Russell, 1967.

*Brian Schoen*

**TAVERNS**    In the beginning, there was a tavern—literally. In what became the first permanent British outpost on the mainland of North America, Jamestown, the Virginia Company directed workmen to build a tavern before they constructed a church. By the colonial and early national periods, taverns were common, especially in cities and towns, along roads and paths, at the intersections of major thoroughfares, and at ferries. Called "ordinaries" in some places, taverns provided food and drink, lodging, stabling, and news, much as similar institutions had in the Old World.

In these public houses local courts met, commercial and social exchanges occurred, mail arrived, and a variety of contests played out in their rooms and on their grounds. Colonial legislatures often mandated their existence and tried to regulate what went on inside them, in part by requiring keepers to obtain licenses. The keeper was the "master," and after he or she paid a fee and offered a "surety," a bond backed up by others who knew and vouched for the individual, the keeper was responsible for providing particular services and for keeping order. Legislation and local bylaws specified the prices tavern keepers could charge for everything from drink to stabling and the behaviors keepers were not to permit: disorderliness, excessive drinking, gambling, and, at times, loitering by seamen and laborers, and, in some places, visits from African slaves and native Americans.

Also from the beginning, agents of official culture tied tavern regulation—or at least, their attempts at regulation—to economy and social order. They recognized that alcoholic beverages, which had some health benefits, could stimulate fights or worse, and that the frequent games of chance engaged in and feats of prowess displayed at taverns could lead not only to reputations made but also to the ruin of rank and resources. The fears of early American authorities were not unfounded; dire consequences could and did result.

Magistrates rarely achieved the level of control over taverns they sought, however, and contesting over and in taverns among customers, keepers, and authorities became more evident from at least the late seventeenth century onward, especially in urbanizing areas. In major cities, which had larger and

**Fraunces Tavern.** George Washington said farewell to his officers in December 1783 at this tavern in lower Manhattan. The building, which was rebuilt several times in the 1800s due to fires, was restored by the state of New York in 1907. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

more diverse populations, laborers who expected drink as a part of pay, a persisting tradition, railed against authority from tavern to street, and in both places they allied occasionally with aspiring, populist-leaning factional leaders. In New York City in 1741, for example, white and black patrons of John Hughson's harbor tavern launched the "New York Conspiracy" against the local mercantile and political elite in a quest for money and freedom, not just for slaves but also for the much larger population of poor whites. Three decades later, Samuel Adams and John Hancock discussed their ideas for a far more famous conspiracy, the Boston Tea Party, in Boston's Green Dragon tavern.

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, taverns remained sites from which various collections of people launched campaigns against authority. The War of Independence, the Whiskey Rebellion, and numerous local, economic-policy resistance efforts were all nourished on the public stage, as the historian David Conroy has termed it, that was the early American tavern. The alliances made there were not, however, all of the same kind. Allegiances, and the drinking that cemented them, varied from local collections of laborers, to white workingmen and black slaves, to wage laborers and middling-rank professionals.

The class- and race-based alliances that figured so prominently in the political actions against authority in the eighteenth century weakened or, in some places, dissolved during the early Republic, and again the tavern was a critical public stage. Histori-

ans have made much of the specialization that diminished the centrality of taverns—the ordinariness of the "ordinary"—especially after the Revolution and especially in urban areas. British-inspired coffeehouses spread; boardinghouses offered alternative sleeping and eating facilities; hotels attracted well-to-do travelers, as well as local families of substance; grogshops and other "mean" drinking facilities began to proliferate; and a broad range of eating establishments, including oyster houses often run by African Americans who were unable to obtain tavern licenses in a city such as Baltimore, emerged. Underlying this specialization were the same processes that altered earlier alliances: a rapidly expanding and diversifying population, the transition to capitalism (which included expanding trade in and an ever-widening variety of food and alcoholic beverages), and changes in social relations.

The experiences of urban women of European descent figured in and help to illustrate many of the changes that affected late colonial and early national taverns. Until the 1780s women had a substantial presence in taverns, especially as keepers and occasionally as customers. Across the colonies statutes had actually encouraged widows and single women to acquire licenses. Running a tavern, authorities believed, enabled women to sustain themselves and avoid the poverty that rulers had long feared. Through the 1820s, however, fewer women acquired licenses, and apparently fewer still frequented taverns unattended by male escorts. Some women may have chosen to get a boardinghouse license rather than one for a tavern. Others, however, were unable to afford tavern licenses and to compete with the newly arriving male immigrants, who worked as keepers for one of the local landlords who now owned and rented out multiple properties on which taverns sat.

Some poor women also used the only resource they "owned," their bodies, in specialized occupations in taverns, including "physical culture" exhibitions, displays that combined body poses and acrobatics, and prostitution in taverns. Evidence from the largest cities—New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans—points to the increasing presence of prostitutes and the legal construction of prostitution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, prostitutes did not ply their trade only or even primarily in the taverns; rather, they operated in another emergent facility, the bawdy house, some of which women ran.

Not all taverns underwent the kinds of changes evident in late colonial and early national cities, of course. Rural taverns of colonial and early national America have not received the attention that urban ones have, but some patterns seem likely. Travelers who made their way to the still vast rural areas—both of the initial British, Dutch, and Spanish colonies on the East Coast and of territories-become-states west of the Appalachians—were likely to find public houses along roads, at ferries, or even in riverbank caves. Their keepers were still likely to be militia colonials, merchants with substantial local influence, or widows who had inherited the place from their husbands. The tavern trade—the exchange of money or services for drink, food, lodging, and stabling—was significant in the local economy, and the tavern fare—refreshments, games and exhibitions, meetings, weddings, and more—was vital within the life of the community. Tavern signs made visible both the place and its name, so whether people were literate did not matter. Men and women were patrons, and everyone in the locale knew who was and was not welcome inside. Political discussions reverberated inside, and alliances formed. Cider made from local apple orchards, along with rum, beer, and whiskey, sold well. Until the temperance movement organized, early national rural taverns resembled the ordinary, the public house that was so common a thousand or even a hundred miles to the east and that had long ago ceased to exist.

*See also* **Alcoholic Beverages and Production.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Conroy, David. *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Linebaugh, Peter, and Marcus Rediker. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.

Salinger, Sharon V. *Taverns and Drinking in Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Struna, Nancy L. *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

Thompson, Peter. *Rum, Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eigheenth-Century Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Thorp, Daniel B. "Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753–1776." *Journal of Southern History*, 62 (November 1996): 661–82.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

*Nancy L. Struna*

# TAXATION, PUBLIC FINANCE, AND PUBLIC DEBT

Crises in taxation and public finance often cause major political transformations. The U.S. Constitution is one such case. Its adoption and the ensuing policies pursued by the Federalist administration under George Washington (1789–1797) in turn brought dramatic and controversial changes in the American fiscal and financial regime. These reforms became a permanent fixture of the political economy of the early Republic. Despite vociferous criticism of Federalist policy while in opposition, the Democratic Republicans made only minor changes to the fiscal and financial system after they came to power. By far the most important changes in taxation, public finance, and public debt management between the founding and the Age of Jackson took place within a few years of the adoption of the Constitution.

## TAXATION AND EXPENDITURES

When the Constitutional Convention convened in May 1787, the nation's public finances were in a critical state. Under the Articles of Confederation (drafted in 1777, ratified in 1781), Congress had no power to tax but had to requisition funds from the state governments to meet expenses, above all the payments on the public debt created by the War for Independence. After the war, most of the states adopted ambitious tax programs to raise money for these requisitions and for servicing their own debts. While these taxes gave rise to hardships and protests, among them Shays's Rebellion in 1786–1787, they did not generate much money for Congress. Instead, popular protests made the state governments put an end to their tax programs, and by early 1787 money had virtually stopped flowing into the federal treasury. Congress could not pay its handful of civil officers or its few troops. Nor could it honor the claims of its creditors and therefore had difficulties raising new loans. This was a matter of great consequence: like modern wars, eighteenth-century wars cost enormous amounts of money. And like modern wars, they were paid for with borrowed money. A government unable to borrow money was therefore in a dangerously exposed situation in the event of a crisis that might lead to war.

Article I, section 8 of the Constitution gave Congress the power to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States." The only constitutional restrictions on federal fiscal power were that duties had to be uniform throughout the Republic; that any direct tax had to be proportionate to the census; and that no duties on exports could be imposed. Under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, who served as secretary of the Treasury from 1789 to 1795, the Federalists used Congress's new power to completely restructure the American fiscal system.

Eighteenth-century American governments implemented three basic types of taxes: direct taxes on persons and property; excises on retail sale and production; and customs duties. In most of the states the most important taxes in the 1780s were on persons and property. Excises, particularly on spirits, were used in many of the states, but they raised only a minor part of total revenue. Customs duties were important in some states, particularly New York. The Federalists were well aware that the direct taxes which the states had levied had been both unproductive and unpopular. They also knew that there were strong objections to excise duties because they required a high level of supervision and control. Finally, they knew that customs duties were regarded as a light form of taxation and that there was general support for granting Congress an independent income in the form of the impost. This led them to create a fiscal regime that relied almost exclusively on customs duties to raise federal government revenue.

Apart from the Quasi War (1798–1800) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815), customs duties accounted for more than 90 percent of total federal tax revenue between 1789 to 1829. For long periods (1804–1813, 1822–1862) it was the only federal tax levied. It was a very productive tax: in 1792 alone, the receipts from customs duties, $3.4 million, superseded the total amount paid by the states on Congress's requisitions between 1781 and 1787. As American trade grew during the Wars of the French Revolution (1793–1801) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), the income from customs duties grew as well. In constant prices, the annual income had doubled by 1800 and grown fourfold by 1807. The following fifteen years were volatile, but by the end of the 1820s customs duties had reached a level twice that of 1807, or roughly $23 million.

Internal taxation played only a minor part in the Federalists' fiscal system and created far more conflict than revenue. Congress introduced an excise duty on alcohol in 1791, and later the Washington administration levied taxes on snuff, sugar, carriages, and auction sales, while the administration of John Adams (1797–1801) taxed slaves, houses, and land to finance the Quasi War. President Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) intensely disliked federal internal taxes and managed to eliminate them by his sec-

**Seizing the Tax Collector.** This eighteenth century engraving by French artist François Godefroy depicts an incident in 1774 in which angry Boston residents tarred and feathered tax collector John Malcolm. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ond term. Nevertheless, a program of internal taxation far more ambitious than anything tried by the Federalists was launched by Republican president James Madison (1809–1817) to finance the War of 1812. Federal internal taxes are best known for provoking the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 and Fries's Rebellion in 1799, but although these revolts certainly demonstrated the narrow confines of legitimate federal taxation in the early Republic—and how perilous it was to challenge them—they were of only limited significance in the general development of the American fiscal system.

In the states, Congress's requisitions and the charges on the public debt had been by far the greatest items of expenditure before the adoption of the Constitution. When the federal government assumed responsibility for the debt, these expenditures disappeared from the state budgets. As a result, direct state taxes were reduced by at least 75 percent. Because these were the taxes that had brought hardship in the 1780s, the Federalist reform in effect provided relief for the taxpayers. It also made conflicts over fiscal policy disappear from the agenda of state politics.

As state taxes fell and income from the federal impost grew, the federal government came to raise far more money than the states in both absolute and per capita terms. However, since the impost was collected directly from merchants, most ordinary taxpayers made no direct contribution to the federal government. At the same time, state taxes on persons and property continued to be low and state governments tried to raise revenue from other sources, such as taxes and fees on banks and income from investments. As a result, the American people were very lightly taxed in the four decades following the adoption of the Constitution.

On the expenditure side, payments on the public debt and appropriations for the military dominated the federal budget. There was little difference between Federalists and Republicans in this respect. Between 1789 and 1815, debt payments and support

**Per Capita Taxation, 5 Year Average, Current and 1840 Prices** (dollars)

| Year | US | MA | NY | VA | CT | SC | OH |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1790 | 0.50/0.46 | 0.21/0.20 | 0.00/0.00 | 1.05/1.00 | — | — | — |
| 1795 | 1.33/0.96 | 0.35/0.26 | 0.00/0.00 | 0.44/0.33 | — | — | — |
| 1800 | 1.86/1.34 | 0.37/0.26 | 0.09/0.06 | 0.41/0.29 | 0.20/0.14 | 0.46/0.33 | — |
| 1805 | 2.08/1.53 | 0.36/0.27 | 0.03/0.02 | 0.31/0.23 | 0.18/0.13 | 0.34/0.25 | — |
| 1810 | 1.51/1.03 | 0.35/0.24 | 0.02/0.02 | 0.31/0.21 | 0.18/0.12 | 0.25/0.17 | 0.17/0.11 |
| 1815 | 2.41/1.57 | 0.33/0.20 | 0.26/0.18 | 0.45/0.29 | 0.41/0.26 | 0.69/0.44 | 0.37/0.24 |
| 1820 | 1.76/1.38 | 0.26/0.20 | 0.26/0.20 | 0.40/0.32 | 0.18/0.14 | 0.52/0.41 | 0.18/0.15 |
| 1825 | 1.78/1.70 | 0.07/0.06 | 0.15/0.14 | 0.39/0.37 | 0.13/0.13 | 0.54/0.51 | 0.15/0.14 |

of the army and navy accounted for almost 90 percent of total expenses. Foreign relations and the Indian Department accounted for roughly 4 percent of total expenses and the civil list and "miscellaneous" civil expenses for the remainder. In the final category, the central government apparatus accounted for more than half the costs. The only significant other "civilian" expenses were payments for lighthouses and buoys and pensions for invalids. By the late 1820s, however, the federal government had begun to make considerable outlays on internal improvements. The administration of John Quincy Adams (1825–1829) spent $2.1 million, more than 3 percent of total expenditures, on roads and canals.

In the states, the major expenditure items in the budgets from the 1790s and onward were the costs of executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government. Some states also spent considerable sums on education. In the late 1820s state governments, too, had begun to spend on internal improvements. However, the real boom in state-financed internal improvements began in earnest only in the 1830s.

## PUBLIC DEBT

The War for Independence was fought on credit and both the states and the federal government were heavily in debt when the war ended. In 1790 the collective state debt was estimated at $26 million, while the federal debt stood at $52 million. In the years immediately after the war, public creditors received different treatment in different states. Congress, however, was unable to honor the claims of both domestic and foreign federal creditors, with the sole exception of the investors in its Dutch loans. Congress defaulted on the debt owed to France and paid interest on its domestic debt in so-called indents or certificates of interest. Both federal securities and indents fell sharply in value in the 1780s. Since Congress paid neither principal nor interest in specie, the

value of securities was determined by the likelihood that either the states or Congress would redeem them, or at least begin to pay interest in specie, at some future date. The securities had been issued as payment for services rendered and goods received during the war and had been given to a great number of soldiers and military suppliers. Most of these original holders did not possess the means to wait for a possible future redemption, but sold their securities to the highest bidder at prices far below face value. Over time, the debt was concentrated in fewer hands. According to one estimate, some fifteen thousand to twenty thousand people held securities in 1790.

The funding and assumption plans, which Hamilton presented to Congress in 1790, rapidly restored the value of securities. In a first move, the federal debt was "funded" on the British model. Old securities were exchanged for a new emission on which the government promised to pay interest in specie from the proceeds of earmarked taxes. While the government did not pledge to redeem the principal, securities could be sold on the market when a creditor needed specie. In a second move, the federal government assumed $18 million of state debt. In this way, the public debt was nationalized and the majority of the states became debt free. With a few exceptions, state borrowing did not become a factor in public finance again before the 1830s. In a final move, Congress created the Bank of the United States, which formed an integral part of the Federalists' system of public finance.

The Federalist program restored public credit, and from this time on the public debt was regarded as a near risk-free investment by Americans and foreigners alike. Yet the program was not universally endorsed. The opposition argued that securities appreciation would benefit the final and not the original holders and demanded that the government discriminate between final and original holders so as to benefit both equitably. Congress soundly defeated this

**Federal Revenue, Expenditure, and Indebtedness, Current and 1840 Prices**

(millions of dollars)

| Year | Total Revenue | Customs | Total Expenditure | Public Debt |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1790 | 2.0/1.9 | 2.0/1.8 | 2.3/2.2 | 78.8/72.8 |
| 1795 | 6.7/4.6 | 5.8/4.2 | 6.2/4.5 | 80.8/59.5 |
| 1800 | 10.8/7.5 | 9.2/6.6 | 9.1/6.5 | 80.4/57.5 |
| 1805 | 13.7/10.1 | 13.0/9.6 | 9.0/6.7 | 75.8/56.0 |
| 1810 | 11.7/8.2 | 10.9/7.4 | 11.3/7.7 | 51.9/35.3 |
| 1815 | 24.4/15.1 | 17.8/11.7 | 30.3/18.5 | 107.1/66.9 |
| 1820 | 19.8/16.2 | 16.6/13.1 | 18.1/14.2 | 92.2/73.0 |
| 1825 | 22.0/21.2 | 20.0/19.1 | 16.8/16.1 | 79.3/75.5 |

proposal because it would have jeopardized the restoration of public credit and thereby seriously restricted the ability of the federal government to raise new loans. The Republicans, however, continued to see the funding plan as a way to line the pockets of speculators with tax dollars, a view that modern historians largely share. The assumption of state debts also met with opposition. Assumption was proposed when Congress was still investigating the relative contribution of the states to the common war effort. Some members of Congress feared that assumption would lead to a premature settlement that would be disadvantageous to their states. In the end, it required the famous deal over the location of the new capital to enable the measure to gain Congressional approval. When the final settlement of accounts was reported in 1793, however, the issue died down. The chartering of the Bank of the United States was also controversial. Republicans deemed it unconstitutional and Congress refused to re-charter the bank when its twenty-year charter expired in 1811. Congress, with the support of President Madison and other leading Republicans, chartered the second Bank of the United States in 1816, but it suffered the same fate as its predecessor when Andrew Jackson used his presidential veto to prevent its re-charter in 1832.

The federal government made use of its ability to borrow money almost from its inception. New securities were issued to consolidate the foreign debt and to finance the naval and army buildup during the Quasi-War. Short-term loans from the Bank of the United States covered budget deficits and financed the expedition to quell the Whiskey Rebellion. However, despite their criticism of Federalist public finance, it was the Republicans who made the most use of loans. Jefferson purchased Louisiana in 1803 by issuing $11.25 million in securities that were eagerly picked up by British and Dutch investors on the

Amsterdam market. Madison borrowed $82 million, mostly from domestic creditors, to prosecute the War of 1812. But if the Republicans borrowed more than the Federalists, they also redeemed the debt more rapidly. Because they saw the public debt as an evil, they used a long series of budget surpluses to reduce it. By 1829 the debt was down to $48.6 million. Five years later it was entirely paid off.

## CONSEQUENCES

The fiscal and financial reforms carried out by the Federalists in the early 1790s had several important long-term consequences. First, while a fiscal system totally dependent on income from customs duties may have been popular with taxpayers, it was also very vulnerable to trade disruptions. English and French attacks on American trade during the Wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had direct repercussions for government income and public credit. Thus, if the new fiscal regime gave the federal government a certain independence from its taxpaying citizens, it made the nation vulnerable to the actions of European states. The attempts to deal with these powers dominated much of American politics up to 1815, from Jay's Treaty (1794) and the Quasi-War to Jefferson's Embargo (1807) and Madison's war with England.

Another important consequence of the Federalists' reforms was that the federal government became far stronger than it had been in the 1780s. In 1787 the American Republic was an impotent and bankrupt union of thirteen former colonies strung out along the Atlantic seaboard. Five decades later, it had conquered most of the North American continent. By the end of the nineteenth century, the American Empire extended to Asia. Sound public credit, backed by a regular revenue, was an important prerequisite for this development, whether it was used to raise money for territorial purchases or wars of conquest. In the struggle over North America, it is no coincidence that the two powers that emerged victorious—the United States and Great Britain—had the soundest public finances, while those that had to give way—France, Spain, and especially Mexico—all had considerable fiscal and financial difficulties.

The most important consequence of the reforms of the early 1790s was the creation of a financial system. In both the Netherlands and England, government borrowing had given rise to an active securities market that also allowed private enterprises to raise capital from investors. In the United States the same development occurred. The funding and assumption

*261*

of the public debt gave rise to a rapid expansion of the securities market and the banking sector, which mobilized domestic and attracted foreign capital and made it available to entrepreneurs. Virtually every major economic activity in the early national period was financed by loans and bonds. In particular the large-scale investments in canals, turnpikes, bridges, and railways, which were so important in extending market expansion throughout the nation, would not have been possible without banks and a well-developed securities market. It may well be the case that the financial system created by the Constitution and the Federalists' policies was the primary cause of the spectacular growth of the American economy that had made these erstwhile colonies outgrow their former mother country by the time of the Civil War.

See also **Bank of the United States; Hamilton, Alexander.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brown, Roger H. *Redeeming the Republic: Federalism, Taxation, and the Origins of the Constitution.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Edling, Max M. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Ferguson, E. James. *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Ferguson, Niall. *The Cash Nexus: Money and Power in the Modern World, 1700–2000.* New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Flaumenhaft, Harvey. *The Effective Republic: Administration and Constitution in the Thought of Alexander Hamilton.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992.

McDonald, Forrest. *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography.* New York: Norton, 1979.

Perkins, Edwin J. *American Public Finance and Financial Services, 1700–1815.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994.

Sylla, Richard. "Experimental Federalism: The Economics of American Government, 1789–1914." In *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States.* Edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman. Volume 2. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

———. "Financial Systems and Economic Modernization." *Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 3 (June 2002): 277–292.

Wright, Robert E. *The Wealth of Nations Rediscovered: Integration and Expansion in American Financial Markets, 1780–1850.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

*Max M. Edling*

**TEA ACT**    Perhaps the greatest irony surrounding the Tea Act is that America was only a secondary consideration in the minds of most of its parliamentary sponsors. Instead, Parliament focused upon the distress of the East India Company, which was important for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was its leading role in the British penetration of India. Most particularly, the East India Company experienced difficulty in selling its tea, millions of pounds of which lay rotting in the company warehouses, due primarily to the continuing boycott of British tea by the American colonies (a market that consumed millions of pounds of tea annually) as a reaction to the continuation of the Townshend tea tax. Though some British tea was sold in the colonies and Americans seemed disposed to buy more if the price was right, the taxes caused British tea to be undersold by the Dutch variety that was widely smuggled into the colonies. In searching for means to assist the company, parliamentary leaders rejected repeal of the tea tax, fearing that Americans would consider this an admission that they lacked the right to tax the colonies. Instead, they decided to exempt the East India Company from taxes charged upon tea landed in England, as was required of all tea, before reshipment to the colonies. This seemed a perfect answer, beneficial to all: the price of East Indian tea would be reduced, enabling the company to compete favorably with the smugglers, while the principle of parliamentary taxation would be upheld. For their part, Americans would enjoy cheaper tea prices. Thus, the Tea Act passed in Parliament without a division, and practically without comment, on 10 May 1773.

Americans, however, viewed the Tea Act in an unexpected light. Merchants were upset by the clause that allowed the company to select the tea consignees, leaving the valuable trade to be monopolized by a fortunate few. Even worse, these consignees were often unpopular, politically connected merchants, such as the sons of Governor Thomas Hutchinson in Boston. Vocal opposition came also from the tea smugglers who recognized immediately the disastrous effects that the Tea Act might have upon their profits. Finally, the Tea Act met determined opposition from radical agitators like Samuel Adams, who with a jaundiced attitude towards any parliamentary legislation, insisted that the real purpose of the Act was to lure unsuspecting or unpatriotic Americans into paying the Townshend tea tax. Once Americans purchased the dutied tea, the constitutional principle would be surrendered, and new taxes would be placed upon a wide variety of goods.

The combination of the radical political element with the leading seaport merchants produced a dynamic opposition to the Tea Act, one that had not been seen since the days of the Stamp Act.

As tea ships approached four ports (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town), radicals and merchants organized to prevent the landing of the cargo. In Boston, local conditions practically guaranteed trouble. Here the radicals, still smarting over suspicions that Boston merchants had evaded the earlier nonimportation association, were determined to prove their patriotic credentials through an unyielding stance. Governor Hutchinson, on the other hand, humiliated by the recent publication of selectively edited versions of his correspondence that undermined the governor by effectively portraying him as a determined advocate of repressive policies, saw an opportunity to achieve a rare victory over his radical tormenters. Hutchinson's victory seemed likely, since once the tea ships entered the harbor, as they did in late November, they could not legally depart until all duties were paid. If this did not occur within twenty-one days, the cargo would be landed and confiscated. With naval vessels patrolling the harbor and himself the only official authorized to release the ships, Hutchinson considered himself master of the situation: the tea would be landed. But Hutchinson had underestimated the determination of his opponents. When threats, pleas, and negotiations failed, the radicals boldly destroyed the entire cargo of 342 chests of tea worth approximately ten thousand pounds on the evening of 16 December 1773.

Events transpired more peacefully at New York and Philadelphia, largely because the respective governors wisely decided against pressing matters and allowed the ships to depart without payment of duties. Charles Town was the only port to land the tea, due to the quick thinking of Lieutenant Governor William Bull, who defused a gathering crisis by ordering the tea landed early on the morning of 22 December 1773 and stored securely in the basement of the Exchange building.

News of the proceedings in the colonies raised an outcry of anti-American resentment in England. Though offended by the reaction of America at large, King George III, Lord North, and Parliament were in agreement that Boston in particular had assumed a revolutionary position and merited a clear demonstration of British authority. Thus, General Thomas Gage, the commander in chief of the British army in America, was dispatched to replace Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and the Coercive Acts were passed between March and May 1774. Such an overreaction served to rally American support behind Boston. Though many thought that Boston had acted rashly in destroying the tea, most Americans considered the Coercive Acts to be excessive and, indeed, "intolerable," as they were labeled. Thus, a new crisis was begun, one which would result in the Continental Congress and, within a year, the fighting at Lexington and Concord.

*See also* **Boston Tea Party; Intolerable Acts; Townshend Act.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Labaree, Benjamin Woods. *The Boston Tea Party.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Thomas, Peter D. G. *Tea Party to Independence: The Third Phase of the American Revolution, 1773–1776.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

*Daniel McDonough*

**TECHNOLOGY**   The first generations of colonists brought their traditional tools with them from their homelands. Faced with a new environment, they soon supplemented their well-known practices with the skills and knowledge of Native Americans and enslaved Africans imported to North America. Although the word "technology" had been introduced in the seventeenth century, colonists spoke of the "mechanick arts," "tools of husbandry," "useful arts and sciences," and "ingenious improvements," all reflecting the combination of practical knowledge and artifacts.

Early American technology involved simple hand tools, made largely of wood, and consumer goods produced, like the tools themselves, one at a time by skilled artisans. Improvements came haphazardly, indicated directly by the experience of tool users, and tended to have only local, fleeting impact. However, colonists recognized the limits of their knowledge, the constraints of their tools, and the potential benefits of improvements. Thus they learned how to adopt, adapt, and invent technologies.

Between 1690 and 1780 Americans revolutionized their technological and material world as well as their political world. Indeed, technology would come to have a special role in the development of an American identity and political ideology. Technology's political significance was every bit as important as its role in the new nation's economic system and the everyday lives of its citizens.

## INNOVATIONS

Despite innovations in agricultural technology, such as Thomas Jefferson's plow design and the evolution of the cradle scythe for wheat harvesting, the major influences on agricultural practice came from mechanical innovations in processing. Hand tools were augmented by complex machines and inanimate power sources. Eli Whitney's 1793 cotton gin increased the efficiency of preparing cotton fibers for spinning and weaving, permitted the use of short-staple cotton, which was better suited to the inland climate and soil conditions, and encouraged the western spread of a cotton monoculture tended by slaves. The automatic flour mill invented by Oliver Evans in 1795 not only increased the efficiency and quality of milling but demonstrated the principles of product flow, mechanical systems, and automation through mechanical contrivances.

Woodworking, textile, and papermaking machinery required higher speeds, greater precision, and improved durability of machine components. To meet this need, iron was substituted for wood. However, because those skilled in these fields recognized that machinery might be improved or replaced before it wore out, wood, the less expensive material, often sufficed. Still, at the time of the Revolution, America was the world's third-largest producer of iron and also produced steel needed for edged tools and arms. After the Revolution both trades were decimated by the importation of cheap British iron. The drive to succeed inspired an extensive and increasingly sophisticated machine-tool industry. These "machines to make machines" enabled the necessary and continuous changes in technology.

The adoption of steam power for manufacturing was slowed by the abundance of the more familiar, less expensive waterpower available to Americans. But the very existence of America's extensive river system made the application of steam power to transportation even more attractive. John Fitch's pioneering work in 1787 and the prominent success of Robert Fulton's *North River Steamboat of Clermont*—better known as the *Clermont*—in 1807 began a rapid expansion of steam-powered water commerce, communication, and travel. By 1830 America had steam locomotives traveling some thirty miles of track and, within the decade, more than two thousand miles.

The need for easily repairable rifles led government gun makers to seek interchangeable parts, a concept that Jefferson had encountered in France and the British had come close to developing in the production of naval block-making machinery. Eli Whitney promised to produce guns with interchangeable parts in 1798 but failed to deliver. Between 1812 and 1830 innovators such as Roswell Lee, John Hall, and Simeon North in Springfield, Massachusetts, and later Harpers Ferry, Virginia, developed the system by employing uniform gauges, special-purpose machine tools, and a division of labor that focused each man on a specific tool or task. They also learned that these new techniques required the imposition of a new sense of discipline and organization among workers. Connecticut clock maker Eli Terry employed similar techniques in the quantity production of identical wooden-movement clocks between 1800 and 1830.

Seeking to exploit a growing worldwide demand for cloth and new British inventions, entrepreneurs organized textile production outside of the traditional household. The organization of production into factories challenged traditional family roles and community structures. Change began with the arrival in the United States of Samuel Slater, a British mechanic, who knew how to build spinning machines modeled after Richard Arkwright's seminal invention. Funded by the Quaker merchant Moses Brown and his son-in-law, William Almy, Slater's mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, began operation in 1790. In 1810 Francis Cabot Lowell formed the Boston Manufacturing Company with a dozen investors and hired a mechanic, Paul Moody, to construct a power loom. Lowell developed the pattern of combining waterpowered spinning and weaving machines under one roof and employing young women to tend them. Waltham and, after 1825, the company town of Lowell, Massachusetts, became the symbols of factory towns. Smaller mills spread throughout rural areas used similar technologies but hired entire families as workers and offered a different image of industry amidst a rural environment. Whether located along a rural stream or in a planned city, tended by "Lowell girls" or men and their families, these factories effectively combined innovative technology with an equally innovative vision of society.

## IDEOLOGIES

In technology as well as politics and morals, a "spirit of improvement" appealed to Americans. Yet they debated how technology related to their notions of freedom, progress, and perfectibility. What would be the role of manufactures in establishing economic independence and social stability in the new, overwhelmingly rural nation? Would innovations provide prosperity and would prosperity contribute to republican virtue or inequality and despotism?

Thomas Jefferson, well-known as a gentleman inventor, initially opposed manufacturing, fearing the growth of poverty, class distinctions, and urban blight. By 1812, however, he had moderated his views in light of the nation's economic needs. Labor-saving devices might even allow women and children to tend machines while men stayed in the fields; Jefferson's main hope for democracy lay in the maintenance of an agrarian society of economically independent small property owners. Philadelphia merchant Tench Coxe became the most prominent promoter of a political economy and republican virtues based on factory production.

For better or worse, technical innovation involving broad social consequences as well as immediate, practical results was now a common American experience, seemingly self-reinforcing and unremitting. When the Harvard lecturer Jacob Bigelow brought the word "technology" to the general public's attention with the 1829 publication of his *Elements of Technology*, Americans finally had a single word to convey the concept.

*See also* **Iron Mining and Metallurgy; Manufacturing; Manufacturing, in the Home; Steam Power; Waterpower; Work: Agricultural Labor; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop; Work: Factory Labor.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cowan, Ruth Schwartz. *A Social History of American Technology.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Hawke, David Freeman. *Nuts and Bolts of the Past: A History of American Technology*, 1776–1860. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Kasson, John F. *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America*, 1776–1900. New York: Penguin Books, 1977; New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.

Rosenberg, Nathan. *Perspectives on Technology.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

*William S. Pretzer*

**TEMPERANCE AND TEMPERANCE MOVE-MENT**   From the 1780s through the 1820s, Americans drank a great deal of alcohol. The per capita consumption in those decades, more than twice that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was the highest ever recorded in American history. Distilled spirits, especially rum and whiskey, were the favorite drinks, with beer and wine consumed much less

often. Because so many farmers turned their grain into whiskey, the price was low and the supply plentiful. Homemade hard cider was also cheap and easy to make.

### PERVASIVENESS OF ALCOHOL
Before the 1820s, most Americans had no misgivings about the moderate use of liquor. In towns and cities, it was purer than water, more readily available than milk, and less expensive than tea and coffee. At meals, a glass of whiskey or cider enlivened the ubiquitous diet of fried meat and corn. At work, manual laborers believed that frequent small drinks throughout the day improved their stamina. In sickness, liquor was believed to have medicinal value, and few doctors disputed that claim. At community ceremonies—barn raisings, elections, court days, fairs, dances, militia musters—alcohol appropriately enhanced the festivities. In short, Americans had made liquor an integral part of everyday life.

In those years, oversight by the government was modest. Local and county officials issued licenses for the sale of liquor, granting the privilege to innkeepers, retailers, and dramshops (later called bars). Although unlicensed vendors were occasionally prosecuted, enforcement of license laws was sporadic. Drunkards were frequently arrested, but usually for disorderly conduct rather than intoxication. Another means of regulation, taxation, was unpopular, as western farmers made clear by their fierce opposition to the federal tax on domestic distilled spirits levied in 1791.

### THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT BEGINS
In the 1810s, organized opposition to heavy drinking began to take shape. Evangelical Protestant ministers in various states became more outspoken, dwelling on the spiritual dangers to Christian youth who drank. Salvation depended on proper conduct, not just pious beliefs, and even moderate drinking could be harmful. Religious revivals spread the conviction that sin was not ineradicable; free will could and should be exerted to combat threats to moral purity.

In 1813 the first sizable temperance society emerged. The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (MSSI) attracted several hundred prominent Boston men and sponsored local auxiliaries throughout the state. The nonsectarian MSSI assailed intemperance on religious grounds but, as would be the case with temperance advocates throughout the century, they also stressed the economic and social consequences of inebriation. Poverty, crime, and insanity supposedly stemmed from

the abuse of liquor. To improve conditions, the MSSI urged town officials to arrest illegal sellers as well as drunkards. The MSSI members also hoped that the example of their own moderate drinking would prompt others to emulate their restraint, although they doubted that habitual drunkards could be reformed. Within five years, it was clear that the MSSI's exertions had made little headway. Without full time staff, charismatic leadership, newspapers, and other methods to gain widespread support, the MSSI never rallied enough people to convince local officials to do what the MSSI wanted.

### AMERICAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY

A more vigorous organization, the American Temperance Society (ATS), spread rapidly after its creation in 1826. The ATS relied on evangelical ministers for its leadership, but it consciously sought a large nondenominational membership. Unlike the MSSI, the ATS wanted every sober man and woman to remain so by joining a local temperance society and signing a pledge to abstain from all distilled liquors (after the mid–1830s, wine and beer were also proscribed by a "long" pledge). The goal was to make drinking unfashionable and disreputable by convincing every decent American to abstain.

The ATS worked hard to get people to join. Itinerant agents organized state, county, and local auxiliaries. The first temperance newspaper publicized the reform. Hundreds of short pamphlets disseminated sermons and addresses. The energetic recruitment yielded approximately 1.5 million members in 8,000 societies by 1835. Nearly one in every five free white adults joined, with the proportion lower in the southern states than elsewhere. As the numbers rose, many towns had more than one society, with young men's societies especially popular. Women, who accounted for approximately half of the national membership, occasionally formed separate groups. A group largely absent from the movement before the 1840s were former drunkards—their conversion was not a goal of the ATS—and free blacks, Indians, and slaves were not recruited.

### THE POPULARITY OF TEMPERANCE

The sudden and widespread popularity of temperance cannot be understood solely in terms of evangelical religion or ATS proselytizing. Men and women devoted to causes other than temperance realized that the drink reform movement resonated with and strengthened their particular interests. They knew that the temperance pledge represented values they respected. For instance, employers in fac-

tories, mills, shops, and offices prized the punctuality, self-control, and frugality of a young man who abstained. Temperance became a symbol of dedication to economic as well as spiritual self-improvement. Furthermore, many women believed that abstinence was a pledge to a tranquil family life marked by kindness rather than cruelty. Temperance sermons and addresses often cast wives, mothers, and children as the victims of drunken rage.

The moral influence of the abstainers did not convince everyone. Although liquor consumption dropped sharply in the 1830s and 1840s, very few liquor sellers voluntarily quit their work. By the mid–1830s, some local and state temperance societies began to seek legal relief. Rather than prosecute illicit sellers, they pressured local and county officials to withhold all licenses. "Local option" allowed regions within a state to be "dry." Whig Party candidates and voters were more inclined to favor "no-license" than the Democrats, but the issue divided both parties and was approached warily whenever it arose in election campaigns. Because the illegal sale of liquor continued and remained difficult to prosecute, by the early 1850s temperance crusaders sought statewide prohibition. A surge of Irish immigrants at that time made the goal especially appealing as abstainers once again celebrated their reform as the quick and reliable way to determine who was and was not respectable.

*See also* **Alcohol Consumption; Alcoholic Beverages and Production; Reform, Social; Revivals and Revivalism; Whiskey Rebellion; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hampel, Robert L. *Temperance and Prohibition in Massachusetts, 1813–1852.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research, 1982.

Rohrer, James R. "The Origins of the Temperance Movement: A Reinterpretation." *Journal of American Studies* 24 (1990): 228–235.

Rorabaugh, W. J. *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Tyrrell, Ian R. *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

*Robert L. Hampel*

**TENNESSEE**   Tennessee, created out of land earlier held by North Carolina, joined the Union as the six-

teenth state in 1796. Four major groups of Native Americans—Cherokee and Creek in the East, Shawnee in the Middle, and Chickasaw in the West—also claimed the territory. The Proclamation of 1763, England's attempt to prevent settlement west of the Appalachian crest, proved futile as hunters from Virginia and the Carolinas continued to pursue deer and beaver over the mountains. The first permanent white settlers crossed into northeast Tennessee by 1769. When British officials ordered them out, the colonists ignored the British orders, united as the Watauga Association, and negotiated with the Cherokee for land concessions.

Feeling exposed to the British and their Cherokee and Chickamauga allies at the start of the American Revolution, the Wataugans sought and received incorporation as Washington County, a part of North Carolina, in 1777. Frontier elites like William Blount, a delegate to the Continental Congress and later the territorial governor, supported the Revolution to secure their land claims, while the North Carolina government eagerly sought the Tennessee lands to offer as bounties to military enlistees and veterans. Despite, or perhaps because of, the disorder of war, settlers continued pouring into Tennessee during the Revolution and pushing west, establishing Nashborough (now Nashville) in 1779 along the Cumberland River. After the war, Blount urged North Carolina's cession of its Tennessee claims, a maneuver meant to decrease the state's federal taxes and increase the value of Tennessee lands with the prospect of federal military protection. When North Carolina delayed in ceding its territory, Tennessee settlers decided to create their own government. Naming themselves the state of Franklin, the settlers unsuccessfully petitioned the Continental Congress for admission as the fourteenth state.

North Carolina finally relented, and in 1790 Congress organized the Territory Southwest of the River Ohio, or the Southwest Territory, to be governed by the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance with the important exception of allowing slavery. The 1791 census revealed 35,691 residents, enough to call the territorial assembly to meet at Knoxville in 1794; population grew rapidly, and by 1795 the territory had more than enough residents to apply for statehood. Delegates framed a constitution in early 1796, but the state's admission to the Union, the first under the Northwest Ordinance rules, was nearly scuttled by Senate Federalists who did not want to admit likely Jefferson partisans in an election year.

The first decades of statehood saw political power divided between personal factions headed by John Sevier and William Blount. In national politics, however, the state was securely Jeffersonian. The most important political issues continued to center around land access and taxation. A three-way battle over public lands—between North Carolina, Tennessee, and the federal government—was not fully resolved until the 1840s. Native American land claimants, left with few military options since the 1790s, gradually negotiated land sales or exchanges; the 1818 Chickasaw Purchase included all of West Tennessee and opened the way for the eventual growth of Memphis after the 1820s.

Buoyed by immigrants coming west from the Carolinas or south from Pennsylvania and Virginia, population grew rapidly in the first years of statehood, from 105,602 persons at the state's first census in 1800, to 261,727 in 1810, 422,813 in 1820, and 681,904 in 1830. These statewide figures mask some important trends, most notably the westward shift of population. By 1820 Middle Tennessee had more than two-thirds of the state's population and, after 1826, the state capital at Nashville.

Tennessee's early national economy was built on land, which was valuable for speculation and agriculture. In addition to cotton and tobacco, the farmers grew corn, as much as half of which was distilled into whisky, and hogs for local consumption or export to the Deep South. The state also produced iron; mid-state entrepreneur Montgomery Bell owned several furnaces, which he staffed with free and bound workers. Slave labor would be more prevalent, however, in agriculture. Although the 1791 territorial census tallied 3,417, the slave population had grown to 13,584 by 1800 and 44,535 in 1810, topped 80,000 in 1820, and climbed over 141,600 in 1830. Revolutionary-era antislavery sentiments held on more in the East but were overshadowed as slave-based agriculture grew in Middle and West Tennessee.

Although few Tennesseans had been directly affected by British actions leading to the War of 1812, large numbers of them volunteered for military service. An ambitious Andrew Jackson had already served Tennessee as both a U.S. representative and senator but gained national attention for defeating the British at New Orleans and battling Indians throughout the Southeast. The Tennessee legislature returned him to the Senate in 1823, and state voters strongly supported his presidential runs in 1824 and 1828 and his reelection in 1832.

*See also* **American Indians: Southeast;**
  **Democratic Republicans; Federalists;**
  **Jackson, Andrew; North Carolina;**
  **Northwest and Southwest Ordinances;**
  **Proclamation of 1763.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aron, Stephen. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Finger, John R. *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767–1821.* New York: Harper and Row, 1977.

*Charles A. Israel*

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT   *See Government: Territories.*

**TEXAS**   During a fifteen-year span, from 1820 to 1835, Texas changed from a sparsely settled outpost on the northeast fringe of the Spanish North American empire to a territory, dominated by approximately thirty thousand immigrants from the United States, on the brink of rebellion against Santa Anna's Mexico. The individual who set this transformation in motion was Moses Austin, a man who had spent most of his adult life in the borderlands between Spanish- and Anglo-America.

Austin was born in 1761 in Connecticut. As a young man he established himself as a businessman, first in Connecticut, then successively in Philadelphia and Richmond, Virginia. In 1789, in partnership with his brother Stephen, he acquired control of a lead mine in southwestern Virginia. Three years later he moved his family there to manage the enterprise; in 1797, facing financial difficulties with the Virginia mines, he relocated much farther west, to a site in Spanish Louisiana (now in Missouri) south of St. Louis, where he again acquired and developed rich deposits of lead.

Austin differed from most Americans who moved west in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First, he had little interest in acquiring land for agricultural production. He was a businessman and a frontier industrialist, seeking to extract and process nonagricultural resources from the land. Second, his search for wealth was not con-

fined by national boundaries. In 1797 he crossed the Mississippi and established himself in Spanish territory, seeking and winning contracts from Spanish authorities to develop mineral wealth. Six years later the Louisiana Purchase returned him to American jurisdiction.

When the Panic of 1819 drove him into bankruptcy, Moses Austin again looked to Spanish America for opportunity. Familiar with the land hunger of his countrymen, Austin traveled to San Antonio in 1820 and convinced the Spanish governor there that as a former Spanish subject he should be allowed to bring in three hundred American families to colonize Texas. Austin intended to regain his fortune through the venture, with extensive land for himself and fees from his settlers. The Spanish, in turn, expected to gain needed population for their border province, securing it from external invasion and stimulating its economic development.

Neither party survived to achieve its goals. Other leaders under different political authority would carry out the colonization of Texas. Austin died in early 1821 after returning to Missouri to organize his Texas colony; his eldest son, Stephen F. Austin, took over the project. When he returned to Texas to finalize plans he learned that the Spanish authorities had been deposed, and a new independent Mexican nation was being organized. Austin traveled to Mexico City where he succeeded in convincing Mexican officials to reauthorize his father's project.

Stephen F. Austin was the most successful of the *empresarios* (colony organizers), and his colony rapidly transformed Texas. He settled the 300 families required by his father's contract and proceeded to award a total of 1,540 land grants, which by 1830 represented a population of 4,248. Other *empresarios* followed Austin's example. Colonists rushed to Texas, stimulated by the economic troubles of the early 1820s and plentiful supplies of cheap land. Mexican authorities estimated the 1830 population of Texas as 21,000 persons—15,000 Anglos, 2,000 African American slaves, and 4,000 Tejanos (Mexican residents of Texas). The Spanish plan to secure Texas through colonization succumbed to its own success. By 1830 Anglos, outnumbering Tejanos by almost 4 to 1, had essentially assumed control of the territory. Within a few years conflicts over slavery, immigration policy, taxation, culture, and politics led to rebellion and Texas independence.

*See also* **Expansion; Louisiana Purchase;**
  **Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brands, H. W. *Lone Star Nation: How a Ragged Army of Volunteers Won the Battle for Texas Independence, and Changed America.* New York: Doubleday, 2004.

Cantrell, Gregg. *Stephen F. Austin: Empresario of Texas.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.

Gracy, David B, II. *Moses Austin: His Life.* San Antonio, Tex.: Trinity University Press, 1987.

*Cary D. Wintz*

**TEXTILES MANUFACTURING**   Textiles manufacturing appeared in the American colonies as soon as English settlers arrived. The colonies produced small amounts of coarse textile cloth, usually woolen and always homespun, for local use. However, the colonial relationship hindered development of American textile manufacturing. The British government established the colonies as sources of raw materials and as consumers of English-made goods so colonial charters prohibited textile manufacturing. Restrictive regulations and taxes, such as the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765, affected textile production and contributed to colonial discontent. As the Revolution approached, imported cloth became more expensive and difficult to obtain and efforts towards colonial manufacture increased.

Dramatic change in the U.S. textile industry occurred in the late eighteenth century with the introduction of machines. They aided the development of textile manufacturing in the United States, which had been hindered by the high cost of labor and the scarcity of capital. The United States had a ready resource of highly skilled craftsmen to design, build, and improve the machines. Despite British efforts to stop the export of textile manufacturing knowledge and machines, American inventors based their earliest designs on those of the Englishman James Hargreave for the spinning jenny, which he patented in 1770. Jennies, machines to spin thread from fiber, appeared first in Philadelphia in 1774–1775. In the 1780s machines appeared for carding cotton and wool by cleaning and arranging their raw fibers.

**THE SLATER SYSTEM**
Rhode Island became the first textile manufacturing center in the United States, with mills established at Providence and Pawtucket in 1789. These new factories overcame initial difficulties with the arrival of the Englishman Samuel Slater in 1789, who had a thorough understanding of the advanced textile machinery used in the English mills in which he had ap-

prenticed. (He claimed to be a farmer to bypass British emigration laws.) Slater built the equipment and the mill, supervised it, and paid half the expenses. His partners, William Almy and Moses Brown, purchased the raw material, had the yarn woven into cloth, sold the cloth, and paid the other half of the expenses. Slater eventually used his financial success and expertise to build his own mills. After the introduction of the mills and the machinery, most U.S. cloth was factory-made rather than homespun.

The mills utilizing the Slater system were located in rural settings where water power was available; they used the Arkwright water frame, which originated in England. Initially, they used poor or orphaned children, ages seven to fourteen, as workers. This system evolved into a family labor system under which housing adjacent to the mill was rented to families. The paternalistic mill owners, usually individuals or family groups, imposed certain forms of conduct upon their worker families, such as church attendance, and often paid in goods at the company store.

Between 1807 and 1810, the number of U.S. cotton mills jumped from fifteen to eighty-seven in what was called "cotton mill fever." This jump coincided with the 1807 Embargo Act, which excluded English manufactured textiles, and the growth in the supply of cheap cotton from the South. Cotton production vastly expanded there following the development of the cotton gin in 1793. By the 1820s the South had become the world's leading supplier of cotton. This cheap and easily accessible supply of cotton facilitated a shift from woolen to cotton products in the early nineteenth century.

**LOWELL, WALTHAM, AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH**
Francis Cabot Lowell led a new revolution in U.S. textile manufacturing in the 1820s. The Lowell or Waltham system utilized power looms and limited liability corporations. The first mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, opened in 1814, and later mills followed at a site that became Lowell, Massachusetts. These mills based their system on an integrated production process, new machinery, and methods that required less skill than needed previously. The Lowell-Waltham system integrated the spinning and weaving into one facility. Raw cotton entered one end of the mill and finished cloth exited the other. These mills also focused on the production of cheap cotton cloth in abundant amounts. They used water power that rose upward through as many as four floors through a system of shafts and belts. They mechanized everything that they could mechanize

with the power loom and other new machines. Mill owners increased productivity by adding machinery rather than labor or wages.

The process of producing cloth was broken down into its simplest elements so that each worker performed only a single element and each position required less skill than workers had needed in earlier forms of manufacturing. Most of the positions described as unskilled, however, were filled by women who developed dexterity, quickness, keen eyesight, and other skills to work with the machines. But if workers became "too skilled," management increased the number of machines per employee (called a "stretch-out") or increased the machines' operating speeds (called a "speed-up").

The people, both owners and workers, came from outside the locality. Large, capital–intensive corporations rather than individuals or families owned the mills. The owners hired managers to run the mills. The workers were young, unmarried women recruited from farm families. They lived on the mill site and often had to abide by a strict moral code.

By 1839 Lowell, Massachusetts, had outstripped Manchester, England, as the world's leading producer of textiles. Twenty–nine mills there produced one million yards of cloth each week. The Lowell mills used a complex and integrated system that included capital, labor recruitment, supply purchasing, integrated production, and the sale of the finished product. This system provided a model for industrial growth and organization in the United States. The financial success of these mills, and their Boston owners, also provided a source of capital for further industrial growth.

### PENNSYLVANIA AND FLEXIBLE PRODUCTION

Another center of textile manufacturing emerged in Pennsylvania in the 1820s. While the textile industry had created and shaped Lowell, Philadelphia shaped its textile industry. Proprietary firms or partnerships founded the Pennsylvania mills with small amounts of capital. The owners and workers came from the local communities. The mills focused on specialized items rather than bulk fabrics. Philadelphia became a center of specialized and flexible manufacturing enterprises of all types and sizes that produced woolens, hosiery, carpet, and silks in addition to cotton goods. The flexible firms at Philadelphia held up better during the uncertain financial times of the Civil War and provided an alternative model for industrial growth called proprietary capitalism.

Textile manufacturing coincided with the initial stages of an industrial revolution in the United States. It provided models for later industrial growth and spurred that growth by providing capital and pushing technological developments.

*See also* **Manufacturing; Work: Factory Labor.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dalzell, Robert F., Jr. *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Dunwell, Steve. *The Run of the Mill: A Pictorial Narrative of the Expansion, Dominion, Decline, and Enduring Impact of the New England Textile Industry.* Boston, Mass.: Godine, 1978.

Rivard, Paul E. *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2002.

Scranton, Philip. *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Tucker, Barbara M. *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.

*Linda Eikmeier Endersby*

**THAMES, BATTLE OF THE** Oliver Hazard Perry's victory over British naval forces on Lake Erie on 10 September 1813 rendered the resupply of British forces in Upper Canada difficult if not impossible. Now highly vulnerable to attack by the advancing American army commanded by William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, the British decided to withdraw their troops from Upper Canada and concentrate on the Niagara frontier. The local commander at Fort Malden, Major General Henry Proctor, failed to notify his Indian allies, led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, of that decision before beginning the dismantling of his fortifications at Malden. Tecumseh, enraged by what he regarded as British duplicity and cowardice, demanded that Proctor either fight or turn over British military supplies to his warriors. Stung by Tecumseh's reproach, Proctor modified his plan of retreat and made a stand at the Thames River near Moraviantown on 5 October 1813. Outnumbered by the Americans by at least three to one, British forces left the battlefield in some disarray. Tecumseh and a hard core group of warriors loyal to his pan-Indian cause remained to fight, but were soon defeated. Tecumseh died in battle. Several Americans later claimed the honor of having

killed the great Shawnee war chief. The most notable of these claimants was Richard Mentor Johnson, later the vice president of the United States from 1837 to 1841. But the greatest political beneficiary of the Battle of the Thames was Harrison, whose reputation as a heroic frontier fighter was essential to his election as president in 1840.

*See also* **War of 1812.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gilpin, A. R. *The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958.

Sugden, John. *Tecumseh's Last Stand.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

Young, Bennett H. *The Battle of the Thames.* Louisville, Ky.: J. P. Morton, 1903.

*Alfred A. Cave*

---

**THEATER AND DRAMA**   Determining the role of the theater in the new nation from the post-Revolutionary period until the eve of Jacksonian democracy presents a challenge, since few Americans of that period could agree on the place of the playhouse in American culture, or even on whether such entertainments should exist. For this reason, any examination of theatrical and dramatic culture in the early national period must explore not only plays, performers, and audiences but also opponents of the theater and their motives.

### FIGHTING OPPOSITION TO THE THEATER

Though colonists had enjoyed professional theatrical entertainments since 1752, many remained divided in their attitude toward play going. Some groups (like the Quakers and Puritans) objected to the theater on religious grounds, while others saw it as a welcome cultural link with Great Britain. In 1774, the Continental Congress outlawed all theatrical entertainments, stigmatizing them as a luxury and a corrupting British import. The country's resident professional troupe, the Old American Company, fled to Jamaica, returning to the United States in 1784. In cities like Charleston, which had supported prewar theater, they were welcomed home with enthusiasm. But in cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the company met with open hostility. Many cities had passed wartime and postwar bans on theatrical entertainments, and fined or arrested actors who tried to stage illegal performances. These laws were gradually repealed throughout the late 1780s and 1790s.

Religious opposition to the theater lingered in some communities; others objected to the theater because of its association with British culture. Yet none of these opponents could withstand the tides of economic and cultural reform sweeping the new nation. The exigencies of the Revolutionary War had brought new groups of men to power in every major urban center. These men saw the theater as a symbol of power in the new nation. They believed that if they built luxurious playhouses—complete with red velvet curtains and crystal chandeliers—they would show their fellow citizens and Great Britain that the fledgling nation possessed all the hallmarks of a civilized people. Indeed, theaters of the new nation offered more than venues for seeing plays. They served as social centers, where the elite could gather to play cards, gossip, and dance. They also served as political lightning rods.

### PATRIOTIC THEATER AND PARTY POLITICS

The owners and managers of the early national theaters had promised that their productions would serve to "polish the manners and habits of society" and establish a "democracy of glee." Yet many audience members objected that the British plays offered in the theaters did not reflect American tastes or values. Moreover, party politics sometimes disrupted the refined atmosphere that managers had struggled to establish.

Political disputes centered on the tension between Federalist and Republican factions within the audience. The most famous politically motivated riot took place on 30 March 1798 at the opening of William Dunlap's *André* in New York's Park Theatre. *André* tells the story of British spy, Major John André, executed by George Washington during the war. It features an American character named Bland, who, furious at Washington, tears the black cockade from his hat (a Federalist symbol), and throws it away. Outraged at this attack on American honor, the audience rioted, forcing Dunlap to revise the play's ending. Managers frequently altered plays to suit audience tastes, excising references to kings, aristocracy, and the like.

American playwrights were few and far between. Among the best known were Royall Tyler, Judith Sargent Murray, Mercy Otis Warren, Susanna Rowson, William Dunlap, and John Daly Burk. Moreover, despite their patriotism, audiences remained skeptical about whether American works could rival British ones. (This sense of cultural inferiority plagued the new nation well into the nineteenth century.) Even Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787) and Row-
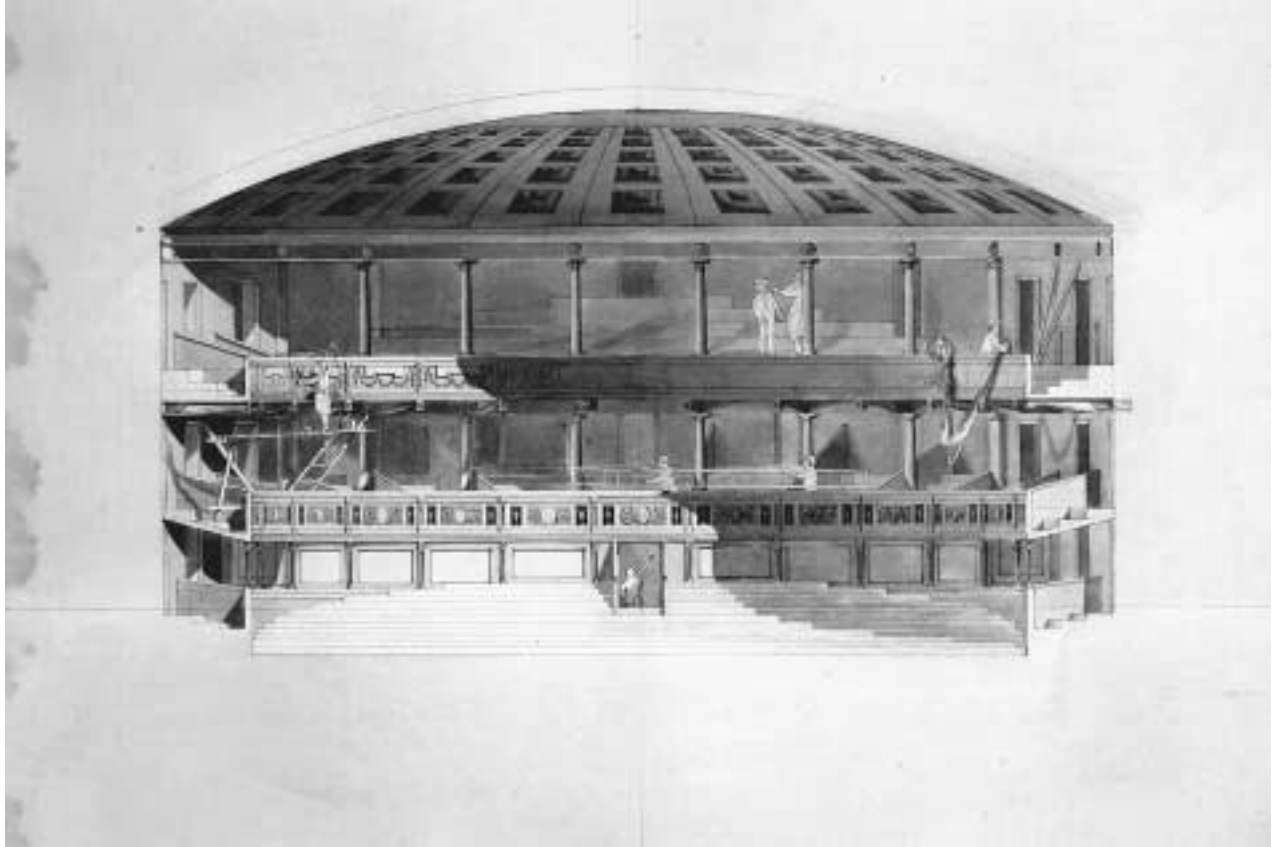
**Theater Design (c. 1797).** Architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe's design for a theater, with assembly rooms and a hotel, to be built in Richmond, Virginia. The design was never executed. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

son's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), two of the most famous plays of the early national period, received only a handful of performances.

By the end of the eighteenth century, many of the nation's playhouses faced financial disaster as rivalry between competing theaters drove some out of business. Other entertainments crowded into relatively small urban markets, including the circus and institutions like Peale's Museum in Philadelphia— sites many Americans found more "democratic" than the class-based seating arrangements of the formal playhouse. On the eve of the nineteenth century, the theater's continued success seemed doubtful.

### THEATER FOR THE COMMONER

Jefferson's election in 1800 transformed both American culture and American drama. His presidency ushered in a new age of sentiment in the theater, coinciding with the trend toward Romanticism in literature. Managers turned to emotional melodramas that featured simple heroes and heroines. The plays that they produced between 1800 and the 1810s were largely American adaptations of European melodramas, many by German playwright Augustus von Kotzebue. Some of the American playwrights of the period include James Nelson Barker, *The Indian Princess*, William Dunlap, *The Africans, or War, Love, and Duty*, William Charles White, *The Clergyman's Daughter*, and John Howard Payne, *Brutus, or the Fall of Tarquin*. With the westward expansion of the Jeffersonian era, the theater moved into the frontier areas of Ohio, Kentucky, and the Louisiana Territory, as well as Washington, D.C., the new capital city. Under Jefferson, American artists and writers turned their attention to the development of a native drama and aesthetic. In 1802 and 1803 Washington Irving, writing under the pseudonym of Jonathan Oldstyle, wrote commentary on the theater in a series of letters for *The Morning Chronicle*, launching the nation's first sustained body of theatrical criticism.

Moreover, native subjects and themes gained in popularity. By the early nineteenth century, the "Stage Yankee" had become a fixture of the American theater, as had other "native" characters. At the end of James Nelson Barker's *Indian Princess* (an 1808

## WILLIAM DUNLAP

William Dunlap (1766–1839) has been dubbed the "Father of American Drama" for the prolific number of plays he produced during his lifetime (some fifty original scripts, translations, and adaptations), his stewardship of New York's Park Theatre (1798–1805), and his *History of the American Theatre* (1832), the first chronicle of the nation's fledgling dramatic efforts. Devoted to the development of an American cultural aesthetic, Dunlap served as a director of the American Academy of Fine Arts (1817) and helped found the National Academy of Design (1826). In addition, he wrote the *History of the Arts and Design* (1834), in which he encouraged the new nation to shun the old European system of patronage and to allow artists freedom of thought and expression.

Dunlap united art and conscience, arguing that the arts could transform the new nation, and teach lessons of "patriotism, virtue, morality, and religion." A passionate abolitionist, he served as secretary for the New York Abolition Society for a number of years and adapted the popular German play, *The Africans, or War, Love, and Duty* (1810), a story about the evils of slavery and the humanity of those trapped in the system. His many original plays—including *The Father, or American Shandyism* (1789), *Darby's Return* (1789), *André* (1798), and *The Glory of Columbia* (1803)—exalt what he viewed as the American qualities of loyalty, courage, and selflessness. Dunlap was the first in the history of early American theater to see the theater as a "powerful engine" of moral enlightenment, and he beseeched the government to ensure that it would flourish in freedom by calling for a national theatre that would be under the auspices of the federal government, rather than at the mercy of particular groups with specific political agendas.

*Heather S. Nathans*

play about the life of Pocahontas), one of the characters predicts an age "when arts and industry, and elegance shall reign," an age of "a great, yet virtuous empire in the west!" Yet American writers still felt inferior to British playwrights, who remained the mainstay of the theatrical repertoire.

The craze for British theater was fueled by English stars who roamed the American circuit throughout the early nineteenth century, including George Frederick Cooke, Edmund Kean, Fanny Kemble, and Junius Brutus Booth (father to Edwin Booth, one of America's greatest stars, and John Wilkes Booth, one of its most infamous assassins). While these performers revolutionized American acting, they also revealed a need for a native talent.

### THE RISE OF NATIVE TALENT AND NATIVE THEATER

Two stars rose to the challenge, and met with varying degrees of success in America. Ira Aldridge, a black tragedian, got his start in New York's African Theatre (1821–1823), where he performed serious dramatic roles traditionally reserved for white performers, including *Hamlet* and *Richard III.* Persecution by white audiences closed the theater in 1823, and Aldridge moved to Europe, where he enjoyed a successful career. Edwin Forrest, a working-class hero, began in smaller roles on the western touring circuit before returning to the East to establish himself as a star.

For both American politics and theater, 1828 marked a pivotal year. As Andrew Jackson moved into power, the mood of the theater shifted from Romanticism to rugged individualism and homespun humor, reflecting "Old Hickory's" rough masculinity. In 1828 Forrest announced a series of competitions for original plays written about American characters, and his contests launched a new age of American playwriting and a new style of American drama—plays with a heroic central character fighting oppression and injustice. These plays included John Augustus Stone's *Metamora*, Robert T. Conrad's *Jack Cade*, and Robert Montgomery Bird's *The Gladiator.*

The year 1828 also witnessed the debut of Thomas "Daddy" Rice's immensely popular "Jump Jim Crow" song and dance, a performance that inspired hundreds of imitators and started a nationwide craze for minstrel performance (ironically, one of the few theatrical genres American artists can claim to have originated).

By Jackson's inauguration in 1829, American theater had firmly established itself in the new nation. Though its artists would continue to struggle against the stigma of home-grown drama, they had also created a theater that showcased what they defined as the uniquely "American" virtues of humor, simplicity, independence, and courage.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bank, Rosemarie K. *Theatre Culture in America*, *1825–1860.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Dudden, Faye. *Women in the American Theatre: Actresses and Audiences*, *1790–1870.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994.

Dunlap, William. *History of the American Theatre and Anecdotes of the Principal Actors.* 2nd ed. New York: Burt Franklin, 1963.

Engle, Ron, and Tice L. Miller, eds. *The American Stage: Social and Economic Issues from the Colonial Period to the Present.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Grimsted, David. *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture*, *1800–1850.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Levine, Lawrence. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Mason, Jeffrey D. *Melodrama and the Myth of America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

McConachie, Bruce. *Melodramatic Formations: American Theatre and Society*, *1820–1870.* Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992.

Moody, Richard. *America Takes the Stage: Romanticism in American Drama and Theatre*, *1750–1900.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955.

Nathans, Heather S. *Early American Theatre from the Revolution to Thomas Jefferson: Into the Hands of the People.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Richards, Jeffrey, ed. *Early American Drama.* New York: Penguin Books, 1997.

Smith, Susan Harris. *American Drama: The Bastard Art.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Wilmeth, Don B., and Christopher Bigsby, eds. *The Cambridge History of American Theatre.* Vol. 1: *Beginnings to 1870.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

*Heather S. Nathans*

**THEOLOGY** Theology means, literally, knowledge of God. From the 1750s to the 1820s the number of American theologians grew rapidly. The most significant feature of the era was the rise of popular theology, apace with popular government: Americans by the thousands and later by the millions strove for and believed they attained knowledge of God's will for all aspects of religion. Although a few, such as Benjamin Franklin, Ethan Allen, and Thomas Jefferson, questioned the authority of the Bible, the American denominations, from Baptists to Unitarians, continued to regard Scripture as divinely inspired, however they differed in interpretations. Plentiful English Bibles, the growth of literacy, and the political empowerment of ordinary people fed the theological zeal of Americans, as did the freeing of churches from government regulation, the rapid growth of population, and headlong westward expansion.

**SALVATION, FREE WILL, AND PREDESTINATION**
Theologians drew various conclusions from the Bible regarding the path to salvation (soteriology). Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, among others, practiced infant baptism (pedobaptism), catechized their young, and encouraged them to live according to Christian teachings. In these traditions one typically followed a lifelong course toward salvation. But revivalists and others continued to hold a stricter standard: church membership was a privilege only for adults who had earned it by their behavior, their belief, and, in many congregations, their testimony of a conversion experience. For the Baptists (literally antipedobaptists, though they disliked the term), conversion preceded baptism, which, following the New Testament, was by immersion and for adults. For Baptists, as for most Protestants, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Holy Communion) was not a means to salvation but a privilege for those who had proved themselves already among the sanctified.

Two giants of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther and John Calvin, agreed that all were born sinners and could not achieve salvation except through the free grace of God, enabled through the atonement of Christ. The Arminian notion, which gained ground throughout the eighteenth and triumphed in the nineteenth century did not deny this, but suggested that all persons could freely choose to apply for this divine gift by prayer and reformation of character. Many Calvinists, though they exhorted everyone to seek salvation— Anglican George Whitefield (1714–1770), Puritan-Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), and Baptist Isaac Backus (1724–1806) are striking examples—insisted that Christ's atonement was limited to those predestined for salvation. This doctrine has always seemed at best impractical, and at worst a spiritual elitism reminiscent of Christ's enemies as described in Scripture. To the devout predestinarian certain facts were inescapable: through original sin mankind was incapable of redemption without divine grace; the will to seek salvation was itself proof

of the workings of that grace; the rejection of salvation by sinners proved that Christ's atonement was limited. How else explain the rejection of so precious a gift by so many? Underlying all these beliefs was the idea of the absolute sovereignty of God, who wrote the spiritual script for all mankind.

From the eighteenth century to the present, when Americans speak of Calvinism they often mean predestination; when they speak of free will, they mean Arminianism. It should be noted, however, that the denominations strictly in the Calvinist line—Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Reformed Churches (both Dutch and German) all had their divisions over this issue. Baptists were mostly predestinarian until the era of the American Revolution, when the Free Will Baptists emerged and flourished. And Whitefield, who never left the Church of England, remained a predestinarian, as did many other "low church" Anglicans and Episcopalians, well into the nineteenth century. On the other hand, most Anglicans were Arminian; John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, USA, who always considered himself a member of the Church of England, was a thoroughgoing Arminian.

### PERSISTENT PIETISM
Another essential strand in Christianity was Pietism. Some denominations and sects embodied virtually all the elements of Pietism: a sincere effort to live in Christian love and harmony in both family and community, adhering to a strict code of personal behavior, and setting apart some time each day for religious devotions. German-speaking groups, mostly in Pennsylvania, including Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, and Schwenkfelders—strongly exemplified Pietism, as did the Quakers. But Pietism was present in all denominations, especially among Lutherans, Baptists, and Methodists. Wesley's mature faith was strongly shaped by his encounters with the Moravians. Wesley thus added Pietism to Arminianism, and capped his system with perfectionism: the belief that one could entirely transcend sinfulness in this world, even before graduating to the next. Both Pietism and perfectionism would grow and express themselves in different strands of American Christianity. The Second Great Awakening produced, along with a wave of revivals and their innovation, the camp meeting. It also produced a variety of reform agendas, led by missionary societies, Sunday schools, the temperance movement, and the early stirrings of the antislavery movement. The urge toward perfection began to suggest the approach of the Second Coming; theological speculation began to dwell on the possibility of the Millennium.

### IMITATING THE APOSTLES: ITINERANT MINISTRIES
Itinerancy, the practice of traveling from town to town and province to province for the purpose of preaching, became an issue during the Great Awakening of the 1740s and after. Where churches were established by law, as in most of New England, Maryland, and Virginia, established ministers often prevented itinerants from preaching, either by refusing them the use of their churches or by having them arrested for preaching in barns or fields. Whitefield, the greatest itinerant of the century, proved unstoppable; the rest, occasionally silenced in one place, soon found another. Where new congregations could not find suitably ordained ministers, Methodism's apostle, Francis Asbury (1748–1816), authorized intelligent laymen to lead congregations. As the nation matured, circuit-riding ministers visited such congregations until they could find suitably educated ministers. Similarly, the Baptists chose intelligent and devout laymen as ministers, launching the age of the Baptist farmer-preacher. The Methodists and Baptists expanded with the frontier, becoming the largest Protestant denominations in the United States. Ministers of the formerly established churches often criticized them for their lack of education, to which they replied that Jesus and his twelve apostles were not college graduates but itinerant ministers. Furthermore, as quickly as possible Methodists and Baptists founded colleges and seminaries.

### SOME LEADERS IN THOUGHT AND ACTION
The most richly stored and original theological minds of the era either directly influenced religious developments or trained the ministers and laymen who did. Jonathan Edwards, of Connecticut and Massachusetts, was a revivalist as well as a theologian. He combined scientific insights from John Locke and Isaac Newton with traditional theology to write profound works on the religious affections and the sovereignty of God. John Wesley, who preached and wrote exhaustively to save the souls of millions, sent Francis Asbury, exactly the right man to make Methodists of Americans. Isaac Backus, successfully self-taught, led the Baptists in balancing Congregational independence with consistent beliefs and practices, while working for the complete freedom of churches from secular government. Yale's Nathaniel William Taylor (1786–1858) worked out a practical reconciliation between Calvinism and free will by redefining the doctrine of original sin. Not all develop-

ments were in this liberal direction. Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, helped found the Princeton Seminary in 1812, and persuaded two generations of students that Presbyterians should return to their Calvinist roots in sixteenth-century Geneva. Earlier, Henry M. Muhlenberg (1711–1787) of Philadelphia succeeded in bringing order to the various forms of German and Scandinavian Lutheranism that arrived with various waves of immigrants. Samuel Seabury (1729–1796) of Connecticut and William White (1746–1836) of Philadelphia saved Anglicanism by successfully separating the Episcopal Church from the Church of England. Both progressives and conservatives earnestly believed they were restoring and realizing essential, traditional Christianity.

*See also* **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Antislavery; Baptists; Bible; Camp Followers; Catholicism and Catholics; Congregationalists; Methodists; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Moravians; Pietists; Presbyterians; Religion: Overview; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Revivals and Revivalism; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ahlstrom, Sidney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Bonomi, Patricia U. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America.* Updated ed. Oxford, U.K. and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

McLoughlin, William G. *Isaac Backus and the American Pietistic Tradition.* Edited by Oscar Handlin. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* Oxford, U.K. and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

*Robert McColley*

**TIPPECANOE, BATTLE OF**    From the start, antagonism existed between Prophetstown, the pan-Indian nativist community established in 1808 by the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa and his brother,



Battle of Tippecanoe
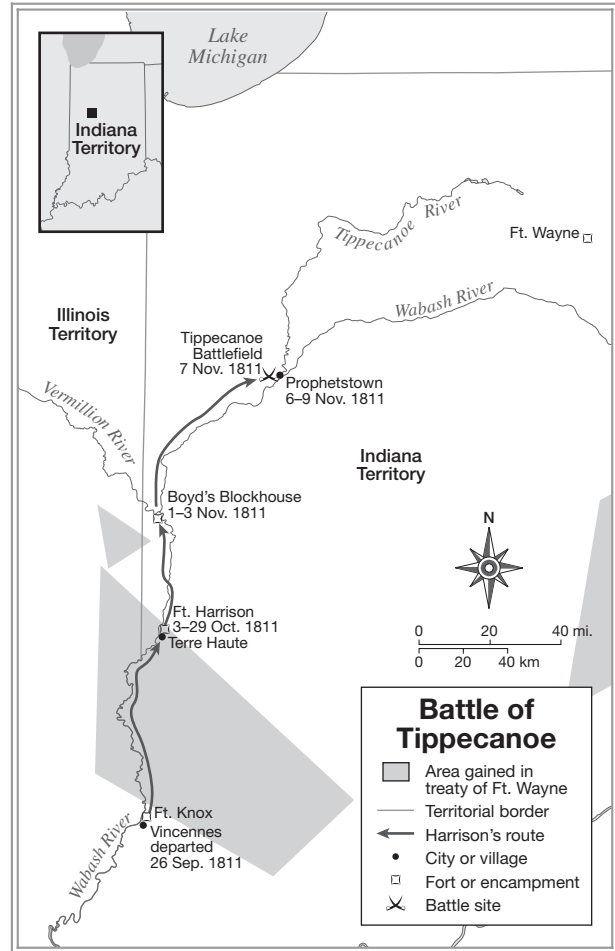
the war chief Tecumseh, at Tippecanoe Creek in Indiana, and the territorial government at Vincennes led by Governor William Henry Harrison. But the following year the antipathy was exacerbated by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, a land deal wherein a number of tribal leaders agreed to an extensive new land cession. Tecumseh and the Prophet refused to accept the treaty and predicted war if it were not revoked. Harrison, concerned that opposition from Prophetstown would make it difficult if not impossible to survey and settle the newly acquired lands, demanded that its substantial non-Shawnee majority be expelled from the community. When the Prophet refused, Harrison took advantage of Tecumseh's absence on a recruitment mission in the South to stage a preemptive strike in the fall of 1811.

The Battle of Tippecanoe on 7 November later established Harrison's reputation as a heroic Indian fighter. But despite the mythology that surrounds Tippecanoe, the actual battle was indecisive. Although the Prophet's forces were scattered by Harrison's assault and his village burned, warriors from

a number of tribes soon rebuilt Prophetstown on a site nearby. In correspondence with his superiors, Harrison continued to warn of the menace to American expansion posed by the Prophet and his followers. Although legend maintains that the Prophet, ignoring Tecumseh's advice to stall for time, launched an ill-considered, poorly planned pre-dawn attack on Harrison's forces, the most reliable sources indicate that the fight began when several high-spirited Winnebago warriors, in violation of the Prophet's orders, skirmished with some of Harrison's sentinels. Equally dubious is the claim that Tecumseh, enraged by the Prophet's bungling, threatened to kill his brother and in fact removed him from the leadership of the movement. The evidence indicates unequivocally that Tenskwatawa remained its spiritual leader, continued to serve as the civil head of Prophetstown during Tecumseh's absences on diplomatic missions, and succeeded him as war chief after his death at the Battle of the Thames in 1813. Late-twentieth-century research also indicates that Tecumseh and the Prophet both desired a peaceful accommodation with the United States that would permit them to organize a pan-Indian nativist state on lands not yet settled by Americans.

The Battle at Tippecanoe was thus not, as myth would have it, fought to protect the frontier from an Indian aggressor supported by Britain, but was rather the outgrowth of Harrison's efforts to eliminate a community and a movement that threatened to obstruct plans for further Indian dispossession. Tecumseh and the Prophet were never tools of the British, whom they in fact distrusted. The true significance of the Battle of Tippecanoe is not that it secured the frontier from a fierce adversary, but rather that it provided a rich mythology that not only promoted the political career of William Henry Harrison, a future president, but expressed in epic terms the belief that American history is the story of the triumph of civilization over savagery.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians as Symbols/Icons.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cave, Alfred A. "The Shawnee Prophet, Tecumseh, and Tippecanoe: A Case Study of Historical Myth–Making." *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (2002): 637–673.

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Esarey, Logan, ed. *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison.* 2 vols. Indianapolis: Indiana State Historical Society, 1922.

Sugden, John. *Tecumseh: A Life.* New York: Holt, 1988.

*Alfred A. Cave*

**TORIES**   *See* **Loyalists.**

**TOWN PLANS AND PROMOTION**   Town and city populations grew even more rapidly than rural populations in the new American nation, particularly in the areas settled west of the Appalachian Mountains after the end of the War of Independence in 1783. New towns in this region were often the products of enthusiastic marketing campaigns designed to sell building lots and to attract businesses and residents. These promotional activities, often called boosterism, helped to define America's westward migration.

Town promotion also owed much to speculators and developers exploiting lands acquired by treaty and conquest from American Indians. Sir William Johnson set this pattern in western New York in late colonial times; subsequent promoters such as William Cooper followed his example. Huge land gains after the War of 1812 encouraged even more aggressive commercial ventures, often advertised by beautifully drawn imaginative maps and views.

A successful town needed a solid economic base. In an era when most bulk goods moved by water, whether river, lake, or canal, boosters planned their towns accordingly around their waterfronts and constantly lobbied for government subsidies to attract steamboats, or to construct levees, wharves, and docks. Artificial waterways followed. The Erie Canal, built from Albany to Buffalo, New York, after the War of 1812, was a particularly successful internal improvement, contributing to the growth of towns along its route.

Successful cities were often identified with the product they shipped. Cincinnati became known as "porkopolis" for its processing of hogs. Pittsburgh became an iron center, Memphis a cotton center, Louisville a tobacco port, and Galena, Illinois, the center of a lead–mining region. Preexisting French and Spanish towns shared in the growth after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. St. Louis became the center for the western fur trade; New Orleans became the South's largest city as most of the commerce of the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys passed though it

on the way to the Gulf of Mexico. In a few years railroads would help other cities, such as Chicago, to grow and prosper as well.

As much as city leaders did not want their ventures to fail, they did not want their communities to remain mere dots on a post office map. Economic development often rested on borrowed money, and the desire for credit spurred the western banking industry. Cautious banking practices often yielded to pressure for riskier "wildcat" ventures. In times of rapid expansion loans might be repaid; but in times of commercial contraction, such as the Panic of 1819, many banks and businesses failed, taking their towns down with them, and many grandiose plans were thus never realized.

This threat of failure was a spur to even more intense promotional activity. Boosterism was evident in the carefully surveyed town street plan, or plat, which permitted lots to be sold with a clear legal title. Planners could choose from several popular designs. Those with roots in New England often created their sites around town commons, with important buildings such as churches facing a central grassy square. Many examples of such towns can still be found along the shores of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. Planners who hailed from the middle states often preferred to copy Philadelphia, with its rectangular grid centered on a market street. Examples of these towns are found on or near the National Road in central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Developers from the southern states showed a preference for towns built around central courthouse squares. These are common in the Ohio Valley and throughout the Southwest. A few developers emulated Pierre L'Enfant's more complex 1791 plan of Washington, D. C., with its diagonal avenues and dramatic public parks. Indianapolis is a good example.

Everywhere, town boosters sought to embellish their towns with impressive buildings. Architects worked in new high styles, designing copies of ancient Greek and Roman structures. False fronts on commercial buildings, tall steeples on churches, and elaborately carved or lathed wooden decorations were all designed to attract attention and convey a sense of importance. Town leaders gave particular attention to encouraging elegant hotels, large county courthouses and schools, and fine private homes; they welcomed colleges not only for the educational distinction they might confer but also for their imposing buildings. Town cemeteries, with elaborately sculpted monuments and tombstones, often doubled as elegant public parks. Boosters described their communities not as they were but as they might be, exaggerating possibilities to convey hope and confidence. In their anticipatory fervor and ambitious plans, the present and the future of the new Republic came together.

*See also* **City Growth and Development; City Planning; Erie Canal; Expansion; Louisiana Purchase; Migration and Population Movement; Monuments and Memorials; Panic of 1819; Railroads.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Rogers, Elizabeth Barlow. *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.

Sandweiss, Eric. *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Wade, Richard C. *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

*George W. Geib*

**TOWNSHEND ACT**   The Townshend Act was part of a broad legislative program introduced into Parliament by Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend during 1767. Contrary to American hopes, the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 had led few in Parliament to question either their power to tax the colonies or the necessity of future taxes. Only the instability of British politics prevented an earlier exertion of British power under the Declaratory Act, passed on the same day as the Stamp Act repeal. By early 1767, further acts of American resistance had combined with the rising cost of imperial administration to make parliamentary action seem necessary.

Townshend had long favored a more active colonial policy, though the instability of the Chatham administration produced inaction. With the earl of Chatham absent and the duke of Grafton and other leading ministers opposed to new taxes, Townshend found it difficult to organize cabinet consensus on American policy. By late April 1767, however, Townshend had secured agreement on the New York Restraining Act and the establishment of an American Board of Customs Commissioners at Boston. He had also achieved consensus upon the establishment of an independent civil list, transferring the salaries of governors and other key officials from the provincial assemblies to the crown. In May 1767 Townshend surmounted Grafton's opposition to new taxes

by proposing his tax plan as a private member of the House of Commons rather than in his official position. The concept of taxation met the approbation of the Commons, and the next few weeks were spent in securing agreement over items to be taxed and tax rates. The final bill, passed without opposition on 16 June and approved by King George III on 29 June, included new taxes upon tea, glass, paper, lead, and painter's colors. Townshend estimated that these taxes would raise only forty thousand pounds annually, well below the revenue necessary to his purposes. Yet he made it clear that this was only a beginning and that other products would be taxed in the future.

Having expressly presented his taxes as "external" trade duties in response to American objections to the Stamp Act as an "internal" tax, Townshend expected only limited opposition from America. Initially, he was correct, as resistance was slow to develop. Though John Dickinson challenged the constitutionality of the taxes in his fourteen *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, published in late 1767 and early 1768, the colonial legislatures moved slowly. Even the Massachusetts assembly, which could usually be expected to proceed quickly to radical measures, hesitated before, on 11 February 1768, agreeing upon a circular letter to the other assemblies. In moderate tones, it questioned both the duties and the assumption of colonial salaries by the crown before concluding with an offer to consult upon a united plan of action.

This call met with mixed results and might have proved disappointing if not for the intervention of the newly appointed secretary of state for the colonies, Wills Hill, the earl of Hillsborough. On 22 April 1768, Hillsborough ordered Governor Francis Bernard to demand that the Massachusetts assembly rescind its letter, directing Bernard to dissolve the assembly if it refused. Hillsborough blundered further by ordering the other colonial governors to ignore the Massachusetts letter, again insisting upon dissolution or prorogation as the price of refusal.

Hillsborough's rash move caused the lukewarm opposition to the Townshend duties to become associated with the much more dynamic issue of assembly rights. As most of the assemblies were dissolved, aggrieved Americans stiffened in opposition to the new taxes and called extralegal popular meetings to protest British policy. These meetings adopted nonimportation associations, agreements which all citizens were pressured to sign, promising a boycott of all nonessential British goods. Though enforcement varied in effectiveness, the associations marked a critical juncture in the Revolutionary movement, as authority was transferred from the legally authorized legislatures to extralegal popular bodies that were neither recognized by or accountable to British authorities.

*See also* **Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooke, John. *The Chatham Administration*, *1766–1768*. London: Macmillan, 1956.

Miller, John C. *Origins of the American Revolution.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1943.

Thomas, Peter D. G. *The Townshend Duties Crisis: The Second Phase of the American Revolution*, *1767–1773.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

*Daniel McDonough*

**TRAILS TO THE WEST**    The earliest Americans traveled on trails blazed by generations of animals moving across the landscape in search of water and better grazing. From the explorers of the sixteenth century to the settlers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European immigrants and their descendants followed paths established by their Indian predecessors.

The Wilderness Road, the most important land route from western Virginia through the Cumberland Gap and into Kentucky, is said to have followed a route established by migrating herds of American bison. In 1750 Dr. Thomas Walker traveled through the Cumberland Gap and into the country beyond. Before 1770, "long hunters" like Daniel Boone were following the trail to the rich hunting grounds of Kentucky. Branches of the Wilderness Trail led south to the country occupied by the Cherokee and Creek peoples. Over the next decade, the old trail blazed by animals and Indians would become the primary overland route for settlers moving west.

Originally known as the Warrior's Path, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road also began as a game trail. Wagons driven by German and Scots–Irish immigrants rumbled south out of the Pennsylvania settlements on their way to new homes in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and the backcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia.

Nemacolin, a Delaware chief, and Maryland frontiersman Thomas Cresap established a path connecting the Potomac and Monongahela Rivers in 1749–1750. The young George Washington followed the same route on a 1754 journey to a skir-

mish that marked the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1760). The following year British general Edward Braddock transformed that trail into a wagon road in his unsuccessful attempt to capture the French Fort Duquesne at the present site of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Work began on a federally funded National Road in 1815. The first section, originally called the Cumberland Road, followed the path that Nemacolin, Washington, and Braddock had traveled through the Allegheny Mountains. With the support of Kentuckian Henry Clay and other western congressmen, work continued on the National Road during the years from 1825 to 1833. From Wheeling in Virginia (later West Virginia), the road followed part of Zane's Trace, named for pioneer Ebenezer Zane, who had established a crude wagon trail through the forest of eastern Ohio in the late eighteenth century, following an existing Indian path. The National Road continued across Ohio and Indiana to Vandalia, Illinois. In the age of the automobile it became Route 40, an important roadway to the West.

Rivers were the most important early pathways leading to the frontier. Far more settlers traveled down the Ohio River and up and down its tributaries than ever traveled overland into the Ohio watershed. Early western commerce also moved by water. Farmers in the Ohio watershed sought to move beyond the local market by floating their products down the local tributary to the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans aboard locally constructed flatboats. The crew of local men or boys would sell the boat at their destination and return home on foot along the famous Natchez Trace or another land route, risking an encounter with such notorious outlaws and "land pirates" as John Murrell and the brothers Micajah and Wiley Harpe.

Those who traveled to the Far West also took advantage of the rivers. Alexander Mackenzie, the first man to cross the North American continent from Atlantic to Pacific, traveled the Canadian waterways. Likewise, the Corps of Discovery (1803–1806), the first American transcontinental expedition, headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, traveled down the Ohio, up the Mississippi, and northwest on the Missouri River to its headwaters in what became the state of Montana. They crossed the Rocky Mountains on foot and descended the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean.

Commerce, and the American flag, traveled southwest from Missouri on what became known as the Santa Fe Trail. Spain had jealously guarded the borders of its provinces in northern Mexico. In 1821,

the year in which Mexico threw off Spanish rule, William Becknell salvaged a failing business career with the profits from the first pack trip from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe. Stretching nine hundred miles across the Great Plains, the trail quickly emerged as an important economic link between the United States and Mexico.

With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, the U.S. Army moved down the Santa Fe Trail to seize control of New Mexico and California. With American victory in 1848, the United States constructed a series of five forts to protect travelers from Indian raiding parties. In 1862 Confederate forces attempting to capture one of those posts, Fort Union, battled Union troops at Glorieta Pass, New Mexico. Union victory in this most decisive of all western Civil War battles enabled the government to retain control of the trail.

No route to the West was better known than the Oregon Trail. Between 1841 and 1861, an estimated 300,000 emigrants traveled the 2,170-mile-long trail from Independence, Missouri, to Oregon City, Oregon. Robert Stuart, a member of a group of fur traders who established Fort Astoria on Oregon's Columbia River, followed a Crow Indian trail through South Pass in 1812. A twenty-mile-wide valley through the Rocky Mountains, the pass was the key to locating the trail to Oregon and California.

Other immigrants would travel slightly different paths. Some followed branches of the Oregon Trail that carried them to California. Between 1846 and 1869 more than seventy thousand converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints traveled the Mormon Trail from a jumping-off point in Iowa to the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah. In contrast to the hopes of overland immigrants for a better life in the West, the U.S. government in 1838 forced over fifteen thousand citizens of the Cherokee Nation to travel a Trail of Tears from their ancestral homeland in North Carolina and Tennessee to resettlement areas in the Indian Territory, later Oklahoma.

Some early trails established the route for later roads and highways. Other historic pathways simply vanished, leaving nothing more than the grooves cut by decades of wagons passing through a rocky area. The hardships suffered by those who braved an overland journey by foot, handcart, or wagon have been largely forgotten. What remains is the romantic vision of Americans moving west as portrayed in popular culture, from traditional songs like "Sweet Betsy from Pike" to novels, films, and television shows.

*See also* **Exploration and Explorers; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Pioneering; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; West.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Daniels, Jonathan. *The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Jordan, Phillip D. *The National Road.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948.

Parkman, Francis. *The Oregon Trail.* 1849. New York: Gramercy, 1995.

Unruh, John D., Jr. *The Plains Across: The Overland Immigrants and the Trans–Mississippi West, 1840–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979.

*Tom Crouch*

**TRANSCONTINENTAL TREATY** Signed in February 1819 by Spain and the United States, the Transcontinental Treaty finally settled the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase of April 1803. The United States had bought Louisiana from France with the same undefined boundaries with which France had received it from Spain. Immediately, President Thomas Jefferson wanted to open negotiations with Spain to fix the boundaries. He argued that Louisiana encompassed not just the western Mississippi Valley, but also the Gulf Coast from the Rio Grande in the west to the Perdido River in the east. With good reason, Spain considered the purchase invalid and refused to cede so much of its territory. Desultory negotiations ended entirely late in Jefferson's presidency as Spain collapsed under foreign invasion and internal turmoil. Capitalizing on this distress, the United States unilaterally annexed West Florida, as far east as the Perdido, in 1810.

In May 1816, President James Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe prepared for renewed negotiations by setting their priorities in three areas: Florida, Texas, and the Pacific Northwest. Acquiring East Florida was most important; leaving unimpeded American claims in the Pacific Northwest—an important stopover in the China trade—came second; and securing Texas from the Sabine River to the Rio Grande was least important. They also sought millions of dollars in damages claimed by American merchants against Spain. Madison and Monroe envisioned a treaty in which the United States would assume the damage claims and abandon its pretensions to Texas in exchange for Florida and the protection of its interests in the Pacific Northwest. Their desire to sign a treaty was always balanced against their effort to avoid a new war so soon after the War of 1812. Expecting their position to improve over time, Madison and Monroe did not press Spain too hard.

These priorities continued to shape policy under President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams after Monroe's inauguration in March 1817. Monroe and Adams expected a long period of fruitless negotiations with Spain. But a series of unexpected developments at home, in Spanish Florida, and in Europe transformed Spanish thinking in 1818. At home, public and congressional opinion clamored to support the revolutionary movements in Spain's American colonies. In Florida, General Andrew Jackson seized two Spanish forts during his war against the Seminole Indians. In Europe, the Great Powers decided against intervening on Spain's behalf against its rebellious colonies. Spanish policymakers, like their American counterparts, had calculated that time was on their side. Prolonging the negotiations would allow them to strengthen their European alliances and quiet their New World colonies. The events of 1818, however, suggested instead that they could lose Florida without receiving anything in exchange and drive the United States into support of the rebels or even war unless they made real concessions quickly.

Within months of this reevaluation, Adams and the Spanish minister in Washington, Luis de Onís, completed a treaty on the lines that Madison and Monroe had projected nearly three years earlier. The United States received Florida. The two sides fixed a boundary that ran from the Sabine River to the Pacific Ocean. And the United States assumed $5 million in damage claims of American merchants. The Spanish king delayed ratification for two years, but the treaty officially took effect in February 1821.

Because it established the first solid American claim on the Pacific, the Transcontinental Treaty has operated, along with the Monroe Doctrine, to establish Adams's claim to greatness as secretary of state. For a quarter century after its completion, however, the treaty was often seen as most significant—and most controversial—for abandoning the weak American claim to Texas.

*See also* **Adams, John Quincy; Florida; Louisiana Purchase; Monroe, James; Spanish Empire; Texas.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooks, Philip Coolidge. *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939.

***American Stage Waggon*** **(1800) by Isaac Weld.** Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries people used animals to move goods and themselves over land. © CORBIS.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Weeks, William Earl. *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.

*James E. Lewis Jr.*

## TRANSPORTATION

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Animal Power*, *Canals and Waterways*, and *Roads and Turnpikes*.

### *Animal Power*

Before 1830 walking remained the most common mode of human transportation, but throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries people increasingly used animals to move goods and themselves over land. Advances in horse technology, such as improved wagons, continued selective breeding, and new uses of the horse, paralleled steady improvements in infrastructure such as turnpikes and canals. Although oxen continued to provide a less costly source of power for transportation into the mid-nineteenth century (in part because they doubled as a food source), horses were generally preferred for their greater speed.

Excessively poor road conditions throughout the colonial period made travel on horseback the only practicable method of long-distance conveyance. Early U.S. government–sponsored road construction in the 1790s allowed for greater use of carriages and wagons, but improvements were sporadic. Thomas Jefferson's journey from Philadelphia to Monticello (a distance of about 260 miles) in January 1794, by combination of stagecoach and horseback, took eleven days. Despite a top speed of forty miles per hour, a horse could sustain such high speed only for about

two miles. Thirty miles was generally considered a day's journey.

The four-wheeled Conestoga wagon, with its distinctive boat-shaped body and cloth top, became the dominant freight vehicle in eastern America after 1750, reaching its peak of use between 1820 and 1840. First built by German immigrants in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the Conestoga's first major use came in May 1755 when General Edward Braddock called on Benjamin Franklin to hire 150 such wagons, along with the drivers and horses, to carry supplies on his expedition to retake Fort Duquesne (on the site of modern Pittsburgh). In 1789 the physician Benjamin Rush commented that it was common to see 100 such wagons per day enter Philadelphia from western settlements. The largest wagons, with a team of six sturdy horses, could haul up to five tons.

By 1750 horse herds of formerly domesticated stock from New Spain had spread northward throughout the Great Plains and the Columbia Plateau. Tribes such as the Sioux, Blackfoot, and Nez Perce quickly took advantage of the greater efficiency of equestrian hunting and greater mobility offered by horses, though many tribes that encountered horses did not turn to a nomadic lifestyle. The Chickasaw and Nez Perce tribes were especially noted for their success at selectively breeding strong, rugged horses.

Mules made their debut in America shortly after 1785 when George Washington acquired "Royal Gift," a prized Spanish donkey eventually used to sire a line of American mules. By the early nineteenth century, mules were in use throughout the South, working primarily as draft animals on plantations. Despite their higher cost and sterility, mules were preferred over horses in plantation agriculture owing to their innate ability to avoid injury. This was an important trait because less direct supervision by owners often meant that overseers or slaves were prone to injure—or in extreme cases kill—a draft horse through overwork or neglect.

During the height of the canal era (roughly 1815 to 1840), animal power reached its greatest efficiency. A single horse or mule was capable of towing a forty-ton canal boat for six hours on the Erie Canal (completed in 1825). Replacement horses were simply towed along with the rest of the cargo and brought to the hitch by way of a plank extended to the towpath.

A system of stagecoaches offered long distance public transportation along the eastern seaboard by 1780. The first urban public transportation system in America consisted of a horse-drawn "omnibus" that ambled along Broadway Street in New York beginning in 1829. Other cities such as Philadelphia (1831) and Boston (1835) soon followed with their own oat-powered public transport. A fixed rail horse-drawn streetcar or "horsecar" was introduced in New York in 1832 and was quickly adopted by most major U.S. cities.

*See also* **Erie Canal; Livestock Production; Railroads; Technology.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Haines, Francis. *Horses in America.* New York: Crowell, 1971.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution*, 1815–1860. Vol. 4: *The Economic History of the United States.* New York: Rinehart, 1951.

*Stephen Servais*

## Canals and Waterways

Long-distance travel in early America meant travel by water. Throughout the colonial period and into the nineteenth century, the coastal trade linking the major port cities of the east coast helped to build critically important economic and political ties that created a sense of unity, mutual interest, and common purpose.

### RIVERS

Great open waterways, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the north to the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays on the mid-Atlantic coast, offered the earliest explorers a route into the interior of the continent. Trade and settlement moved inland along the great rivers: the St. Lawrence, the Connecticut, the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Potomac. No early explorer made better use of the inland waterways than the Frenchman, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle. Between 1673 and 1682 he traveled up the St. Lawrence, through the Great Lakes, and down the length of the Mississippi River.

As European settlements extended west across the Allegheny Mountains, the network of inland rivers became the major transportation arteries. The Ohio River stretches over 980 miles from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to its juncture with the Mississippi at Cairo, Illinois. The major watershed for thirteen states, it was the principal route into the western country during the period of expansion that began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1806) traveled up the Missouri River to its headwaters in present-day
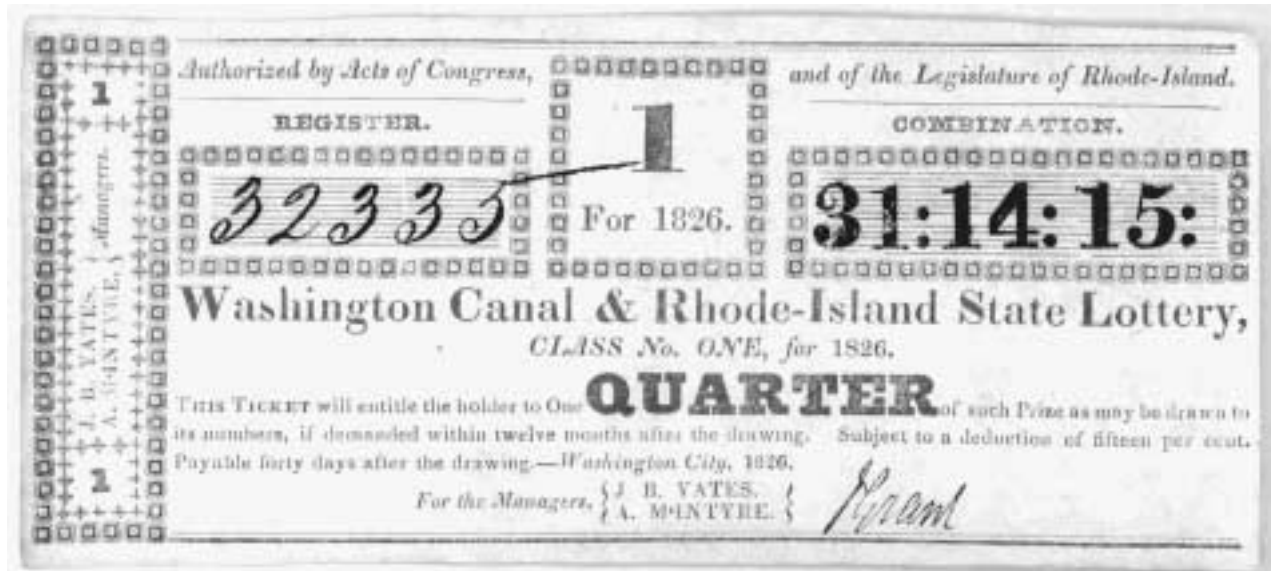
**Washington Canal and Rhode Island State Lottery.** The expense involved in the construction of canals led to a number of creative fund-raising ventures, including lotteries. This ticket was for a lottery held in 1826 to raise money to construct the Washington County Canal in Rhode Island. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, RARE BOOK AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION.

Montana, crossed the Rocky Mountains on foot, and descended the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean.

Rivers were the key to the early western economy. In the early nineteenth century, western farmers often floated their products down their local tributaries to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and on to New Orleans aboard locally constructed flatboats. These unpowered craft were often crewed by local men or boys who sold the boats at their destination and returned home on foot along the Natchez Trace or other land routes. Keelboats, designed to be poled upstream, also carried goods on the western rivers. Keelboat men like Mike Fink, along with such notable outlaws and "land pirates" as John Murrell and the brothers Micajah and Wiley Harpe, earned an enduring place in western legend and lore.

### STEAMBOATS

The advent of the steamboat opened a new era in the history of American transportation. Both John Fitch (1743–1798) and James Rumsey (1743–1792) had conducted early experiments with steam-powered river vessels, but neither was able to develop a practical, marketable design. With the support of Chancellor Robert Livingston, a wealthy New York landowner, Robert Fulton (1765–1815) succeeded where others had failed. On 17–19 August 1807 he rode 150 miles upstream from New York to Albany on his famous *North River Steamboat*, later rebuilt and known as the *North River Steamboat of Clermont*, in honor of Clermont, Robert Livingston's Hudson River estate. The first voyage took thirty-two hours over a two-day period. Granted a monopoly for steam navigation of the Hudson River, Fulton and Livingston were able to force John Stevens, their great rival, into operating his steamboat in Delaware Bay.

In 1810–1811 Nicholas Roosevelt, an associate of Fulton's, built the steamboat *New Orleans* in Pittsburgh. He set off down the Ohio in the spring of 1811 with a party of eight. For the next eight months, the *New Orleans* and its crew would face one hazard after another, from low water and the threat of Indian attack to the New Madrid earthquake, which caused the Mississippi to run backward for a time. The first steamboat to travel the Ohio-Mississippi system arrived in New Orleans on 12 January 1812 and delivered a load of cotton consigned to it in Natchez.

Over the next two decades, the advent of the steamboat would shape the economic, political, and cultural life of the West and the South. Cities like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Memphis, and Natchez prospered as major inland ports. By 1840 New Orleans was one of the busiest ports in the world and a major entry point for European immigrants to the United States. During the nineteenth century, an estimated four thousand steamboats were operated on the Mississippi River system.

**CANALS**

The rise of commerce on the western rivers was a matter of serious concern for the citizens of east coast ports, notably New York. In 1817 New Yorkers began work on the Erie Canal in an effort to attract the western trade. Connecting Buffalo on Lake Erie to Albany on the Hudson River, the Erie was an artificial waterway furnished with a series of locks to raise and lower canal boats, compensating for the different elevations of the two bodies of water. The construction of the canal was one of the great civil engineering projects undertaken in the first half of the nineteenth century. A generation of engineers who would go on to supervise the construction of roads, bridges, and railroads learned their profession as young men working on the Erie Canal or one of the other waterways that it inspired.

The completion of the canal in 1825 reduced the cost of shipping a ton of produce from Buffalo to Albany from one hundred dollars by road to just ten dollars. The three weeks required for an overland journey across the state was reduced to eight days by canal. The commerce of the expanding Old Northwest began to flow eastward along the new waterway, while waves of European immigrants traveled west by canal to the Great Lakes. As the planners had hoped, New York City remained the nation's leading business and population center.

The success of the Erie Canal underscored the importance of internal improvements, government-funded road and canal projects designed to encourage commerce and economic growth. A wave of canal building swept the United States. By the end of the nineteenth century, several dozen canals had been constructed in twenty-one states, from Maine to Oregon.

The history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was typical of many others. President John Quincy Adams broke ground on 4 July 1828 for a canal that would run alongside the Potomac River for over 180 miles from Cumberland, Maryland, to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia. By the time the work was completed in 1850, the canal included 160 culverts that allowed small streams to pass under the canal and eleven aqueducts carrying the waterway over larger rivers and roads. The Potomac dropped 605 feet from Cumberland to Georgetown. A canal boat making that journey passed through seventy-four lift locks along the way. The most difficult construction challenge was to bore a 3,118-foot tunnel through a hard rock ridge. The labor force was a mix of local farmers and immigrant labor.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which served the same geographic area, was completed eight years before the C&O Canal and earned much higher profits. The canal survived as a less expensive means of transporting coal from Cumberland to Washington, D.C. The old rivalry finally came to an end in 1889, when a flood devastated the canal and the railroad was able to take control. The B&O restored the canal and kept it in operation until 1924, when another major flood brought an end to traffic on the old C&O.

In the age of air travel and coast-to-coast super highways, the waterways that were so important to commerce and transportation in the new American nation remain important economic arteries into the twenty-first century. Engineers have transformed the St. Lawrence River, which allowed the French to travel inland from the coast, into a seaway that connects to the Great Lakes, opening the Midwest to the commerce of the world. The keelboats, paddle wheel steamers, and canal boats have vanished, but the products of American fields and factories still move up and down the Mississippi and its two great tributaries, the Ohio and the Missouri.

*See also* **Erie Canal; Exploration and Explorers; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Mississippi River; New Orleans; New York City; Steamboat.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baldwin, Leland D. *The Keelboat Age on Western Waters.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1941.

Flexner, James Thomas. *Steamboats Come True: American Inventors in Action.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1978.

Shaw, Ronald E. *Canals for the National: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790–1860.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990.

*Tom D. Crouch*

## Roads and Turnpikes

Early roads in every region of North America were animal paths, often carved by bison migrating between salt licks, water sources, and natural pasturage. If the herds were large enough, they trampled underbrush in broad swaths, turning narrow trails into wide but still rudimentary roads. Native Americans used these same trails, most obviously during hunting seasons but also on diplomatic or warring trips against other nations and European and American settlers.

By the 1750s a network of roads provided an infrastructure for colonists' transportation. Early emi-

**Roads and Turnpikes, 1829**

grants traveled the Mohawk Road from Albany, New York, to Lake Erie. The Great Warrior Path through Virginia's Shenandoah Valley became the Great Wagon Road by which Germans and Scots-Irish migrated from Pennsylvania through the southern backcountry to central North Carolina, where another Indian trail, the Great Trading Path, ushered colonists into South Carolina and Georgia.

While Indians had relied on herds to maintain these traces, American colonists actively cleared roads. Following English tradition dating from the Middle Ages or earlier, Virginia enacted road-clearing legislation in 1632 requiring each man to work on the roads a given number of days each year or to pay another to work in his place. William Penn's policy of 1683 placed Pennsylvania county courts in charge of road clearing and empowered them to assign road overseers. Despite official efforts to maintain roads, however, colonial roads remained narrow, difficult-to-travel surfaces of compacted dirt.

The French and Indian War marked a shift in American ideas about roads. In 1753 George Washington oversaw the widening of Nemaolin's Path through northwestern Virginia to facilitate attacks

on the French in western Pennsylvania. A year later, needing to move large armies through northern and western wildernesses, the British began a series of road clearings. General Edward Braddock authorized a twelve-foot wide military road between Fort Cumberland, Maryland, and Fort Duquesne in western Pennsylvania. Six hundred soldiers cleared about two miles of the rude path each day. In August 1759 General Jeffrey Amherst sent two hundred Rangers to widen the Indian Road from Crown Point, New York, to Lake Champlain. When the war ended, many Americans had access to wide roads on which horse-drawn wagons could more conveniently haul goods.

But without constant attention, these military roads quickly became overgrown and impassable. By the 1770s Braddock's Road was abandoned, and the Crown Point Road fell into disuse until cleared again in 1777 by colonial militias on their way to Fort Ticonderoga. More traveled roads fared little better. The Boston Post Road, cleared and maintained since 1673, served as the primary route between Boston and New York City. Heavy use by post riders and the general public created ruts, holes, and mud. Gradually the route became part of the King's Highway, connecting Boston to Charleston. Since the King's Highway linked all thirteen colonies, it became a central military road during the Revolutionary War. After the war the name drew disgust, and Americans once again employed more colloquial names, such as "Boston Post Road."

In the meantime, some Americans busily carved roads out of the trans-Appalachian wilderness. In 1775 Daniel Boone led about thirty woodsmen through the Cumberland Gap, clearing a road on behalf of the Transylvania Land Company into central Kentucky and beyond to the falls of the Ohio River. It would be another twenty years before the road was widened enough to accommodate wagons. By 1785, in an age before the steamboats, the Natchez Trace allowed Mississippi rivermen to return northward through Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. And in 1796 Ebenezer Zane began blazing a road across the southern Ohio Territory between Wheeling, Virginia, and Limestone, Kentucky.

The new and expanding nation required not only new roads but improved roads as well. By modern standards, roads were very poor. Tree stumps under a foot high dotted most roadbeds. Most trails were not wide enough for wagons to pass. And the only option to muddy roads before 1800 was the corduroy road: half-sawn logs laid flat-side down and covered with dirt, which provided a solid albeit bumpy route through low-lying, marshy areas.

State legislatures desperately sought new ways to ensure road transportation. Pennsylvania chartered the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company, which, in 1794, completed the nation's first toll road. Eight years later the Catskill Turnpike opened in New York. Private turnpike companies paid the expenses of maintaining and upgrading roads, passing the costs onto travelers and profits onto stockholders, most of whom were owners of land adjacent to the road and merchants who meant to use it. By 1811 states were issuing charters wholesale: New England had about 180 chartered companies; New York, 17 companies; and New Jersey, 30 companies. South of the Potomac River, however, river systems remained the dominant mode of transportation, and few turnpike companies were formed.

The federal government also become involved in road construction. In 1806 post riders carved the Federal Road through Creek Indian lands in the Alabama and Mississippi Territories. President Thomas Jefferson signed legislation authorizing the construction of the Cumberland Road, which eventually stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois. In 1808 Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin promoted road building to aid federal government and "facilitate commercial interests."

Despite these efforts at road improvement, during the War of 1812 the army was greatly hampered by the scarcity of good western roads. As the war ended, President James Madison approved funding for what became known as Jackson's Military Road from Nashville to New Orleans. A series of federal military-road projects followed. Madison and later James Monroe showed less interest in public roads, however. Madison vetoed John C. Calhoun's 1817 Bonus Bill, which would have funded a network of roads that were to bind the Republic together, and a similar proposal two years later failed as well. Determined, Calhoun, as Monroe's secretary of war, repackaged his plan for internal improvements, and in 1824 a new era in federal road construction began. The Survey Act of 1824 called for federal surveys for commercial, military, and post roads, all to be done by the Army Corps of Engineers. Road construction began immediately in the Michigan, Florida, and Arkansas Territories, where the need for military roads was greatest.

Road technology improved alongside governmental funding. By the 1810s, plank roads of flat sawn boards were replacing corduroy roads. Macadam, layered rock in twenty-foot-wide roadbeds to provide stability and drainage, likewise improved roads. In 1823 the Boonsborough Turnpike, the first

macadamized road in the nation, was built in Maryland. The most significant use of macadam was on the Cumberland Road project, which, by 1825, had received so much funding from the federal government that it was renamed the "National Road." In 1826 work began in Kentucky on the Maysville Turnpike, the first macadamized road west of the Appalachians.

An active federal government employed new technologies to satisfy a highly mobile population, with the result that the United States had an official road-building program by the late 1820s. Still, as the far west opened and pioneers carved new roads, beginning with the Santa Fe Trail in 1822, most American roads remained what all roads had been one hundred years earlier—simple dirt roads.

*See also* **City Growth and Development; Economic Development; Government and the Economy; Railroads.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Friend, Craig Thompson. *Along the Maysville Road: The Early Republic in the Trans-Appalachian West.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004.

Hill, Forest G. *Roads, Rails, and Waterways: The Army Engineers and Early Transportation.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.

Jackson, Donald C. "Roads Most Traveled: Turnpikes in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early Republic." In *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850.* Edited by Judith A. McGaw. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Meyer, Balthasar Henry. *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860.* New York: Peter Smith, 1948.

Raitz, Karl, ed. *The National Road.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Southerland, Henry deLeon, Jr., and Jerry Elijah Brown. *The Federal Road through Georgia, the Creek Nation, and Alabama, 1806–1836.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* Vol. 4: *The Economic History of the United States.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1951.

*Craig Thompson Friend*

**TRAVEL, TECHNOLOGY OF**    Travel by foot and by horse and wagon, familiar and omnipresent means of transportation from the earliest days of settlement, still provided the dominant mode of travel in mid-eighteenth-century America. On the eastern seaboard, many of the major cities had been connected by post roads since the late seventeenth century, and stagecoach lines had just begun to operate from Boston to Baltimore. Further inland, several military roads had been carved out of the wilderness and construction of the Great Wagon Road, which would eventually connect Philadelphia to the Georgia backcountry, had been under way for several decades. In most areas, though, roads remained mere pathways—seldom trodden, primitive, and undeveloped—winding along old Native American trails. Muddy in wet weather, suffocatingly dusty in the dry season, impassably obstructed by foliage and tree stumps all year-round, these roads rendered any significant trip a slow, difficult, dangerous, and uncertain venture.

### IMPROVING THE ROADS

Following the Revolution, private companies and public institutions built a sophisticated network of improved roads that would, by 1820, connect all of the cities along the seaboard and extend deep into the western territories. Road building was limited to hand labor, picks and shovels, and black powder explosives. Although most roads were built of earth compacted atop large boulders, corduroy roads were built in marshy areas by felling trees, trimming them, and laying them side-by-side on the ground. By the 1820s, road builders were experimenting with British macadamized surfaces. These roadbeds were graded, covered with large gravel, and compacted by heavy-wheeled vehicles. Macadam roads were durable, and their archlike cross sections facilitated drainage into adjoining ditches. Where stone gravel was unavailable, builders substituted oyster shells and iron slag from furnaces. Where there was stone, builders—as early as the 1790s—also constructed small-scale stone arch bridges to ford streams and gullies. Wooden bridges, planks on timber pilings modeled after wharf construction, were not uncommon in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, but bridge building escalated in the early 1800s with the invention of the sturdy and economical wooden latticework truss. Riding these improved roads and bridges were Conestoga wagons, high-wheeled, boat-shaped wagons that could carry from four to six tons of freight, and an increasing number of coaches and carriages, particularly after 1826, when the invention of the Concord Coach, cradled by flexible shock-absorbing leather braces, took passenger comfort to new levels.

### BOATS

Throughout the period, overland transport of goods cost approximately twelve times as much as water

transport. Ease and economy characterized river transport, and flatboats, large flat-ended floating boxes flowing with the current and carrying from thirty to forty tons of goods, were in use for one-way trips on the rivers early in the eighteenth century. After the Revolution keelboats, maneuverable boats with shallow keels, pointed ends, and sails and poles to move upstream, filled the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The two-masted barge, capable of carrying one hundred tons, appeared in 1800 and further increased carrying capacity. Upstream travel took about four times as long as downstream travel, with the attendant increase in costs, and experiments to economize upstream trips included failed attempts at using horse treadmills to run paddle wheels. The problem of upstream travel was solved by the invention of the steamboat. Invented by John Fitch in 1787, the steamboat was put into regular commercial use by Robert Fulton, whose *Clermont* made the run from New York City to Albany in thirty-two hours in 1807. Improvements over the next decade included moving the boiler up onto the deck to give the vessels a shallower draft and using high-pressure steam to increase the pulling power. Steamboats debuted on the Ohio River in 1811 and soon became the most important mode of shipping on the major waterways.

### CANALS

For much of the eighteenth century, visionaries dreamed of creating waterways to facilitate internal trade. Canal building, however, was limited by the prohibitive costs of constructing canalways, locks, and towpaths and by the fact that technology that had not yet developed brick linings to prevent lock walls from leaking or movable lock gates that could withstand tons of water. After the Revolution amateur engineers, aided by British professionals, solved the technological problems, and joint-stock companies provided the necessary capital. After several small-scale efforts in the 1790s, the first large-scale canal project, the twenty-seven-mile Middlesex Canal, linked Boston and the Merrimack River in 1803. In 1817 ground was broken for the Erie Canal, which—like most of the other great canal projects of the time—was government funded. Over the next eight years, through an incredible combination of engineering skill, human labor, technological innovation, and political determination, the Hudson River was linked up with Lake Erie. Spinoff benefits from the effort included the creation of machines that snapped off trees and plucked up stumps, the development of hydraulic waterproof cement, and the on-the-job education of amateur engineers who would

go on to work on other major infrastructure projects. The financial success of the canal spurred a canal mania that swept the growing nation and confirmed many Americans' perception of the country's growing prosperity and unlimited future.

### RAILROADS

The canal's day in the limelight quickly faded, however, as the railroad, the new symbol of American growth and economic success, emerged. Throughout the 1820s, governments and internal improvement societies sent architects and engineers to England for technical knowledge of locomotives and steam engine construction. Even so, when the first commercial railways were established in the 1830s, imported English locomotives provided the power. Over the course of the decade, an engine factory was set up in Philadelphia, churning out locomotives adapted to American conditions. Front-turning trucks (wheels) were added to accommodate tight curves, and more powerful engines were developed to haul up the steeper grades of American topography. Iron rails pinned to wooden ties replaced the English system of rails placed atop stone foundations or wooden pilings in an effort to reduce the effects of frost heaving in the colder American climate. Technological and managerial expertise would greatly improve the railways in the years to come, and the railroad network would offer the promise of fully integrating the agricultural and commercial areas of the young nation and serve as a great engine of expansion and development.

*See also* **Railroads; Steamboat; Transportation.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hindle, Brooke, ed. *Material Culture of the Wooden Age.* Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981.

McGaw, Judith A., ed. *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Post, Robert C. *Technology, Transport, and Travel in American History.* Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 2003.

Richter, William L. *The ABC-CLIO Companion to Transportation in America.* Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1995.

Sheriff, Carol. *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817–1862.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

*David R. Byers*

**TRAVEL GUIDES AND ACCOUNTS** American travel writing as it is understood in twenty-first century terms, as a genre produced by writers who travel in order to write for a market in which travel writing sells, emerged in the 1820s and 1830s. Magazine and book publishers began to offer travel sketches that characteristically featured a literary observer who fashioned accounts of touristic journeys within the United States as well as Europe for the benefit of a bourgeois reading public. As travel became more accessible over the course of the nineteenth century, literary travel writing about Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and the U.S. interior continued to gain popularity and attracted contributions from some of the major literary figures of the nineteenth century.

Travel writing in this modern sense depended not only on a ready marketplace, but also on the geopolitical stability and technological advances that made leisure travel possible. During the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), diplomatic business brought well-known Americans like Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and the Adams family to Europe. Massachusetts native Elkanah Watson, to whom Foster R. Dulles refers, in *Americans Abroad* (1964), as "the first [American] tourist," parlayed an errand on behalf of the Continental Congress to Franklin in Paris into more extensive travels and the book *A Tour in Holland* (1790). However, during the Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) European travel became difficult, and American accounts of Europe became scarce.

During that period, the combination of patriotism, territorial expansion, and the advent of the steamboat contributed to a proliferation of travel accounts of the American interior. The earliest, written in the wake of the French and Indian War (1755–1763), offered topographical descriptions emerging from surveyors' expeditions and diaries of military campaigns. In the decade following the Revolutionary War, three major travel accounts were published that continue to be read widely today: J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), William Bartram's *Travels* (1791), and Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). These works combined the scientific impulse of the eighteenth century with the equally strong imperative of documenting the natural wonders of America for a curious and often skeptical European audience. These works are merely the most enduring examples of a broader craze of describing America for the benefit of Americans, foreigners, and potential settlers. Other examples include works by John Filson, Gilbert Imlay, and Jedidiah Morse.

The dual impact of the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and Robert Fulton's introduction of the steamboat (1807) prompted the next phase of travel within, and thus travel writing about, the North American continent. Lewis and Clark's transcontinental expedition (1804–1806) and Zebulon Pike's exploration of the trans-Mississippi West (1805–1807) enacted on a grander scale the surveying trips of the mid–eighteenth century, with equally grand textual results. However, even as Americans were being treated to accounts of heroic confrontations with the difficulties of western travel, steam propulsion made travel on the Ohio and Missouri Rivers, as well as down and, crucially, *up* the Mississippi, safer and less arduous. During this period accounts by domestic and foreign travelers proliferated, most notably Timothy Flint's *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826), James Fenimore Cooper's *Notions of the Americans* (1828), and Washington Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* (1835).

Following the Napoleonic Wars, further technological developments reduced the length of time required for Americans to make the transatlantic crossing. As a result, two competing versions of the so-called Grand Tour emerged in the 1820s. Not only should an educated person of means see the museums, churches, and ruins of Europe, but he or she should also embark on what Gideon Miner Davison in 1825 termed "The Fashionable Tour" of New England and the eastern Great Lakes. Davison's guides, as well as works by Timothy Dwight, instructed readers on the picturesque satisfactions of Niagara Falls, Montreal, and Lake George in New York's Adirondack Mountains, destinations made more accessible by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825.

A final strain of American travel literature is less particularly American than either the narratives of the provincial visiting Europe or the traveler confronting the mysteries of the western wilderness. However, the accounts published by sea captains, naval commanders, and common sailors of their adventures and sufferings on voyages all over the world comprise a significant proportion of U.S. travel writing. John Ledyard sailed with the British explorer Captain James Cook on his third, ill-fated voyage and published an account of his experiences in *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and in Quest of a North-West Passage* (1783). Other important American accounts of sea travel include works by David Porter and Amasa Delano.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964.

Dunlop, M. H. *Sixty Miles from Contentment: Traveling the Nineteenth-Century American Interior.* New York: Basic Books, 1995.

Lueck, Beth Lynne. *American Writers and the Picturesque Tour: The Search for National Identity*, 1790–1860. New York: Garland, 1997.

Schramer, James, and Donald Ross, eds. *American Travel Writers*, 1776–1864. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997.

Ziff, Larzer. *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing*, 1780–1910. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.

*Martha Schoolman*

**TREATY OF PARIS**  The agreement in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain known as the Treaty of Paris formally ended the struggle for American independence. The British "acknowledged" their former colonial subjects as "free, sovereign and independent." Both sides opted for political reconciliation and commercial cooperation rather than continuous hostilities and competition.

In October 1781 Continental troops forced General Charles Cornwallis to surrender his troops in the wake of the Battle of Yorktown. The British decline spurred by this defeat was exacerbated by other defeats to the French and the Spanish on other continents and compounded by accumulating debt. Subsequently, the political situation changed. In March 1782 King George III installed a new cabinet. Its leaders secretly negotiated with senior American diplomats authorized by the Continental Congress. Five men were commissioned. John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin (who, being pro-French, initially objected to the talks) conducted the bargaining; Henry Laurens was captured and held by the British; and Thomas Jefferson remained in America until after the deal was sealed. Jefferson was more inclined than the others toward the French perspective, so his absence facilitated an Anglo–American agreement.

On 30 November 1782 the peace treaty was initialed in Paris. It ended the Revolutionary War by February 1783. On 15 April 1783 the preliminary Articles of Peace were ratified by the United States. On 6 August 1783 Great Britain did the same. On 3 September 1783 the Definitive Treaty of Paris (merely adding procedural details) was signed by American and British representatives. On 14 January 1784 this treaty was ratified by the United States and went into formal effect. On 9 April 1784 Britain followed suit.

American and British diplomats sidetracked the ambitious French, although the Americans had explicitly promised in 1778 not to sign a separate treaty. Britain had an interest in making concessions to the United States; doing so positioned the Americans as a potential ally, which aroused the ire of the French. The separate British-U.S. arrangement minimized gains for the French and their Spanish allies. The British exchanged with them territories in the Caribbean, West Africa, and the Mediterranean but maintained their fortress of Gibraltar. The Anglo-Saxon powers totally overlooked the interests of indigenous and racial populations.

As a result of the Treaty of Paris, the British ceded—without compensation—vast territories they possessed to the United States, whose boundaries were set in the Great Lakes and along the Mississippi River and thirty-one degrees north latitude, although New Orleans was excluded. This transfer of sovereignty doubled the size of the original colonies, primarily at the expense of native tribes. The terms, however, compared poorly with American aspirations upon independence in 1776 and what the Continental Congress had stipulated in 1779. Canada remained British. The Mississippi River itself and its navigation did not become exclusively American. Spain regained Florida. The French continued to possess vast territories beyond the Mississippi until the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. American diplomats secured much, but their ability to maneuver amid the conflict of their interests with those of the British, French, and Spanish was limited.

Both American and British sailors were authorized to navigate the Mississippi River. U.S. citizens retained their previous fishing rights to rich British waters such as the Grand Banks and all other banks of Newfoundland as well as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Americans were also permitted to dry and cure their catch on unsettled beaches in Labrador and Nova Scotia.

The United States pledged that its Congress would "earnestly recommend" to state and local authorities the restoration of property confiscated from British Loyalists during the war, prohibit future expropriation, release the Loyalists from confinement, and halt their persecution. These commitments had a weak legal basis and were rarely observed. Both sides promised that creditors would recover their prewar debts, but implementation was imperfect.

*See also* **Canada; Revolution: Diplomacy.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brecher, Frank W. *Securing American Independence: John Jay and the French Alliance.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003.

Stockley, Andrew. *Britain and France at the Birth of America: The European Powers and the Peace Negotiations of 1782–1783.* Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter Press, 2001.

*Itai Nartzizenfield Sneh*

**TRENTON, BATTLE OF**   By December 1776 the Continental Army, reeling from a series of defeats that resulted in the loss of New York and New Jersey, seemed to be in the process of dissolution. As Congress retreated from Philadelphia to the relative safety of Baltimore and the army faced the expiration of the enlistments of all but fourteen hundred men, the future appeared bleak indeed. Defeat had severely impacted Patriot morale and even George Washington privately admitted that the end might be near.

Washington quickly recovered from such pessimism and displayed the determination and resourcefulness that were such prominent marks of his character. He knew that the British garrisons at Trenton and Princeton were isolated and exposed to attack. The garrison of fourteen hundred Hessians at Trenton, under the command of Colonel Johann Rall, was of particular interest. Homesick and exhausted from weeks of dealing with hostile elements in "pacified" New Jersey, the Hessians made an inviting target.

The crossing of the Delaware River, on Christmas evening 1776, has rightfully assumed a prominent position in American iconography. If the crossing did not match the image of indomitable courage in the famous, and largely inaccurate, Emmanuel Leutze painting of 1851, it was indeed heroic. The unsung heroes were Colonel John Glover and his Marblehead mariners, who managed the crossing on a raw and bitter night in which rain, sleet, snow, wind, and floating ice made the crossing difficult and dangerous. Though Washington deplored the delays caused by the weather, the bitter night actually assisted his designs, as weather conditions, rather than the alcohol of legend, were largely responsible for the achievement of surprise. The fighting lasted only an hour and a half and, at the cost of less than ten men killed and wounded; the Americans killed or captured over nine hundred Hessians, including Colonel Rall, who was killed.

Trenton was Washington's most striking victory. Though other campaigns possessed more strategic significance, the victory at Trenton, and the less conclusive fighting at Princeton a week later, rejuvenated Patriot morale and carried the cause through the difficult winter of 1776–1777.

*See also* **Hessians; Revolution: Military History.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Fischer, David Hackett. *Washington's Crossing.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Ketchum, Richard M. *The Winter Soldiers.* New York: Doubleday, 1973.

*Daniel McDonough*

**TWO PENNY ACT**   *See* **Parsons' Cause.**

**UNITARIANISM AND UNIVERSALISM** In 1961 the Unitarians and Universalists merged to form a single denomination, recognizing that their views on religious, social, and political matters had become virtually identical. This was not the case in the era of the American Revolution, when each had its American beginnings. The idea of a universal salvation had occurred to one or another Christian in the Old World as well as the new, and had been advanced on the eve of the Revolution by the liberal Congregationalist Charles Chauncy (1705–1787). But the organized Universalists were originally led by itinerant revivalists, and drew their members from the Baptists and Congregationalists, or from the unchurched. By contrast, New England Unitarianism emerged quietly and gracefully among the wealthiest and best-educated Bostonians as a further extension of Chauncy's Arminian Congregationalism (Arminianism, named for a sixteenth-century Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius, may be briefly described as free-will Calvinism).

Even in the beginning, however, Unitarians and Universalists had important things in common. Most of their churches arose and persisted in New England, where throughout their formative years—approximately the 1770s to the 1820s—the Congregational Church continued its regional dominance in overall wealth and numbers. It did this in spite of disestablishment (1818 in Connecticut, 1832 in Massachusetts) and the vigorous growth of competing denominations. Those Congregationalists who had not themselves become Unitarians vigorously opposed the central idea that the Creator was one and indivisible and not a Trinity—Three Persons of one Divine Substance. Similarly the Congregationalists joined with other Christian denominations in being scandalized by the Universalists' defining principle: that the Atonement of Jesus extended to all souls. Critics argued that this was an open invitation to sin; Universalists saw it as divine encouragement to piety and virtue.

The first Unitarian congregation had previously been Anglican: the venerable King's Chapel in Boston. In 1787 it ordained the Reverend James Freeman, an avowed Unitarian, as minister. Unitarian principles quietly spread until 1805, when Harvard appointed Henry Ware (1764–1845) Hollis Professor of Divinity. After several further similar appointments, Harvard's faculty was firmly Unitarian, and a number of Congregational churches had proclaimed themselves Unitarian as well. Most famous among these was the Federal Street Church in Boston, whose minister was William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). Channing preached an inspiring and perhaps intoxicating message of the perfectibility of human nature.

His sermon "Unitarian Christianity" (1819) is perhaps the defining text of the whole movement.

The Unitarian culture of eastern Massachusetts encouraged literature, science, and the fine arts, becoming the basis of a genuine New England Renaissance. It also prepared the ground for its precocious, if somewhat rebellious, spiritual child, the transcendentalism of the editor and essayist Margaret Fuller, the clergymen George Ripley and Theodore Parker, and the writer and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson. At their most radical, as in Emerson's case, the transcendentalists denied all traditional religious dogma, including the authority of the Bible, and exalted nature as the direct manifestation of the divine. Compared to the transcendentalists, however, the first generation of Unitarians remained theologically conservative in many respects. They avowed the holy inspiration and truth of Christian Scripture, the existence of miracles, and the immortality of the soul. Unitarians were not indifferent to the world around them but chiefly aimed to improve it by cultivating the individual. In "Likeness to God," Channing wrote of Christianity:

> This whole religion expresses an infinite concern of God for the human soul, and teaches that he deems no methods too expensive for its recovery and exaltation. Christianity, with one voice, calls me to turn my regards and care to the spirit within me, as of more worth than the whole outward world. It calls us to "be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect"; and everywhere, in the sublimity of its precepts, it implies and recognizes the sublime capacities of the being to whom they are addressed. (*Selected Writings*, p. 149)

The first important Universalist minister in Revolutionary North America was John Murray (1741–1815), who arrived in New Jersey in 1770. Raised as an English Calvinist, Murray joined the London church of the evangelical Anglican George Whitefield and subsequently converted to the Universalism of the Methodist James Relly. An itinerant for several years in America, Murray accepted the invitation of a small congregation in the seaport town of Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1779, where his ministry attracted considerable interest and more than a little hostility. He also married a devout widow, Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820), who proved to be a gifted and prolific author. Another founding father of Universalism was Elhanan Winchester (1751–1797), born in Brookline, Massachusetts, widely traveled as a young Baptist itinerant, and founder of the Society of Universal Baptists in Philadelphia in 1781. Benjamin Rush, a celebrated physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, joined that society while maintaining his membership in the Presbyterian Church.

Hosea Ballou (1771–1852) established himself as Universalism's leading theologian with the publication in 1804 of his *Treatise on the Atonement.* Ballou was born and raised in rural New Hampshire, the eleventh child of a theologically severe, but personally warm, Baptist minister. His conversion to Universalism came when the movement had grown sufficiently to have some organization; he was ordained a minister at the Universalist General Convention of 1794. After preaching successfully in several towns, he settled permanently as pastor of the School Street Church in Boston in 1816. For the next quarter of a century he labored but a few blocks from William Ellery Channing's Federal Street Church, but Channing seems never to have sought his fellowship. Ballou's *Treatise* combined the optimistic rationalism of the Enlightenment with a determinism reminiscent of Jonathan Edwards. God had ordained that Christ should work the salvation of all humankind. The individual soul had but little choice: one could assent to divine grace either now or later. Death would speed the sinner to Heaven as swiftly as the saint. Many of the earlier Universalists had believed that unrepentant sinners would experience some discipline or punishment between death and Heaven, a notion that never entirely disappeared. Indeed, it regained currency after 1830.

Widely different in their origins, and appealing mostly to quite different segments of American society, the Unitarians and the Universalists both exhibited the idealism and optimism of the newly free and democratic United States. If the Unitarians were somewhat condescending and aristocratic in manner, they lived according to a high code of ethical behavior and greatly enriched the national culture. The Universalists, the foremost spiritual equalitarians, made democracy eternal.

*See also* **Congregationalists; Disestablishment; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bressler, Ann Lee. *The Universalist Movement in America, 1770–1880.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Channing, William Ellery. *William Ellery Channing: Selected Writings.* Edited by David Robinson. Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1985.

Howe, Daniel Walker. *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805–1861.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Wright, Conrad. *The Beginnings of Unitarianism.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

*Robert McColley*

**VACATIONS AND RESORTS**   In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, few Americans actually "vacationed" in the modern sense of the word. Only the wealthy enjoyed leisure trips away from home. Most extended visits were to family and friends, but those did not offer the same sort of excitement and adventure nor confer as much social status as summer trips to fashionable resorts. Mountain and beach resorts, difficult to reach in this era and therefore expensive, attracted elite families from across the country. For weeks and even months at a time, the upper classes gathered at these exclusive spots for socializing and recreation. Though everyone had his or her own favorite, Saratoga Springs in New York, the Virginia Springs in the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the seashores of Newport, Rhode Island, and Cape May, New Jersey, were especially popular.

From the mid-1700s through the 1800s, the search for health combined with the search for pleasure led hundreds and eventually thousands of elite men and women over the mountains or to the seashores to resorts that offered healthful and entertaining escapes from the heat, diseases, and boredom of plantations, farms, and cities. While many men and women visited these areas seeking cures, most traveled to them to enjoy the company of people like themselves, maintain their good health, and participate in an array of leisure and social activities. At the Virginia Springs and Saratoga Springs, visitors, even those who were not sick, daily drank and bathed in mineral waters that supposedly cured or prevented illness. Ocean bathing served the same purpose at Newport and Cape May. But always more alluring were the parties, balls, excursions, picnics, card games, sporting events, and, especially, the gossiping and courting that took place in the dining rooms or ballrooms, on the lawns, or at the bathhouses. To see and be seen, to watch and participate in the scenes of fashionable display was often the real draw of these resorts. A great deal of social status and reputation could be won (or lost) during a summer's stay.

While at these leisure places, elite Americans (as well as their servants) came together from across the nation and learned more about each other. They shared political and business information as well as social gossip. Politicians solidified support; planters and merchants discussed prices and made deals; and society matrons guarded the behavior of their class. Close ties of friendship also formed, especially among women, and were reaffirmed whenever visitors met again. Indeed, many of the connections begun at resorts continued once the travelers returned to their homes. Because of their presumed exclusivity, the fashionable resorts, especially Saratoga Springs in the North and the Virginia Springs in the South, also became the premier places for finding a spouse, at times joining couples from different regions of the country. These places of resort did unite their visitors, creating cross-country ties and fostering a sense of national identity at crucial times of nation building. But, increasingly over time, they could also divide their guests, reinforcing sectionalism and regional identities. At the Virginia Springs, for example, southerners established the social rules for fashion and behavior, threw most of the parties, and, in general, held sway. They readily accepted northerners into their social circles, at least until 1830 when sectional tensions intensified, but they never permitted them to set or enforce the rules of spa society. Though fashionable mountain and seaside resorts helped create a national elite by bringing wealthy and influential Americans together regularly in these places of leisure and beauty and by encouraging communal ties, the resorts would prove unable to hold this elite together.

*See also* **Recreation, Sports, and Games; Travel Guides and Accounts; Wealth.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aron, Cindy S. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Chambers, Thomas. *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002.

Lewis, Charlene Boyer. *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790–1860.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

*Charlene M. Boyer Lewis*

**VALLEY FORGE**   Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, located on the west bank of the Schuylkill River about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia, served as the Continental army's main encampment from 19 December 1777 to 19 June 1778. Although Valley Forge has become a national symbol of patriotic fortitude and perseverance in the face of adversity,

George Washington—while not excluding "altogether the idea of patriotism"—sought during this six-month period to make his army increasingly professional in attitude and abilities as the only way that it could endure in "a long and bloody War."

In determining the disposition of the Continental army for the winter of 1777–1778, Washington faced a choice of difficulties. Most of his general officers recommended establishing winter quarters at some distance from British-occupied Philadelphia—either in the vicinity of Lancaster and Reading, Pennsylvania, or at Wilmington, Delaware—so that the troops could be rested, reequipped, and trained for the next campaign. Pennsylvania political leaders and the Continental Congress, however, pressed Washington to position his army much closer to the city in order to protect the local populace from British depredations. Ever sensitive to public opinion and needs, Washington decided in mid-December 1778 to encamp at Valley Forge. He did so because it was far enough from Philadelphia to guard against a surprise attack and near enough to cover much of Pennsylvania, while also supporting Continental and militia patrols operating against British foragers and partisans in the intervening no-man's-land.

Washington was aware that his decision to give priority to civilian concerns imposed additional hardships on his officers and men. Instead of being quartered in substantial buildings, they lived in tents during their first weeks at Valley Forge while constructing primitive log huts that provided basic protection against winter weather but few creature comforts. The troops also were more vulnerable to the bad effects of the ongoing supply crisis than had they been dispersed in more remote areas. The near collapse of the commissary department in the wake of an ill-conceived congressional reform effort and the breakdown of the transportation system due to bad weather and worse management brought the army to the brink of starvation for several days in December and again in February. Lack of shoes and clothing further reduced the army's combat readiness. On 23 December 1777 Washington reported 2,898 of about 11,000 rank and file in camp as unfit to do duty for that reason. A month later the number was nearly four thousand.

Washington acted vigorously to relieve immediate supply crises by applying to civil authorities at all levels for assistance and dispatching long-range foraging parties. He was equally active in seeking more far-reaching remedies. When a congressional investigation committee arrived at camp in late January, Washington was ready with a comprehensive set of recommendations designed to put the army on a firmer professional footing, including the drafting of soldiers, half-pay pensions and honorary rewards for officers, regimental reorganization, and various measures to strengthen the quartermaster, commissary, clothier, and other administrative departments. Congress adopted many of those ideas in some form during the winter and spring, and its appointments of Nathanael Greene (1742–1786) as quartermaster general on 2 March 1778 and Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743–1804) as commissary general of purchases on 9 April 1778 revitalized those departments.

As the Continental army prepared at Valley Forge for the new spring campaign, it became significantly more adept in battlefield maneuver under the guidance of a recently arrived Prussian officer, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794). He devised a simple uniform system of drill particularly suited to American circumstances and trained the main army in it. Steuben also began introducing European administrative procedures and helped to instill stronger discipline and professional pride in the lower ranks.

The progress that the Continental army continued to make during the next two campaigns in the science of military administration was halted in the winter of 1779–1780 by a severe national financial crisis and the worst weather in recent memory. Encamped once again among log huts at Jockey Hollow near Morristown, New Jersey, about thirty miles from the British army in New York City, the troops endured at least twenty-three snowstorms over four months, including an early January blizzard that left four-to-six-foot drifts. Critical shortages of clothing and food again brought the army to the edge of dissolution, which Washington avoided by rationing shoes and assigning local magistrates quotas for cattle and grain.

In the long war of attrition that the American revolutionaries fought, Valley Forge and Jockey Hollow were notable low points where materiel and morale ran perilously thin. Washington's solution was to stabilize the army by introducing professional methods and standards while assuring civilians of the army's willingness to sacrifice for their protection. That balancing act worked well enough to keep an effective military force in the field until the war could be won with French help.

*See also* **Continental Army; Revolution: Military History.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bodle, Wayne K. *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Carp, E. Wayne. *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Greene, Nathanael. *The Papers of Nathanael Greene.* Edited by Richard K. Showman. 12 vols. to date. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976–.

*Morristown: A History and Guide*, *Morristown National Historical Park*, *New Jersey.* Washington, D.C.: Division of Publications, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983.

Washington, George. *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series.* Edited by Philander D. Chase. 14 vols. to date. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1985–.

Wright, Robert K., Jr. *The Continental Army.* Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1983.

*Philander D. Chase*

**VERMONT**   Upon achieving statehood in 1791, Vermont became the first addition to the original thirteen states. Objections from New York prevented Vermont's admission to the Union until then. Vermont originated in resistance to the authority of colonial New York. By the time of its admission to the Union, Vermont was riven by the deep ideological and political divisions that characterized it through the 1820s.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the colonial governments of New Hampshire and New York issued competing land grants to the territory that became Vermont. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) eliminated the western Abenaki, an Algonquian-speaking group, as an obstacle to white settlement. Despite a ruling by the Privy Council in London in 1764 that appeared to invalidate New Hampshire's grants, migrants acting on them arrived in increasing numbers during the 1760s. Resistance to New York's jurisdiction was strongest in western Vermont, which was largely settled by farmers from western New England and the Hudson River valley. These settlers were a mix of devout New Lights, veterans of earlier Hudson Valley "rent wars," and deistic political radicals such as Ethan Allen and Matthew Lyon. The southwestern town of Bennington was the base for the informal militia known as the Green Mountain Boys, which harassed New York officials and grant holders.

Increasing cooperation between Vermont's eastern and western areas made possible Vermont's declaration of independence in 1777. Because Congress rejected Vermont's request for admission as a state, it spent the war delicately situated between the United States and British Canada. Meanwhile, Vermont adopted a radical constitution in 1777 that, among other provisions, abolished slavery, making Vermont the first political entity in North America to do so. At the time, African Americans constituted less than 1 percent of Vermont's population.

Vermont remained reluctantly independent until 1791, a fragile experiment in republican government operated by common men. The most important political figure in the state's early history was Thomas Chittenden, a farmer with limited education who advocated Jeffersonian principles. Chittenden was governor, with the exception of one year, from 1778 to 1797. Vermont's survival was threatened in the 1780s, on the one hand by mob actions of discontented farmers, and on the other by arriving gentry harboring contempt for democracy. Vermont's survival was not fully assured until New York dropped its objections to Vermont's admission in return for a payment of thirty thousand dollars.

Vermont's population grew faster than any other state's in the 1790s, increasing from 85,341 in 1790 to 154,465 in 1800. Most migrants came from New England, with a scattering of Irish and French Canadians in its northern reaches. By then Vermont state politics were bitterly divided, with Federalists achieving a tenuous supremacy after 1800. Towns and communities across the state were similarly the scenes of clashes between Jeffersonian and Federalist principles and parties. Dissension between the two worldviews, which played out in such areas of life as theology, educational policy, and commercial practices, deepened and took on new dimensions with the opening of the Champlain Canal in 1823. The canal dramatically altered Vermont's economy, redirecting it to the south and demanding greater market participation. This "market revolution" ended the early phases of Vermont's history, with the state's population rising to 280,652 by 1830.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Shalhope, Robert E. *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys: The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760–1850.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Sherman, Michael, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash. *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont.* Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004.

*Paul Searls*

**VESEY REBELLION**    The plot organized by Denmark Vesey, a free black carpenter, in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822 was perhaps the largest slave conspiracy in North American history. Although brought into the city in 1783 as a slave of Captain Joseph Vesey, Telemaque, as he was then known, purchased his freedom in December 1799 with lottery winnings. For the next twenty-two years, Vesey earned his living as a craftsman. According to white authorities, he was "distinguished for [his] great strength and activity"; the black community "always looked up to [him] with awe and respect." His last (and probably third) wife, Susan Vesey, was born a slave but became free prior to his death. His first wife, Beck, remained a slave, as did Vesey's sons, Polydore, Robert, and Sandy, the last of whom was the only one of his children to be implicated in his 1822 conspiracy.

Around 1818 Vesey joined the city's new African Methodist Episcopal congregation. The African Church, as both whites and blacks called it, quickly became the center of Charleston's enslaved community. Sandy Vesey also joined, as did four of Vesey's closest friends, Peter Poyas, a literate and highly skilled ship carpenter; Monday Gell, an African-born Ibo who labored as a harness maker; Rolla Bennett, the manservant of Governor Thomas Bennett; and "Gullah" Jack Pritchard, an East African priest purchased in Zinguebar in 1806. The temporary closure of the church by city authorities in June 1818, and the arrest of 140 congregants, one of them presumably Vesey himself, only reinforced the determination of black Carolinians to maintain a place of independent worship and established the motivation for his conspiracy.

At the age of fifty-one, Vesey resolved to orchestrate a rebellion followed by a mass exodus from Charleston to Haiti. President Jean-Pierre Boyer had recently encouraged black Americans to bring their skills and capital to his beleaguered republic. Vesey did not intend to tarry in Charleston long enough for white military power to present an effective counterassault. "As soon as they could get the money from the Banks, and the goods from the stores," Rolla Bennett insisted, "they should hoist sail for Saint Doming[ue]" and live as free men. For all of his acculturation into Euro-American society, Vesey, as a native of St. Thomas, remained a man of the black Atlantic.

Vesey planned the escape for nearly four years. Although there are no reliable figures for the number of recruits, Charleston alone was home to 12,652 slaves. Pritchard, probably with some exaggeration, boasted that he had 6,600 recruits on the plantations across the Cooper and Ashley Rivers. The plan called for Vesey's followers to rise at midnight on Sunday, 14 July—Bastille Day—slay their masters, and sail for Haiti and freedom. As one southern editor later conceded, "the plot seems to have been well devised, and its operation was extensive."

Those recruited into the plot during the winter of 1822 were directed to arm themselves from their masters' closets. Vesey was also aware that the Charleston Neck militia company stored their three hundred muskets and bayonets in the back room of Benjamin Hammet's King Street store, and that Hammet's slave Bacchus had a key. But as few slaves had any experience with guns, Vesey encouraged his followers to arm themselves with swords or long daggers, which in any case would make for quieter work as the city bells tolled midnight. Vesey also employed several enslaved blacksmiths to forge "pike heads and bayonets with sockets, to be fixed at the end of long poles."

Considerably easier than stockpiling weapons was the recruitment of willing young men. In addition to their fellow craftsmen, Vesey and his lieutenants recruited out of the African Church. Vesey knew each of the church members well—he knew whom to trust and whom to avoid. As former Charleston slave Archibald Grimké later wrote, Vesey's nightly classes provided him "with a singularly safe medium for conducting his underground agitation."

The plot unraveled in June 1822 when two slaves revealed the plan to their owners. Mayor James Hamilton called up the city militia and convened a special court to try the captured insurgents. Vesey was captured at the home of his first wife on June 21 and hanged on the morning of 2 July, together with Rolla, Poyas, and three other rebels. According to Hamilton, the six men collectively "met their fate with the heroic fortitude of Martyrs." In all, thirty-five slaves were executed. Forty-two others, including Sandy Vesey, were sold outside the United States; some, if not all, became slaves in Spanish Cuba. Robert Vesey lived to rebuild the African Church in the fall of 1865.

In the aftermath of the conspiracy, Charleston authorities demolished the African Church. The state assembly subsequently passed laws prohibiting the entry of free blacks into the state, and city officials enforced ordinances against teaching African Americans to read. The City Council also voted to create a permanent force of 150 guardsmen to patrol the streets around the clock at an annual cost of $24,000. To deal with the problem of black mariners bringing information about events around the Atlantic into the state's ports, in December 1822 the legislature passed the Negro Seamen Act, which placed a quarantine on any vessel from another "state or foreign port, having on board any free negroes or persons of color." Although U.S. Circuit Court Judge William Johnson struck the law down as unconstitutional, a defiant assembly renewed the act in late 1823. Many of those who nullified federal law in 1832—including Governor James Hamilton, who resigned his office in 1833 to command troops in defense of his state's right to resist national tariffs—were veterans of the tribunals that had tried Vesey and his men a decade before.

*See also* **African Americans: African American Religion; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Charleston; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Egerton, Douglas R. *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1999.

Lofton, John. *Insurrection in South Carolina: The Turbulent World of Denmark Vesey.* Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1964.

Paquette, Robert L. "Jacobins of the Lowcountry: The Vesey Plot on Trial." *William and Mary Quarterly* 59 (January 2002): 185–192.

*Douglas R. Egerton*

**VIGILANTES** *See* **Regulators.**

**VIOLENCE** In the years following the American Revolution, society in regions other than the frontier became more violent as a result of several factors. One underlying reason for increasing violence was the increasing overall population of the new nation, from 3 million in 1790 to 31 million in 1860; major population growth especially affected cities, such as New York, which grew from 40,000 inhabitants in 1790 to nearly 1 million by 1860. An increasing disparity between the rich and the poor also contributed to a spike in violence, as did ethnic and religious tensions among foreigners, immigrants (especially Irish Roman Catholics), and more established Protestant groups. Racial tensions were on the rise, as whites feared black competition for jobs, interracial marriage, and the specter of social equality, with blacks retaliating. Another factor was the decline of a paternalistic system of labor; masters now lived with or in close proximity to servants, laborers, and apprentices, thereby weakening workers' sense of their place in an organic social order. As a consequence of changes in the social order, separate upper-, middle-, and working-class cultures arose with separate notions of morality, along with an increasing individualism that gave ordinary folk confidence in their own judgment and self-worth. Thus government's role was altered from an active guardian of the common good, achieved through state regulation to redress injustice and solve economic problems, to a supposedly impartial arbiter that merely existed to protect property and preserve order.

**TAXES AND AUTONOMY**

The three most significant episodes of American violence in the late eighteenth century reflected the old colonial notion of corporate violence, which had prevailed before and leading up to the Revolution. In Shays's Rebellion (1787) in Massachusetts, and the Whiskey Rebellion (1794) and Fries's Rebellion (1799) in Pennsylvania, respectable members of aggrieved communities banded together, invoked the principles of the Revolution concerning self-taxation and local autonomy, and staged carefully limited violence against outsiders who threatened to foreclose on their estates or otherwise punish them for nonpayment of taxes. The community members involved in these actions considered themselves "the people" assembled against unjust grievances; only those who suppressed them called them rebels. A small number of men were killed or punished severely as a result of these cases of tax resistance.

**ETHNIC AND RACIAL VIOLENCE**

In the early nineteenth century, cities were the most frequent sites of large-scale violence, as novels such as Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* (1799–1800) and Herman Melville's *Pierre* (1852) attest. There men of all classes representing different ethnic groups lived side-by-side and competed for jobs, po-

litical power, and prestige while seeking to demonstrate their masculinity and patriotism in a crowded arena. Some riots were limited to the working class, as when American sailors brawled with Spanish sailors (Philadelphia, 1804) and French sailors (Philadelphia, 1806; Charleston, 1811; Savannah, 1811; New York, 1812; Norfolk, 1813; and New Orleans, 1817—all but the Philadelphia fights leading to deaths). Rioting against Roman Catholic foreigners and immigrants, and against blacks, occurred most frequently; mobs were usually composed of all classes, led by "gentlemen of property and standing" who went unpunished. In 1815 whites attacked blacks opening a new house of worship in Philadelphia, burning the building, and in 1819 they attacked blacks daring to celebrate Independence Day in New York City. White crowds chased blacks en masse out of the cities of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1824, and Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1829.

The worst of these ethnic and racial riots, however, occurred in the 1830s, after large numbers of Irish Catholics arrived in the cities and abolitionists began to push for immediate emancipation of slaves. Crowds opposed to Irish immigrants burned the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts (1834), believing the nuns there kidnapped Protestant girls and threatened to kill them if they did not become Catholics. That same year other crowds devastated New York's and Philadelphia's black communities; burned Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hall, built by abolitionists to hold interracial meetings (1838); and murdered the abolitionist newspaper publisher Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois (1839). The deadliest ethnic riots occurred in the 1850s, when the Democratic Party, which included many Roman Catholics, clashed with the nativist Know-Nothings, who opposed all immigration, during several elections. The worst occurred in Baltimore in 1856, leaving from 8 to 17 dead and from 64 to 150 wounded. Another major ethnic riot, however, was anti-British; in New York City in 1849, partisans of the American actor Edwin Forrest tore down the Astor Place Opera House where the British actor William Macready was performing; 22 people died and at least 48 were wounded. Baltimore was also the scene of the bloodiest riot during the economic depression of the1830s: the houses of the mayor and several directors of the Bank of Maryland were destroyed, and order was restored only when volunteers fired into the crowd.

Unlike the spikes and troughs of urban violence and violence between whites, the violence associated with slavery in the early Republic was relatively constant. Violence was integral to the slave system, from the usual practice of whipping disobedient slaves to executing rebels and runaways in frequently horrific ways. Whites on slave patrol policed the South; federal marshals pursued runaways into free states, where they sometimes met with violent resistance from blacks, as in Boston (1819), York, Pennsylvania (1825), and Philadelphia (1835), and, on at least one occasion, death, as in Christiana, Pennsylvania (1851). Slave rebellions in the United States were rare; in the larger West Indies islands and South America, by contrast, the smaller white population and the availability of large, unsettled areas facilitated escape by slaves who formed autonomous Maroon communities. The only rebellions involving large numbers of blacks in the United States were Gabriel's Rebellion (1800) and Nat Turner's Rebellion (1831), both in Virginia, and the Vesey Rebellion (1822) in Charleston, South Carolina. Both Gabriel and Denmark Vesey were betrayed by conspiracy; only Turner's rebellion resulted in white deaths. White violence against blacks was punished on rare occasions when whites openly and outrageously offended communal standards for the treatment of slaves or free blacks.

### INDIAN POLICY
The rules of civilized warfare that the United States, France, and Britain generally practiced toward one another were suspended in dealings with Indians. By the American Revolution, Indians had generally been defined collectively as a distinct (red) race that was temperamentally uncivilized and hostile. The massacre of peaceful Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten in 1782 in present-day Ohio by Revolutionary militia was a taste of the forthcoming century. Even those who wished to protect the Indians, such as Thomas Jefferson, given their belief that frontier expansion was inevitable and government's role limited, could only envision their forcible removal to land too undesirable and distant for whites to covet.

### DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
In the antebellum period states and municipalities instituted reforms regarding domestic violence. Influenced by Victorian notions that women were the proper guardians of the home and possessed a nature morally superior to men, by 1850 nineteen states allowed divorce on grounds of cruelty. The intertwined temperance and women's movements were crucial in calling attention to the way drunken husbands abused wives and children. New York was the first city to build an institution to protect abused children in 1825, and by the 1850s most states had

done so. But in general beating was considered a masculine prerogative to correct unruly wives and children, and prosecutions were successful only when women's lives or physical well-being were threatened. In schools, too, physical punishment of students was reported in three-quarters of early-nineteenth-century autobiographies.

### PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS

Physical violence in the punishment of criminals decreased in the early Republic, although arguably at the expense of mental torment. Extended periods of imprisonment in penitentiaries and reformatories to induce social conformity rather than whipping or public humiliation became the standard punishments for noncapital crimes. The Eastern State Penitentiary, founded in Philadelphia, which substituted silent labor in solitary confinement, and New York's prison at Auburn, where convicts worked in closely supervised teams, were pioneering institutions. Public execution of criminals declined, with the death penalty carried out more frequently behind prison walls: authorities found that rather than serving as warnings against vice, the open-air spectacles encouraged merriment, riot, and further crime.

### A VIOLENT SOCIETY?

Society celebrated violence in other ways. Upper-class enemies, especially but not exclusively in the South, fought duels if they believed their honor was insulted. Although in most cases seconds worked out an amicable accord, the duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton in 1804 and the confrontation between James Stark and Philip Minis in Savannah in 1832, which resulted in Stark's death, were only two of hundreds of incidents that ended fatally. Unlike men in Europe, much of the free male population in the United States owned guns and belonged to voluntary military societies once the required colonial militia system faded. Masculinity was demonstrated through active participation in homosocial associations such as saloons, fire companies, political parties, and the Masons and other fraternal orders. The outer limit of these associations were filibustering expeditions where men organized, successfully in some instances (Florida, 1819; Texas, 1836; Nicaragua, 1855) to take over territories in Latin America, for which they were cheered rather than punished. Although illegal and opposed by reformers and genteel members of the elite, bare-knuckles prizefighting, along with cock- and dog-fighting and bear-baiting, remained popular working-class activities. Unlike the regulated prizefights of the late nineteenth century instituted by a progressive elite seeking to preserve society's masculine, aggressive qualities, those before the Civil War had few rules and no time limits, and went on until losers were dead, unconscious, or had lost an eye or an ear.

Was the early Republic a violent society? In 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville, the French writer and observer of American ways, reported that he could travel through large stretches of America between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River in perfect safety. Nevertheless, in cities and families, on plantations and in schools, in popular culture and the treatment of prisoners and Native Americans, violence permeated American society.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Removal; Corporal Punishment; Dueling; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Fries's Rebellion; Gabriel's Rebellion; Manliness and Masculinity; Riots; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Vesey Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion; Women: Rights.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cunliffe, Marcus. *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775–1865.* New York: Free Press, 1973.

Daniels, Christine, and Michael V. Kennedy, eds. *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America.* New York: Routledge, 1999.

Franklin, John Hope. *The Militant South: 1800–1861.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002.

Gilje, Paul A. *Rioting in America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Michael Wallace, eds. *American Violence: A Documentary History.* New York: Knopf, 1970.

Masur, Louis P. *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Pleck, Elizabeth. *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic,* rev. ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.

Slaughter, Thomas. "Crowds in Early America: Reflections and New Directions." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115 (1991): 3–34.

*William Pencak*

**VIRGINIA** In 1750 the Virginia colony had an estimated population of 230,000. Enslaved black people made up more than 40 percent of this number. Most of Virginia's white population growth had come from British immigration. In the colony's earliest days, as many as three of every four new colonists were indentured servants hoping to work their way into a better life.

John Rolfe's experiment with tobacco in 1612 had proven to be a defining moment in the economic history of Virginia. Thereafter, new settlers came to Virginia expecting to prosper by growing tobacco as a cash crop. Tobacco culture led to the establishment of large plantations worked by indentured servants and later by slaves. By the 1750s Virginia was exporting from 40 to 50 million pounds of tobacco a year and wealthy planters dominated Virginia politics.

The rich, untapped soil of Virginia at first produced abundant tobacco crops, but successive crops drained the soil of its fertility. By 1750 many of the prominent planters of Virginia had tapped out the soil of their Tidewater and Piedmont plantations and had started anew in the Shenandoah Valley. Less wealthy Virginians, along with German and Scots-Irish farmers from other colonies, had also begun to move into the valley. The poorest of the migrants moved further westward into the mountains on the frontier, where they bore the brunt of Native American hostility. Frontier settlers and their interests received little attention from political leaders in the east.

### COLLISION ON THE FRONTIER

The native peoples of the Tidewater and Piedmont regions had long been decimated and dispersed by epidemics and generations of warfare. However, Shawnee and Leni-Lenape (Delaware) bands from beyond the mountains periodically raided white frontier settlements in western Virginia. Meanwhile, as good land grew scarcer, many colonists looked to the Ohio Valley as the next source of new farmland. A group of wealthy Virginians, including Governor Robert Dinwiddie, formed a land speculation company and obtained from King George II (r. 1727–1760) an extensive Ohio grant in territory claimed by both France and Britain.

Virginia's colonial government, safely ensconced in the east, had been unwilling to allocate money for building forts and defending the disputed western territory of the Ohio Valley. An increasingly menacing French presence, however, led Governor Dinwid-

die, anxious for his land grant, to send the twenty-one-year-old militiaman George Washington to confront the French in Ohio country. Washington's mission of 1753 was the first of several unsuccessful forays. Essentially, Virginia was conducting a private war with the French in order to control western lands, which it claimed to the Pacific Ocean. However, the Virginians' defeat in 1754 at the hands of the French drew the British government's attention and ignited the French and Indian War (1754–1760).

In 1755 George Washington and several hundred Virginia troops joined General Edward Braddock and his British regulars on a mission to capture Fort Duquesne. On 9 July a French and Indian force ambushed the army, inflicting in just three hours the debacle known to history as Braddock's Defeat. The surviving British regulars departed, leaving the western frontier open to deadly raids. Virginia colonists, already resentful of British royal authority, grew to resent the British even more for having failed to protect them. Colonel Washington spent the next three years commanding a Virginia militia regiment charged with protecting the frontier. After the war the British government incurred Virginia's wrath with the Proclamation of 1763, which barred colonists from settling west of the Allegheny Mountains and ordered existing settlers there to return east. Virginia speculators and settlers alike faced ruin and blamed their plight on the authorities in distant London. Many defied the proclamation and continued to settle west of the line.

### ROAD TO REVOLUTION

Virginians again chafed under British authority when Parliament sought to recoup its military expenditures by taxing the colonies. Members of Virginia's House of Burgesses emerged as leaders in the growing resistance. Frontier lawyer Patrick Henry spoke out against the Stamp Act (1765), making statements that many of his peers considered treasonous. However, a majority of the burgesses came to agree that resistance was necessary, and in May 1765 they adopted the Virginia Resolves, a set of statements asserting the exclusive right of colonial governments to make their own laws and tax their own citizens.

The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but in the face of new forms of British taxation imposed by the Townshend Acts of 1767, the burgesses passed additional resolutions in 1769 objecting to British actions. Not for the last time, the royal governor dissolved the House of Burgesses, and the burgesses reconvened in a tavern. There they devised and enact-

ed a plan to boycott British imports, which other colonies emulated.

In 1773 Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and other legislators established a Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the other colonies and organize opposition to British authority. When the House of Burgesses voted to aid Boston in the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party (1773), Virginia's royal governor, John Murray, Lord Dunmore, disbanded the legislative body. Meeting in a tavern in the spring of 1774, the burgesses called for a congress of all the colonies. The resulting first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in September 1774. Among the Virginia delegates to the Congress were Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph—who was elected president of the Congress—and George Washington.

Back in Virginia, Lord Dunmore briefly won public support by mounting an expedition to secure the frontier from Indian raids. In October 1774, Colonel Andrew Lewis defeated a force of Shawnees on the westernmost border of Virginia at the Ohio River. But support for Dunmore was short-lived. In March 1775 a Virginia convention met in Richmond to address the growing breach with Great Britain, placed the colony on a war footing, and voted to raise troops. The next month, Dunmore ordered the seizure of a store of gunpowder, and Patrick Henry led the militia to Williamsburg to confront the governor. Dunmore fled to a British warship. In May, a Virginia delegation went to the Second Continental Congress. There the delegates voted to raise a Continental Army, with George Washington as its commander in chief.

Dunmore ordered British regulars to occupy the town of Norfolk and raid coastal plantations. In November 1775 he offered freedom to slaves who would flee their owners and join a Loyalist regiment. The following month, British forces marched out from Norfolk and met a Patriot militia force at Great Bridge. This engagement, called the second battle of the Revolution, drove the Dunmore contingent from Norfolk. The royal governor and his men fled to British warships. Dunmore ordered the ships to fire on Norfolk, and the town was destroyed. This action turned most Virginians against Great Britain.

### THE COMMONWEALTH AT WAR

On 15 May 1776 the convention, meeting in Williamsburg, declared Virginia an independent commonwealth. The convention also resolved to propose independence from Great Britain at the next session of the Continental Congress. Accordingly, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed independence in Philadelphia, and the Congress passed the motion on 2 July 1776. Thomas Jefferson played the leading role in drafting the Declaration of Independence.

In Virginia, Patrick Henry served as governor from 1776 to 1779 and again from 1784 to 1786. Thomas Jefferson served as governor of Virginia from 1779 to 1781. The results of his efforts in the 1770s and 1780s to bring about significant changes in Virginia law bore fruit most notably with passage of the Statute for Religious Freedom (1786) and the abolition of entail (1776) and primogeniture (1785). He failed, however, to establish his proposed public education system. By 1776 the population of the newly declared commonwealth had increased to about half a million, maintaining the ratio of 60 whites to 40 blacks.

The British invasion of the Chesapeake Bay in 1779 spurred Virginians to move their capital from Williamsburg to Richmond. Frequent movements of troops across Virginia depleted supplies of food, tobacco, and livestock. As many as thirty thousand slaves left Virginia plantations, either voluntarily or by force, during the war. Yorktown, Virginia, saw the American Revolution's last major campaign in 1781.

After several years (starting in 1781) during which the thirteen states were loosely organized under the Articles of Confederation, James Madison and other leading Virginians pushed for a constitutional convention to establish an enduring central government. The resulting Constitution, however, contained clauses that many Virginians found objectionable. One such clause permitted the transatlantic slave trade to continue to 1808. Virginia had abolished the importation of slaves, in part to protect the economic value of Virginia's existing slave population, so the state's planters opposed that provision. After lengthy and heated debate, Virginia by a close margin became the tenth state to ratify the new United States Constitution on 26 June 1788.

### VIRGINIA AND THE NATION

Virginia was the largest and most populous state in the new nation, even though it had ceded its trans-Ohio territory to the national government in 1784. Virginia's territory included what became the state of West Virginia in 1863. The census of 1790 reported the total population of Virginia at about 692,000. This figure included about 306,000 blacks and the more than 55,000 individuals living in western Virginia. The west Virginian population included only about 2,000 blacks because the mountainous region could not support many large plantations. About

15,000 German immigrants had settled in western Virginia by 1790, and the Virginia government soon began publishing laws relating to the frontier in both German and English. In 1790 the ancestry of Virginia's white population was 68.5 percent English, 10.2 percent highland and lowland Scottish, 6.2 percent Scots-Irish, 5.5 percent Irish, and 6.3 percent German. There were also small numbers who were of French, Dutch, and Swedish ancestry.

Subsequent censuses reported Virginia's total population at about 808,000 in 1800 (of whom about 45 percent were blacks); 878,000 in 1810 (48 percent black); 938,000 in 1820 (49 percent black); and 1,044,000 in 1830 (nearly 50 percent black). Richmond remained the state capital while Norfolk became the largest city, with a population of about 7,000 and a thriving port. By 1830 the white population of the Piedmont and Tidewater was steadily declining. At the same time, Virginia's black population lived almost entirely east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, where the ratio of blacks to whites was in many counties more than 2 to 1.

Virginia's increasing black population caused enormous social turmoil. A law of 1782 made it easier for owners to free their slaves. To prevent owners from abandoning less valuable slaves, who might then become public charges, the law limited manumission to healthy and fit slaves of prime working age. Popular reaction to the resulting increase in the free black population caused legislators to amend the law in 1806. The act of 1806 declared that blacks freed after passage of the law who remained within the state for more than a year would forfeit their freedom and could then be taken and sold for the benefit of the poor. Effectively, the free black population thenceforth could only grow by natural increase. Still, some thirty thousand free blacks lived in Virginia in 1810, a tenfold increase over a thirty-year time span. Over the same period, the slave population increased by nearly 50 percent.

On 30 August 1800, Virginia's governor received word of a slave conspiracy, later called Gabriel's Rebellion. The plot involved some one thousand poorly armed slaves who planned to march on Richmond and capture the city, killing white people along the way. In the event, a violent storm and floods prevented the conspirators from assembling. The authorities called out the militia, made hundreds of arrests, and executed more than two dozen. Gabriel's Rebellion increased fears of slave insurrection and conspiracy. The Virginia legislature enacted laws restricting the activities of the free black population, although free blacks had not been party to the upris-

ing. In addition, in 1801 Virginia legalized the practice of transportation, the selling of slaves convicted of crimes to distant markets. Thereafter, Virginia largely relied upon the threat of transportation to deter disorderly behavior. Virginia also grew fearful that outsiders—namely northern abolitionists—would assist slaves in suing for freedom or escaping. A series of statutes addressed this concern. For example, an act of 1805 defined any assistance to escapees as slave stealing and imposed harsh penalties. Over the ensuing decades, Virginia strengthened its runaway slave laws and campaigned for a stronger federal fugitive slave law.

Four of the first five U.S. presidents were Virginians: George Washington, the first president, from 1789 to 1797; Thomas Jefferson, the third president, from 1801 to 1809; James Madison, the fourth president, from 1809 to 1817; and James Monroe, the fifth president, from 1817 to 1825. Jefferson and Madison formed a political party, the Democratic Republicans (often called simply Republicans, it was actually the forerunner to the modern Democratic Party) in opposition to the ruling Federalists. During the nation's formative years, the early presidents divided along party lines, with Washington favoring the Federalists and a stronger central government and Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe supporting the Democratic Republicans and greater state authority.

Bipartisan conflict over state and federal authority boiled over when Congress under the Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. These laws provided for the monitoring of foreign nationals, the deportation of foreigners deemed to be dangerous, and the suppression of written or spoken dissent. The Federalists promoted these laws primarily to squash political opposition, while Democratic Republicans saw them as a threat to civil liberties.

Southern Republican leaders sought to oppose this show of federal power with an assertion of state authority. Jefferson, while serving as vice president of the United States, anonymously drafted a set of resolutions calling the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional and urging the states to annul such laws. The Kentucky legislature passed a modified version of Jefferson's draft in 1798 and 1799. Virginia's Democratic Republicans introduced a similar but milder set of resolutions, drafted by James Madison, and the state legislature approved them in 1798. Fearing federal reprisal, Virginia also authorized a military buildup. Indeed, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions carried an implied threat of secession from the Union. The resolutions set a precedent for

the southern states to defend the institution of slavery by asserting states' rights.

In 1801 the Virginian John Marshall became chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; he served for more than thirty years. Marshall established judicial review, the right of the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress (*Marbury v. Madison*, 1803). He also established the right of the Court to review and overrule decisions of state courts, including the supreme court of his home state. For example, in *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816), the U.S. Supreme Court overruled a Virginia supreme court decision that had allowed the confiscation of a Loyalist's property.

Beginning in 1800, Virginia's Democrat Republican leaders in Richmond established a statewide party organization. The party leaders came to be called the Richmond Junto because of their political effectiveness. The junto supported many successful candidates for seats in the state legislature and the U.S. Congress. The group also invariably persuaded Virginia voters to back the Democratic Republican candidate for president. However, Virginia's influence on national affairs began to decline with the election in 1825 of a non-Virginian to the U.S. presidency.

During the opening decades of the nineteenth century, Virginia's economy stagnated as tobacco prices languished. Planters, however, continued to control the state government, and they resisted change, including the construction of internal improvements that was sought by westerners. Capital that might have been used in businesses other than raising staple crops remained tied up in land and slaves. Additionally, the failure of Jefferson's plan for public education denied the poor an important avenue for economic advancement. Virginia's population began to fall in relation to the rest of the nation as thousands of citizens left to pursue opportunity elsewhere. By 1830 a series of economic depressions had left Virginia with only one reliably profitable export commodity—slaves—and with an underclass of struggling, poverty-stricken farm laborers.

*See also* **Alien and Sedition Acts; Chesapeake Region; Constitution, Ratification of; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Emancipation and Manumission; Federalist Party; Immigration and Immigrants; Jefferson, Thomas; Law: Slavery Law; Madison, James;** *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*; **Norfolk; Presidency, The; Proclamation of 1763;**

**Richmond; States' Rights; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Billings, Warren M., John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate. *Colonial Virginia: A History.* White Plains, N.Y.: KTO, 1986.

Hardwick, Kevin R., and Warren R. Hofstra, eds. *Virginia Reconsidered: New Histories of the Old Dominion.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

McColley, Robert. *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964.

Rubin, Louis D., Jr. *Virginia: A Bicentennial History.* New York: Norton, 1977.

Schwarz, Philip J. *Slave Laws in Virginia.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Sutton, Robert P. *Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989.

Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies.* New York: Viking, 2001.

*Roberta Wiener*

**VIRGINIA STATUTE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM** When the Virginia General Assembly enacted the Statute for Religious Freedom on 16 January 1786, it was the most comprehensive statement on religious freedom in the new American nation. Thomas Jefferson had originally drafted this measure during the Revolution as part of a general revision of Virginia's laws. It comprised three sections. The preamble provided a long and eloquent argument for the absolute right of religious conscience. It defined religion as a matter of opinion that could properly be formed only by reason and persuasion. No legislature or magistrate, therefore, had any legitimate authority to establish or compel religious belief or to require people to contribute to it. Jefferson concluded the preamble with a ringing affirmation that the human mind set free would ultimately discover the truth for itself. Then came a brief enabling clause that forbade any restraint on conscience, guaranteed complete free exercise of religion, and declared religion irrelevant to one's civil rights. The final section stated that religious freedom was a matter of natural rights, and that any future legislature which revoked or limited the freedom inherent in the statute would violate those rights.

Jefferson's statute was first introduced in the legislature as part of the revised law code on 12 June 1779, but consideration of it was postponed. Later that year the assembly considered another measure that would have effectively established Christianity as the state religion. That, too, was tabled, but religion was revived as a major concern when the war ended in 1783. Some definitive settlement was needed. During the colonial period, the Church of England had been established in the Old Dominion. Public taxation and grants of public lands had supported its clergy, colonial law had required attendance at its services, and lay vestries in the parishes had managed both civil and religious affairs. Dissenters from the established church, mainly Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, had enjoyed only limited toleration. The sixteenth article of the Virginia Bill of Rights, approved by the Revolutionary Virginia convention in June 1776, had acknowledged the right to "free exercise of religion" but failed to appreciate the implications of that right. The following autumn, the new state legislature did not disestablish the church, nor did it remove all restrictions on other religious groups. The only major change during the Revolution was the decision to end religious taxes.

By the time peace came the established church, newly renamed the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, was in desperate financial and organizational straits. A clergy convention in June 1784 petitioned the legislature for an act of incorporation so that it could manage church affairs. The following fall the General Assembly did just that. Meanwhile, Patrick Henry proposed a general assessment bill to support "Teachers of the Christian Religion" that would allow each person to designate the clergyman or religious body that would receive the tax money. With Jefferson serving as American minister to France, James Madison led the anti–assessment forces. Before Henry's measure could pass, he maneuvered the election of Henry into the governor's seat and out of the legislature. He then persuaded the assembly to postpone the assessment bill until the people could be consulted.

In the spring and summer of 1785 a massive petition campaign swept Virginia. Madison drew up his Memorial and Remonstrance against the assessment and it was widely circulated. But for every person who signed Madison's protest, ten others signed explicitly religious petitions (petitions that expressed a predominately religious [ecclesial, scriptural] set of arguments), principally the work of Baptists and Presbyterians, that also opposed the assessment. To those who had been labeled dissenters, the incorporation of the Episcopal Church appeared as a sign of renewed legislative favor for what had been an oppressive colonial establishment. Now the assessment seemed deliberately designed to enable that church to revive. Their petitions asked that religion be made entirely voluntary. When the assembly met in the autumn of 1785, the petitions to the legislature overwhelmingly opposed the assessment. The assessment bill was never even considered. Instead, Madison brought forward Jefferson's statute and, after minor revisions to the preamble, it became law in January. In 1787 the assembly voided the incorporation act and in 1799 it repealed all laws concerning religion except Jefferson's statute, which it made the sole basis for interpreting the state's bill of rights and constitution. At the state's next constitutional convention in 1829–1830, Jefferson's work was formally incorporated into Virginia's constitution.

The Virginia statute provided for complete religious freedom in Virginia. It also served as a major impetus for the passage of the religion clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and as an important reference for that amendment's subsequent interpretation by the U.S. Supreme Court. Jefferson was so pleased with his accomplishment that he ordered his authorship inscribed on his tombstone.

*See also* **Bill of Rights; Disestablishment; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Tests for Officeholding.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Buckley, Thomas E. *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977.

Dreisbach, Daniel L. "A New Perspective on Jefferson's Views on Church–State Relations: The Virginia Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom in Its Legislative Context." *American Journal of Legal History* 35 (1991): 172–204.

Miller, William Lee. *The First Liberty: Religion and the American Republic.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Peterson, Merrill D., and Robert C. Vaughan, eds. *The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom: Its Evolution and Consequences in American History.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

*Thomas E. Buckley*

# VOLUNTARY AND CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS

Voluntary associations are groups of people who organize themselves into bodies of a quasi-

parliamentary character in which the members elect the leaders and vote democratically to adopt resolutions and take actions. They were rare in the colonial era although tolerated in the case of dissenting churches and encouraged when they provided charitable services and mutual aid. Still, many lacked official sanction and their legality was seriously questioned during the Revolutionary period. Despite the notoriety of political clubs in the 1790s, voluntary associations would gain legitimacy, particularly after 1800. By 1829 thousands of voluntary associations were performing a variety of benevolent, missionary, and reform services in all the states.

### COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

The most common voluntary associations were churches, although most colonies supported an established church with taxes. Boston had a neighborhood association to fight fires, which became the model for similar clubs in other cities. A small number of mutual aid societies, the most predominant being the Freemasonry lodges, began forming in the 1730s and 1740s and were largely composed of local elites. Mutual aid societies kept common treasuries to which members paid a yearly subscription and from which they could draw during emergencies; these also performed a certain amount of charity work.

Benjamin Franklin became an active organizer of various kinds of voluntary societies in Philadelphia. He established a self-improvement society called the Junto in 1726; the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1731; the Academy of Philadelphia, which opened on 7 January 1750; a hospital in 1751; and America's first fire insurance company, which he called the Philadelphia Contributorship, in 1752. His most ambitious undertaking was to organize in 1747 a voluntary militia for Pennsylvania's defense during the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War (1744–1748), when the Quaker leaders of the colony refused to do so.

After passage of the Stamp Act (1765), radical colonists organized voluntary associations to protest royal policy. In Boston they called themselves the Loyal Nine, and the New York City organization adopted the name Sons of Liberty. These societies worked to direct popular action, and many communicated with each other in order to coordinate resistance. Beginning in 1772, towns in the Massachusetts interior held regular conventions of the people and formed militia units and committees of correspondence to keep in touch with events across the colonies. These societies were all extralegal in the sense that no British authority—neither the colonial governor, privy council, nor Parliament—had given these groups sanction. Loyalists denounced them as dangerous usurpations of legitimate authority.

### POLITICAL CLUBS IN THE 1790s

With the close of the Revolutionary War, leaders were ambivalent about the existence of voluntary associations in a republican government. Many of the leaders were Freemasons, and they supported the spread of organized Freemasonry as a movement designed to inculcate virtue in its members and to benefit the community. Freemasons pledged themselves to mutual aid and kept a common treasury out of which members could draw in times of crisis. They kept their proceedings and practices secret, and this would raise suspicion by the 1830s that the lodges were undemocratic. General Henry Knox (1750–1806) first suggested that the officers of the Continental Army form the Order of the Cincinnati in 1783. The society established a fund for the support of widows and the indigent, but the fact that membership was restricted to Revolutionary War officers and their male heirs raised charges of aristocratic pretension.

Mutual aid societies became more numerous in the 1790s. The Society of the Sons of St. George was formed in 1788 specifically to help English immigrants adjust to life in America and provide monetary relief when necessary. The Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland founded in 1793 expressed a greater social mission by providing legal and medical services in addition to a common treasury.

While mutual aid societies were generally applauded, others saw a danger in what they regarded as an organized substrata of government unauthorized by legislatures. This was particularly acute when people voluntarily associated for political purposes. After the outbreak of war between France and Britain in 1793, pro-French partisans and British refugees formed at least forty political clubs, variously calling themselves "democratic" or "republican" and modeled primarily after the Revolutionary committees of correspondence and the Jacobin clubs of France. They publicly denounced the Washington administration's policy of neutrality and criticized other aspects of the government. In his address to both houses of Congress on 19 November 1794, George Washington blamed the Whiskey Rebellion of the summer of 1794 in part on "certain self-created societies" that had condemned the excise on whiskey.

Washington's anger did little to curb the people's enthusiasm for voluntary association. During the presidential election of 1800, independent political clubs published newspapers and pamphlets advocating either the Democratic Republican or Federalist candidates, although neither side's efforts were centrally managed. Many of these clubs organized preelection and postelection celebrations and processions that served, as David Waldstreicher has argued in his *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes* (1997), to create sympathetic and ideological connections across partisan communities.

**OTHER EARLY REPUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS**

The Democratic Republicans not only achieved the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, but also returned majorities in both houses of Congress. In office, they both expanded the size of the nation with the Louisiana Purchase of 30 April 1803 and limited the growth of the national government by repealing direct taxes, retiring much of the debt, and reversing the Federalist expansion of the U.S. judiciary. As Americans rapidly settled the western territories, they formed voluntary associations to create churches, schools, libraries, and lyceums and to fulfill other needs left unattended by the absence of an energetic central government.

Voluntary associations did not appear only on the frontier; they expanded across the oldest settled regions of the United States as well. Independent of any central mandate, the number of voluntary associations in New England to provide mutual aid, promote religion, and support benevolent causes jumped from under one hundred in 1772 to nearly fifteen hundred by 1817. Over one thousand of these were established after 1808. These societies often wrote and published their constitutions and also passed resolutions advertising their public services in the community newspapers. In *Inheriting the Revolution* (2000), Joyce Appleby has argued that the generation born after the Revolutionary War used the form of the voluntary association both to provide for self-government and as an ideological tool to unite communities, and by extension, a diverse nation.

Excluded from the mutual aid societies and political clubs that marked the voluntary associations of the 1790s, women became prime organizers and members of benevolent and missionary societies after 1800, including the first organizations that provided charity on a routine rather than a piecemeal basis. Among others, they founded orphan asylums, societies for the care of elderly widows, and other homes for chronic care.

Both women and men were active in founding missionary and reform associations, and hundreds were formed after 1800. These societies sought variously to introduce Christianity to Native Americans, revive interest in religion, campaign for the revival of laws enforcing observance of the Sabbath. Antislavery societies sprung up in both the North and the South, petitioning Congress for an end to the slave trade and publishing pamphlets in support of the abolition of slavery. The first national organization advocating the gradual abolition of slavery was the American Colonization Society, founded in 1816. It operated on both a national and branch level and advocated compensated emancipation of slaves and the transporting of all blacks to Africa.

One of the largest reform efforts in the early Republic targeted alcohol use. Churches in the early Republic despaired about increased use of alcohol and many demanded of their members that they abstain from drinking altogether. In 1826 a group of men founded the American Temperance Society, whose goal was the complete abstention of its members from alcohol. The Society used aggressive evangelical tactics, sending its members out on the lecture circuit to distribute temperance tracts and convince social drinkers to "pledge" to give up booze forever. It spawned thousands of local chapters and by 1834 boasted over a million and a quarter members, both men and women, across America.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; Benevolent Associations; Fires and Firefighting; Freemasons; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Patriotic Societies; Reform, Social; Society of the Cincinnati; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Women: Female Reform Society and Reformers; Women: Women's Voluntary Associations.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2000.

Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women in Antebellum Reform.* Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2000.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wright, Conrad Edick. *The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

*H. Robert Baker*

**VOTING** The right to vote forms the basis of the democratic ideal. For the individual, it symbolizes the fundamental requisite of citizenship; for the polity, it provides legitimacy without which governing institutions in a democratic society could not function. Voting is thus the currency of the social contract formed between the government and the governed in any democratic nation. When individuals vote, they tacitly consent to be governed by those who win elections—no matter for whom they vote. When individuals are granted the right to vote, the democratic nation reaffirms the compact with its citizenry to remain a government—in the words of Lincoln—"of the people, by the people, and for the people."

An analysis of voting rights in the United States from the late colonial period through the early decades of the nineteenth century reveals a good deal about the limited nature of democracy in the United States at that time, about existing concepts of citizenship and who counted as one of "the people," and about the social contract formed by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution that lie at the basis of America's liberal system of government. Ultimately, however, a look at voting rights during these formative years tells the United States how far it has come to make good on the promise of the democratic ideal of inclusion and participation.

Throughout the colonial period, British-style class hierarchies dominated the concepts of political rights and voting. To be sure, each colony had leeway in crafting its own sets of laws and regulations, but the one outstanding requirement for the franchise across the thirteen colonies consisted in some form of landed property qualification. This requirement essentially disenfranchised all servants and laborers. The first colony to put in place a property qualification for voting was Connecticut in 1715; Delaware followed in 1734. Later in the eighteenth century, a handful of the colonies began to relax these laws—mostly to sustain the support of lower-class Englishmen. These changes usually occurred in the more populous colonies. On the eve of the Revolution, however, only five colonies had lowered personal property requirements as well as landowning requirements. Furthermore, throughout the colonial period, and throughout the colonies themselves, laws were constructed to reinforce the notion that "citizenship" in America really meant "British citizenship." For example, in 1762 Virginia passed a statute denying the right to vote to free blacks, mulattoes, women, minors (under twenty-one), Native Americans, and non-Protestants—especially Catholics, who were specifically banned.

The Revolutionary War swept away the shackles of the British Crown, but not necessarily the property qualifications for voting. The universal equality Thomas Jefferson so eloquently referred to in the Declaration of Independence extended only so far. And yet some states were less restrictive than others. In its state constitution of 1777, Georgia allowed any white male to vote who had lived in the state for six months and who "possessed in his own right of 10 pounds value, and liable to pay tax in the state, or being of any mechanic trade." The year before, Maryland had declared any "freeman" eligible to vote if he owned fifty acres of property above the value of thirty pounds. He also had to have been in the country for more than one year. In 1784 New Hampshire permitted any male to cast a ballot who paid a poll tax at the time of voting. By contrast, in 1778 South Carolina barred anyone from voting who was not a white male, who had not been in the state for at least a year, and who either did not own fifty acres of land for six months or was not eligible to pay a tax at least six months before the election. During the Revolutionary era, only four states did not disenfranchise women by state statute or constitutional provision: Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. Of these, only New Jersey explicitly allowed women to vote, but just until 1807.

### THE CONSTITUTION
In 1787 the federal Constitution was written. It consolidated power in the national government and created a federalist system in which two sovereign entities—the national government and the state governments—acted upon the citizen, sometimes simultaneously, and at times even ambiguously. For example, it took more than a century after the ratification of the Constitution for the courts to settle the question of whether the Bill of Rights actually applied to the state governments (what is known in jurisprudence as "dual citizenship"). Yet, nowhere are these ambiguities clearer than in the area of voting rights. To be sure, the original document is almost totally silent on some of the fundamental questions of voting rights—who has them, who does not, who should have them, who should not, and so on. Article I, section 2 states that "the House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature." Thus, while the "people" in

each state have the right to elect their representatives to Congress, it remains up to the states to determine who the "people" are. Issues such as race, gender, and age are left unaddressed, and would remain unaddressed until the ratification of, respectively, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-sixth Amendments.

Article I, section 3 states: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote." Not until the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913 did "the people" have the right to directly elect their senators. This task had previously been left to the state legislatures who, once again, were elected by "the people" as determined by state law. As early as the 1820s, however, individuals running for the U.S. Senate were campaigning amongst the "people" in their states, imploring them to elect as state lawmakers only those who would in turn elect them to Senate.

Finally, and perhaps best known, the president of the United States was originally chosen through the electoral college, a group of individuals who were chosen, as stated in Article II, section 1, by each state "in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." In the early national period, the state legislatures chose the electors directly; over time, state after state changed its laws so that the presidential candidate receiving the most popular votes in the state would receive all the electoral votes of the state. (At the turn of the twenty-first century, only Maine and Nebraska do not have this winner-take-all system.)

This brief review of how the Constitution dealt—or did not deal—with the voting rights of American citizens is significant because to a large extent it left the status quo in place: After the ratification of the Constitution, it was still left to the states to determine who was eligible to vote in all elections—state and federal. A person qualified to vote for the House of Representatives in one state might not be qualified to vote for the same office in a different state simply because the qualifications for voting were different from state to state.

### RACE AND SUFFRAGE REQUIREMENTS

In fact, the qualifications varied markedly from state to state. And yet, as the eighteenth century closed and the nineteenth century commenced, a set of patterns began to emerge across the country, cutting across state lines. First, state after state began to drop the property qualifications for voting as they had applied to the largely white male electorate. Vermont

**States Restricting the Franchise to White Males**

| State | Year Enacted |
|---|---|
| Virginia | 1762 |
| Georgia | 1777 |
| South Carolina | 1790 |
| Delaware | 1792 |
| Kentucky | 1799 |
| Maryland | 1801 |
| Ohio | 1803 |
| New Jersey | 1807 |
| Louisiana | 1812 |
| Indiana | 1816 |
| Mississippi | 1817 |
| Illinois and Connecticut | 1818 |
| Alabama | 1819 |
| Missouri | 1821 |
| Tennessee | 1834 |
| North Carolina | 1835 |
| Arkansas | 1836 |
| Michigan | 1837 |
| Pennsylvania | 1838 |
| Florida and Texas | 1845 |
| Iowa | 1846 |
| California | 1850 |
| Minnesota | 1858 |
| Oregon | 1859 |
| Kansas | 1861 |
| West Virginia | 1863 |

dropped its qualification in 1786, five years before statehood. Kentucky followed in 1792, the year it attained statehood. Maryland followed shortly thereafter. As the nineteenth century progressed, most states decided to follow suit. By 1855, only three states had some form of property qualification for voting: New York, Rhode Island, and South Carolina. In 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, South Carolina finally dropped its property qualification, the last state to do so.

At the same time property qualifications were being lowered, however, another pattern emerged: racial barriers to voting were put in place by state legislatures in all regions of the country. Table 1 reveals the states restricting the franchise to white males along with the years that they were enacted.

In a constitutional amendment of 1821, New York allowed black males to vote, provided they had $250 worth of property. Only four states did not disenfranchise blacks throughout this period: Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Rhode Island disenfranchised blacks in 1822 and then reenfranchised them in the wake of the Dorr War in 1842, primarily because a black militia patrolled the streets of Providence during the insurrection, thus

proving their loyalty. The Law and Order Party rewarded blacks by granting them the right to vote after the rebellion was quashed.

Once again it should be emphasized that these two developments—the move toward universal white male suffrage on the one hand, and the racial restriction on suffrage on the other—happened state by state over the course of the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The national government played no role in these developments. Given the way in which these two developments unfolded during this period, what explanations can be offered?

Three different but related factors can be identified in seeking to understand how voting rights changed in this period. While all revolve around the issue of slavery and race, the first is economic in nature, the second is political, and the third is ideological.

From 1790 to 1820, the size of the country increased by two and one-half times. Landless white immigrants flooded to the United States in this thirty-year stretch. Slavery was proliferating in the South while blacks were being freed through gradual manumission in the North. At the same time, there was a small but significant free black population in the South. Blacks and poor whites began to compete at the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the North and parts of the South. The economic competition bred racial conflict.

Landless whites began to push for changes in voting laws across the states. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, political leaders saw the potential of this new stream of voters into the electorate and took advantage of it. Democratic Republican leaders like Martin Van Buren in New York pushed vigorously for the lowering of the property requirements in their home states. Many scholars have looked to Van Buren as one of the architects of Jacksonian democracy, built upon a white working-class ideology and fueled by the sustained electoral mobilization of landless white male voters. In 1824, about 365,000 votes were cast for president. Four years later, that figure tripled. Politicians—mainly Jacksonian Democrats—seeking to build a solid political party base saw the enormous potential of universal white male suffrage and moved on it.

But in order for them to do so, two things had to occur: first, a wedge had to be placed between poor whites and poor blacks. The economic conflict mentioned above was a natural starting point. Second, there had to be a justification for disenfranchising blacks and relegating them to second-class citizenship. Here the ideological component becomes vital.

It is no coincidence that, at the very moment poor white males were granted the vote and black males were disenfranchised, the "science" of white supremacy emerged. Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny* (1981) speaks eloquently to this movement. In order to justify slavery in the South and deny blacks the rights of citizenship in the North, whites had to make the case that blacks were inferior and that the United States should be a "white republic." This sentiment reached its apex when Chief Justice Roger Taney declared in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) that blacks were never considered citizens of the United States because they were an inherently inferior race.

In many ways, then, the expansion of voting rights for white men and the contraction of voting rights for black men have their origins in the same movement. That movement was the creation of mass-based political parties and the advent of Jacksonian democracy.

*See also* **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Democratization.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bartley, Numan V., and Hugh D. Graham. *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Black, Earl. *Politics and Society in the South.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987.

———. *The Vital South: How Presidents Are Elected.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Borden, Morton. *Parties and Politics in the Early Republic, 1789–1815.* New York: Crowell, 1967.

Carrol, Peter N., and David W. Noble. *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States.* New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

Dawson, Michael C. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Glaser, James M. *Race, Campaign Politics, and the Realignment in the South.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Keyssar, Alexander. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States.* New York: Basic Books, 2000.

Smith, Rogers. *Civil Ideals: Conflicting Visions of American Citizenship in U.S. History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

*Christopher Malone*

**WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD**   In 1754 the thirteen colonies belonged to Britain. By 1829 they were the core of an independent nation becoming a burgeoning power in the Atlantic world. The United States' capacity to impose its will beyond its borders had become manifest. From 1754 to 1829, this transformation occurred in four periods.

### 1754–1776

By 1754 the thirteen colonies had experienced decades of cooperation with Britain. During the eighteenth century Britain taxed, borrowed money, and waged war in unprecedented fashion. As it did so, the colonies helped to extend the British Empire. In 1754 war again erupted in North America between Britain and France, and the colonists contributed to the imperial war effort as never before. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) ended with utter French defeat. Anglo-American cooperation allowed Britain to achieve mastery in North America. The skillful diplomacy of William Pitt, the first minister of Parliament and, after the king, the most significant representative of the British Empire, fostered this cooperation. Pitt's successes demonstrate the great "what could have been" in the relations between Britain and the colonies.

In 1757 Pitt realized that it was impossible to render the colonists—most of them independent landowning heads of household or members of such households, at a distance from Britain of three thousand miles—obedient inside their colonies. Such independence was rare in Europe, where webs of dependencies shaped society and ordered people in relations of superiority and subordination. Unlike Europeans, Americans had to be convinced to voluntarily cooperate.

Pitt accepted the limits of his (and Britain's) coercive power, and despite those limits, forged a mutually beneficial connection between the colonies and Great Britain. His achievements show that skillful diplomacy might have prevented the American Revolution. Pitt wanted the colonists to help pay for the war. He knew that the colonists jealously guarded their colonial assemblies, the only bodies that they believed should tax them. Thus he announced that he would not tax the colonies but instead asked the assemblies to tax themselves. He then set aside £200,000 and pledged to return a proportion of about one-third of a pound in gold and silver for every pound of voluntary taxation. After 1758 the colonies eagerly taxed themselves at record levels and so turned the tide of the war. Between 1758 and 1761 the colonists taxed themselves above the levels Parliament demanded after 1763. The conflict that

led to war by 1776 began in 1764 with Parliament's insistence that it could tax the colonies. Pitt showed that the colonists would pay voluntarily if Parliament respected their assemblies.

After 1763 the ministers who followed Pitt replaced his cooperative diplomacy with coercion, precipitating the greatest failure of diplomacy in the period. In 1763 the affection colonists felt for Britain had never been greater; by 1776 it was gone, and the new United States fought the most powerful country in the world. The war necessitated diplomacy with Britain's enemies, particularly France. This situation had been unimaginable just thirteen years earlier, and Pitt's successes—assuming continuing high levels of subsidies—suggest that it need never have arisen.

### 1776–1789

The American Revolution established two principal themes that shaped war and diplomacy from 1776 to 1829. First, the war showed how difficult it would be for the United States to project power and influence beyond its borders. Second, it showed that, to survive, the nation would have to participate in a dangerous, triangular relationship with Britain and France. At times, after 1776, Spain too forced the United States into difficult diplomacy, but it never managed to pose the threats to American foreign policy that Britain and France did.

The fighting after 1776 showed that the British armed forces could control whatever part of the Atlantic world they cared about most. Before 1778 it was the U.S. coast, particularly New York and Philadelphia. Both fell to the British in the first two years of fighting. British naval supremacy meant that the United States would have difficulty asserting its sovereignty, especially on the oceans. This weakness demanded allies and led the United States to enact what became known as the "model treaty" with France in 1776 and to forge a formal alliance with that nation in 1778. The model treaty, the work of John Adams, showed that despite the danger of the triangular relationship, the United States was determined to observe the codes of international law. The treaty was a commercial agreement that gave France special status but that maintained the dictum of the law of the seas that free ships made for free goods. This dictum, which became the cornerstone of U.S. commercial policy and diplomacy until 1829, meant that the United States reserved the right to free trade with any nation, excluding trade in contraband.

The 1778 alliance forced Britain to rethink its priorities because the French navy could now threaten the British West Indies. The British proved unwilling to jeopardize their sugar islands. Transferring resources to the Indies meant that, though the fighting was protracted, after 1778 independence was highly probable. Britain could not defeat France, Spain, and its former colonies. With the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the United States claimed all the land south of Canada, north of New Spain, and east of the Mississippi River.

Yet the two realities emerging from the Revolution—the difficulty of projecting power and the need to maneuver between Britain and France—had not changed. During the 1780s the United States sought to consolidate its independence while Britain attempted to reduce it to neocolonial dependency. These incompatible agendas made for difficult diplomacy. Britain out-manufactured the United States and exported cheap, high-quality goods, causing ruinous harm to American craftsmen. Britain's goal was to keep the United States a simple producer of agriculture, a society dependent on Britain. During the 1780s Britain closed off the West Indies, making any access to what had been the colonies' principal market either strictly temporary or illegal. British hostility forced the United States to find new partners in diplomacy. Though the alliance with France remained significant, the United States also sought diplomatic relations with Spain.

The most revealing example of U.S.-Spanish relations was the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty of 1786, which the Articles of Confederation government ultimately rejected. Desperate to promote foreign trade, John Jay agreed to Spanish control of the Mississippi River for thirty years in exchange for access to Spanish markets. Had the United States accepted the terms, Westerners would no longer have been able to use the Mississippi River to get to market. The extraordinary terms Spain felt comfortable demanding, reminded Americans that independence was hollow if the nation had to give up so much to make its way in the world. The 1780s were years of economic depression and uncertainty. Given the weakness of the new nation, diplomats could do little to improve the situation.

### 1789–1815

The diplomatic problems of the 1780s prompted the ratification of the Constitution and the formation of a stronger national government. President George Washington's inauguration signaled a new era in the nation's affairs. This early national period soon produced new diplomatic complexities and ended with a second war with Britain. The years 1789 to 1815

were dominated by the French Revolution and the wars that followed; throughout the period, the United States needed to maintain its difficult relationships with France and Britain. Also significant for future diplomacy was the Constitution's declaration that the slave trade could become illegal in 1808. After 1815 this abolition would have a major impact on American diplomacy.

Before 1793 Americans were preoccupied with domestic concerns. In Europe war returned in 1792 as revolutionary France fought Britain. By 1794 the seas were again unsafe, both belligerents sought to prevent the United States from dealing with the other, and Americans divided over whether to support Britain or France. This division reinforced the growing rift between the Federalist Party and the Jeffersonian Republican opposition.

The Federalists, led by Washington and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, sought order and stability and viewed France as the graver threat. In 1793 the Federalists moved the nation closer to Britain, an effort that culminated in 1794 with Jay's Treaty, which partly vitiated the 1778 alliance with France. The treaty created a close commercial relationship with Britain and, at the very least, suggested that the United States favored Britain over France. The treaty intensified the divisions within the United States caused by disagreements about the desirability of Hamilton's economic and financial programs. Jay was so hated that he joked he could travel at night illuminated by his burning effigy.

Debate over whether to support Britain or France continued to be connected to domestic disagreements between Federalists and Republicans. Federalist John Adams's presidential election in 1796 did not temper this conflict, and by 1797 France waged undeclared war against the United States. Most Federalists felt the United States should declare war on France and forge a military alliance with Britain. Instead, Adams tried diplomacy, insisting that France honor the international law dictum that free ships made for free goods. The United States was an independent nation; thus France violated its rights under international law when it attacked ships that peacefully and lawfully traded with Britain. Unfortunately, in the XYZ affair Adams's negotiators were treated so contemptuously by the French that war appeared inevitable. Yet by 1798 it was clear that Britain preyed on American ships at least as much as did France. In addition, Adams distrusted the extreme war voices in his own party. With an election looming, Adams honorably refused to call for a war he might not be around to fight.

In one of the closest elections in the nation's history, Thomas Jefferson defeated Adams in 1800. The Federalists were swept from power and never regained it. Though the major diplomatic issues remained, the new administration had a different perspective. The differences began with domestic policy, which was intimately connected to foreign policy. The Republicans rejected the Federalist plan to create a powerful national state on the European model and a dynamic economy based on high finance and manufacturing, associating such policies with dependence, inequality, and loss of liberty. The Republicans sought a society of independent farms that could spread west and replicate a simpler, more egalitarian and republican, social order.

Building this "empire of liberty" shaped foreign policy during Jefferson's years as president (1801–1809) and during those of his successor James Madison (1809–1817). Both presidents envisioned a nation of farmers producing agricultural surpluses. This foundation for a republican society necessitated worldwide free trade and full U.S. access to foreign markets because farmers could not sell their surpluses domestically to each other.

Free trade was the raison d'être of Jefferson's diplomacy, with the free ships–free goods dictum at the core of his foreign policy. A nation of republican commercial farmers required complete access to foreign markets and land to farm. In the most stunning achievement of his presidency, Jefferson secured that land in 1803 by purchasing the Louisiana territory from Napoleon. For $15 million, the United States added 828,000 square miles to the nation—a price of roughly 3 cents per acre. Jefferson now had his nation of farmers, but could he use diplomacy to secure foreign markets for their wares?

It proved difficult. By 1805 war between Britain and France engulfed the Western Hemisphere. Both nations sought to deny the other any advantage, particularly access to American agriculture. After 1805 Napoleon, with his Berlin and Milan Decrees, and the British, with their orders-in-council, declared that the Americans could not trade with the other. Thus there was no free trade, and the Republicans had to worry about idle farmers and failing farms.

In 1808 and 1809 Jefferson and Madison responded with forceful diplomacy that stopped short of war. The Republicans enacted a two-year embargo that prevented virtually all commerce. They reasoned that the United States produced agricultural necessities that war-ravaged Europe needed, but Europeans exported luxuries that Americans could temporarily live without. With peaceful coercion,

Britain and France would accede to American demands that they honor international law and especially the free ships–free goods dictum. Commercial coercion and diplomacy would eradicate the need for war. This plan might have worked had Britain and France been less desperate to defeat each other. But by 1810 the situation had not changed, and Madison understood that he could not again suspend foreign commerce. The only option left seemed to be war, though Republicans had believed that an agrarian republic would never have to fight one.

War came in 1812. From the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, the United States fought Britain until 1815. The war clarified several things, resolved some concerns, and introduced new ones. The war demonstrated that the United States was a regional power and possibly more. The war also emphasized Britain's continued dominance on the oceans and its ability to hamper U.S. pursuit of its sovereign rights beyond its borders. After 1815 the nation's leaders turned inward as never before. With protective tariffs and internal improvement bills, they encouraged the rapid development of the domestic economy, turning their backs, to a certain extent, on the oceans and British hegemony.

### 1815–1829

Thus by 1815 the war had clarified the nation's position. The United States was a burgeoning regional power. This new status led to the two biggest issues for diplomacy in the period from 1815 to 1829. First, the United States insisted that Europe stop interfering in the affairs of the Americas. Second, the United States decided to act on its stated opposition to the international slave trade. U.S. conduct regarding both issues continued to be influenced by the difficulty the nation had asserting its sovereignty beyond its borders.

Its new status as a regional power shaped the U.S. position on South America. By 1820 the farsighted perceived that the United States would be the dominant economic force in the Americas. During the 1820s about 15 percent of U.S. exports went to Latin America, and the United States was increasingly committed to removing the European presence from the New World. In 1822 President James Monroe (1817–1825) announced that the United States would recognize Latin American nations that gained independence. For once, U.S. and British interests coincided. After 1815 Britain sought to weaken its rival European empires and concluded that U.S. prominence in the Americas was preferable to the continued presence of France and Spain.

The British stance helped make possible the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which was the culminating statement of U.S. policy regarding the Americas. In his address, Monroe announced that Europe would no longer direct the affairs of the Americas. Henceforth, American states would be free to shape their own destinies, Monroe concluded, with the United States the likely leader and dominant partner.

British acquiescence was due in part to the impact the Monroe Doctrine had on other European empires. But also important was the hostility Britain felt for the Atlantic slave trade. The abolition movement in Britain captivated both the elite and the ordinary. Britain took the lead in challenging slavery, and no nation was more responsible after 1815 for creating the Atlantic world consensus that the slave trade should be illegal.

The United States remained committed to slavery domestically, but after 1815, with diplomacy and moral pressure, Britain convinced the United States to oppose the slave trade. Britain was able to embarrass the United States by challenging its claim to promote liberty and freedom. Indeed, as Britain became associated with abolition, the British claimed that their constitutional monarchy pursued justice more capably than did the democratic Republic. Britain suggested that limited monarchy was superior to republicanism.

Jefferson's administration had kept the Constitution's vague promise by an act of Congress declaring the slave trade illegal from 1808. But enforcement was difficult. From 1815 to 1829 all the mistrust in the Anglo–American relationship interfered with policing the slave trade. In 1824 Britain made slave trading punishable by death (though no one was ever executed) and urged the U.S. to enter into treaties of similar stringency. The constant stumbling block was that enforcement required allowing Britain to board and search U.S. vessels. For U.S. policymakers such as Monroe's Secretary of State (and president from 1825 to 1829) John Quincy Adams, such searches were reminders of the U.S. weakness beyond its borders. Since 1776 U.S. diplomacy had been a long quest for legitimacy and sovereignty, especially on the oceans. Anxiety over sovereignty prevented many meaningful anti-slave trade treaties. In 1823 the U.S. seriously considered a treaty with Britain that would have made the slave trade an act of piracy. Fears over allowing Britain to search U.S. vessels doomed the treaty. Not until 1862 did the U.S. execute a participant in the international slave trade, and between 1808 and 1850 perhaps 50,000 slaves were illegally imported into the U.S.

Still, after 1830 these illegal imports were seriously curtailed as the U.S. fully embraced the Atlantic world's anti–slave trade consensus. By 1829 U.S. diplomacy, and the U.S. itself, had matured. From 1830 U.S. diplomats bargained from a position of strength in a world that recognized both the nation's right to exist and its growing status as a world power.

*See also* **British Empire and the Atlantic World; Election of 1800; Embargo; European Responses to America; Federalist Party; French; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Hamilton, Alexander; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Monroe Doctrine; Monroe, James; Revolution: Diplomacy; Shipping Industry; Slavery: Overview; Slavery: Slave Trade, Slavery: African; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; Spanish Empire; Townshend Act; Treaty of Paris; War Hawks; War of 1812; Washington, George; XYZ Affair.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America*, 1754–1766. New York: Knopf, 2000.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 1770–1823. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic*, 1788–1800. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire*, 1783-1829. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character*, 1775–1783. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979; New York: Norton, 1981.

Sharp, James Roger. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Shy, John. *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, rev. ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Thomas, Hugh. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 1440–1870. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.

Thomas, P. D. G. *British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis: The First Phase of the American Revolution*, 1765–1767. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1975.

———. *The Townshend Duties Crisis: The Second Phase of the American Revolution*, 1767–1773. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York : Oxford University Press, 1987.

———. *Tea Party to Independence: The Third Phase of the American Revolution*, 1773–1776. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Watson, Harry L. *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic*, 1776–1787. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

*Andrew Shankman*

**WAR HAWKS**    It is one of the enduring myths of American historiography that the Twelfth Congress was dominated by a faction of "War Hawks" who seized control of national policy and pushed President James Madison into a war with Great Britain he would otherwise have avoided. Generations of historians have analyzed the speeches, correspondence, and voting records of these "War Hawks" to determine their identity and their reasons for bringing about the War of 1812. The result was a portrait of the typical "war hawk" as a young man, drawn from the rising generation and representing a frontier district whose settlers sought to expel the British from Canada, either to control hostile Indians or to annex land for future expansion.

This traditional picture cannot withstand close scrutiny. Analyses of voting patterns in the Twelfth Congress reveal that no particular Republican faction consistently pushed for war. Nor were "War Hawks" any younger than the average age of the members. It is, nevertheless, true that some Congressmen—notably Peter B. Porter, John C. Calhoun, and Felix Grundy—regularly took the lead in justifying war in 1812, but they were united not so much by age or regional background as they were by their membership on committees responsible for introducing preparedness legislation for debate. The legislation itself, though, originated with the administration, which had decided between March and July of 1811 to prepare for war with Great Britain. It was to implement this decision that President Madison summoned the Twelfth Congress into an early session in November 1811.

The "War Hawks" were not, therefore, responsible for the War of 1812. While they provided bellig-

erent rhetoric to justify that conflict, they played only an intermediary role in policymaking as advocates for measures of the Madison administration.

*See also* **War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Brown, Roger H. "The War Hawks of 1812: An Historical Myth." *Indiana Magazine of History* 40 (1964): 137–151.

Horsman, Reginald. "Who Were the War Hawks?" *Indiana Magazine of History* 40 (1964): 121–136.

Stagg, J. C. A. "James Madison and the 'Malcontents': The Political Origins of the War of 1812." *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 33 (1976): 557–585.

*J. C. A. Stagg*

**WAR OF 1812**  The War of 1812 is undoubtedly America's least known war. The average American cannot name the two participants, the United States and Great Britain, let alone discuss what prompted President James Madison and Congress to declare war on 18 June 1812. In contrast, Canadians regard the war as among the most important events in their history. The underlying reasons concerning how the War of 1812 is regarded at the start of the twenty-first century is based not only on the failures and successes of the conflict, but also on events that followed decades later. For America, the vast majority of the war was characterized by dismal failure. Not only was the nation's capital put to the torch by British forces in August 1814, but campaign after campaign was lost due to either blunder, poor military leadership, lack of supplies, or the refusal of militias to cross into Canada, the occupation of which was the one strategic objective of the United States. In the wake of the U.S. Civil War, the War of 1812 seemed a minor affair to Americans. Canadians, on the other hand, successfully defended their homeland and in the process built a strong sense of nationalism. The one saving grace for Americans was the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815, an unparalleled victory led by General Andrew Jackson that allowed the young Republic to walk away from the War of 1812 with a sense of accomplishment in an otherwise lackluster performance.

**AMERICAN GRIEVANCES**

The war's causes were rooted in the Napoleonic Wars. This European struggle between Great Britain and France was essentially a world war that bridged the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Engaged in a death struggle for supremacy, these two colossal powers embroiled their many neighbors, as well as the United States, in the conflict. The United States attempted to avoid involvement, but the lucrative trade to be had as a neutral nation enticed American shipping to brave the dangers of war. The end results were violations of neutral trade rights, illegal blockades, and extensive impressments (the seizing of sailors from American vessels to serve on foreign war ships). Both England and France engaged in these practices, though impressment was largely a British policy.

These varied maritime issues had been of concern in the 1790s but became even more problematic during and after 1803 when Britain and France disputed provisions of the 1802 Treaty of Amiens, which had ended the previous war between 1793 and 1801. Britain released a significant portion of its armed forces in the expectation that the peace would last more than a year and as a result was in a difficult position when the war resumed. Fighting for its very survival, Britain stepped up violations of neutral trade and impressments. Some of the trade violations were veiled in classic English legal tinkering. The Rule of 1756, a holdover from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), decreed that any nation failing to have a trade agreement with a nation in time of peace did not have one by virtue of a war. This essentially meant that America could not act as a neutral in the French carrying trade between its West Indian colonies and the French mainland. Americans worked around this with the 1800 *Polly* case, in which British admiralty courts determined that goods taken from French colonies and returned to America, then re-exported to France, were considered "naturalized" American goods. The British closed this loophole with the 1805 *Essex* decision, which held that all such goods must be off-loaded and must have duties paid on them in America. Much of this was legal game playing, but it was a game backed by the firepower of the British navy, and thus Americans had to play by British rules.

Further trade violations came from both France and Great Britain. In 1806 Napoleon issued the infamous Berlin Decree, which announced a blockade of the British Isles and the right to seize all British goods even when on a neutral vessel. The British responded in January 1807 with an Order in Council requiring all vessels bound for certain ports in Western Europe to stop in Britain and pay a duty. Napoleon retaliated later in the same year with the Milan Decree, in which he declared that any ship paying the British

Map: War of 1812

- Quebec
- Maine (part of MA)
- Chateaugay, 26 April 1813
- Chrysler's Farm, 11 Nov. 1813
- Lake Champlain, 11 Sep. 1814
- Plattsburg, 11 Sep. 1814
- Fort Mackinac, 17 July 1812
- York burned, 27 April 1813
- Chippewa, July 5, 1814
- VT
- NH
- NY
- Boston
- Illinois Territory
- Fort George, 27 May 1813
- Queenston Heights, 13 Oct. 1812
- Lundy's Lane, 24 July 1814
- Sackets Harbor, 28–29 May 1813
- Thames, 5 Oct. 1813
- Black Rock, 21 Dec. 1813
- MI Terr.
- Fort Erie, 3 July 1814
- CT
- MA
- Fort Detroit, 16 Aug. 1812
- Buffalo burned, 30 Dec. 1813
- RI
- River Raisin, 22 Jan. 1813
- Lake Erie, 10 Sep. 1813
- New York
- PA
- Fort Dearborn, 15 Aug. 1812
- Fort Meigs, 1–9 May, 24 July 1813
- Fort Stevenson, 2 Aug. 1813
- Pittsburgh
- NJ
- Missouri Territory
- Indiana Terr.
- Ohio
- Bladensburg, 24 Aug. 1814
- Fort McHenry, 13–14 Sep. 1814
- St. Louis
- Cincinnati
- Washington, D.C. burned 24 Aug. 1814
- DE
- MD
- Virginia
- Norfolk
- Kentucky
- ATLANTIC OCEAN
- Tennessee
- North Carolina
- Tallasahatchee, 9 Nov. 1813
- South Carolina
- Talladega, 9 Nov. 1813
- Georgia
- Charleston
- Horseshoe Bend, 27 March 1814
- Savannah
- Mississippi Territory
- Louisiana
- Fort Mims, 30 Aug. 1813
- N
- Mobile
- Pensacola, 7 Nov. 1814
- Spanish Florida
- New Orleans
- New Orleans, 8 Jan. 1815

Scale: 0 200 400 mi. / 0 200 400 km

**War of 1812**
- American/Allied victory
- British victory
- City

duty would be considered an enemy and treated as such. These varied orders and decrees resulted in the seizure of some nine hundred American ships between 1807 and 1812.

Impressments were also a major source of American dismay. On 22 June 1807 they reached an extreme when a British warship, the HMS *Leopard*, attempted to stop and ultimately fired on the USS *Chesapeake*, killing three sailors and wounding another eight. The British subsequently boarded the vessel and removed four sailors who, they claimed, were English citizens. The British did not normally violate a nation's sovereignty by impressing sailors from a war vessel, and the crown offered to pay reparations and later returned three of the four impressed sailors. Nonetheless, Americans were outraged by this affront to their liberties.

## THE ROAD TO WAR

There is little wonder why America determined that immediate action was necessary. What, however, should be done? President Thomas Jefferson believed that war was hardly an option and instead decided upon a fifteen-month embargo that shut down American ports from 22 December 1807 to 1 March 1809. The idea was to hurt Britain and France economically by refusing them American goods and thereby forcing a respect for U.S. rights. Though the embargo hurt both nations, it was not enough to alter their policies, and Jefferson was faced at home with intense hostility to the embargo, which ended just days before James Madison's inauguration.

The new president did little to change British and French policy toward America. The young Republic was merely a pawn in a much bigger chess match. Violations of trade and impressments continued
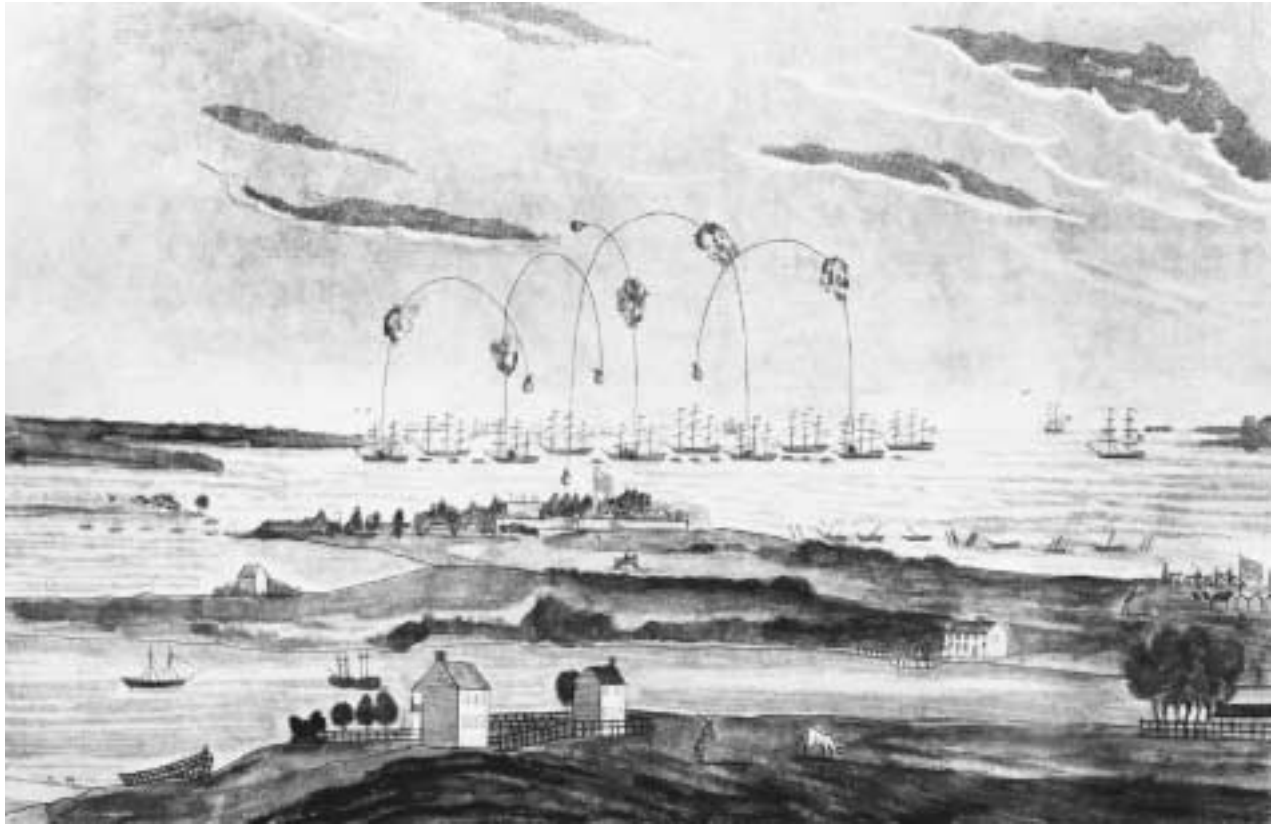
**The Attack on Fort McHenry.** An 1816 aquatint by John Bower of the bombardment of Fort McHenry in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1814. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

throughout Madison's first term, and on 16 May 1811 a new clash between an English and American ship fanned anti-British sentiment. This time, however, the recipient of the pounding was the HMS *Lille Belt.* This incident, combined with the continuation of the Orders in Council and the belief that Indian depredations on the western frontier had been encouraged by the British, caused Americans to look for satisfaction from their former mother country.

In reality, the French were as guilty of neutral trade violations and illegal blockades as were the British; however, there remained lingering hostility against the British from the Revolutionary War. Moreover, with Britain's command of the seas, it was its warships that plied the U.S. coast. Thus, the June 1812 decision to engage in war was based not only on very real violations of American sovereignty, but on an emotional animosity as well. The irony is that the British foreign secretary Lord Castlereagh had announced on 16 June, just two days prior to the American declaration of war, that the Orders in Council would be rescinded. Even when this information became known in the early days of the war, the United States was in no mood to engage in fur-

ther diplomatic dickering. The Second War for Independence, as some called it, was designed to make Britain stop treating America like a colony.

The declaration of war focused primarily on maritime issues, though historians for many years have asked a very basic question about the war's causes: If it was fought to defend maritime rights, why did the Northeast, the area most affected by violations of those rights, oppose the war so vehemently? Scholars have theorized that a number of additional factors may have been at play: western land greed and the potential conquest of Canada; an attempt to end British influence over Native Americans; Republican Party hostility to Great Britain; and preservation of national honor and a desire to prove the strength of republican institutions. It is likely that all of these factors had some influence on the American decision to engage in war, but foremost were the maritime violations.

Congressional War Hawks may have been eager for retribution, but America was no more ready to prosecute a major war in 1812 than it was in 1807, when Jefferson imposed the embargo. During the in-

tervening years the nation's leaders had done little to prepare for conflict. America had achieved success in the Revolution only through the help of France and had failed to reform a militia system that George Washington criticized on many occasions. Part of the hope, no doubt, was that British forces would be tied up in Europe fighting Napoleon, and that Americans would therefore have an easy time of it. Additionally, many wrongly believed that Canadians would quickly unfurl American flags and jump at the chance to join the Union. Nothing was further from the truth, and the reality of war hit the nation hard. The War Department was badly organized and weakly staffed, the system for the pay and supply of troops was manifestly inadequate, and the army was littered with incompetent and geriatric officers. Most troops lacked discipline and had no real military experience, and a number of militia units in the North argued that they were solely a defensive force and therefore refused to march across the border into Canada. Finally, just when the nation needed a national bank most in order to finance the war, Alexander Hamilton's embattled institution ran the course of its charter in 1811. It is doubtful that the nation could have been less prepared for war.

### THE CONFLICT

Nevertheless, Americans prepared for an offensive into Canada. The plans called for attacks all along the border. Yet in the Northwest, William Hull, fearing an Indian massacre, surrendered Fort Detroit on 16 August 1812 to a smaller British force and was later found guilty of cowardice and neglect of duty by a court martial. At the Raisin River on 22 January 1813, some three hundred Americans were killed by a superior British and Indian army. Thirty Americans who had surrendered were slaughtered by Indians after the battle. The massacre was so ghastly that Americans later attempted to excite troops by announcing, "Remember the Raisin!" Military action in the East was equally bad. Campaigns on the Niagara front at Queenston Heights (13 October 1812) and Fort Erie (27 November 1812) were also failures. The planned attack on Montreal never achieved any kind of meaningful momentum. In most of these actions militiamen refused to cross the border into Canada. William Henry Harrison had better luck in September 1813 when he defeated the British in the Battle of the Thames, in which the infamous Indian Prophet Tecumseh was killed. Though this was a victory for the United States, it was fleeting. Just two months later General James Wilkinson's attempt to capture Montreal ended unsuccessfully when his army was defeated by a smaller British force at Chrysler's Farm.

American navy sailors did far better than the army soldiers. American ships were faster and sturdier, though certainly fewer in number than the British, and U.S. sailors were second to none. On 19 August 1812 Captain Isaac Hull, commanding the USS *Constitution*, defeated the HMS *Guerrière*, and on 15 October 1812 Captain Stephen Decatur of the USS *United States* captured the HMS *Macedonian*. On 29 December the *Constitution*, this time under the command of William Bainbridge, once again vanquished a British ship, the *Java*. The American navy also performed well the following year, when victory on the Great Lakes inspired Captain Oliver Perry to utter his famous words, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." Unfortunately, the American army failed to capitalize on the navy's control of the lakes by once again botching its forays into Canada.

The American campaigns in the South were more successful. In 1813–1814 an American army engaged the Creek Indians and a little-known but tenacious general named Andrew Jackson defeated the hostile Red Sticks, known for the red clubs they carried, in several successive battles—Tallushatchee (3 November 1813), Talladega (9 November 1813), Emuckfau (22 January 1814), and Enotachopco (24 January 1814)—before virtually annihilating them at Horseshoe Bend (27 March 1814).

On the East Coast, things went badly in 1813–1814. Using their superior naval power, the British blockaded the entire seaboard south of New England. That region was at first excluded because of its opposition to the war and because it was a source of supplies for British troops in Canada. But as the war progressed New England, too, felt the wrath of British might. Also, early in 1813 British raids on Chesapeake Bay and on Hampton, Virginia, struck fear in the American countryside. By 1814 the British had the opportunity to unleash their full force on the United States. Napoleon had been defeated and a wave of battle-hardened veterans sailed across the ocean. Americans nevertheless held their own in battles on the Canadian border, such as Chippewa (5 July 1814), Lundy's Lane (25 July 1814), and Plattsburgh (11 September 1814) but the year would be noted more for its losses than gains. The Chesapeake region was once again invaded, and although Baltimore was successfully defended, inspiring Francis Scott Key to pen the words to the "Star-Spangled Banner," Washington City, the nation's capital, was put to the torch.

The highlight of the war for Americans came with a major British offensive against the Gulf Coast. Expecting to roll into New Orleans virtually unimpeded, the British army met the formidable General Jackson and were summarily slaughtered on the field. Jackson's troops sent forth such a hail of fire on 8 January 1815 that some 2,500 British troops were killed and wounded. With only 6 Americans losing their lives and another 7 wounded, the victory was remarkable and touted as the greatest moment in the young nation's military history.

Ironically, the battle actually occurred after the peace treaty, the Treaty of Ghent, had been signed on Christmas Eve 1814. Once ratified in February 1815, the treaty ended all hostilities, but it said virtually nothing about the maritime issues that had triggered the war. For the most part, those issues had disappeared with the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars. There was no longer any reason for Great Britain to harass American ships, and the U.S. delegates at Ghent, like their counterparts, simply wanted to end the conflict. Thus, matters of impressments and violations of neutral trade were swept under the rug. Some historians state that as a result, America failed in the war. Yet one could argue that standing up to Britain and not suffering utter defeat was success for a fledging Republic attempting to steer a course around monarchical giants.

The War of 1812 lasted for nearly three years and cost the United States $158 million. Total American deaths amounted to 17,000, though only 2,260 of these were combat deaths, the remainder caused by disease. Another 4,505 were wounded. The ultimate results of the war were myriad: the conflict revealed the limited nature of the Republican Party's policies and encouraged it to adopt many Federalist views; Republicans suddenly favored a national bank, internal improvements, and tariffs; the war marked the end of the first party system with the demise of the Federalist Party, which had opposed the war at every point and whose hostility culminated at the Hartford Convention in December 1814–January 1815; the war broke the Indian power in the Northwest and the South; and the Battle of New Orleans generated significant American nationalism—military, political, and economic. This nationalism, combined with their stance on the war, carried several politicians, such as John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, to national prominence. The success at New Orleans also carried Andrew Jackson to the White House in 1828.

*See also* **Army, U.S.; Creek War; Embargo; Federalist Party; Ghent, Treaty of;**

**Hartford Convention; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Impressment; Jackson, Andrew; Marines, U.S.; New Orleans, Battle of; "Star Spangled Banner;" Thames, Battle of the; War Hawks; Washington, Burning of.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coles, Harry L. *The War of 1812.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Horsman, Reginald. *The War of 1812.* New York: Knopf, 1969.

Mahon, John K. *The War of 1812.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1972.

*Matthew Warshauer*

**WASHINGTON, BURNING OF** During the War of 1812 (1812–1815), the British raid against Washington in 1814 represented the second act of a two-part drama. The first began on 27 April 1813, when U.S. forces captured the Upper Canadian capital of York (now Toronto), torched the parliament buildings and governor's residence, stole private property, and abused civilians and wounded prisoners. York's citizens demanded revenge, and to their voices were added those of other Canadians who experienced war's traumas at the hands of often-undisciplined Americans. Some retribution ensued locally when British forces burned New York settlements along the Niagara River in December 1813 after Americans had torched nearby Canadian villages. Nevertheless, the governor-in-chief of British North America, Sir George Prevost, asked that retaliation be taken to the Atlantic coast of the United States to deter further outrages.

In 1814, once the British had defeated Napoleon and reinforced North America, they expanded operations along the Atlantic seaboard to avenge the Canadians, draw U.S. forces away from the Great Lakes front, and encourage an early end to hostilities. On 19–20 August 1814, forty-five hundred men landed at Benedict, Maryland, forty-five miles from the capital. At the same time, the Royal Navy campaigned on the Patuxent River in Maryland, causing the loss of U.S. gunboats and civilian vessels, which were either seized by the invaders or destroyed by retreating defenders. At Bladensburg, Maryland, on 24 August, twenty-six hundred British regulars and sailors led by Major General Robert Ross quickly defeated a seven thousand–man American force composed

mainly of militia under Brigadier General William Winder. As the victors marched on the capital later that day, the government and most civilians fled while American authorities burned the Washington Navy Yard, with its stores and vessels, and blew up a fort at Greenleaf's Point. Some people tried to save the nation's records and treasures but abandoned much because they had waited too long to obtain the necessary vehicles. Dolley Madison emerged as something of a hero in the popular imagination by demanding that the famous portrait of George Washington in the president's mansion be destroyed or saved rather than captured before she fled the capital. A cart was found to carry it away and so the painting continues to grace today's White House.

Aside from a few shots fired against an advanced party, the British entered Washington unopposed. They set fire to government buildings, including the Treasury, the Capitol, and the President's Mansion, and took large quantities of military supplies before starting back to their ships on 25 August. The redcoats maintained comparatively good order in respect to civilians and their property, although they burned the strategically important ropewalks and sacked the office of the semiofficial newspaper, the *National Intelligencer* (as U.S. forces had destroyed the *Upper Canada Gazette* in York). As the British withdrew, lawless Americans exploited the confusion to loot their own federal capital. Meanwhile, another part of the British expedition sailed against Fort Warburton on the Potomac, but its garrison blew it up and retreated on 27 August rather than face the Royal Navy. Consequently the British seized Alexandria, Virginia, on 29 August, took vessels and goods along the river for several days, and then sailed back to sea despite dangerous waters and fire from American batteries along the way.

The raid on Washington gave satisfaction to Canadians and added humiliation to the woes of the administration of James Madison. However, his government (like that of Upper Canada) was sufficiently resilient to return to a burned capital and maintain authority through to the end of hostilities. As in York, public buildings in Washington were rebuilt shortly after the war while Anglo-American relations entered an era of cordiality, in contrast to the tensions of 1807 to 1815.

See also **First Ladies; Presidency, The: James Madison; "Star-Spangled Banner"; War of 1812.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Benn, Carl. *Historic Fort York.* Toronto: Natural Heritage/ Natural History, 1993.

Lord, Walter. *The Dawn's Early Light.* New York: Norton, 1972.

*Carl Benn*

**WASHINGTON, D.C.** The origins of Washington as the federal capital hark back to the events of 21 June 1783, when about three hundred soldiers, primarily of the Pennsylvania line, marched on the State House in Philadelphia (a venue shared by both the Confederation Congress and the Pennsylvania Assembly) demanding back pay. No blood was spilled, but the mutiny sparked the first public discussion of Congress's right to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its meeting place. Between June 1783 and January 1785, Congress was "on wheels," meeting successively at Princeton, Annapolis, and finally New York. At Princeton, Congress passed a resolution creating two seats of government, one on the Delaware River near Trenton, the other on the Potomac River near Georgetown. But regional rivalries reasserted themselves, and the dual residence plan was soon abandoned.

At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, the delegates crafted a federal district ("ten miles square"), endowing the national government with exclusive jurisdiction in all matters within its boundaries and with "like authority . . . for the erection of . . . needful buildings." The actual site of the "ten miles square" was left up to the First Federal Congress. The subsequent contest in New York over the location of the federal seat culminated in a dinner-table bargain struck on 20 June 1790 between Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. To secure northern support for the removal of the federal government to the Potomac, Jefferson and his Virginia ally James Madison, the most influential member of the First Congress, accepted Hamilton's proposal that the federal government assume the states' Revolutionary War debts. The Residence Act of 16 July 1790 confirmed the compromise, designating Philadelphia as the temporary seat until 1800. On 24 January 1791, President Washington, acting in accordance with the powers given to him by the Residence Act, announced the boundaries of the federal district. In early February, Andrew Ellicott and his free black assistant Benjamin Banneker began a preliminary survey of the district, which included Alexandria,

Georgetown, and the yet–to–be–created national seat. On 24 March, after the government purchased the land from local proprietors, Washington announced the official boundaries of the federal city as covering "all the land from Rock Creek along the [Potomac] from the Eastern Branch" (today the Anacostia River) and "so upwards to or above the Ferry including a breadth of about a mile and a half, the whole containing from three to five thousand acres."

Although Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton are credited with the compromise of 1790, as Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay so aptly put it at the time, "It is the interest of the President of the United States, that pushes the Potowmack." Washington envisaged the Potomac seat as part of a larger plan for national development. He believed that in addition to being centrally located between north and south, the "proximity of the Potowmac . . . to the Western Waters" would also help to strengthen the ties—commercial, political, and cultural—between the original thirteen states and the growing number of emigrants to the Ohio Valley. During his presidency and into his retirement, Washington maintained a consuming interest in the federal city. In early 1791 he hired Peter L'Enfant to draw up the official plan of the seat of government (a plan covering six thousand acres). It was Washington, however, who, after consulting with Jefferson, chose the site of the Capitol, the Executive Mansion, and the executive department buildings. In keeping with his vision of the federal seat as a commercial center, L'Enfant included in his plan a Washington City Canal as the terminus of a projected all–water route to the west.

Washington appointed three commissioners to oversee the building of the federal district and city, which they named "Columbia" and "Washington." Unfortunately, the commissioners soon locked horns with L'Enfant—a circumstance that resulted in his departure in early 1792. Washington subsequently induced the commissioners to employ William Thornton to design the Capitol and James Hoban to design the Executive Mansion (or President's House, as it was then known), but construction progressed slowly. There were also constant money problems. Although Washington preferred to fund the public buildings through private means, several lackluster lotteries and an ill–fated speculative venture in city lots involving his Revolutionary War ally Robert Morris forced Washington to turn to Congress in 1796. By 1800 about $500,000 had been spent, not without criticism in and out of Congress.

In November 1800, when the federal government consummated its long awaited move to the Po-

tomac, the City of Washington numbered a little over three thousand inhabitants, almost a quarter of whom were slaves and free blacks. Continuing construction on the Capitol forced senators and congressmen to share the north or senate wing; the Supreme Court took an upstairs room. Meanwhile, President John Adams and his wife, Abigail, found that the Executive Mansion "had not a single apartment finished." Abigail, attributing the lack of energy and initiative at the federal seat to the institution of slavery, remarked, "Two of our hardy N. England men could do as much work as twelve southerners." Despite its shortcomings, the national city figured prominently in the presidential and congressional politics of 1800 to 1801: the Democratic Republicans accused John Adams and the Federalists of profligate spending on public buildings, including a proposal for spending $200,000 to build a mausoleum for the late President Washington.

Thomas Jefferson, the first president to reside in the federal city during the entire length of his term, pursued a more democratic style in etiquette and protocol, doing away with the levees introduced by Washington and continued by Adams during his short stay on the Potomac. Although a firm believer in smaller government, Jefferson resisted efforts in Congress to modify Washington's plans for the public buildings. In 1803 he convinced Congress to appropriate $50,000 to renovate the Capitol and the Executive Mansion and hired Benjamin Henry Latrobe as supervisor of public buildings. Latrobe completed the House wing of the Capitol, which opened for occupancy in 1807, and commenced work on the colonnades extending from the east and west sides of the Executive Mansion. In addition to building roads, Latrobe was employed in 1804 as chief engineer in the revived Washington City Canal project, which had lain dormant since 1792.

The federal city encountered a number of challenges during the Republican administrations of Jefferson and his successor, James Madison. Congress's exclusive jurisdiction over the district left the residents of the City of Washington with no right of self–government. Responding to local demands, in 1802 Congress gave Washingtonians a charter to establish a municipal corporation, although they were still denied suffrage in national elections and representation in Congress. Washingtonians did not dare protest too much, however. Citing lack of facilities, limited amenities, and poor climate, in 1804, 1808, and 1814 there were three separate resolutions in Congress to remove the national seat of government northward. The last was a response to the British invasion of

Washington in August 1814, which resulted in the burning of the Capitol and the Executive Mansion and forced Madison to flee temporarily. Among those who opposed the move was Dolley Madison, who helped convince disgruntled congressmen to remain in Washington after the burning of the city.

The surge of national pride following the War of 1812 redounded on the City of Washington. The Capitol, reconstructed under the supervision of Latrobe and, after his departure, Charles Bulfinch, impressed even the most jaded foreign visitors. Continuing on with Washington's vision, Madison also hired Hoban to rebuild the Executive Mansion. Both the Executive Mansion and the Capitol opened for occupancy in 1817. Although reduced to living in temporary quarters, Dolley Madison continued to preside over Washington social life, offering a much needed distraction for government officials, many of whom passed lonely months away from their families in boardinghouses. Still, Monroe and his successor, John Quincy Adams, incurred criticism for behaving in a manner inconsistent with republican simplicity. Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party were swept into office in 1828, after a campaign that attacked Adams, a National Republican, for the purchase of a billiards table for the East Room of the Executive Mansion.

Yet when Jackson's delirious Democratic supporters converged on the President's House following his inauguration in March 1829, they found that the federal city was hardly the impenetrable wall of gold feared by anti-Federalists in the late 1780s. Money would flow into Washington in the form of revenues and flow back out to the states and territories via government programs. The stain of slavery in the national city no doubt discouraged private investment in the federal district. Although President Washington had hoped that growing trade would make it a magnet for northern white emigration, the fact that Washington tolerated emancipated slaves more than most southern cities made it a magnet for blacks. By the late 1820s the city's population of nearly nineteen thousand included over five thousand blacks, most of whom were freed slaves. Perhaps the abandoned Washington City Canal and the elegant Capitol best testify to the partially met dreams of the eponymous founder of the city. Many contemporaries would have agreed with the British actress Fanny Kemble that Washington was a "rambling, red brick image of futurity, where nothing *is*, but all things *are* to be" (p. 87).

*See also* **Social Life: Urban Life; War of 1812; Washington, Burning of; Washington, George; White House.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Abigail. *The Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams.* Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Boston: Little and Brown, 1848.

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Bowling, Kenneth R. *The Creation of Washington, D.C.: The Idea and Location of the American Capital.* Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1990.

Bowling, Kenneth R., and Helen E. Veit, eds. *The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Green, Constance McLaughlin. *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800–1878.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Kemble, Fanny. *The Terrific Kemble: A Victorian Self-Portrait from the Writings of Fanny Kemble.* Edited by Eleanor Ransome. London: H. Hamilton, 1978.

Madison, James. *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787.* New York: Norton, 1987.

Washington, George. *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series.* 11 vols. Edited by Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987–2002.

Young, James Sterling. *The Washington Community, 1800–1828.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

*Rubil Morales-Vazquez*

## WASHINGTON, GEORGE

**WASHINGTON, GEORGE** George Washington is rightly known as "the father of his country." No figure had a more central role during the American Revolution and early national period. Even after his death he remained the preeminent embodiment of national character. To understand the trajectory of Washington's career is to understand that of early American history.

### EARLY YEARS

Washington was born 22 February 1732, the son of a wealthy Virginia planter. He received irregular schooling from the ages of seven to fifteen. His father died when he was only eleven, and he became the ward of his half-brother Lawrence, who was married to Anne Fairfax. The Fairfax family was one of the wealthiest and most influential in early Virginia, and young Washington benefited from their patronage. Washington's early years were spent as a surveyor, a profession that kindled his enduring interest in

**George Washington.** This mezzotint, made by Charles Willson Peale in 1787, was one of numerous portraits made of Washington during his lifetime. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

western land development. Lawrence died in 1752. Washington eventually became the heir to Lawrence's estate, including Mount Vernon, which would serve as Washington's lifelong home; his inheritance made him one of the wealthiest planters in Virginia. In 1759 he added significantly to his holdings when he married the wealthy widow Martha Dandridge. The couple did not have children.

Washington spent his early life as a very successful planter. He was an assiduous caretaker of his own property, often experimenting with new farming techniques. Over time, Washington shifted his farm production from tobacco to wheat, which helped save him from the crippling debt that affected so many other Virginia planters. He served in a number of local offices as well as in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

In contrast to many other Virginians, Washington, though a slaveholder, eventually charted what was a somewhat progressive path for his time. Despite eventually having more slaves than he could productively employ and their upkeep added to his expenses, he refused to sell his slaves because he did not want to break up slave families. In his will, he stipulated that all of his slaves (with the exception of

his wife's dower slaves) were to be freed upon his wife's death.

Washington gained military experience during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). He served in a number of posts, including as British General Edward Braddock's aide-de-camp; his coolness, bravery, and resourcefulness when Braddock's force was ambushed gained him the confidence of his fellow Virginians. He was eventually appointed commander in chief of all of Virginia's troops during the conflict. After the war he resigned his commission. He retired once again to life as a planter and seemed likely to finish his life as a wealthy, respected Virginia gentleman. The looming imperial crisis would change all of that and make Washington one of the most famous figures in the Western world.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

After Washington resigned his commission during the French and Indian War, he tried to get a regular commission in the British army. If he had been successful, the course of the future nation would likely have been substantially different. His attempt reflected the common aspirations of elite provincial Americans for acceptance among the elite of British society. The unwillingness of British gentlemen to give their American cousins what Americans felt was their due helped sow resentments that eventually led people like Washington to choose the path of resistance.

Washington quickly showed himself to be an ardent Patriot. He was chosen to be a Virginia delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses and, in 1775, was chosen commander in chief of the Continental Army. His appointment was, in part, due to bargaining with the delegates from New England, who were willing to give the honor of command to a Virginian so as to tie that powerful colony firmly to the cause of Revolution, most of the burden of which New England had borne up to that point. Washington accepted the appointment and rode north to oppose the British forces that had gathered at Boston.

Washington was not a superior tactician; if judged solely by his performance on the battlefield, he was a mediocre general. He showed daring and élan with his nighttime crossing of the Delaware and his surprise attacks and victories at Trenton and Princeton, and his decisive plan to capture Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown was a model piece of strategy. But he also blundered repeatedly, most severely during the Battle of New York in 1776. He divided his force in the face of superior numbers and almost allowed his army to be trapped by the British navy. If
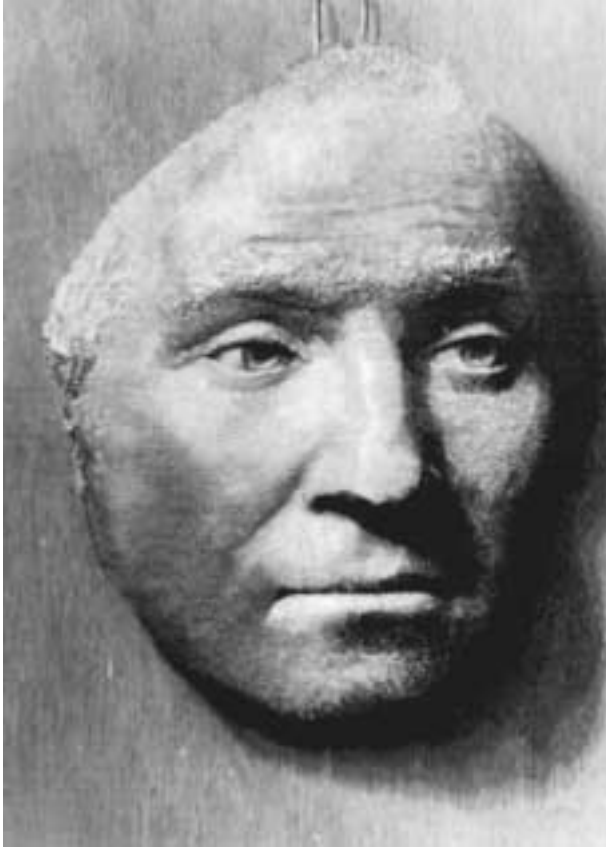
**Life Mask.** The French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon, who was commissioned to sculpt a statue of Washington, made a life mask in October 1785 by applying wet plaster directly to Washington's face. This engraved illustration of Houdon's mask appeared in the 26 February 1887, issue of *Harper's*. PICTURE HISTORY.

not for the British failure to follow up their initial victory quickly, the Continental Army would likely have been destroyed, and the Revolution might have ended before it had scarcely begun.

Washington's greatness lay not in his tactical brilliance but in his strength of character, which was largely responsible for holding the army together. As long as Washington could keep a viable army in the field, the Americans were, in some sense, winning the war. Washington did just that, despite tremendous challenges. His original recruits were raw, untrained colonials who often signed up for short enlistments, yet he managed to create a disciplined fighting force, even though his army was rarely supplied with the food and equipment it needed. It was said that, during the winter, you could follow the path of the army by the bloody footprints left by shoeless feet. The Continental Congress not only failed to supply him adequately but frequently complained about his generalship. Subordinates made at least two at-

tempts to displace him. Through his adroit management, he also managed to prevent a mutiny at the end of the war by disillusioned and discouraged officers. Despite all of these difficulties, Washington persevered and, by doing so, brought the army to eventual victory.

After the Treaty of Paris had been signed in 1783, officially ending the war, Washington rode to Annapolis, Maryland, and, appearing before the Continental Congress, resigned his commission. Echoing Cincinnatus, the Roman general who did not attempt to seize power but returned to his farm after leading his army to victory, Washington's gesture gained him immeasurable fame and admiration. That act alone increased his prestige as much as anything else he did in his lifetime.

### PRESIDENCY

Washington knew that the work of the Revolution was unfinished. His personal experiences under the Articles of Confederation convinced him that a stronger union was the only safeguard for the future of the nation. But he himself did not expect to take part in this work. After pledging to retire from public life, he did just that and returned to Mount Vernon to repair his fortunes, which had been severely damaged by the war. But the 1780s proved a turbulent and difficult time for the new nation. At the behest of several friends, Washington eventually agreed to take part in the constitutional convention at Philadelphia. When he arrived, he was quickly elected president of the proceedings. Although he played almost no part in the debates, his silent presence played an essential role in the eventual shape of the government. Everyone expected Washington to be the first president, and thus the delegates were willing to give the office powers that they would never have bestowed on another man. In addition, his prestige was essential to the eventual ratification of the Constitution. Although many were frightened by the additional powers being given to a central government only a few short years after concluding a war against another centralized power, a great many of those people trusted Washington to pursue a moderate course.

After the document was ratified, Washington was unanimously elected to the presidency and, as he traveled north to New York City, was met by cheering crowds along the way. When he arrived, he and others had to invent a new government almost from whole cloth. The Constitution is remarkable for its brevity, and many of the crucial details of governing had to be established.

**Washington at the Smithsonian.** This collection of personal items belonging to George Washington was given to the U.S. government after Washington's death. The collection was displayed at the Patent Office until 1883, when it was transferred to the Smithsonian. PICTURE HISTORY.

One of Washington's first tasks was establishing what sort of tone he would take as president. No one was certain how a chief executive should be treated in a republican government. He was not a king, but neither was he a common man. Washington eschewed some of the trappings of high office: he expressed a preference for a simple title, "Mr. President," rather than some of the elaborate titles proposed. But he limited his availability to the public to weekly receptions. He also wore a sword and rode in a carriage and four. He attempted to establish a proper sense of dignity for the office; but some began to whisper against him, seeing his actions as signs of creeping royalism.

During his two terms (1789–1797), although Washington tried to keep himself above partisan disputes, he leaned more and more heavily to the side of the Federalists, supporters of the administration who advocated a stronger central government and a more deferential society, as well as a foreign policy that favored Great Britain. He backed Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's financial plans, including the assumption of state debts and the creation of a national bank. He insisted on neutrality when war broke out between Great Britain and the newly republican France despite America's original treaty with France (1778), which had promised perpetual alliance. These actions and others earned him the enmity of the Republican Party, which had emerged in opposition to the Federalists. He found himself the butt of vicious partisan attack in the newspapers. For someone who considered himself above party, who longed for retirement, and who worried constantly about his reputation, this partisan controversy was galling.

Even after retiring to private life, Washington was called on one more time to be commander in chief of the provisional army in case of a possible war

with France, although in the end war was avoided. He died on 14 December 1799, an appropriate date for a man who was so thoroughly of the eighteenth century.

### NATIONAL SYMBOL

After his death, Washington's symbolic importance to the nation remained. Freed from the partisan bickering that had dogged his final years, he quickly became not just father to his country but a role model for its people. During his lifetime, Washington unavoidably became entangled in the nation's political divisions; but Washington as symbol served a unifying role. No one played a more important role in refashioning his character to fit the new political realities than Mason Locke Weems, an itinerant preacher and bookseller—and inventor of the story of young George Washington and the cherry tree—who wrote the astoundingly popular *Life of Washington.* Weems remade Washington as a common man who could serve as a proper role model for the nation, and this formulation provided the grounds for future generations' veneration. Throughout the history of the United States, Washington has continued to serve as a symbol for the nation and its ideals. Although his eighteenth-century manner now seems stiff and foreign to us, he remains the symbolic father of his country, the indispensable man.

*See also* **Constitutional Convention; Continental Army; Continental Congresses; Hamilton, Alexander; Revolution: Military History; Trenton, Battle of; Valley Forge; Virginia; Yorktown, Battle of.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Freeman, Douglas Southall, et al. *George Washington: A Biography.* 7 vols. New York: Scribners, 1948–1957.

Longmore, Paul K. *The Invention of George Washington.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Trees, Andrew S. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Wiencek, Henry. *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003.

Wills, Garry. *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984.

*Andrew S. Trees*

**WATERPOWER**   Despite the vivid association of steam power with the United States' manufacturing preeminence, it is waterpower that provided the foundation for the nation's industrial successes. New England's abundant waterpower sites—combined with an increasingly sophisticated understanding of how to apportion and capitalize on the power at those sites—enabled the young nation to evolve into an emerging industrial giant.

### COLONIAL BEGINNINGS

The image of the lazily turning waterwheel—a favorite image in eighteenth-century depictions of country life—belies the convergence of sophisticated technology and natural forces embodied in the watermill. The use of shafts and gearing to transmit power, the choice of site (close to a suitable drop in stream or river level, and near enough to woodland that rainwater runoff is gradually dispensed into the watercourse), and the building of other structures such as flumes, dams, and storage ponds (to sustain operability at times of lower water)—all speak to the miller's understanding of how technological elements and natural processes could interact to perform useful work. This is not to say that the integration of mills into the environment was seamless: the building of dams caused disruption of fish migrations and often caused flooding of upstream farmlands.

Waterpower technology was also enmeshed in community development. Mills were among the first structures built in a community; in fact, it was a potential mill site that often prompted the establishment of a settlement. The building of watermills was driven by fundamental issues of food and shelter—the grinding of grain and the preparation of wood for construction. The colonial gristmill, whether wind or waterpowered, was a natural continuation of English mill practice; the colonial sawmill owed more to practice in continental Europe. Waterpower was also employed to drive fulling and carding machines as well as bellows and trip hammers in the metal trades.

### SCALE AND REFINEMENT

By the close of the eighteenth century, the self-sufficient rural community was appreciated as a kind of American ideal—sharply contrasted to the blighted industrial towns of northern England. This ideal was seductive but barely tenable given the former colonies' continued reliance on many imported materials; it became an impossibility following the 1807–1809 trade embargo with France and England. The mill equipped by Samuel Slater (1768–1835) in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790 was the first siz-

able application of modern English textile manufacturing machinery in the New World. Slater's mill was a centrally powered, interdependent group of machines that converted cleaned cotton into spun yarn. The mill's structural materials, power source, and construction methods were all traditional, but its equipment and interconnectedness placed it at the cutting edge of American industrial development. Slater's expertise, rooted in a passive form of industrial espionage (as an apprentice in England he had become familiar with Richard Arkwright's textile machinery) underpinned the building of further mills: a larger installation for Oziel Wilkinson and Moses Brown in 1792, and then several of his own. It should also be noted that Slater's success derived to a great degree from the employment of children—a course of action that was appealing not only in terms of the low wages they could be paid but also for their ability to move about within cramped mechanical installations.

The basic understanding of watermill machinery—derived from European practice and to a certain degree perhaps intuited—moved forward significantly during this period, impelled for the most part by *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide* by Oliver Evans (1755–1819). First published in 1795, this work combined surveys of various mills, tables of calculations, and explanations of building methods, and was in some ways a written accounting of what had been up to that time an essentially oral tradition. But this publication was not simply rooted in practical experience—it also included full explanations of Evans's own groundbreaking work in mechanically integrated mill design: the gristmill as a multistory, building-sized, elevating, conveying, grinding, sifting, and bagging machine—all of it centrally powered. The *Guide* remained a popular reference into the mid-nineteenth century and undoubtedly played a major part in the proliferation of American watermills (from approximately 7,500 in 1790 to 55,000 in 1840), many of them built on the Evans principle.

The most advanced application of waterpower during this period was the installation begun adjacent to the Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimack River, in Massachusetts, in 1821. The roots of this development lay in Francis Cabot Lowell's 1813 mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, which was the first factory capable of processing cotton from its raw state through to finished cloth. The workforce at this factory consisted of young farm women, boarded in company buildings next to the textile mills. This approach, later known as the Waltham system, allowed for the concentration of a large workforce close by a factory; frequent turnover avoided the creation of an entrenched proletariat. The Pawtucket Falls site was named for Lowell, who had died in 1817. A carefully planned network of power canals was built in stages. Alongside these canals independent companies could build mills, and power, measured in "mill powers," was leased from the owners of the canal system. By 1836 twenty-six textile mills, plus additional workshops, had been established on the site. Lowell not only placed the United States at the forefront of waterpower development but also laid the groundwork for New England's preeminence in machine tool building. A generation of mechanics and engineers were trained in the on-site machine shops built to maintain Lowell's textile machines, and the methods developed in these shops drove American mechanical engineering to new levels of accuracy.

At the close of this period the Lowell system was still under expansion, but its scale and sophistication had already placed it far beyond the subsistence-based mills that characterized waterpower in the mid-eighteenth century. It should be noted, however, that rudimentary mills were still being built in pioneer communities, indicating that the advancement of waterpower technology did not necessarily end the use of primitive forms and modest solutions. And inevitably Lowell shared many of the problems of these sites: a site defined by geography rather than proximity to markets, predictable disruptions from freezes and freshets, the unpredictability of floods and droughts—in short, the types of problems inherently associated with the use of a natural power source, regardless of the ingenuity employed.

*See also* **Embargo; Inventors and Inventions; Steam Power; Technology.**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hawke, David Freeman. *Nuts and Bolts of the Past: A History of American Technology, 1776–1860.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States.* Vol. 1: *Waterpower.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Kasson, John F. *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.

Nye, David E. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003.

Steinberg, Theodore. *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*J. Marc Greuther*

**WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE**  Fresh water supply and waste water disposal were much the same in both urbanizing and rural areas in early America. Most inhabitants of the largest cities took fresh water from local wells or springs and disposed of waste in the nearest convenience: privies, streets, or rivers. The beginnings of modern water supplies from distant sources emerged at the turn of the nineteenth century in those cities where natural supplies became inadequate, unhealthy, or both.

After 1800 New York became the most populous city, but its sixty thousand people, clustered at the low southern tip of salt-ringed Manhattan Island, still relied on hundreds of public street wells, which had always been hard or brackish and were increasingly polluted. For six decades beginning in the 1740s, many New Yorkers had paid for "tea water" carted from a privately owned pump over a suburban spring just south of today's Chinatown. The quality of the Tea Water Pump declined precipitously around 1800 as habitation encroached. After the most devastating of the city's regular yellow fever epidemics killed two thousand people in 1798, Aaron Burr formed the Manhattan Company, ostensibly to pipe water from the mainland Bronx River. Through Burr's own influence as a state assemblyman, the company received a liberal state charter, including monopoly water rights and unprecedented banking privileges. Instead of pursuing the costly and technologically challenging Bronx plan, the company built a small reservoir and deep well fed by the same subterranean sources of the nearby Tea Water, laid a haphazard network of leaky hollowed pine-log pipes, and opened a bank, which flourished and thrives today as J. P. Morgan Chase. The growing city's water problems only worsened for three decades. After a devastating cholera epidemic in 1832, which killed 3,500, and a disastrous fire in 1835, city and state leaders united to build an aqueduct from the Croton River forty miles north in rural Westchester County. The gravity-fed Croton Aqueduct, completed in 1842, became the model for urban public water supplies and remains a component of the city's now vast water infrastructure.

Philadelphia, situated between two fresh rivers, had better wells and early water fortunes. In 1798 Benjamin Henry Latrobe conceived an ingenious public supply that raised water by steam engines from the Schuylkill River; the Centre Square Waterworks proved costly and inefficient but gave rise in 1811 to the Fairmount Waterworks on high ground a mile upriver. Put into operation in 1815, Fair-

mount by 1830 was world-renowned for its neoclassical waterworks buildings and river-powered waterwheels, which raised two million gallons of water a day into reservoirs for distribution by the first cast-iron pipe in the country. By 1837, 1,500 Philadelphia households had become the nation's first to have bathrooms with running water.

Boston, like New York, initially cast its lot with a private company, incorporated in 1796 to pipe water by gravity from nearby Jamaica Pond. Forty years later, the company sporadically supplied only 1,500 homes, at a time when a quarter of the city's 2,700 public wells were deemed foul. An adequate public supply was not completed until 1848, when an aqueduct brought water twenty-five miles from Long Pond. Baltimore, which overtook Boston as the nation's third-largest city at the opening of the 1800s, was supplied by excellent local springs and a civic-minded private company that operated a complex suburban pump works. Watering New Orleans, the country's fifth-largest city through the early 1800s, proved a deadly task. In 1811 Benjamin Latrobe secured the exclusive privilege of supplying water by steam engine from the mucky Mississippi, but yellow fever killed both Latrobe and his son Henry before the works' completion. Outdated when the city completed them in 1822, the works survived into the late 1830s when a private company built an expanded system. In Cincinnati, incorporated in 1819, a local association in the 1820s laid a tunnel from the Ohio River to a well on shore from which steam engines pumped water into reservoirs for distribution by gravity in iron mains and oak pipes. The city took over the works in 1839.

Smaller communities developed simpler water supply systems. Completed in 1755, the first pumped water supply in America served the Moravian settlement around Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, into the 1830s. Just before the Revolution, two private water companies briefly supplied Providence, Rhode Island, with water piped by gravity from springs a mile distant.

In communities large and small, sewage planning and sanitation generally lagged far behind fresh water solutions. When fresh water came from local sources, per capita consumption was only several gallons a day; when abundant distant waters were brought, per capita use jumped into the tens and eventually hundreds of daily gallons, and the waste issue became pressing. The words sewage and sewerage were not coined until 1834. New York did not start building underground sewers until the 1850s. Far beyond the early American period, waste disposal

was mired in centuries-old solutions: the general citizenry disposed in backyard privies and street gutters; municipal scavengers carried or carted to proximate rivers and outlying dumps.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blake, Nelson M. *Water for the Cities: A History of the Urban Water Supply Problem in the United States.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1956.

Koeppel, Gerard T. "A Struggle for Water." *Invention and Technology* 35 (winter 1994): 19–27.

———. *Water for Gotham: A History.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

*Gerard T. Koeppel*

**WEALTH**   As used here, wealth is synonymous with net worth, the value of an individual's assets (things owned) minus the value of his or her liabilities (things owed). Individuals with an unusually high net worth, like George Washington and Robert Morris before 1790 or so, were "rich" or "wealthy."

In the new American nation, assets tended to be quite visible. Sums that individuals owed to others were relatively difficult to discover, however, so many early Americans who owned considerable assets, but who owed equally considerable debts, were incorrectly identified as wealthy. Thomas Jefferson and Robert Morris after about 1790 are prime examples. Only with painstaking research, and a good deal of luck, can scholars be certain that particular individuals were indeed wealthy and not merely creditworthy. Usually, only a careful review of a subject's probate records can conclusively demonstrate that the value of his or her assets greatly exceeded the value of his or her liabilities.

### LIABILITIES

In the colonial and early national periods, liabilities consisted largely of various types of debts: book accounts, promissory notes, drafts, bills of exchange, bonds, and mortgages. The vast bulk of colonial and early national economic transactions were conducted via book account rather than with cash. As the name implies, book accounts were accounting notations made in books. The notations tracked the value of goods or services received and given over a period of weeks, months, years, or even decades. Farmer Brown, for example, credited the account of day laborer Obadiah Smith for thirty-seven days of work and fifty-five cords of wood. Brown debited Smith for the food, liquor, tobacco, shoes, clothes, and other goods that Smith received from him. Book account entries referenced the money value (in local pounds or dollars) of the traded goods, so scholars err when they claim that Americans in this period engaged in barter. Cash payments were indeed rare, sometimes made only on the balance due at the end of an exchange relationship, but the goods and services traded were almost invariably assigned a money price.

Promissory notes and drafts were short-term IOUs. Unlike book accounts, they were readily transferable from person to person and often made explicit promises about repayment dates and interest charges. Drafts and their foreign exchange equivalent, bills of exchange, were used like modern-day checks to transfer funds to distant persons. They could also be used to borrow for a few weeks or months.

Bonds were IOUs for significant sums and long terms, typically one year, with the holder maintaining an option to "call" the principal thereafter. Bonds almost always stipulated the payment of interest and stiff penalties in case of default. Like IOUs, they were negotiable or transferable to new parties. They differed from mortgages in only one important respect, namely that mortgages offered a specific piece of real property as collateral for the loan.

The fact that creditors could call for the principal of a bond or mortgage after the maturity date helps to explain the angst felt by many early Americans regarding indebtedness. Borrowers suffered the existence of such onerous terms because lenders insisted on them. Usury laws capped the legal interest rate too low, well below the usual market rate. Lenders therefore demanded valuable concessions, like call provisions and stiff default penalties, to compensate them enough to induce them to lend at the legal rate.

Calls for repayment usually came at the worst time, during economic slumps. Delinquent debtors were often sued for the principal, unpaid interest, and damages; they usually lost. If they could not pay the judgment, the sheriff seized their real or personal property, or both, and tried to sell it at auction. If the judgment remained unsatisfied, the debtor could be imprisoned for being bankrupt, that is, having negative wealth. Only at the end of the period did debtors' prisons begin to disappear from American life.

### ASSETS

One person's liability was another person's asset. A bond, for example, was a liability of the borrower but an asset for the lender or subsequent owners of

the bond. In closed economies, therefore, the value of financial assets and liabilities exactly cancelled each other out. The liabilities of many early Americans, however, were owned by foreign investors, primarily in Britain and Holland. A Philadelphia merchant, for example, might owe several Liverpool merchants on account and a large bond to a London capitalist. A New York patron might owe a mortgage on one of his estates to a consortium of Dutch investors, while a Virginia or Mississippi planter might be in hock to a British tobacco or cotton factor. In the period under study, net financial claims were usually negative. In other words, Americans owed more to foreigners than foreigners owed to Americans. Individual Americans, nevertheless, could hold a significant percentage of their assets in the form of financial claims. In 1774 about 17 percent of colonists' total assets were financial. The share of financial assets as a percentage of all assets grew over the period, especially after the financial revolution spurred by Alexander Hamilton in the 1790s.

Physical assets like land, buildings, ships, slaves and indentured servants, livestock, tools of the trade, and personal and household items such as clothes, furniture, and cookware were the preferred assets of most early Americans. In 1774 about 55 percent of colonists' nonfinancial assets were invested in land, 20 percent in slaves and servants, 10 percent in livestock, and 15 percent in producer and consumer goods. Aside from land, which was important everywhere, tremendous regional variations existed. In 1774 slaves composed a much higher percentage of assets in the South than anywhere else and livestock and producer goods predominated in the middle colonies, while New Englanders invested relatively heavily in consumer goods. Over the entire period, occupation dictated the proportion of assets held: farmers owned mostly land and livestock; planters held land and slaves; artisans and manufacturers held producer goods and buildings; and merchants owned ships, buildings, financial assets, and consumer goods. Similarly, region, occupation, and age largely determined the aggregate value of an individual's assets.

## WEALTH ACCUMULATION

Most early Americans accumulated wealth by buying or producing low, selling high, and avoiding the converse. Merchants and retailers sought to buy low in one market, or at one time, for resale at a higher price in another market, or at a later time. Physiocratic notions of the sterility of commerce induced many early Americans to look down upon such activities, but they were important to the economy

nevertheless. Just as crucial were the activities of artisans and farmers, which added value to goods by transforming them. Ironworkers, for example, turned labor, iron ore, wood, and other raw materials into useful products like stoves, musket balls, and horseshoes. Milliners transformed cloth, thread, ribbons, and other fineries into fashionable dresses. Farmers turned land, labor, and seed into wheat, apples, and pigs. Farmers' wives ultimately made butter from the corn and grasses fed to their milk cows. Similarly, professionals created value by adding their expertise to goods, as when a midwife used her experience to help a mother give birth, or an accountant used his mercantile training to create order out of a jumble of accounts. In all of those cases, if the sale price of the output exceeded the costs of all the inputs, the net worth of the producer increased. If costs exceeded the price, the producer's wealth decreased.

Some Americans seeking easy riches engaged in what modern economists call rent seeking. Basically, that entailed obtaining valuable assets, usually land or corporate charters, from the government gratis or at bargain prices. Sundry land companies, including the Scioto and Yazoo, were tainted by such insider scandals which smacked of old world nepotism, favoritism, and corruption. Other early Americans eager for quick riches engaged in outright theft, fraud, or counterfeiting. Sometimes such activities paid off handsomely, but often they ended in shame, imprisonment, or death. Some individuals inherited their fortunes. Rent-seeking activities, theft, and gifts did not create new wealth, of course, but merely transferred it to new owners.

Early Americans naturally resented those who accumulated wealth through gift or graft. Many believed that high net worth individuals like Philadelphia merchant-banker Thomas Willing (1731–1821) or New York furrier-speculator John Jacob Astor (1763–1848) must have obtained their wealth through illicit or at least unethical means. America's rich, who were not so numerous nor opulent as in Europe, responded by asserting that their wealth stemmed from luck and pluck, not theft, inheritance, or government favor. Importantly, most early Americans aspired to increase their personal net worth at least enough to become "comfortable" or "independent," so that no matter what they thought of Philadelphia merchant-banker Stephen Girard (1750–1831) or New York's land-rich Van Rensselaer or Livingston clans, they generally disdained wealth redistribution schemes.

Ambivalence towards wealth had deep religious roots too. Christianity, particularly the Protestant

varieties that permeated early America, espoused the virtues of asceticism and poverty but also gave impetus to Lockean views toward property acquisition and Weberian attitudes toward hard work. It is not surprising, then, that some members of the most pious sects, including the Quakers, were among the early nation's wealthiest individuals.

See also **Agriculture: Overview; Banking System; Bankruptcy Law; Class: Overview; Debt and Bankruptcy; Economic Development; Inheritance; Property; Wealth Distribution; Work: Work Ethic.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Huston, James L. *Securing the Fruits of Labor: The American Concept of Wealth Distribution, 1765–1900.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998.

Jones, Alice Hanson. *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Pessen, Edward. *Riches, Class, and Power: America before the Civil War.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1990.

Soltow, Lee. *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Wright, Robert E. *Hamilton Unbound: Finance and the Creation of the American Republic.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2002.

*Robert E. Wright*

**WEALTH DISTRIBUTION**    In *Albion's Seed* (1989), David Hackett Fischer described early regional differences among the four waves of English colonists that swept into America regarding the appropriate distribution of wealth. While the Puritans believed wealth was a sign of divine grace and poverty a signifier of depravity, they also passed sumptuary laws (which tried to regulate extravagance in dress or personal habits). They reproduced from England a predominantly rural, middle-class culture ruled by an elite bound by blood and marriage. The Quakers, too, preferred a public display of austerity but brought many servants (and thus more poverty) with them. The raucous Scots-Irish established a more aggressive form of rural individualism on the western frontier, battling each other and the Native Americans with equal enthusiasm. After initially re-

lying upon indentured servants to grow tobacco, the aristocratic Cavaliers created a slave economy based upon race.

Slavery demonstrates the need to define "wealth" as more than immediate material well-being. Over the coming centuries, many slave owners provided some or all of their slaves with more creature comforts than many workers and servants received elsewhere in America or in England, but the slaveholders often sexually exploited their victims and destroyed families by selling off family members. The wives of the elite lived a life of luxury and had great power over servants and slaves, but women had few legal rights anywhere in the colonies and even less access to employment outside the home. Native Americans consistently lost wealth (despite obtaining access to western conveniences), population, and power. Overall, the four cultures of rural English capitalism created a more powerful political economy than their French or Spanish rivals, who never generated as many colonists and who generally preferred to gather beaver skins and mine gold and silver. Ironically, the continuing political and religious chaos in England made its colonies stronger as members of various losing factions fled to the New World.

**GROWING CONCENTRATION**

Despite the initial differences among the British colonists, the four economies had much in common: in every colony the wealthy—unified not just by capital but also through extensive intermarriage—ran the government. For instance, two-thirds of New Jersey's 256 assemblymen between 1703 and 1776 were among the wealthiest 7 percent of the population. In the South the elite relied upon two forms of capital: land and slaves. By the eve of the Revolution, the richest 10 percent of Virginia's population had increased its share of the colony's wealth from 40 percent (starting in the middle of seventeenth century) to 70 percent (ending just before the American Revolution). All the colonial legislatures facilitated the transfer of open land to the powerful. By 1774, virtually all colonial lands were in private hands. Although the colonists had yet completely to conquer the frontier, their most powerful members already owned it. In her article "A New Look at Long-Term Trends in Wealth Inequality in the United States" (1993), Carole Shammas describes the distribution of wealth in 1774; her results demonstrate not only the economic weakness of women, slaves, and Native Americans, but also of many white males and a few unmarried females. The top 6 percent of the white male population controlled 59 percent of the wealth,

while the bottom 60 percent had less than 10 percent. The rich and powerful gained more land when smaller farmers succumbed to debt. These reallocations of wealth help explain Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787) and Rhode Island's attempts to protect debtors by altering the terms of existing contracts and inflating its currency. The response of Fisher Ames, a Federalist Party leader, was eloquent:

> We shall see our free Constitution expire, the state of nature restored, and our rank among savages taken somewhere below the Oneida Indians. If government do worse than nothing, should make paper money or a tender act, all hopes of seeing the people quiet and property safe, are at an end. Such an act would be the legal triumph of treason.

### THE CONSTITUTION AND HAMILTON'S PLAN

These class tensions provided a major impetus for creating the new Constitution. James Madison explained in *The Federalist* that majorities were most likely to tyrannize either religious minorities or the wealthy. Wealth was important not just for the individual, he argued, but also for society: people should be encouraged to develop their faculties and the opulent provided an inspiring role model. Alexander Hamilton believed that the nation needed access to capital in times of crisis. Some anti-Federalists portrayed the Constitution as a plot to oppress the poor, but the country quickly rallied around the new system. After all, there were rich and poor on both sides of the debate—a fact that significantly undercut the famous claim of Charles Beard (which he later repudiated) in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) that the Constitution was a simple plot by holders of depreciated governmental debt to cash in their holdings.

The general consensus over the Constitution's legitimacy did not resolve the enduring question of wealth distribution. Whether they relied upon principle or were motivated to undercut their rival Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison unsuccessfully fought Hamilton's plan for the new federal government to fully reimburse existing holders of state and federal debt. The Virginians took a more communitarian approach: some of the proceeds should go the soldiers who fought and suffered during the war and received worthless scrip at the time—not all the windfall profits should go to speculators, many of whom had recently purchased the debt instruments from unknowing veterans. While Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson always worried that excessive concentration of wealth would undermine the Republic, Hamilton saw an alliance between the wealthy and the national government as a key component to future national greatness.

### WEALTH AND A DEMOCRATIC ETHOS

While the Constitution provided significant protection to the wealthy; it could not protect the status quo of an entrenched, informal aristocracy. A more egalitarian ethos, based upon the principles of the American Revolution, quickly extended universal suffrage to all white men. The average white male was not content with the right to vote. Andrew Jackson's rise to the presidency from the hills of Tennessee confirmed a new consensus about the distribution of wealth and power: white males from any background had an equal opportunity to become as rich (and as poor) as possible. The debate over slavery, which temporarily exploded in 1820 during the Missouri crisis, was deferred to a later, bloodier day, while Native Americans continued to suffer. Manufacturers began to emerge as a new elite that would transform the northern economy. However, these seismic developments obscure the continuing realities that most wealthy individuals were sons of prosperous or powerful families and that relatively few lower-class citizens could rise more than one rung in the social ladder during their lifetimes. It is difficult to find reliable data on wealth distribution during this period, which the economic historian Diane Lindstrom, in her article "Macroeconomic Growth" (1983), described as the "statistical dark ages" (p. 704). Nevertheless, she concluded that per capita income increased at approximately one percent per year from 1800 to 1840. Nor is there any indication of an interruption in the long-term trend of increased wealth disparity during the early nineteenth century: the top 5 percent of the population enhanced its share of the nation's bounty from 59 percent of the wealth in 1774 to 86 percent in 1860.

*See also* **Hamilton's Economic Plan; Land Policies; Land Speculation; Poverty; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Overview; Wealth; Women: Overview; Women: Rights.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beard, Charles. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution.* New York: Macmillan, 1913. Reprint, New York: The Free Press, 1986.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Hamilton Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: Mentor, 1961.

Lindstrom, Diane. "Macroeconomic Growth: The United States in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13 (1983): 679–706.

Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History.* Vol. 2, *Atlantic America: 1492–1800.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Nedelsky, Jennifer. *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism: The Madisonian Framework and Its Legacy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Shammas, Carole. "A New Look at Long-Term Trends in Wealth Inequality in the United States." *American Historical Review* 98 (1993): 412–432.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* Edited by Phillips Bradley. New York: Vintage, 1945.

Weinberg, Meyer. *A Short History of American Capitalism.* 2002. Available at *www. newhistory.org/CH03.htm.*

*James G. Wilson*

**WEEKLY REGISTER**   *See* **Niles' Register.**

**WEIGHTS AND MEASURES**   The colonists who came from England, carrying with them to North America their language, religious beliefs, and culture, also brought their system of weights and measures. This system had developed in an organic, unregulated fashion for centuries, some of the units and their names dating from before the Norman Conquest of 1066. Examples included the rod (16½ feet), furlong (40 rods), and acre (160 square rods). By the time of the first settlements in the early seventeenth century, the system of length measures had become stable and well-defined for the purposes of commerce, with its units close to those used four hundred years later. The official English standard yard bar made in 1588, for example, is only 0.01 inch shorter than the yard of the twenty-first century. The statute mile of 5,280 feet was so defined in England in 1593 and seems to have been adopted readily in the colonies.

Two parallel systems of weight were brought over. Troy weight, the older one, was used only for gold and silver and, with somewhat different subdivisions (apothecaries' weight), for drugs. For all other commodities, the avoirdupois system came into wide use in the fourteenth century and remains the customary system. Like the length units, the weight units were relatively stable and well-defined, both the colonial and the U.S. standards being in principle based on official standards of the English exchequer until 1893.

The system of capacity in England was less orderly. There were several gallons and bushels, originating from old statutes that defined them with insufficient precision or clarity. The legal definitions often did not agree with the measures actually in use, and it was difficult to make the latter with sufficient accuracy. There was confusion between dry measure and liquid measure. Furthermore, in the case of dry measure, a bushel of wheat, for example, might in some cases be measured heaped and in others "struck" (with a flat upper surface).

### STANDARDS IN AMERICA

The individual colonies generally adopted as the legal standard for liquid measure the Queen Anne wine gallon, defined by British law in 1706 as 231 cubic inches. The beer gallon (282 cubic inches) was used concurrently, but it seems to have gradually yielded to the wine gallon and by 1821 was going out of use. For dry measure, the usual unit was the Winchester bushel (legally defined in 1696–1697) of 2,150.42 cubic inches (the contents of a cylinder 18½ inches in diameter and 8 inches deep). But there were anomalies. Connecticut, until 1850, maintained its legal bushel equivalent to 2,198 cubic inches. Kentucky's was in 1798 defined to be 2,150⅔ cubic inches.

By the mid-eighteenth century the individual colonies had laws making the exchequer standards their own. They had acquired official copies of them, and had ordered their counties and towns to obtain their own copies for testing the weights and measures of merchants. Although there is no evidence of conflict or dissatisfaction with these provisions, as soon as the colonies united, the Articles of Confederation transferred to the national government "the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States." The Constitution likewise gave Congress the power to "fix the Standard of Weights and Measures."

**Jefferson's proposals.** The new nation promptly adopted an innovative decimal money system worked out by Thomas Jefferson, but the federal government hesitated in dealing with weights and measures. At its request, Jefferson in 1790 developed two proposals "for Establishing Uniformity in the Coinage, Weights, and Measures" of the nation. The first was to define the foot already in use in terms of the length of a special pendulum; fix the gallon arbi-

## JEFFERSON'S DECIMAL SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Thomas Jefferson's 1790 "Plan for Establishing Uniformity in the Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the United States" proposed that the standard of length be based on "a uniform cylindrical rod of iron" making one-second swings. The more radical proposal in his plan defined a new foot as exactly one-fifth the length of the pendulum, with a new system of other units based on it, all subdivided and multiplied in a strictly decimal fashion. In the table below, each unit in a section is ten times as large as the one preceding. Equivalents in the second column are given in terms of the customary system (unchanged since Jefferson's time), slightly rounded from his figures.

| Unit | Equivalent |
| --- | --- |
| Length | |
| Point | 0.01174 inches |
| Line | 0.1174 inches |
| Inch | 1.174 inches |
| Foot | 11.74 inches |
| Decad | 9.787 feet |
| Rood | 97.87 feet |
| Furlong | 978.7 feet |
| Mile | 9787 feet |
| | |
| Area | |
| Hundredth | 95.69 square feet |
| Tenth | 957.9 square feet |
| Rood | 9579 square feet |
| Double acre | 2.199 acres |
| Square furlong | 21.99 acres |
| | |
| Capacity | |
| Metre (cubic inch) | 1.62 cubic inches |
| Demi-pint | 16.2 cubic inches |
| Pottle | 162 cubic inches |
| Bushel | 0.9375 cubic feet |
| Quarter | 9.375 cubic feet |
| Last or double ton | 93.75 cubic feet |
| | |
| Weight | |
| Mite | 0.04102 grains |
| Minim or demi-grain | 0.4102 grains |
| Carat | 4.102 grains |
| Double scruple | 41.02 grains |
| Ounce (weight of one cubic inch of water) | 410.2 grains = 0.9375 ounces avoirdupois |
| Pound | 0.58596 pounds |
| Stone | 5.8596 pounds |
| Kental | 58.596 pounds |
| Hogshead | 585.96 pounds |
| | |
| Coins | |
| Dollar (weight: 1 ounce) | 410.2 grains total (11/12 silver alloy) |

*Roger E. Sherman*

trarily at 270 cubic inches, with all the other capacity units to correspond; and define the ounce as the weight of one-thousandth that of a cubic foot of water. Except for the abolition of troy weight and the adjustment of the capacity measures, this plan in practice would have involved minimal change.

Jefferson's more radical second plan was to extend the decimal principle that had already been successful in the coinage. All the units, would be changed, although they would retain the names of the closest old ones. (See sidebar.) The new foot, for example, one-fifth the length of Jefferson's pendulum, would be 0.978728 old feet, and the new inch, one-tenth of the foot, would be 1.174 old inches. A few new terms would be introduced, such as the "decad" (10 feet), the "metre" (1 cubic inch), and the "kental" (100 pounds). By a very slight adjustment

in the silver content of the dollar, Jefferson was able to make his system combine elegantly with the existing decimal money system, so the dollar coin would weigh exactly one new ounce.

Congress adopted neither proposal, setting a pattern of reluctance to exert its power to fix weights and measures that has continued ever since. One reason, no doubt, was that France at this very time was developing the metric system and in Great Britain, too, reforms were being discussed. American legislators waited to see the results. The metric system progressed slowly and was adopted by few other countries, and the British did nothing. For a quarter-century after Jefferson's report, the American states awaited action by Congress, but in the meantime they passed their own laws, mostly setting standards for the size of barrels. In 1814 Louisiana abol-

ished its old French measures and adopted the English ones; six years later, though, the transition was still incomplete.

Up to this time the government had been concerned with weights and measures exclusively in their relation to trade and commerce. But when Ferdinand Hassler was sent to Europe in 1811 to buy precision instruments for the geodetic operations of the Survey of the Coast, scientific considerations became significant. Hassler obtained accurate copies of the British yard and the meter, and one of his meter bars became the de facto standard of the Coast Survey, not being supplanted until 1890.

**John Quincy Adams's report.** In 1817 the Senate and in 1819 the House asked Secretary of State John Quincy Adams to prepare "a plan for fixing the standard of weights and measures." After a thorough and thoughtful investigation that duly appraised the advantages of the metric system, Adams in 1821 recommended even less change than Jefferson's conservative plan. The government, Adams declared, should specify the standard of length to agree with the British one, define the avoirdupois pound according to the existing relation that thirty-two cubic feet of water weigh two thousand pounds, keep the corresponding troy weights, and keep the existing wine and ale gallons and bushel.

But Adams went beyond Jefferson in several important respects. He recommended that physical standards of the units be made and that official copies be distributed to the states. The government should consult with foreign governments to work toward a universal system and correlate the meter to the foot, he suggested. Finally, Adams collected data showing that the standards used in the customhouses varied significantly from each other.

**Government response.** For several years, Congress failed to act on Adams's straightforward suggestions. The Treasury, however, concerned about the standard of weight for coinage, obtained a certified copy of the British troy pound, and in 1828 an act of Congress made it the official standard for the U.S. Mint. This was the first true exercise of Congress's power to fix standards and a sign that the legislators were at long last ready to grapple with the entire problem.

Disturbed by the evidence of discrepancies in the customhouse standards such as had been revealed by Adams, the Senate in 1830 ordered an investigation. Hassler was called in to carry it out. He duly reported embarrassing irregularities and, with the support of the Treasury department, began working energeti-

cally to correct the situation. Hassler's efforts—resulting in the establishment in 1836 of the Office of Weights and Measures, the fixing of standards based on those he had brought from Europe, and the dissemination of accurate secondary standards to the customhouses and states—marked the beginning of a new era in the story of the weights and measures of the United States.

*See also* **Arithmetic and Numeracy; Science.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, John Quincy. *Report of the Secretary of State upon Weights and Measures.* Foreword by A. Hunter Dupree. New York: Arno, 1980.

Cochrane, Rexmond C. *Measures for Progress. A History of the National Bureau of Standards.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1966.

Connor, R. D. *The Weights and Measures of England.* London: H.M.S.O.,1987.

Hallock, William, and Herbert T. Wade. *Outlines of the Evolution of Weights and Measures and the Metric System.* New York: Macmillan, 1906.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Plan for Establishing Uniformity in the Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the United States." In *Writings.* New York: The Library of America, 1984.

Judson, Lewis V. *Weights and Measures Standards of the United States: A Brief History.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce,1976.

*Roger E. Sherman*

**WELFARE AND CHARITY** Attitudes toward, and treatment of, the poor in colonial and early national America had obvious English origins. Assistance on both sides of the Atlantic was provided only to the so-called "impotent poor"—the elderly, sick, disabled, and orphaned, who were unable to care for themselves. Among healthy adults only widows with small children received public support. Men were expected to find work to support their families. As in England, poor taxes—-taxes levied on the local population to fund poor relief, where the tax was on property, not income, so it was generally paid by the wealthy—-were raised locally, but only in the South were Anglican parish vestries the preferred administrative body. Elsewhere, town councils, county courts, and orphan courts administered poor relief. The day-to-day distribution of relief was normally delegated to Overseers of the Poor, to whom the poor would apply for assistance. These men made judgments about the worthiness of individual paupers to receive relief not solely on the basis of need; they also

took into account the reputation and moral character of the applicant. Those who were thought to have brought their poverty down on themselves, perhaps through promiscuity or through drunkenness, might be refused aid altogether or receive a lesser amount than those deemed to have led a blameless life (the "deserving poor").

In general, as compared to England, less emphasis was placed on settlement laws in America, whereby poor relief was available only to those born locally or long-term residents and not to transients or immigrants. In some wealthy southern communities with relatively few paupers, relief policies might even be described as generous. By contrast, some New England communities went to great lengths to deny as-

sistance to those such as recent arrivals or residents of neighboring towns who were deemed to be the responsibility of others. Among those most likely to be "warned-out" (a formal process that indicated to the community that a particular individual would not be eligible for assistance) were nonwhites: free blacks and those of Native American descent. This restriction of relief to whites who were well-established residents therefore helped to foster a sense of community identity among those who were eligible for aid and to marginalize those who were not.

With the ending of the formal link with Great Britain in 1776, the involvement of Anglican parish vestries in poor relief ceased. But in general the welfare policies of the colonial period were continued in

the early Republic. The vast majority of public paupers received "out-door relief," goods or cash that enabled them to either feed and clothe themselves or to pay for board and nursing care provided by a third party. In order to keep down costs, rural authorities sometimes auctioned the poor to those who required the least public subsidy to keep them, a practice that allowed some individuals to make their living by caring for public paupers. However, the rapid growth of cities in the eighteenth century brought a commensurate increase in the numbers of paupers, many of whom were immigrants, concentrated in a small area. Authorities in the largest cities gradually determined that the only way to cope with these increases was to open poorhouses. Boston, New York, and Charleston all had such institutions by 1750. However, in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, the trend toward institutionalization accelerated, and many more poorhouses were built—for example, in Baltimore (1773), Savannah (1809), Wilmington (1811), and Mobile (1824)—and for the first time public hospitals were opened—for example in Philadelphia (1752), New York (1790), Natchez (1805), and Boston (1821). These institutions served two functions: they were intended to be cheaper to run than the out-door relief system, and so save the money of local taxpayers; and they were supposed to reduce the visible number of paupers and beggars on the streets that detracted from a vision of American prosperity that many city authorities wished to project.

Once in the poorhouses paupers were subjected to strict regimens of cleanliness, morality, and education. The managers of these institutions hoped that the poor would be reformed by this experience and, after a short period inside, would be able to live independent and productive lives. Despite the high hopes for institutionalization, it was actually more expensive than out-door relief because salaries had to be paid to matrons, doctors, and poorhouse keepers and new buildings financed. Moreover, poor people showed a marked reluctance to go to the poorhouse. The willingness of Overseers of the Poor to continue out-door relief, despite rules to the contrary, undermined the efficacy of the system.

A new development following the American Revolution was the amount of attention paid to poor and orphaned children by city elites increasingly concerned that the achievements of the American Revolution might be lost by a generation of poorly educated youths. Charleston opened a city orphanage in 1790, but elsewhere residential care for children was normally provided by private benevolent societies.

Orphanages gave basic tuition and training to the children in their care, girls as well as boys, to enable them to function as future citizens of the new Republic—boys as workers and voters, girls as mothers. City and state authorities also started to make the provision of education a priority for all children, orphaned or not. Funds were provided for a wide range of private and public school initiatives, and education of the poor was, for the first time, seen as something that concerned society as a whole. These trends of institutionalization and the free provision of education continued to shape welfare policy in America for the rest of the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Benevolent Associations; Philanthropy and Giving.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bellows, Barbara L. *Benevolence among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670–1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

Herndon, Ruth Wallis. *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Newman, Simon P. *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Smith, Billy G. *Down and Out in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

*Tim Lockley*

**WEST**   Throughout the early Republic, the definition of what constituted "the West" in the United States underwent numerous changes. This occurred for the obvious reason that the western boundaries of the United States shifted dramatically and that white settlement moved from the trans-Appalachian to the trans-Mississippi region and finally to the Plains. But changes in definition also reflected equally dramatic demographic shifts as well as fundamentally colliding perspectives. The results were western experiences that were hardly uniform and often contradictory. Throughout the early Republic, people most often understood the West as a series of places between the Appalachian and the Rocky Mountains and would describe those places in terms of rapid resettlement, uncertain social rules, and regular outbursts of intense violence.

These varied experiences emerged in part as a result of three very different forms of western development in both political and social terms. After initial

ad hoc efforts by state and national leaders in Kentucky and Tennessee (which became states in 1792 and 1796, respectively), the newly installed federal government took a more planned approach in the Old Northwest and Old Southwest. Experiences there in turn informed federal responses to the new challenge in western government that emerged from the Louisiana Purchase. The experience of western residents was equally varied. Kentucky and Tennessee saw the fastest shift from a world of Native American villagers and interracial contact to a place dominated by whites. In sharp contrast, the Northwest and the Southwest would be the sites of racial conflict between whites and Native Americans that continued for a generation. Finally, much of the region west of the Mississippi River remained a place of Indian control well into the nineteenth century.

Differences in policy in different times and places notwithstanding, the broad contours of government and society remained the same. The West would be a place where, ironically, the greatest form of continuity was the regularity of great change. After decades in which European empires, Indian villagers, and Anglo-American migrants had reached varying forms of accommodation, the United States in the years of the early Republic pursued more aggressive policies designed to establish federal sovereignty and, in the end, secure racial supremacy. The people living in the midst of these political developments were redefining themselves in the process.

### REGIONAL DISTINCTIONS

The overlap of white migration, interracial contact, and national politics first emerged in the trans-Appalachian West, where the American Revolution had been a war for racial supremacy as well as the site of a vicious civil war. White settlers, many of whom joined the Patriot movement in response to British efforts to restrain incursions onto Indian land, joined or initiated a series of military ventures against Indians as well as Loyalists. Those efforts enjoyed considerable support among Patriot leaders because it furthered their strategic goal of defeating a broader British alliance while requiring only minimal resources from the Continental Army or the state militias.

A very different situation was emerging to the north. In the Great Lakes region, Indians remained both numerous and powerful. During the eighteenth century, they had built elaborate trade relationships with the French, in large part because the French had been eager parties in this arrangement. Rather than promote migration from Europe, the French had

hoped to generate revenue through the Indian trade. French-speaking settlers were indeed scattered throughout the Illinois country (a region corresponding roughly to modern Illinois and Indiana), but they had never come in the same eager rush as the Anglo-American settlers who came to Kentucky and Tennessee. While the French surrendered the Illinois country and Canada to Great Britain as a result of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), many of the institutions and practices constructed during the French period remained in place after the American Revolution. The first signs of change came when George Rogers Clark led an expedition of Virginia militiamen to the Illinois country in 1778. In his efforts to defeat both the British and the Indians, he drew on his experiences in the trans-Appalachian West, hoping to replace the old multiracial system with a racial hierarchy that placed whites clearly in charge.

In stark contrast to the trans-Appalachian West and the Illinois country, where Europeans and Anglo-Americans were struggling to secure sovereignty from Indians, much of the land west of the Mississippi was clearly under Indian control. Throughout the Missouri River valley, a series of large, permanent Indian settlements controlled trade and set the rules of cultural contact. The same held true in the eastern Plains, with the Osages enjoying particular power over their Indian neighbors as well as the small number of Europeans and Anglo-Americans there. The Europeans remained the weakest power in the region. Only in the Lower Mississippi Valley were whites securing real power over Indians. Meanwhile, in the western Plains and the Rocky Mountains, relations between independent Indian villages remained dominant. White visitors occasionally observed developments there but rarely influenced them in any substantive way.

The greatest catalyst for change in these western regions would be the arrival of white settlers, most of them Anglo-American migrants from the eastern United States. At a time when land ownership was nearly synonymous with liberty and opportunity in the United States, white settlers often concluded that their prospects were dim in an East where land prices continued to rise and where intensive agriculture was exhausting the soil. Many saw their own future in the West, and they demanded that the state and federal governments make that future secure. In addition to these pressures, state and federal leaders worried about defending western boundaries against European powers and Indians. Western policy would be among the most important forces shaping the politics, institutions, diplomacy, and demography of

**Exploring the West**
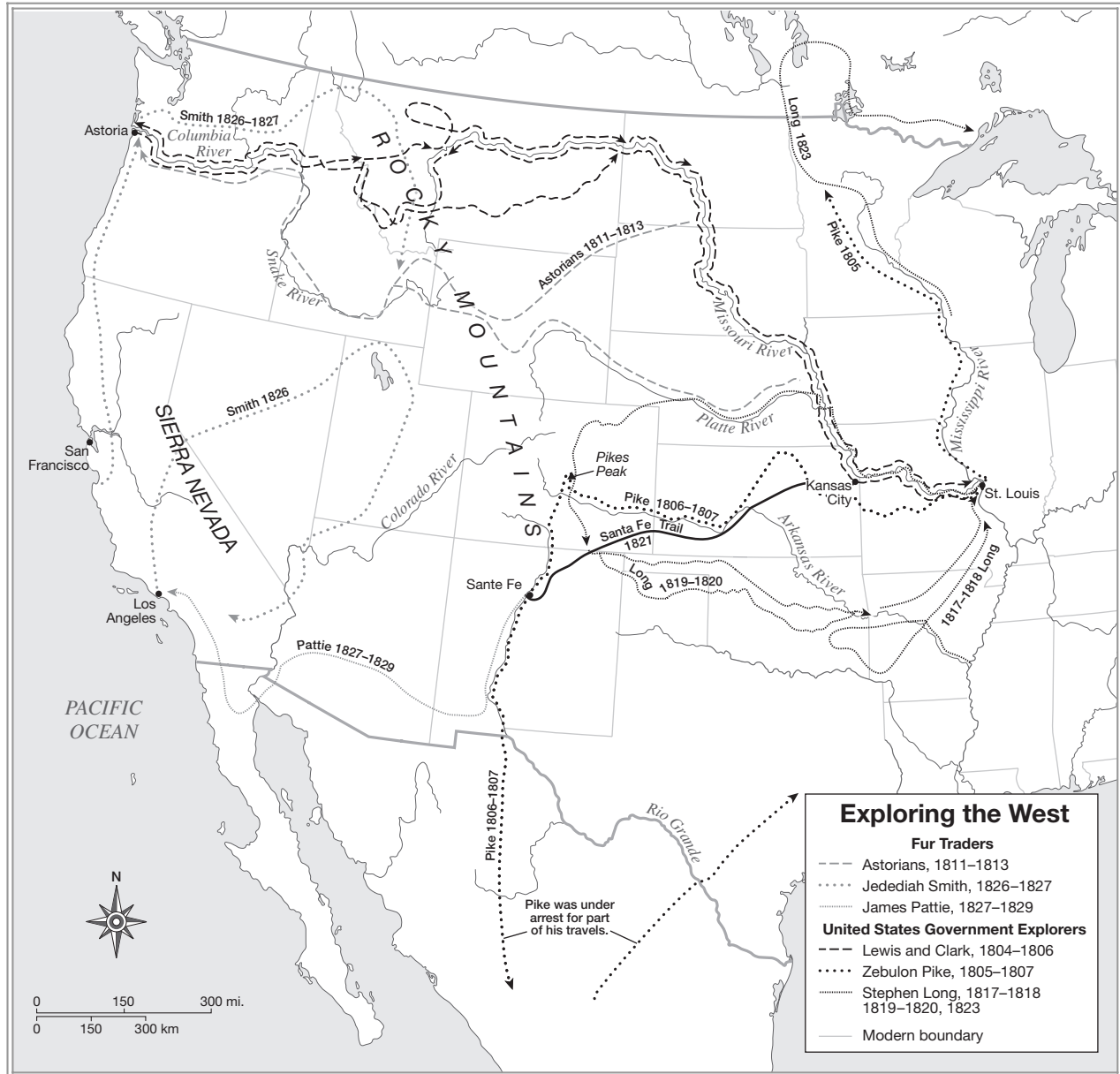
the new Republic, with ramifications that extended long after the early years of the nation. It defined the contours of federal policymaking and created a cohesive vision of the Union premised on commercial development, an aggressive foreign policy, and racial supremacy.

### SETTLEMENT, CONFLICT, AND CONQUEST

The process of settlement and government began soon after independence. States increasingly realized they lacked the means to control their western reserves. Kentucky was formed out of Virginia territory, and Congress created Tennessee after North Carolina reluctantly surrendered its western lands. In

1787 Congress, operating under the Articles of Confederation, combined land ceded by several states into a single Northwest Territory, containing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. The Northwest Ordinance defined territorial policy for over a century. In a radical break from the European colonial model, the ordinance provided for the eventual incorporation of new states with rights identical to those of other states. Article II of the ordinance also provided for the eventual elimination of slavery.

The federal Constitution, written at the same time as the Northwest Ordinance, offered the means to implement this plan for the West. Unlike the Arti-

cles of Confederation, the Constitution provided the fiscal resources for the government to fund direct civil administration. The Constitution also created a diplomatic structure that would enable the United States to negotiate more effectively with Europeans in an effort to settle western boundary disputes. Finally, the Constitution made possible a military that could assert federal sovereignty and racial supremacy in the Old Northwest. Indeed, no sooner was the Constitution ratified than the federal government dispatched a series of increasingly large armies to the Northwest.

As western settlement caused profound changes in Anglo-American politics and culture, similar changes were emerging within Indian communities lying in areas where there was increasing contact with whites. While the village remained the fundamental locus of Indian social organization, increasing pressure from the United States and from Anglo-American settlers would lead a growing number of Indians to endorse stronger alliances between villages. Congress dispatched those ever-larger armies to the West because they were repeatedly challenged and often defeated by an increasingly organized Indian response. And as military conflicts consumed whole villages, many Indians were forced to create new communities and social practices as a means of survival. These changes were most dramatic in the Northwest Territory, where older systems of contact and exchange gave way to an increasingly violent racial landscape.

Nothing reflected the intersection of domestic governance, racial conflict, and foreign policy in the West more clearly than three treaties signed within a year of each other: Jay's Treaty (1794), the Treaty of Greenville (1795), and the Treaty of San Lorenzo (1795). Although Jay's Treaty is known primarily for creating political disputes over relations with Great Britain that fueled the creation of the first political parties in the United States, the British made important concessions by agreeing to surrender forts on American territory and by foreswearing aid to Indians at war with the United States. The end to old British-Indian alliances proved crucial to the American victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and the collapse of the militant Indian coalition in the Ohio country. The new state of affairs in the Northwest enabled the United States to impose the Treaty of Greenville, through which a series of Indian tribes surrendered claims to land in much of Ohio.

While the Jay Treaty and the Treaty of Greenville secured American concerns in the Northwest, the Treaty of San Lorenzo redefined power in the South. In addition to normalizing trading relations between the United States and Spain, the agreement also ceded Spanish lands, including what became Alabama and Mississippi, with the notable exception of the Gulf Coast. Forced to govern yet another vast western domain, in 1798 Congress passed legislation creating a separate Mississippi Territory and moved "to establish therein a government in all respects similar to that now exercised in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, excepting and including the last article of that ordinance." The "last article" in the Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery. That vital passage from the Mississippi governance act not only guaranteed that slavery would remain in place in Mississippi, but also extended a rough North-South line separating free and slave territory.

Throughout the 1790s, the number of white settlers and slaves grew in direct relation to the declining power and population of Indians. The federal government focused on securing its existing western holdings, and while white settlers might covet land further west, the constant demands and expenses of governing existing territories left federal leaders unprepared to consider any major acquisitions. In 1803 Ohio became the first new state to emerge from the Northwest Territory, and this seemed to suggest an orderly process of western government for a United States whose West ended at the Mississippi River. But the Louisiana Purchase of the same year transformed that definition of the West by adding a vast new space to the national domain.

The federal government responded by extending the general principles of the Northwest Ordinance and the Mississippi governance act to Louisiana. As had been the case in the Northwest and later in Mississippi, the Purchase territories would become the sight of unending racial conflict caused primarily by white settlers and the federal government. A series of federal military ventures combined with epidemic diseases to decimate Indian populations and destroy Indian power. The United States made sovereignty a reality in the land immediately west of the Mississippi River during the 1810s and 1820s, just as a new surge of white settlers descended on the Mississippi Valley and the eastern Plains. The policy of removal, first developed by President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) and implemented by General Andrew Jackson (1767–1845), emerged accordingly as a means to force Indians off the first areas of white settlement. In sharp contrast, early federal expeditions farther west to the Plains and Rockies failed to achieve clear authority over Indians.

## CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF THE WEST

For white settlers, slaves, and Indians, the West increasingly became a place of dislocation and redefinition. Whites might seek western land to settle, but once they arrived they immediately longed for communal connections. They rushed to create churches, social organizations, and other institutions. Slaves in the Southwest faced new physical hardships as they were driven to carve farms and plantations from land that had never seen intensive agriculture. Meanwhile, Indians continued to seek a means of responding to the death and forced relocation brought on by the federal government and white settlers.

These developments together contributed to changes in the ways that Anglo-Americans conceived of the West. After decades in which public officials had doubted whether the United States could successfully expand into the West, they began to conclude that expansion was not only possible but necessary. This outlook would reach fruition in the principle of Manifest Destiny during the antebellum era and attained its most tangible expression when the United States declared war on Mexico in 1846 in pursuit of a new western domain that stretched clear to the Pacific.

The people who most consistently espoused the notion that the West was a place of opportunity were white settlers. Resettlement to the West remained a difficult and dangerous process for whites, many of whom failed to find prosperity or success in their new homes. But the promise of the West as a place where whites could achieve independence, prosperity, and respectability remained a powerful tug for people who concluded that life in the East had its own drawbacks. The western settlers also created an increasingly democratic political culture that an emerging class of western politicians struggled to navigate. Henry Clay (1777–1852) of Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, young men in new states, exemplified the possibilities and limitations of their society. Both born to modest means, they concluded that their own success as attorneys and planters at the turn of the nineteenth century reflected the tremendous opportunities that abounded in the West. But where Jackson embraced the rough-and-tumble politics of frontier democracy, Clay early on feared that frontiers settlers needed an orderly system of public and private institutions to preserve a stable society. Both men, however, believed in the West as a place of equality and opportunity, despite the fact that both owned slaves and both endorsed near-genocidal campaigns against Indians.

Jackson and Clay could emerge as national leaders because, by the end of the early Republic, their outlook had spread beyond the West. This happened in large part because western migration was rapidly making the region an increasingly powerful political constituency. After a generation of presidents from the East, Andrew Jackson was the first in a series of western presidents who dominated national politics through the Civil War. In 1861, when Kansas joined the Union, the thirteen western states equaled the number of colonies that had declared independence in 1776. Secession in 1860 and 1861 also resulted in two governments run by men from the first federal territories, Abraham Lincoln from an Illinois carved out of the Northwest Territory and Jefferson Davis from Mississippi. By the close of the nineteenth century, the passage from Indian control to territorial status to fully incorporated state had become the normative experience for the vast majority of the polities that together constituted the United States.

*See also* **American Indians: American Indian Relations; American Indian Removal; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Frontier; Frontiersmen; Jackson, Andrew; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pioneering.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aron, Stephen. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Peter S. Onuf. *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Cronon, William, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds. *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past.* New York: Norton, 1993.

Ronda, James P. *Thomas Jefferson and the Changing West: From Conquest to Conservation.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

White, Richard. *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

———. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

*Peter J. Kastor*

**WHALING** The American whaling industry started on Long Island in the mid-1600s and by the end of the century had expanded to Cape Cod and

Nantucket Island in Massachusetts. Colonists off the coasts of North Carolina, Delaware, and New Jersey also developed fledgling whaling operations, but it was New England that came to dominate the industry. In the period from 1754 to 1829, the New England whale fishery far outpaced the rest of the world in expertise and in the size, geographic reach, and economic productivity of whaling enterprises.

A ready supply of Atlantic right whales in New England waters, combined with knowledge of an existing demand for whale products in Europe, gave colonists the initial idea that whaling might be profitable. Whale oil fueled lamps and lubricated machinery. A fat, it served as an ingredient in the manufacture of soap. Right whales, humpbacks, and several other whale species also had baleen plates in their mouths. Like modern-day plastic, baleen was firm yet flexible, making it a valuable component in women's corsets, umbrellas, and luggage. Sperm whales lacked baleen but had a waxy oil in their heads that proved to be ideal for candle making.

At first, New Englanders targeted right whales and set up shore stations from which men kept lookout, with whaleboats and try-pots for boiling blubber into oil standing ready on the beach. American Indian men, sometimes by their own choice but often by the more coercive means of debt indenture, made up the majority of the whaling industry's first labor force. By the mid-eighteenth century, New England's right whale population had become scarce from overhunting, which led to two transformations of the industry. In Nantucket folklore, one turning point occurred in 1712, when Captain Christopher Hussey caught Nantucket's first sperm whale. Sperm whales increasingly became the most desired of whales, a trend that would continue into the first half of the nineteenth century, when the American whaling industry reached its peak. The second innovation developed around 1750 and involved putting try-pots permanently on board oceangoing vessels, thereby freeing the manufacturing process from its prior dependence on shore stations.

Although American shorewhaling continued into the early twentieth century, deep-sea whaling for sperm whales emerged as the major type of whaling activity in the 1750s. Oceangoing vessels increased in size and spent longer periods away from home ports; by the 1820s a whaling ship typically had twenty to twenty-five men aboard and went on voyages of about three years. Otherwise, in the decades preceding and following the American Revolution, the economic and technological aspects of whale hunting showed continuity over time. Upon sighting a whale, whether from shore or from a ship, crews of six or eight men rushed to whaleboats to give chase. They attached a line to the whale by throwing a harpoon at it and then lanced it to death, after which they towed it back to the ship. They boiled the blubber into oil and stowed it away in barrels below deck. As the whaling industry grew in size and wealth, American Indians still labored as whalemen but as part of crews composed largely of white and African American men drawn from New England and the mid-Atlantic states. The dangers and enormous risks entailed in a whaling venture probably explain the unusual pay structure: instead of earning wages, whalemen received a "lay" or share of the whaling profits after the owners and other investors had taken their share—that is, if there were any profits.

### IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

From the Seven Years' War (1756–63) to the War of 1812, war wreaked havoc on the whaling industry as privateers attacked and appropriated whaling vessels and American whalemen faced impressment. The American Revolution had a particularly devastating impact on the American whaling industry, for Britain had bought most of the whale oil that American colonists produced. Whaling communities tended to be Loyalist, especially Nantucket, which had little other industry besides whaling. When the Revolutionary War started, Nantucket's merchants and shipowners made protestations of neutrality and schemed to keep alive their trade with Britain. Immediately after the Revolution, the British adopted a punitive duty on American imports of whale products, and many Nantucketers were seduced away to Nova Scotia, France, and Wales in hopes of rebuilding their whaling enterprises out of a European port. American whaling all but disappeared during the war and did not embark on a full recovery until the War of 1812 ended, in 1815. Most American whaling families eventually returned to the United States, to Nantucket itself or to the more recently founded whaling cities of Hudson, New York, and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

### EXPANSION TO THE PACIFIC

The American whaling industry was in flux in the 1790s for another reason: the opening up of the Pacific Ocean as a rich new territory ripe for sperm whaling. The first generation of American whaling vessels to return from the Pacific arrived back at New Bedford and Nantucket in 1793, kicking off several

decades of rapid expansion of the industry. From the 1810s to the 1820s, whaling voyages out of American ports more than doubled, from about four hundred voyages to over a thousand. Also in the 1820s, New Bedford, Massachusetts, overtook Nantucket to become the whaling capital of the world. The other most active whaling ports at that time were Fairhaven and Westport located near New Bedford; New London, Connecticut; Provincetown on Cape Cod; and Sag Harbor on Long Island, New York. Besides bringing wealth to elite whaling families such as the Coffins, Rotches, and Howlands, whaling led Americans to venture into distant seas, where they played an influential role in the expansion of American influence abroad and in disseminating knowledge about Africa, South America, the Pacific Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan to those Americans who remained at home.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Davis, Lance E., Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter. *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Ellis, Richard. *Men and Whales.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Norling, Lisa. *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Starbuck, Alexander. *The History of Nantucket: County, Island, and Town, Including Genealogies of First Settlers.* 2 vols. 1924. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1998.

Vickers, Daniel. "Nantucket Whalemen in the Deep-Sea Fishery: The Changing Anatomy of an Early American Labor Force." *Journal of American History* 72, no. 2 (1985): 277–296.

*Nancy Shoemaker*

**WHISKEY REBELLION**   An uprising in western Pennsylvania sparked by a tax on distilled spirits, the so-called Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 tested and ultimately affirmed the power of the national government. The roots of the conflict reached back to the severe depression that beset rural America during the 1780s. As urban elites enriched themselves with banknotes and government certificates left over from the Revolution, farmers were left with heavy debts and scarce currency. Economic distress—and anger towards "moneyed men"—grew the further one traveled from the Atlantic coast. The crisis stretched from Maine to Tennessee and triggered the New England Regulation, or Shays's Rebellion, of 1786–1787. Western Pennsylvania suffered as much as any region; in some counties, a majority of households faced debt prosecutions and foreclosures. When, in 1791, the new federal government imposed an excise tax on whiskey—a major commodity as well as libation on the frontier—western farmers refused to pay. Invoking the memory and message of the American Revolution, frontiersmen decried the invasions of "corrupt" government and called for a more equitable legal and economic order.

From 1791 to 1793, settlers in rural Pennsylvania and elsewhere used protest petitions, scare tactics, and simple foot-dragging to defy the excise. Few farmers who owned a distillery registered it; local constables and justices of the peace refused to enforce foreclosures on their neighbors' farms. On more than sixty occasions between 1787 and 1795, Pennsylvania farmers blocked roads to keep out tax collectors. Tax men who made it through these social and physical barriers risked tar and feathering, hair shaving, and other forms of public humiliation. Over the course of a decade, frontiersmen fused revolutionary and evangelical values into a logic of resistance. Engaged in chronic warfare with Indians and enmeshed in labor obligations with neighbors, they defined their "public" in opposition to a remote, oppressive government. Living close to survival's edge, they embraced an emotional form of Christianity that underscored the frailty of human will and effort. Itinerant preachers told frontier seekers that God did not respect earthly titles, that the wealthy and powerful had once persecuted Jesus, and that the meek and lowly would soon inherit the earth. Why, then, should patriotic citizens heed the unjust decrees of distant magistrates? Did they not have the same right to resist arbitrary power that their colonial forbears had so recently exercised?

Federal authorities in Philadelphia, however, insisted that popular defiance of the law was no longer legitimate once the United States had established a republican government with ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1788. For President George Washington, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (author of the excise tax), and other Federalist power holders, the Revolution was definitively over: it was something to be defended, not reenacted. Indeed, they viewed dissent of any kind as seditious. Drawing from a cultural register that privileged "conspiracy" as an explanation for events, the Federalists believed that their Republic faced enemies within and without during the 1790s. Hence their reactions to western unrest: Hamilton wanted to suppress it with "super abundant" force. Washing-

ton initially took a more moderate tack, but when a furious crowd destroyed an inspector's mansion on the Pennsylvania frontier in July 1794, he declared that the frontier rebels menaced "the root of all law and order." The president was particularly alarmed by reports that some westerners had met with Spanish and British agents, perhaps to foment secession all along the frontier.

The Pennsylvania backcountry thus became the focal point of the government's response to rural discontent. From July to August 1794, Washington's cabinet mobilized a force to cow or crush the farmers. The state government of Pennsylvania, meanwhile, pursued negotiations with its distraught citizens. Early in September, rebel leaders agreed by a vote of 34 to 23 to the state's demands of loyalty oaths and the gradual payment of taxes. But the high number of nays, along with the continued harassment of customs officers, convinced Washington that force was still necessary. After mobilizing nearly fifteen thousand militiamen from four states, Washington and Hamilton personally led the troops westward in late September. Intimidated by this army and by the apparent turn of public opinion against them, the rebels offered little resistance. Federal troops arrested 150 men and sent 24 back to Philadelphia for trial; two were convicted, and Washington pardoned both. The defeat of the rebels continued (and continues) in the collective memory of the new nation. The name "Whiskey Insurrection"—coined, it seems, by Hamilton—suggests that the unrest was sudden, knee-jerk, and alcohol induced. Aggrieved farmers who had disputed profiteering and "speculation" since the 1780s became intoxicated, paranoid yokels who shook a fist at progress itself. By defeating the insurrection and then trivializing its roots, Federalist elites narrowed the scope of legitimate popular action to the ballot box.

*See also* **Frontiersmen; Hamilton, Alexander; Pennsylvania; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Washington, George.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bouton, Terry. "A Road Closed: Rural Insurgency in Post-Independence Pennsylvania." *Journal of American History* 87, no. 3 (December 2000): 855–887.

Kohn, Richard H. "The Washington Administration's Decision to Crush the Whiskey Rebellion." *Journal of American History* 59, no. 3 (December 1972): 567–584.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

*J. M. Opal*

**WHITE HOUSE**  The first official home of the president of the United States was not white but red. When George Washington assumed the presidency in 1789, his official residence was in what was called Government House, a two-story red brick building in lower Manhattan. This was the first of two official residences—the second in Philadelphia—to which Washington was assigned while the new federal city was being constructed on the Potomac.

The Residence Act of 9 July 1790 proposed a Congress and a president's house to be built in what would become Washington, D.C. Inspired by the residence of a Dublin nobleman, Irish-born architect James Hoban based his design on the traditional Palladian palazzo, proposing a large rectangular house much grander than any other mansion in the new nation. The final plan called for several staterooms on the lower story surrounding a distinctive oval room, with space for private family quarters on the two upper floors. The cornerstone was laid on 12 October 1792, and the house gradually took shape over the next eight years.

The nation's second president, John Adams, was the building's first occupant, and when he moved in on 1 November 1800, he found his new home far from finished. Despite a lack of staircases and an abundance of damp, cold rooms, the Adams family soon adapted, making the most of the six livable rooms. Early in 1801 they were finally able to entertain and opened their state rooms to the public. Many marveled at the grandeur of the president's home, but there were detractors who quickly dubbed the residence "the president's palace."

Indeed, when Jefferson superseded Adams, he saw the president's house—which, because of its whitewashed walls, was becoming known as the White House—as an awkward monument to federal monarchicalism. To disassociate the residence from any palatial associations, Jefferson immediately sold the coaches, horses, and silver-mounted harnesses Adams had bought and abandoned the rounds of levees and parties that had made the White House such an important center of polite society. Ever the improver and, besides, pressed for additional office space, Jefferson added the East and West Wings, marked by a matching pair of colonnades designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

While it remained for some a reminder of the excesses of federal power, the White House slowly emerged as a symbol of national identity. Certainly this was the understanding of the British commanders who burned the building's interior, along with
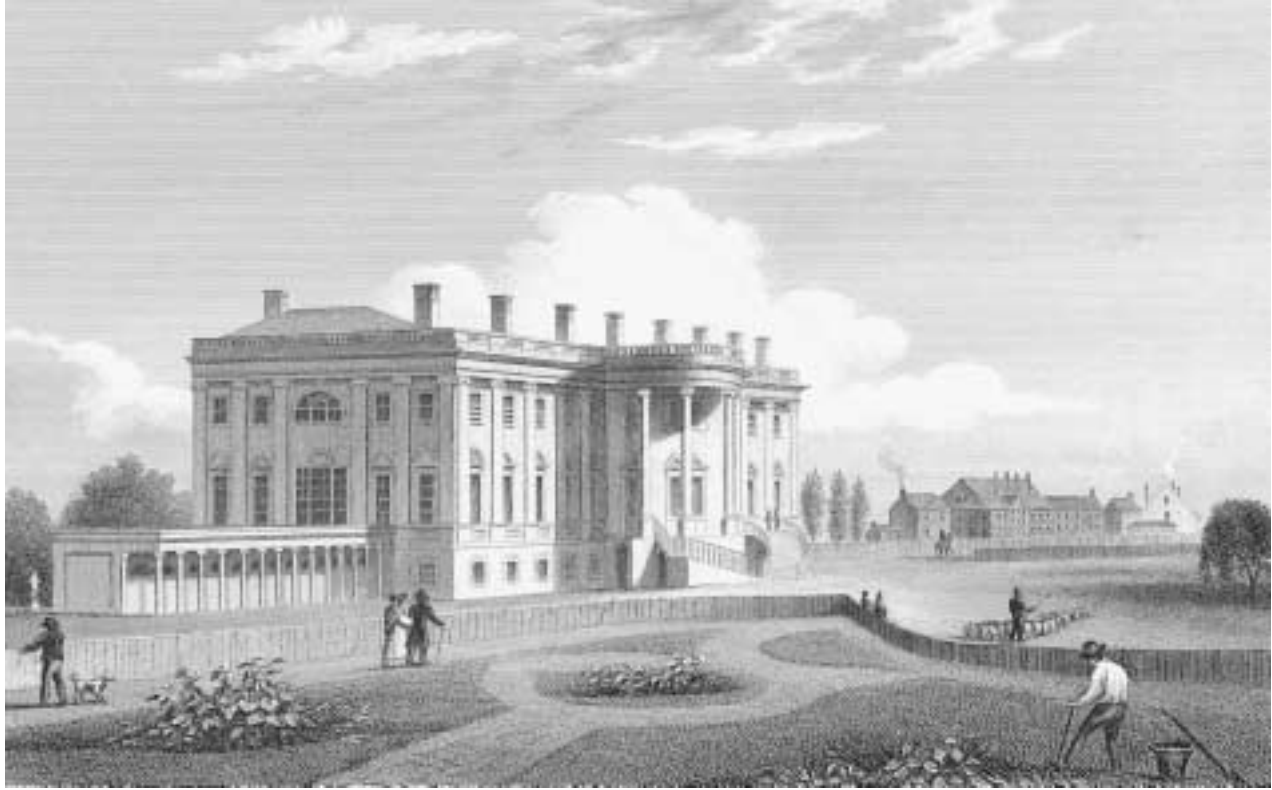
**The White House.** This 1828 engraving shows the White House and its front garden. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

the U.S. Capitol, on the night of 25 August 1814, at the height of the War of 1812.

Humiliated but energized, President James Madison pledged to restore the White House. James Hoban returned to supervise reconstruction, adding the north and south porticos. The rebuilding was funded by a $500,000 appropriation from Congress, a sign of the public's growing affection for what was becoming a symbol of the new Republic. Few architectural changes were made following this reconstruction, and the White House passed into Andrew Jackson's hands in a form that would remain essentially unchanged until the 1880s.

*See also* **Architecture: Public; Washington, Burning of; Washington, D.C.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Garrett, Wendell, ed. *Our Changing White House.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Seale, William. *The President's House: A History.* Washington, D.C.: White House Historical Association, 1986.

*Richard J. Bell*

**WIDOWHOOD**    Brides and grooms in the late colonial, Revolutionary War, and early national periods took to heart the words "until death do us part" when exchanging vows. Women in that era usually were several years younger than the men they married. Most marriages did not survive intact, however, until couples attained a ripe old age.

The death of a spouse in the prime of life affected more women than men. "[It is] the most Forlorn and Dismal of all states," wrote Abigail Adams in 1778, nearly half a century before her own husband died. Widowhood altered family arrangements, transforming women's economic and legal status. Having rarely been able to make autonomous decisions, or even to hold possessions in their own name, women had to learn new survival skills. Letters from the period indicate that some widows adapted reasonably well, while others withdrew from society, angry and depressed. Once widowed, many women began a sad decline into senectitude.

The religious commandment to "honor thy father and mother," usually reinforced by the courts, in principle gave widows and widowers the right to expect their children to care for them until they

died—or, depending on their age and wealth, at least until they remarried. Custom dictated that at least one (adult) child remain with the surviving parent, providing labor and support. In return, she or he received in due course a disproportionate share of the estate.

Economic realities reinforced filial piety. Especially in farming communities, men's assets on average increased with advancing years, peaking around age sixty. Women's prosperity or poverty depended on their spouses' success or lack thereof—regardless of how much the wives had contributed as household managers and producers of goods. Control of the land and other property gave the parents authority over their children's future sufficient to ensure the former a basis for financial assistance in later years. Household heads generally retained control of familial wealth until they died—though many fathers gave loans, bequests, and gifts to mature offspring as they were starting out. Unless otherwise stated in the will, a woman would count on her "widow's third," even in situations where her husband died intestate. This was the single most important source of financial security for widows during the period. Even if the third was modest in value, it typically sufficed, providing a widow enough leverage to exert a measure of control over her offspring.

Some husbands were very precise in stipulating what they were leaving to their widows. They even specified the names of the livestock their surviving spouses were to receive. They warned their children that failure to care for their widowed mothers might result in their loss of valued possessions. Some men went a step further, naming their wives guardians or trustees of their estates. Yet detailed wills did not always work to the widow's advantage. By specifying the room in the homestead in which the widow would sleep, a woman's primacy in the household often passed to a younger family member. Rich men sometimes privileged certain children to the detriment of their wives. Those concerned with the intergenerational transfer of their estates and property could stipulate that their spouses would forfeit their designated assets should they choose to remarry. In the Maryland court of appeals, Martha Griffith in 1798 won her right to one-third of her husband's personal property, though her late spouse had pointedly left all his possessions to his children and excluded her.

Widows unacquainted with familial finances often were shocked to find that they had inherited considerable debts. To make ends meet, widows relied on the acumen of their adult children or neighbors. During a period in which a majority of families struggled to eke out a living, financial insecurity heightened most widows' sense of vulnerability.

Most widows crafted ways to remain as independent as possible. Typically, this meant retaining possession of the family homestead as long as possible. When that was no longer feasible, women moved in with their children, doing domestic duties for room and board. Arrangements rarely were permanent: widows moved from the residences of siblings, offspring, and friends as circumstances warranted.

With advancing years, many widows were forced to rely on outsiders for assistance. Under the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which became the basis of most state welfare provisions, local officials had to support the needy in the community. Typically, agents provided poor widows with food, money, and wood so that they could remain in their homes. Sometimes, women were placed in the residence of the householder who made the lowest bid for their upkeep. Over time, an increasing number of cities and counties erected poorhouses, where the sick, deaf, blind, lame, orphans, and criminals shared shelter with widows. "Of all the classes of the poor," declared Josiah Quincy in an 1821 report on welfare in Boston, "that of virtuous old age has the most unexceptionable claims upon society." Young widows who were unwilling to work while in the almshouse would not be viewed so favorably as infirm, impoverished women.

Revolutionary War pensions provided some relief for eligible widows. The first pensions, authorized in 1780, provided officers' widows half of their late husbands' salaries for seven years if their spouses had remained in the Continental Army until the end of the war. These widows' provisions were abolished in 1794. Revolutionary soldiers in need (presumably, widowers were in this pool) were granted pensions in 1818; their widows, on proof of marriage, became eligible for pensions in 1832. Congress thereafter liberalized widows' Revolutionary War benefits.

*See also* **Domestic Life; Inheritance; Marriage; Women: Rights.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Haber, Carole, and Brian Gratton. *Old Age and the Search for Security: An American Social History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Mintz, Steven. *Does the American Family Have a History?* New York: Council of Contemporary Families, 2003.

Premo, Terri L. *Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic*, *1785–1835*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990.

W. Andrew Achenbaum

**WIGS** During the seventeenth century, men of the upper classes shaved their heads and wore long elaborate wigs that grew shorter and simpler during the early decades of the eighteenth century. By 1750 these, too, gradually went out of fashion as men began to give up shaving their heads and natural hair became more popular, although it was usually curled and powdered to look like a wig. The powder could be brown, gray, or white, although the latter was preferred. If the natural hair was worn unpowdered and short, a hairpiece with a braided or tied queue could be attached at the back of the crown to fill out the hairstyle. By the 1790s soldiers in the American army were ordered to wear their hair tied and powdered when they appeared for review. From 1770 to 1800 hair styles among American men ranged from natural hair worn short to natural hair worn long and tied back to natural hair crimped and curled and powdered to full formal wigs. By 1800 wigs had universally died out among men except for older or more conservative men, especially those in the clergy, lawyers, and doctors, some of whom continued wearing wigs through the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

At his second inauguration in 1793, George Washington wore his own hair tied back and powdered, but his successor, John Adams, wore a wig which, it was said, he hurled to the ground in anger when his cabinet displeased him. Thomas Jefferson wore his reddish hair natural and his successor, James Madison, powdered his receding locks. By the time of Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, most men wore their hair short to medium in length and natural in color. Vanity also played a role in the choice to wear a wig or not, and former Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin was described in 1832 as wearing "an ugly wig" that was intended to hide his baldness.

Women, on the other hand, rarely wore wigs from 1750 to 1800. The high, elaborate hairstyles of the time were constructed by brushing one's own hair, well greased with pomatum, over rats or puffs, and powdering it. When shorter hairstyles became popular among women after 1790, wigs, too, became more popular and were frequently worn to eliminate the necessity of styling one's own hair for



**President Adams's Wig.** John Adams, shown here in a painting (c. 1770) by Joseph Badger, reportedly had a habit of hurling his wig to the ground in anger when his cabinet displeased him. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

formal occasions. President Jefferson's married daughters asked him to have wigs made to match their natural hair for their visits to Washington in 1802 and 1805, and Dolley Madison and her sister ordered wigs in 1807 and 1809. Women whose hair was turning gray would often wear natural-colored wigs to hide the fact. From 1810 to 1830 women wore full wigs less often than partial wigs, with false curls, ringlets, and bangs being utilized to fill in hairstyles where needed. Also, the high-piled curls so popular about 1830 were frequently augmented by false ringlets attached to combs. Wig use gradually died out among women also, and by 1830 wigs were seldom worn by either sex.

*See also* **Clothing.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Betts, Edwin Morris, and James Bear. *The Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson.* Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1966. Reprint, Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1986.

Corson, Richard. *Fashions in Hair, The First Five Thousand Years.* New York: Hastings House, 1965.

Cox, James Stevens. *An Illustrated Dictionary of Hairdressing and Wigmaking.* London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1966; revised 1984.

Marly, Diana de. *Dress in North American: The New World, 1492–1800.* Vol. 1. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990.

McClellan, Elisabeth. *Historic Dress in American, 1607–1870.* New York: Blom, 1904. Reprint, New York: Blom, 1969.

Shulman, Holly C. *The Dolley Madison Digital Edition.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2004.

Warwick, Edward, Henry C. Pitz, and Alexander Wyckoff. *Early American Dress: The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods.* New York: Blom, 1965.

*Mary A. Hackett*

## WISCONSIN TERRITORY

The Wisconsin Territory was not formed by act of Congress until 1836. It was a part of the Northwest Territory beginning in 1787, the Indiana Territory in 1800, the Illinois Territory in 1809, and the Michigan Territory in 1818. The Wisconsin Territory stretched north to the British–Canadian border and was originally bounded to the west by the Missouri River, although in 1838 an act of Congress made the Mississippi River the official western boundary.

Over twenty thousand American Indians resided in the Wisconsin region in 1768. They belonged to a number of tribes, the largest being the Ojibways, Winnebagos, Potawatomis, and the Sioux river bands in the West. Indians traded furs with British and Montreal–based French traders, who continued to dominate the fur trade even after the United States assumed sovereignty by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The United States did not begin establishing factories to regulate the fur trade in Wisconsin until one was built on Mackinac Island in 1809. The British quickly captured this factory during the War of 1812 but abandoned it after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814.

The fur trade economy relied on buffalo hunts and the importation of foodstuffs to support hunters and traders. White traders often married into Indian families and settled in villages where their mixed–race children were known as Métis. Indian and Métis women had key roles in negotiating accommodation in this society, were included in gift–giving ceremonies, and largely dominated the important process of maple sugar production.

The Fox Indians mined lead in southern Wisconsin in the eighteenth century and in 1788 permitted a French Canadian, Julien Dubuque, to mine there as well. In 1822 a U.S. Indian agent reported to the secretary of war that southern Wisconsin had large quantities of lead ore, and the report subsequently leaked. Over five hundred Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee miners came to southern Wisconsin between 1822 and 1825. By 1829, over four thousand European Americans and one hundred African Americans had arrived from the eastern states and Illinois. Lead miners intruded onto Indian lands secured by treaty, and the Winnebagos began scattershot raiding of white settlements. In 1827 a raid led by the Winnebago warrior Red Bird prompted the quick formation of a force numbering over one thousand infantry and cavalry. Red Bird surrendered and the Winnebagos distanced themselves from his raids. In 1829 the United States reached a treaty with the Ojibways, Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Winnebagos that resulted in their surrender of the mining region east of the Mississippi.

*See also* **Fur and Pelt Trade; American Indian Relations, 1815–1829; American Indian Removal; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Murphy, Lucy Eldersveld. "To Live among Us: Accommodation, Gender, and Conflict in the Western Great Lakes Region, 1760–1832." In *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi.* Edited by Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Wyman, Mark. *The Wisconsin Frontier.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

*H. Robert Baker*

## WOMEN

This entry consists of eight separate articles: *Overview*, *Female Reform Societies and Reformers*, *Political Participation*, *Professions*, *Rights*, *Women's Literature*, *Women's Voluntary Associations*, and *Writers*.

### *Overview*

In the period from 1754 to 1829, virtually every facet of women's lives—from politics to the economy to their own sexuality—underwent dramatic change. Although women's historians have long debated whether these changes benefited women, the developments were complex and ambiguous, and

***Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth (1854).*** The Pennsylvania heroine Mary Ludwig Hays, pictured here in a painting by Dennis Malone Carter, won her nickname, Molly Pitcher, by carrying water to the troops during the Battle of Monmouth in 1778. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

they affected different women in different ways, especially when one takes into consideration class, race, and region.

### EDUCATION AND INTELLECT

Nowhere was the change for women more dramatic than in the realm of education. Enlightenment thinkers asserted that man was a creature of reason, and although they often meant males rather than humankind more generally, there was enough ambiguity in their discussions to allow others to assert, more explicitly, that women had the same intellectual capacity as men. "Will it be said that the judgment of a male of two years old, is more sage than that of a female's of the same age?" the Massachusetts author Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820) asked rhetorically. If women appeared less learned than men, advocates of women's education argued, it was only for the lack of opportunity, not innate ability. In

order to remedy this deficiency, almost four hundred female academies were established between 1790 and 1830, in the North and South both. Indeed, a higher percentage of women were enrolled in female academies than men in academies and colleges both. Among the most important of these institutions were the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, chartered in 1792 but training women for perhaps a decade before that, and Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Female Academy, begun the same year.

The advances in women's education were stunning. By 1850, the literacy gap between white men and women was closed in New England and narrowed in the South, and at the female academies, women received advanced training as well. Yet if the academies trained a generation of women and made many of them, as Mary Kelley has argued, not only active readers, but truly learned, they also illustrate the limitations of Enlightenment notions of female

***Lady with a Harp, Eliza Ridgely*** **(1818).** Eliza Ridgely, daughter of Baltimore merchant Nicholas Ridgely, was a teenager when she posed for this portrait by Thomas Sully. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

equality. Enlightenment optimism was undercut by a pervasive fear that too much education would make women "pedants," unfit them for their domestic duties, and make them unattractive to men.

### POLITICS

Like men, women were drawn into the political conflict that led to the American Revolution (1775–1783). Women actively participated in the boycott of tea and other goods taxed by the Townshend Act of 1767. Indeed, because women were avid consumers of just the sorts of luxury goods that were the focus of this and subsequent colonial boycotts, the boycotts could not have succeeded without women's involvement. Moreover, such boycotts were part of the process of political mobilization that helped colonists see themselves as Patriots and devote themselves to the Revolutionary cause. Women, such as the fifty-one women in Edenton, North Carolina, who in

1774 pledged to do "everything as far as lies in our power" to support the "publick good," played an important part in this effort, as did the many women who, during the Revolution, raised funds to support the effort and rioted to protest what they considered unpatriotic price gouging.

Republican thought, one of the sources of Revolutionary ideology, placed a premium upon self-sacrifice for the common good and imagined the paradigmatic citizen as male. In the Revolutionary maelstrom, however, republicanism lost some of its historically misogynist elements. Both women and men committed themselves to the patriotic cause, and Revolutionary thinkers began to carve out a gendered role for female Patriots. Benjamin Rush, the Philadelphia physician and Revolutionary, suggested that mothers could instruct their children in "the great subjects of liberty and government." He also noted that "the opinions and conduct of men are often regulated by the women," and that "the principal reward" for male acts of valor was female "approbation." Magazines and novels encouraged young women and men to marry only those who were the living embodiments of republican virtue. It is not clear that such injunctions actually shaped behavior: curricula at the female academies placed more emphasis on Enlightenment principles and sensibility than republican concepts of domesticity, for example, and there is little evidence that suitors sought out Patriots for their mates. Nonetheless, such discussions drew women into Revolutionary discourse as both participants and subjects, and there is abundant evidence—from their attendance at political events, their support of nascent political parties, and their letters and journals—that many women were deeply interested in the Revolution and the political affairs of the new nation.

Revolutionary ideology drew from liberal notions of equality, and they, too, would affect thinking about women. So pervasive was the doctrine of equality that most Revolutionaries seemed to take it for granted that women were in some measure equal, but just what that would mean in practice was problematic. Revolutions by their very nature raise questions about established patterns of authority. We can see this process at work when Hannah Lee Corbin asked her brother, the Virginia Revolutionary Richard Henry Lee, why single, propertied women (who were not encompassed by the principle of coverture, which placed daughters and wives under the rule of the male head of household) could not vote, and he could not make an effective answer. Abigail Adams famously instructed her husband John, then

attending the Continental Congress, to "Remember the Ladies" in "the new code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make. . . . Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could." Abigail Adams gave the republican commonplace about the corrupting tendencies of power a gendered gloss. Just as famously, John Adams made light of his wife's concerns. "I cannot but laugh," he told her. "We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where," provoking uprisings among children, apprentices, slaves, and Indians, "but your letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented." John Adams treated the issue more seriously, however, in an exchange with his fellow Massachusetts Revolutionary James Sullivan. Sullivan wanted to know how Lockean theory, which held that people can only be bound to laws to which they have consented, could be squared with the customary exclusion of women and other groups from the franchise. John Adams accepted the principle of consent "in Theory," but worried about it in practice. "It is dangerous to open So fruitfull a Source of Controversy and Altercation. . . . There will be no End of it."

Yet without either a genuine feminist movement or a fully articulated doctrine of female political inequality, both ideas and practices were in flux. In the furthest reach of Revolutionary egalitarianism, New Jersey, as if in answer to Hannah Lee Corbin's query, permitted unmarried, propertied women to vote from 1776 to 1807, when, in a narrowing of the Revolution's democratic possibilities, the franchise was withdrawn from free blacks, aliens, and untaxed men, as well as women.

Although the Constitution nowhere mentions women explicitly, records of the debates in the Constitutional Convention make it clear that women were to be included when congressional representatives were apportioned and hence that women, even though they could not vote or hold office, were to be represented by the new government. Likewise Bill of Rights guarantees such as freedom of religion, assembly, speech, and trial by jury all applied to (free) women. At the same time, as Linda K. Kerber has shown, women were not allowed to perform the duties of citizenship, not only (with the exception of New Jersey) voting and holding office, but also serving in the militia or on juries. Women's relationship to the new government was, hence, ambiguous. In one sense, they were the paradigmatic citizens, construed, like children, as weak members of society, in



**Mrs. John B. Bayard.** *Portrait of Mrs. John B. Bayard* (1780) by Charles Willson Peale. © PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/ CORBIS.

need of government's protection. At the same time, although they could lobby and petition government—which they certainly did—they were precluded from representing themselves. Indeed, this exclusion from formal participation only made them more worthy, or so it appeared. The presence of women at political ceremonies, in the halls of Congress, or even in the U.S. Supreme Court seemed to assure that whatever took place there was done for the benefit of society more generally, and not just for the presumably self-interested men who exercised power in their name.

## LAW

The years after the Revolution witnessed several small improvements in women's legal status. For the most part, however, the legal reforms of the post-Revolutionary era were not designed for women's relief, even if that was sometimes their effect. For example, the elimination of primogeniture worked to the advantage of younger brothers as well as women. Consider also the case of divorce, which both Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson justified in liberal terms of consent and contract. "No partnership can oblige continuance in contradiction to its end and design," Jefferson wrote, and the principle applied both to governments and marriages. By

1800 divorce, which before the Revolution had been rare except in the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, was legal in twelve states and the Northwest Territory. Yet as Norma Basch has shown, liberalized divorce laws benefited primarily those women whose husbands had already abandoned them; now they were afforded some legal protection. Divorce, however, remained rare, and if it provided relief for the occasional wife with an adulterous or abusive husband, it did almost nothing to redress the imbalance of economic and legal power under which many more women suffered.

There were other small improvements in women's legal status. For example, in some states, married women gained expanded rights to enter into business, and in 1808, married women in Connecticut secured the right to bequeath real estate. Significant change for women would not come, however, until the middle of the nineteenth century.

### ECONOMY

The economy in this period was shaped by several significant trends. The "consumer revolution" of the eighteenth century put an array of consumer goods, ranging from tea and teapots to mirrors, linens, and chests of drawers, into the hands and homes of perhaps half the colonial population. Women were avid consumers of such items. At the same time, there were significant gains in productivity over the course of the century in advance of the technological innovations that accompanied the industrial revolution. Although economic historians are not yet certain how these gains were made, they believe the advances were the result of an "industrious revolution" in which people worked longer and harder. In an economy still based upon the family, significant gains in productivity could come only from the work of women and children (and of slaves of both sexes).

Overcrowding, particularly in New England, and a series of imperial wars dislocated numbers of young people of both sexes and made widows out of young wives. The Revolution only exacerbated this trend as countless young people flocked to the cities, where they hoped to make a living. There they were joined by emancipated slaves, who created the first urban, free black communities. These new urbanites, many of whom, of course, were women, constituted the United States' first working class. The women found employment in a variety of manufacturing and service occupations, ranging from domestics in wealthier women's homes to prostitution.

The heightened pace of economic change after the Revolution affected other segments of the female population in different ways. As paid work increasingly moved out of the home, the labor of middle-class white women was obscured. To be middle class meant not to work for pay, and hence domestic labor, from caring for children and making clothing to taking in boarders, was—in Jeanne Boydston's term—"pastoralized," or redefined as love rather than work.

During the same period, slavery was eliminated, sometimes immediately and sometimes gradually, in every state north of Maryland. And even in those states where slavery remained legal, thousands of slaves, some the mistresses or daughters of their owners, were freed by their owners, especially in the Chesapeake region. The result was a new class of free blacks, which was disproportionately female. Most of the women among them faced a life of hard work as domestics, cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses, but freedom enabled them to associate with whom they wanted, to move more or less freely through the North, to marry and maintain families, and to join churches and voluntary associations, all of which would have been difficult if not impossible under slavery. At the same time, as slavery became more entrenched in the South, conditions for slave women generally worsened. New, skilled positions generally went to men, leaving slave women with the drudge work. The spread of slavery, however, and the development of larger plantations generally made family life more secure for women, although the separation of families by sale and forced removal was so common that a term such as "secure" has only relative meaning.

The condition of Indian women in this period deteriorated. All Indians were losers in the Revolution, and many found their lands seized and their homes destroyed. Others would face defeat by the American army and eviction from their lands in the decades to come. The wars left countless Indian women widows. Also, increasing dependency on the market altered gender relations in Indian country. Men traded undressed skins and pelts to whites and too often spent the proceeds on liquor. Women's work was no longer vital to their communities.

### SEXUALITY

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the power of fathers was in decline as a rapidly changing economy and new doctrines of equality limited their control over their children. This change should have been more beneficial to women than it was. Although the ideal of companionate marriage suggested that marriage should be a union of equals, and while increas-

ing numbers of young people hoped to find a soul mate, young women had very little power and even less protection should they succumb to the entreaties of a faithless suitor or marry unwisely. Once again the promise of the Revolution remained unfulfilled. Women, particularly those of the middle class and the elite, benefited from ideals of equality and even increased freedom. But without the power to protect themselves or to secure their own livelihoods, such gains were only partial.

*See also* **Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Law: Women and the Law; Marriage; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution; Sexual Morality; Sexuality; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Basch, Norma. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Kelley, Mary. "Reading Women/Women Reading: The Making of Learned Women in Antebellum America." *Journal of American History* 83 (1996): 401–424.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

———. *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.

Lewis, Jan. "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, 44 (1987): 689–721.

———. "'Of Every Age, Sex, and Condition:' The Representation of Women in the Constitution." *Journal of the Early Republic* 15 (1995): 359–387.

Nash, Margaret A. "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia." *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 171–191.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women.* Boston: Little Brown, 1980.

Salmon, Marylynn. "Republican Sentiment, Economic Change, and the Property Rights of Women in American Law." In *Women in the Age of the American Revolution.* Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989.

*Jan Ellen Lewis*

## Female Reform Societies and Reformers

Women's efforts to change and improve American society—and in the process alter their own status—began to develop significantly at the end of the eighteenth century. One reason for this was that the patriarchal attitudes toward women's roles in society, whereby women were seen largely as domestic drudges confined to the home and inferior to men in every way, began to yield to the idea that women in the new Republic needed to become more active in making the family a bedrock of republican virtue and a repository of religious instruction for the children. This elevated women to a distinct position of authority concerning morality and gave them the opening to define not only moral standards in the home but in the community.

### REVIVALISM AND REFORM

Aiding this development was the emergence at the turn of the century, from New England to the Mississippi, of the Second Great Awakening. This revivalism, particularly as it developed in the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, not only produced large numbers of female converts but instilled in them the belief that sin and vices such as intemperance, gambling, and prostitution were voluntary activities that the new converts could eradicate. Moral suasion, a reform technique whereby sinners were persuaded by preachers, lecturers, and religious publications to give up their vicious ways, was a major development of the Second Great Awakening outlook and would inspire thousands of reformers of both sexes to improve American society.

In the cities, religion-inspired charity, in which women played a major role, developed extensively in the 1790s and 1800s. As the nation entered the industrial revolution and embraced a market economy, the soaring urban population brought with it a growing number of widows, orphans, and other groups needing assistance. Men and women from the upper and middle classes, often inspired by the new religious developments, began to organize efforts to succor the needy and at the same time bring them into religious institutions. Caring for the poor, especially the "worthy" poor, emerged as one of the earliest reforms in which women could participate. In 1797 Isabella Graham, a wealthy New York City woman, took the lead in establishing the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children. Graham and other members found jobs for the women, gave them food and clothing, and provided fuel for

their fires. In addition, they tried to "improve" them by providing lessons in household management and instructing them in religion. A Boston female association founded in 1812 noted that by the 1840s it had aided more than ten thousand families. By the 1820s, not only in the larger cities but in places such as Rochester, New York, and New Orleans, women had set up hundreds of relief societies, orphanages, charity schools, and poorhouses. The New Hampshire Missionary Society established more than fifty local female auxiliaries to support its efforts to find and place domestic and foreign missionaries and to help distribute Bibles and religious tracts. Between 1810 and 1815 across the nation, thousands of women joined "cent a week" societies where their savings when pooled went to support more missionaries and to distribute more religious materials.

### REFORMING PROSTITUTES

Relief efforts brought evangelical women and men into contact with the lower classes, where they found not only widows and orphans in need of help but also women being exploited, especially by prostitution. A male-controlled prostitute asylum, where penitent prostitutes could be reformed, opened in 1800 in Philadelphia. Eleven years later, Isabella Graham and her wealthy matron friends joined with men to found a similar asylum in New York City. The asylum approach to reform came from the religious belief that all people, regardless of their sins, could be converted to Christianity and trained to live moral and productive lives. In the controlled environment inside the asylum, female instructors, aided by male preachers, taught the penitents religion and encouraged them to convert. At the same time, the inmates were trained to be seamstresses or domestic servants, "respectable" occupations that they could enter after leaving the asylum. Although the asylum approach failed to redeem many prostitutes and the asylums themselves had short lives, women increasingly took the lead in the movement against prostitution. By the 1830s, when the asylum approach to prostitution revived, women would dominate every aspect of the reform effort.

### EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Women also became deeply involved in educational reform. Since colonial times, girls had received a smattering of elementary education—enough to be able to read the Bible—but had seldom had any instruction beyond that level. Private academies in the eighteenth century sometimes enrolled girls as well as boys, and the all-female academy or finishing school emerged in the second half of the same century. All too often, the finishing schools instructed girls in household matters, good manners, and correct posture and in nothing else. By the 1820s, however, women reformers such as Catharine Beecher, Emma Willard, Zilpah Grant, and Mary Lyon called for more rigorous education for women to prepare them for the moral guardianship of the younger generation. Willard proposed in 1818 that girls receive religious and moral training in their schools and education in natural philosophy and literature. She and others also demanded that girls receive instruction in algebra, geometry, history, geography, and the natural sciences. Beecher, Grant, and Lyon used their own female academies to create rigorous curricula and to promote their new approach to female learning throughout the nation.

Women's education, while it continued to develop and spread during the early national period, caused considerable alarm among people who feared that educated women would forget that they were in a sphere that revolved around the home. For every Emma Willard who called for more education for girls, there was someone, usually a male authority figure, who warned that women's brains were too small and too fragile to handle the rigors of subjects such as philosophy. This theory of female inferiority indeed had long been used to prevent more educational opportunities for women and had provoked from some women stinging counterarguments calling for female equality. Judith Sargent Murray, a Gloucester, Massachusetts, education advocate, argued in the 1770s that the supposed superiority of male intellect arose from nothing more than men having more education than women. The anonymous female author of *The Female Advocate* in 1801 claimed that God and Nature had given both sexes "equality of talents, of genius, of morals, as well as intellectual worth" and that only male arrogance had deprived women of this equality by keeping them from education and experience.

Such ventures into a feminist critique of society remained daring—and rare. When Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), calling for equality for the sexes, appeared in Britain, American women largely ignored her plea and continued to strive for change in the form of aid to the needy, vice eradication, and expanded educational opportunities for women rather than for sexual equality. A fully developed crusade for women's rights would not emerge until the 1840s.

*See also* **Education: Education of Girls and Women; Prostitutes and Prostitution;**

Revivals and Revivalism; Welfare and Charity.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boylan, Anne M. *The Origin of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Melder, Keith E. *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800–1850.* New York: Schocken, 1977.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

*Larry Whiteaker*

## *Political Participation*

Once, an entry on women's political participation would have been absent from an encyclopedia such as this one, on the assumption that women had no political presence in this historical period because they lacked the vote. But scholars, in addition to uncovering rare and proscribed examples of voting by women, have shown that women were indeed active in a continuum of political activities ranging from acts of patriotism, to work with voluntary associations (which often involved personal dealings with governments), to appearances at partisan gatherings, to more publicly organized efforts to influence the distribution of power or resources in their communities, their states, and their nation.

Before the war, most colonies' laws allowed only propertied, often only white propertied, men to vote. Women were thus part of a large category of the excluded that also contained nontaxpayers, slaves, the poor, and, in some colonies, free blacks, Catholics, and Jews. In a few towns in Massachusetts and a few counties in New York, propertied widows voted in local elections.

The colonial protests that became the American Revolution, however, forced everyone to consider arguments regarding the government's legitimacy. Women with Revolutionary sympathies supported the boycott of British products; they drank herbal teas and made clothes from homespun cloth. In poems, plays, essays, letters, and diaries women on both sides of the war advocated for their political views. After the war, in 1788, Mercy Otis Warren, whose brother James Otis had been a leader in the tax rebellion, published a pamphlet opposing ratification of the new federal constitution, thus engaging directly in political advocacy, albeit anonymously.

The war's justification—no taxation without representation—supplied obvious arguments in favor of widening the suffrage to taxpaying men and single taxpaying women (married women were thought to be represented politically by their husbands). Nevertheless, only one state, New Jersey, did so: its 1776 state constitution specified that black and white unmarried and widowed women in possession of fifty pounds could vote.

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, women found themselves under increasing pressure to redirect their political energies into raising their children to be good citizens. The distinction between public and private spheres established the banishment of women from the civic arena as a moral good. (In response, New Jersey ended single wealthy women's suffrage in 1807.) Organized benevolence, however, was considered a proper quasi–public endeavor for women. Working in partnership with men and on their own, black and white women founded orphanages and asylums and lobbied individuals and local governments for funds to maintain the new institutions. They also worked for temperance, antislavery, and education.

Women's engagement in organized benevolence drew them into policy arguments that only Congress could settle. The tool they chose to influence the federal legislature was the petition. This ancient method, originally intended to redress individual grievances, had become a political means as early as the 1780s, when men in Massachusetts petitioned their state legislature for tax relief and women seamstresses in Charleston petitioned the South Carolina legislature to impose a duty on imported ready-made clothing to protect their industry. The first women's petition to Congress was on behalf of the Indian tribes in Southern states. That two-year campaign began in 1829 when the educator Catharine Beecher wrote a pamphlet urging women to petition Congress not to remove the Indians from their lands and orchestrated its circulation among "benevolent" women. Beecher, aware of the controversial nature of these efforts, undertook them anonymously. But the deed spoke for itself. Women's use of the petition for political purposes expanded in the decades to come, as did their use of other soon–to–be–discovered methods of nonvoting political participation.

*See also* **Education: Education of Girls and Women; Marriage; Widowhood; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Portnoy, Alisse Theodore. "'Female Petitioners Can Lawfully Be Heard': Negotiating Female Decorum, United States Politics, and Political Agency, 1829–1831." *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 4 (2003): 573–610.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. "Women and Party Conflict in the Early Republic." In *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic.* Edited by Jeffrey L. Pasley, Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

*Louise W. Knight*

## *Professions*

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, female participation in professional fields was limited to areas related to the household and family, or those that emphasized nurturing skills. A woman might routinely step out of her traditional role and take over her husband's profession, trade, or shop while he was away on business because the family's livelihood depended on it. Other women worked in the medical profession; midwives such as Martha Ballard delivered babies, tended new mothers, and treated illness in both female and male patients. By the 1820s, though, most states enacted laws requiring practitioners to be graduates of medical schools, and this effectively limited the practice of medicine to men only.

Even as the medical profession contracted, the fields of education, writing, benevolence, and reform opened to women. Following American independence, the physician Benjamin Rush argued that mothers were the perfect people to teach republicanism, patriotism, and virtue to their sons while passing on domestic skills to daughters. This renewed emphasis on domesticity and the added emphasis on goodness enabled women to move into new types of work, related to their assigned roles as family educators and moral guardians. In 1792 Sara Pierce opened a female academy in Litchfield, Connecticut; over the next decades, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, and Zilpah Grant also established schools in New York and New England for young women. By the 1830s, when a newly established public school system faced a teacher shortage, an army of educated young women filled the void. (The influx feminized the profession, and teachers' salaries were halved.)

Writing was another professional choice for some women. In the late eighteenth century, Mercy Otis Warren defied convention by writing plays; in 1805 she completed a three-volume history of the American Revolution. In this same period, Judith Sargent Murray published essays, plays, and poetry on women's education and equality, but she wrote under a male pseudonym to avoid criticism. By contrast, early-nineteenth-century authors Catharine Beecher, Lydia Maria Child, and Sarah Josepha Hale gained popularity, not by taking on a male persona or writing on typically male subjects, but by focusing on women's issues such as the domestic economy and child rearing. In fact, Child supported her husband, a struggling attorney, by writing. Hale was particularly influential as the editor of *Ladies Magazine* from 1827 to 1836 and *Godey's Lady's Book* from 1837 to 1877.

Benevolence and reform also offered a professional path related to what were seen as women's moral and domestic roles. Southern women were less likely to attend seminaries or become teachers than those in the North, but women in both regions were involved in benevolence. In 1812 women in Petersburg, Virginia, started a female orphan asylum; New York women organized a society to aid widows and children as early as 1797. After 1830 some Northern women adopted such causes as abolition, temperance, saving prostitutes, and woman suffrage. These experiences paved the way for women to become organizational managers and social workers, as well as teachers and writers, though professions such as medicine, law, and the ministry remained closed.

*See also* **Abolition Societies; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Marriage; Medicine; Work: Midwifery; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boylan, Anne M. *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Kerber, Linda K. "Daughters of Columbia: Educating Women for the Republic, 1787–1805." In *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial.* Edited by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick. New York: Knopf, 1974.

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity.* New York: Norton, 1976.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

*Diane Wenger*

## *Rights*

Natural rights were a topic much discussed in the early years of the Republic. Modern scholars study-

ing these debates have sought to identify early advocates for women's rights, determine the extent to which they judged men's and women's rights to be different, and assess women's place in early American republicanism.

### THE IDEA OF NATURAL RIGHTS

For most of the eighteenth century, the rights usually invoked in popular discourse were constitutional rights, those having to do with law and procedure. The British colonists were aware of John Locke's writings on natural rights, but the idea did not take on political valence until the 1760s, and then mostly among the leaders of the Revolution, such as James Otis. The phrase "rights of man" and "women's rights" were not in widespread use until the 1790s, following the publication of Thomas Paine's treatise on the French Revolution, *The Rights of Man* (1791, 1792) and Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

The idea that all human beings possess equal rights to autonomy, property, and happiness, advanced by Locke and others, was as potentially revolutionary for the new Republic as the theory of "consent of the governed" had been when the colonies were under British colonial rule. The issue now became just how far rights advocates could push the argument. By 1829 white, unpropertied, and untaxed men were well on their way to achieving full political rights in all the states. For women, however, voting rights were barely under debate. (Only New Jersey had seriously considered the issue, having granted and then rescinded the vote to landowning single women between 1776 and 1807.) The first question was whether they possessed natural rights at all. Judged to be men's inferior, particularly in matters of intellect and civic virtue, women were expected to embrace dependence on, and obedience to, men as the proper arrangement.

In the midst of the Revolutionary War, a twenty-eight-year-old woman, Judith Sargent Stevens (later Murray), began work on a manuscript, "The Sexes," in which she argued for the natural equality of women's minds and for providing mentally challenging education to all girls. The first portion of this manuscript, on which she continued to work throughout the 1780s, was published anonymously in 1790 in a prominent literary magazine with the title, "On the Equality of the Sexes." Frustrated by society's neglect of women's intellects, Murray set out several arguments in favor of educating girls. Some arguments, most of which were in general circulation by the 1780s, were purely practical—that

women would be less coquettish, vain, and frivolous, better companions to their husbands, better mothers to their children, happier, and be brought closer to God, if their minds were trained. But Murray, while avoiding the word "rights" and generally favoring women's traditional role as obedient helpmeet, argued that women's minds were naturally equal, that they possessed immortal souls and that they ought to be able to realize their full potential—all ideas advanced by natural rights theory. Whether Murray was America's first advocate for women's rights is still in dispute.

### WOLLSTONECRAFT'S CONTRIBUTION

Two years after Murray's essay was published, the phrase "women's rights" was boldly laid on the table by the British philosopher and essayist, Mary Wollstonecraft. Her book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), shocked and excited readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Three American editions of this first major work of feminist political theory were immediately in print, and the book was excerpted in several literary journals, including the one that had published Murray's essay. Wollstonecraft used natural rights arguments to conclude that women belonged in the republican vision of citizenship. The rights of humanity also belonged to the female side of the population, she wrote; women, too, should enjoy independence, cultivate their virtue through the exercise of their reason, and realize their "full potential." Like Murray, her primary focus was on why women's minds should be educated; unlike Murray, she extended the implications of the rights argument into other areas. Talented women, she argued, should be able to take up the professions, such as medicine, or to practice business, or even to be elected to represent other women in legislatures. Although Wollstonecraft affirmed that women's duties were different from men's and that they included managing her family, educating her children, and helping her neighbors, she continually repeated the point that these duties flowed from women's natural rights. If a woman's rights were not honored, then her duties were cancelled.

### WOMEN'S RIGHTS REDEFINED

The early years of the nineteenth century were years of consolidation and retrenchment for issues related to women's rights. As the century turned, the traditional gender hierarchy—of women dependent on men and under their authority—reasserted its influence through the ideal of the republican mother and through the distinction drawn between public and

private spheres and the theory that men's place was in public and women's place at home. But rights had entered the national vocabulary. Hannah Mather Crocker in her *Observations on the Real Rights of Women* (1818) voiced the new assumption that women were equal and that women and men had different rights, with women's centering on their domestic duties.

Still, the argument for educating girls made some progress. A few academies for young ladies sprang up in the 1780s, and their numbers increased in the 1790s. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, such schools were entirely noncontroversial. Many taught dancing, French, and good manners, and a little mathematics; the best ones, however, taught rhetoric, philosophy, and history. The natural rights argument that had helped produce this educational revolution was hidden from sight but not forgotten. A second generation of Wollstonecraft's readers, those equipped with a better education, would expand the arguments for women's rights in the near future.

*See also* **Citizenship; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: Mary Wollstonecraft; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Home; Natural Rights; Parenthood.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boydston, Jeanne. "Making Gender in the Early Republic: Judith Sargent Murray and the Revolution of 1800." In *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Edited by James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Brown, Chandos Michael. "Mary Wollstonecraft, or, the Female Illuminati: The Campaign against Women and 'Modern Philosophy' in the Early Republic." *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no. 3 (autumn 1995): 389–424.

Sapiro, Virginia. *A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Political Theory of Mary Wollstonecraft.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Schloesser, Pauline. *The Fair Sex: White Women and Racial Patriarchy in the Early American Republic.* New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 55, no. 2 (April 1998): 203–230.

*Louise W. Knight*

## Women's Literature

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women read and wrote in every conceivable literary form despite prevailing laws and customs. Most Americans believed that only men could be active citizens, a role that included participating in political discourse in newspapers, pamphlets, or other such forums. Women were denied participation in political forums such as town meetings and could not hold political office. However, they seized opportunities available to them to write for a wide audience.

The American Revolution helped bring women into the world of published literature. When the first crises between the American colonies and Great Britain arose in the 1760s, women wrote about their political opinions and in some cases sent these opinions to newspapers. In their writings women often apologized for violating gender customs. They justified their publications by arguing that they were defending their honor from insult or argued that specific female roles, such as manufacturing and mending of clothing, gave them the right to write in the midst of a crisis that rendered these roles political.

Women were acutely aware of gender boundaries. Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814), in a published poem titled "Primitive Simplicity," averred that if she exceeded what she called the "narrow bounds" of womanhood, she would put her pen down and gladly fit herself into her proper place as wife and mother. Warren was not alone. Most women who wrote for public consumption conformed to the social standards of the time with the exception of their published writing.

### POETRY

American women have a long relationship with poetry. Anne Bradstreet began publishing her poetry in the mid-seventeenth century, paving the way for later female poets. In the early American nation, one of the most renowned poets was Phillis Wheatley (1753?–1784). In her lifetime she published at least forty-six poems and was the author of many more that have since been published. The poem that brought her recognition was one she published in 1770, the subject being the death of George Whitefield, the famous itinerant preacher who captivated audiences in England and America during the religious revival known as the Great Awakening. A volume of her work, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, was published in London in 1773. Wheatley's accomplishments are particularly remarkable as she was born in West Africa and stolen into slavery in 1761. She was taken into the Massachusetts

household of John Wheatley where, by all accounts, she was treated kindly and taught to read and write. Although much of her poetry is conventional, it was highly praised at the time.

At the onset of the American Revolution, poetry was used for propaganda purposes, with writers on both sides arguing their case. Although Mercy Otis Warren is less well known today for her poetry than for her incendiary plays and her history of the American Revolution, poetry was one of the forms she used to help wage the ideological war against the British. Following the Boston Tea Party in December 1773, John Adams encouraged her to write a poem commemorating the bravery of the participants. Adams sent her an outline of the poem, which Warren used as a starting place. With Adams's help the poem, "The Squabble of the Sea Nymphs," was published in a Boston newspaper, intensifying anti-British feeling. Warren, encouraged by prominent men, became a mouthpiece for the American cause.

In the period after the American Revolution, women's poetry focused less on politics and more on morality and sentiment as these characteristics were increasingly seen as inherently female. The most successful of the early-nineteenth-century American poets was Lydia Howard Sigourney (1791–1865), who published her first work, *Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse*, in 1815. She followed this first work with almost seventy more books and more than a thousand articles. Her poetry and prose embraced gender conventions, focusing on moral and religious issues and women's roles in society.

### PLAYS

Like poetry, plays were used as propaganda pieces in the cause of the American Revolution. Mercy Otis Warren was one of the United States' first playwrights, playing a key role in the development of the genre. Her three political plays, *The Adulateur* (1772), *The Defeat* (1773), and *The Group* (1775) worked to rouse Americans in opposition to British policy. Published in newspapers and pamphlets, they were not written to be performed but to be read out loud. All three focused on the evils of the Tory government in Massachusetts, particularly the actions of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Placing the action in fictional Servia, Warren thinly disguised the leading Massachusetts political figures. Hutchinson became the conniving Rapatio, contrasted in the play with the characters who stood in for virtuous Whig colonists. Although not of high literary value, the plays served their purpose, winning support for the American cause.

In 1794 the first dramatic works by women were performed on the American stage. The libretto for the opera *Tammany; or The Indian Chief*, performed in New York, was written by a Welshwoman, Ann Julia Hatton (1764–1838). *Slaves of Algiers; or, A Struggle for Freedom*, written by Susanna Rowson (1762–1864), was performed in Philadelphia. Its setting was the North African Barbary Coast, where the United States Navy was running into trouble with pirates. Although specifically focused on a white slave trade that involved selling girls and women into prostitution, the play was broadly anti-slavery. Rowson's play engaged in the ongoing debate of the new American nation on the nature of freedom, particularly the ideals of the Revolution as opposed to the institution of chattel slavery.

### THE NOVEL

The most controversial literary form in the early American nation was the novel. Americans worried about its allure, fearing that fiction might pull readers into false worlds, detaching them from necessary involvement in the New Republic. Doctors proclaimed that reading too many novels could cause madness and cautioned parents to steer their children toward history and other works of nonfiction. In 1807 Dr. Thomas Trotter wrote that men were, in part, guarded from the risk of madness induced by novels as they had natural outlets in their work life. Women, in the opinion of Trotter and other doctors, were far more vulnerable to the supposed dangers of novel reading. Women in the new American nation were warned repeatedly against reading novels because novels could lead them to put passion before reason and to neglect their womanly household duties. Immersed for hours in stories of love and romance, women might lose touch with reality, causing them to commit moral indiscretions. Because being a good American woman had become tied to morality, some believed that this failure on women's part would do nothing less than bring the new American nation to ruin.

Nevertheless, the novel took off in the new United States. The first American novel, *The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature Founded in Truth* (1789) was written by a man, William Hill Brown (1765–1793); but because it was published anonymously, many believed it had been written by a woman. *The Power of Sympathy* and other early American novels largely detail stories of the seduction and ruin of young women. Running beneath the theme of seduction were broader themes that reflected authors' and readers' anxieties about the new na-

tion. Who would speak for the people? Who had power? Had democracy gone too far? Americans were far from united in the period following the Revolution; the novel grappled with the problems and highlighted the dangers and upheavals of the new nation.

Novels were an accessible form and could be read by people who had little formal education. In addition, novels focused on the everyday life of female characters, allowing women readers to place themselves within the action of the stories. Early American novels all emphasized better education for young women as a way to empower them to make decisions that would lead them away from damnation and toward morality. The plot lines emphasized that if women received adequate education they would be able to guard themselves against rakes and flatterers. These early American novels showed the restrictions of women's lives but entered into a debate about women's status and rights, particularly as it concerned female education.

### BEST-SELLERS

Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1794) was the best-selling American novel until Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* surpassed it in 1852. Not only did American readers buy more than fifty thousand copies by 1812, but they identified so completely with Charlotte that they flocked to the Trinity Church graveyard in New York City to visit a grave that was allegedly hers.

Rowson's heroine is a young, innocent Englishwoman who has been seduced by Montraville, an army officer, brought to the United States, and then left with her shame as well as with decreasing support from her lover. When finally her morality and goodness seem lost forever, and her monetary support is cut off owing to the connivance of Montraville's friend, Belcour, Charlotte dies in childbirth, destroyed as much by her emotional state as by the poverty and hunger that surrounded her because of the abandonment by her seducer.

Although Rowson's heroine is passive, except in her initial choice to run away, the message of the novel spoke against female passivity. The story warned young women not to follow Charlotte's path. As in most American seduction novels, the author's message was that Charlotte's path could be avoided only if women received a good, solid education. Charlotte's downfall was ignorance and dependence.

*The Coquette; or, The History of Eliza Wharton*, by Hannah Webster Foster (1758–1840), ran second to

*Charlotte Temple* in sales. In the novel Eliza Wharton is troubled over the choice between coquetry and married life. The story is based on the story of Elizabeth Whitman (1752–1788), an educated woman from a prominent family who died at the Bell Tavern in Danvers, Massachusetts, where she had checked in under a false name. She had delivered a stillborn baby out of wedlock, and her story became widely circulated in New England as a cautionary tale. Whitman became a symbol of what too much of the wrong kind of reading could do to a woman.

The fictional Eliza Wharton worried about the constraints married life would put on her. She would lose her women friends, and her life would focus entirely on her husband and children. What other choice did she have? In the end she chose the path of the coquette, becoming involved with a married man. Like other American novels, *The Coquette* raised important questions about the nature of the new United States. What role did women play in the new nation? Were their freedoms to be constricted? The dilemmas faced by Eliza Wharton were compelling enough that the book went through thirteen editions before the end of the nineteenth century.

Several trends in the new American nation affected the development of women's literature. In the eighteenth century, print culture expanded rapidly. The revolution in printing made mass production of literary works possible, and the production of a mass market allowed books to be passed along established commercial networks. White women had increased access to education, particularly in the North, which gave them the skills they needed to read and write. The Revolution and the nation-making that followed opened up further avenues for women as women participated in the debates over the shape of the new nation and women's role within it. Women of the middling sort had more leisure time as consumer goods became more available and as servants took over some of the household work. In addition, ladies' magazines furthered women's opportunities to become published writers. By the early nineteenth century, women were fully participating in writing for publication, although no American woman or man was able to make a living from writing until the 1820s.

*See also* **Fiction; Poetry; Print Culture; Printing Technology.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davidson, Cathy N. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* Expanded edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Harris, Sharon M., ed. *American Women Writers to 1800.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Kilcup, Karen L., ed. *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1998.

Tompkins, Jane. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. *A Woman's Dilemma: Mercy Otis Warren and the American Revolution.* Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1995.

*Sarah Swedberg*

## Women's Voluntary Associations

The history of women's voluntary associations begins during the Revolutionary period, when everyday domestic pursuits became politicized as defiant opposition to mercantilist policies imposed on the North American colonists by the British Empire. Groups of women called Daughters of Liberty met, usually in ministers' homes, to produce homespun in order to sustain economic boycotts of British goods. The urgent need to outfit General George Washington's army during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) further eroded customary barriers to the movement of women in public spaces; ladies' associations collected donations for the Revolutionary cause by going door-to-door.

Voluntary associations were few in number and short-lived until the confluence of two ideologies, republicanism and evangelical Christianity, altered women's relationships to family and community. Women had no political status, but their claims to moral authority from active participation in churches and religious movements were imbued with new meanings in the new nation. Improvements in women's education occurred in the nascent Republic of the 1780s and 1790s as reformers used the rhetoric of republicanism and assumptions about women's moral authority to argue that they, as men, must be prepared to assume civic duties. Although women were not schooled to enter public life but to oversee the spiritual training of their sons in order to ensure a virtuous citizenry, education nevertheless raised women's expectations for having a public role in the new nation. Many of the first generation of leaders of early-nineteenth-century benevolent societies had attended female seminaries.

In the first third of the nineteenth century, benevolent societies founded by middle-class northern and southern white women and free black women proliferated to serve the indigent in rapidly growing towns and communities. Many benevolent societies, initially organized as auxiliaries to churches to provide crucial financial support to local clergy and religious missions, became an indispensable apparatus of social welfare, especially for widows and orphans. Isolated by racism, African American women organized for mutual spiritual, intellectual, and material benefit in groups such as the Colored Female Religious and Moral Society founded in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1818, but these organizations also provided charity to those in their communities living in dire poverty. Associations of white women acted as the guardians for the most vulnerable members of the community. Along the Eastern seaboard, benevolent societies cooperated to establish orphan asylums and schools.

The spiritual fervor of the Second Great Awakening in the 1820s and 1830s, with its emphasis on conversion and combating sin, transformed female benevolence into a broader movement for moral and social reform. While many associations remained committed to good works though local charity, some women banded together in public crusades against alcohol abuse and prostitution. Collective efforts for reform included types of public activism previously pursued only by men, including petition drives, rallies and conventions, public lectures, and published broadsides. The New York Female Reform Society, founded in 1834 to reform prostitutes and discourage their clients in New York City, published a newsletter and empowered its members to visit brothels. Susan B. Anthony's first introduction to politics was through her involvement in a local chapter of the Daughters of Temperance in central New York during the 1840s. And as her long career in public life as a leader of the suffrage movement demonstrates, the early women's rights movement in the mid-nineteenth century owed its beginnings to female associations in the new nation.

*See also* **Benevolent Associations; Orphans and Orphanages; Prostitutes and Prostitution; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Welfare and Charity.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY
Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Matthews, Glenna. *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630–1970.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Scott, Anne Firor. *Making the Invisible Woman Visible.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

———. *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

*Kathleen A. Laughlin*

## Writers

During the years from 1754 to 1829, American women writers made many contributions to the shaping of the nascent American nation. Their voices speak through private diaries and journals, and in their letters one discovers a record of the events of their lives. Their poems, novels, and sermons unite religious teachings with domestic themes, as they question their place in the emergent social, political, and geographical landscapes of the United States. Some women's writing reflects the "cult of domesticity," which suggested that a woman's place in the domestic sphere was actually the locus of her power. Other women's writing explores the psychological struggles of women in their relationships with men—especially in novels of seduction, which became popular at the turn of the century. High society women expressed an interest in "polite letters"— newspaper articles, essays, and manuscripts largely circulated in literary salons and coffeehouses—as they attempted to infuse social discourse with their aesthetic concerns. Most important, women's writing during the Revolutionary era illustrates an emerging sense of self-awareness. The inward focus of much of their work in the mid-eighteenth century turned outward by the beginning of the nineteenth century. As women gained self-confidence in their abilities and access to education, their writing reflected an evolution in thinking about significant issues, including religion, attitudes toward Native Americans, racial and gender inequities, and human relationships with the natural world.

Phillis Wheatley (1754–1784), an African slave educated by her American masters, was a highly regarded young poet in Boston. Wheatley's poetry pays homage to her religious faith and to her training in classical education; it does not fully engage

with the issue of slavery. After the Revolutionary War, many women writers expressed their support for the abolitionist cause, which led them to question gender inequities within the dominant religious framework of the times. By the early 1800s, Jarena Lee (1783–1849) challenged a patriarchal system in which women were not allowed to be preachers, claiming that her personal conversion prepared her for the role. Her spiritual autobiographies tell the story of how she became the first African American female preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many women also began to interrogate their own religious beliefs. For example, in her 1822 novel, *A New-England Tale; or, Sketches of New-England Character and Manners*, Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789–1867) chronicles her conversion from Calvinism to Unitarianism. Such later works demonstrate an emergent sense of personal religious freedom for many African American and European American women.

In most stories white women told of their experiences being held captive by Native Americans, such as *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson: Containing an Account of Her Suffering during Four Years with the Indians and French*, published by Susannah Willard Johnson (1730–1810) in 1796, white women's religious convictions are tested during captivity. In Mary Jemison's *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison* (1823), however, Jemison recalls her adoption by her Seneca captors and her assimilation into native culture. At the same time, Native American women of the era were losing their personal religious freedom. As the new nation experienced the inception of its own political independence, some women writers began to question the treatment of Native Americans by white settlers. Unlike earlier captivity narratives, the novel *Hobomok* (1824), by Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880), suggests that Puritan ideology oppressed both Indians and women. Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie; or, Early Times in Massachusetts* (1827), scrutinizes the Puritans' approach to relations with Native Americans. As women writers explored the subjugation of Native Americans, so too did they consider their own oppression within the same patriarchal system.

As early diaries and journals of the period suggest, women increasingly turned from concern with domestic affairs to curiosity about the possibilities for women in civic and political arenas. The diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker (1734–1807), a member of the Philadelphia Quaker elite, is a quotidian domestic record of life during the Revolutionary era. Yet novels of seduction, such as the *The Coquette; or,*

Yet haste the era, when the world shall know,
That such distinctions only dwell below;
The soul unfettered, to no sex confined,
Was for abodes of cloudless day designed.
Meantime we emulate their manly fires,
Through erudition all their thoughts inspires,
Yet nature with *equality* imparts,
And *noble passions*, swell e'en *female* hearts.

*From "On the Equality of the Sexes,"
Judith Sargent Murray, 1790.*

*The History of Eliza Wharton* (1797) by Hannah Webster Foster (1758–1840), emphasized the limitations of the domestic sphere for women. During and after the Revolutionary War, many women were challenged to consider broader social and political concerns in their writings. Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820) was one of the earliest women to question the role of women in American society. In her 1790 essay "On the Equality of the Sexes," Murray advocates for equal educational opportunities for women, and in her three-volume collection of published and unpublished writing, *The Gleaner* (1798), Murray discusses a variety of topics, including politics, American history, morality, and the intellectual equality of women and men. The poet, playwright, and author Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814) wrote *The History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations* in 1798, taking a political stance in support of American Revolutionaries. In 1814, Sarah Savage (1784–1838), a Massachusetts schoolteacher, wrote *The Factory Girl*, one the first works to examine the impact of industrialism on female workers. Women writers also considered the injustices of slavery. The poet and novelist Sarah Josepha Hale (1788–1879) explored themes of slavery and regional identity in her 1827 novel *Northwood*. This awareness of women's roles in social and political spheres would later galvanize early feminist, labor reform, and abolitionist movements.

Women writers also explored their relationship to the American landscape, exhibiting the knowledge they had attained through formal and informal education in the arts and sciences. The letters of Eliza Lucas Pinckney (1722–1793) provide a detailed natural history of a South Carolina plantation, which she deftly managed after inheriting the operation from her parents at age sixteen. After the Revolutionary War, women's mobility increased, and their perspectives on their place in the world broadened. Frances Hornby Barkley (1769–1845) ventured around the world for eight years with her sea captain husband and penned one of the earliest travel narratives about her adventures. Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793–1884) examined landscapes closer to home in her work *Familiar Lectures on Botany, Practical, Elementary, and Physiological* (1829). She was one of the earliest advocates for women's education in the sciences.

During this seventy-five year period, women writers set the stage for a future revolutionary era of women's rights. In 1848, a group of women and men convened in Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss women's equality. Their *Declaration of Sentiments*, following the structure of the Declaration of Independence, called for the rights and privileges of men to be extended to women. In the language of the new declaration are echoes of many women writers' voices from an earlier revolutionary age.

*See also* **Antislavery; Autobiography and Memoir; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Emotional Life; Fiction; History and Biography; Home; Magazines; Nonfiction Prose; Poetry; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Andrews, William L., ed. *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

Bataille, Gretchen M., and Kathleen Mullen Sands. *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Davidson, Cathy N. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* Expanded ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Davis, Cynthia J., and Kathryn West, eds. *Women Writers in the United States: A Timeline of Literary, Cultural, and Social History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Kilcup, Karen L., ed. *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1998.

Turner, Cheryl. *Living by the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century.* London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

*Jennifer Hughes Westerman*

**WOOL** Techniques for the home production of cloth from natural fibers were common knowledge in early America. Like all fibers, wool had to be cleaned, combed, spun into yarn, and woven into cloth. The card, spinning wheel, and loom had a place in most homes, along with a flock of sheep in many pastures. Woolens were the most commonly used fabric for making clothing. During the colonial period fine woolens, such as broadcloth, were imported from Britain, but the girls and women of America's households produced most of the rougher homespun and flannel.

Wishing to suppress any competition, Britain passed laws aimed at preventing woolen production in the colonies. The laws barred textile machinery and machine operators from leaving Britain and, for a time, prohibited the importation of sheep or wool into America. However, most colonists used whatever coarse wool they could obtain from their existing sheep to fill their household needs.

The boycotts of the pre-Revolutionary years and the war itself encouraged greater home textile production and, by necessity, decreased reliance on British textile imports. At the same time, the Continental army desperately needed woolens for uniforms. American households could not begin to fulfill that need, and the slaughter of many sheep to feed the army made matters worse. A lively wartime trade in smuggled British woolens ensued. When the war ended, Americans resumed the importation of fine British woolens but bought considerably less of the coarser grade. As a patriotic gesture, George Washington wore a domestic homespun suit for his inauguration as president.

Carding, the laborious hand-combing process, was the first wool production task to be mechanized in the new nation. People increasingly took advantage of mechanical advances to produce finer cloth. Carding machines were developed in Britain and probably smuggled to America; they were operating in New England by the late 1780s. Householders brought their wool fiber to carding mills for machine processing and then took the processed fiber home for spinning. In 1810 more than seven hundred wool-carding mills were operating in New England alone. Improvements to the spinning wheel considerably sped up home production of wool yarn as well. After weaving cloth at home, people brought their home-produced woolen cloth to local fulling and finishing mills.

Although a commercial mill began producing woolen cloth from homespun yarns in Connecticut in 1788, the enterprise lasted just a few years. Not until Colonel David Humphreys imported a flock of fine-wooled merino sheep from Spain in 1802 did domestic flocks begin to improve and commercial woolen manufacture become economically viable. Whereas American-grown wool was relatively coarse, merino wool fibers were finer and better suited to the new spinning machinery from Britain. Humphreys began woolen production in a Connecticut factory in 1806. Others soon followed, and by 1812 at least two dozen woolen mills were operating in the United States. The Embargo Act (effective 1807–1809) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815) again cut off foreign trade and further boosted domestic woolen manufacture. One estimate values factory-made woolens during this period at about $19 million a year.

The estimated total factory production in 1812 of 200,000 yards accounted for only about 4 percent of all American woolen production. As late as the 1820s, two-thirds of all woolens in New England were still homemade.

The gradual introduction of merino sheep and improved machinery, aided in 1828 by a hefty tariff on woolen imports, led to the expansion of woolen manufacturing in America. By 1830 it was well established as a profitable industry.

*See also* **New England; Textiles Manufacturing; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Dunwell, Steve. *The Run of the Mill: A Pictorial Narrative of the Expansion, Dominion, Decline, and Enduring Impact of the New England Textile Industry.* Boston: Godine, 1978.

Rivard, Paul E. *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2002.

*Roberta Wiener*

# WORK

This entry consists of seventeen separate articles: *Labor Overview*, *Agricultural Labor*, *Apprenticeship*, *Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop*, *Child Labor*, *Domestic Labor*, *Factory Labor*, *Indentured Servants*, *Middle-Class Occupations*, *Midwifery*, *Overseers*, *Sailors and Seamen*, *Slave Labor*, *Teachers*, *Unskilled Labor*, *Women's Work*, and *Work Ethic*.

## *Labor Overview*

Like most aspects of American life in the post-Revolutionary decades, work in the new American nation underwent a prolonged state of transition. Even as older, established ways persisted, new ways of working and of thinking about work slowly took shape, spreading over decades rather than months or years. Because the connections among national markets in goods and labor were still weak, rapid change, when it did occur, was usually limited to isolated cases. One of the most significant changes was the decline of traditional craft production as factories redefined the methods and means of production of goods. Tensions over the role of free and unfree labor in the workforce began to divide the nation. Women entered the workforce, challenging society's understanding of male and female roles. These changes were profound and would come to define American work.

### REGIONAL LABOR SYSTEMS

Taking the early national period as a whole, the most striking change in the nature of work was the increasingly regional concentration of labor systems. Colonial America had been rich in land but poor in labor. Those who needed labor, whether temporary labor for fall harvests or permanent labor for year-round agriculture and craft manufacturing, were generally forced to take whatever labor they could find. For this reason, colonial labor tended to be a mixture of free and unfree labor systems, with free workers often working side by side with indentured servants and slaves. This all changed in the wake of the Revolution. Building on changes that were already under way during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), rapidly expanding population in the early nineteenth century and the Revolutionary rhetoric of freedom combined to place considerable pressure on unfree labor systems. In the end, the issue of unfree labor divided the new nation into two sections, each with its own distinctive labor system. In the North, states gradually or immediately abolished slavery and indentured servitude became both economically infeasible and ideologically unpopular. As a result, free labor became the norm. In the South, slavery remained the keystone of the southern labor system, especially after the spread of cotton agriculture in the 1790s. This trend toward distinctive sectional labor systems would continue through the first half of the nineteenth century and would become one of the central issues leading to the Civil War (1861–1865).

### CHANGING PRODUCTION SYSTEMS

If labor in the South remained constant in the years following the Revolution, the opposite was true in the North, where both its labor system and the economic relations that supported it underwent profound change. Industrialization began to transform production in the new nation almost immediately after the Revolution. Improving on mill technology borrowed from industrializing Britain, early American manufacturers consolidated mechanized production of textiles in rural factories sited along the Northeast's major watercourses. At the same time, and with even greater impact, small groups of merchants and master craftsmen created urban manufactories in which they divided traditional craft production into discrete tasks and used the resulting gains from the division of labor to increase production of a wide variety of goods, ranging from cutlery to shoes. Taken together, these early forms of industrialization virtually transformed the nature of work in the early nation.

### DECLINE OF CRAFT PRODUCTION

The most significant change took place at the level of traditional craft production. As late as 1800 nearly all American manufacturing took place in artisan shops employing the skilled labor of master artisans, their journeymen, apprentices, and families. This craft system, with its roots stretching deep into the European past, had provided work and a way of life to tens of thousands of craftsmen since the beginning of English colonization in the seventeenth century. Resting on a tiered system of education and training, the craft system promised a life of economic well-being (competence, as people at the time put it) and social and political independence. For artisans, the skill they learned in their youth was a form of property; in a society in which rights devolved from the ownership of property, their skill entitled them to the same active voice in community political affairs that were claimed by modest landowners. If any one word described artisan identity, that word was "independence."

This independence was severely challenged by the new organizations of work and manufacturing that developed during the early national era. Competition from factories and manufactories—both of which could produce goods faster and more cheaply than artisans—drove prices down and forced artisans to work faster and longer in an increasingly futile attempt to maintain their standard of living. In time, most artisans simply could not keep pace with mechanized factories and more labor-efficient manufactories and were forced to seek work in these new

workplaces themselves or follow some other line of employment. Whatever path they chose, however, their expectations of lifelong economic independence were usually dashed by the new productive systems.

## WORK AND NEW GENDER ROLES

One of the most profound social and cultural changes occasioned by the dissolution of the craft system and the rise of manufacturing was the redefinition of gender roles that the new work regimes forced on the new nation. Factories employed women as well as men, and this situation presented one of the most important challenges to established gender roles in American history. Since before colonial times, masculinity had been rooted in a concept of male independence and female dependence, and society had operated along patriarchal lines. What, then, did it mean to have independent working women and dependent wage-earning men in the new nation? Would the relations between the sexes be turned upside down? Would anarchy ensue? These fears dominated discussions of men's and women's roles in the post-Revolutionary era. In the end, traditional male and female norms were preserved by translating the meaning of masculinity and patriarchy from one anchored in artisan independence to a new norm in which a man fulfilled his masculine role by being employed, working diligently at his job, and supporting his family. Masculinity was redefined in ways that maintained male dominance in society. So long as women's work was largely isolated and peripheral (which it was throughout this period), women commanded meager resources. This alone prevented them from mounting a serious challenge to the received patriarchal system. In the new world of work, working women came to be seen as deviant, and the domestic ideal came to dominate early nineteenth-century conceptions of women.

*See also* **Class: Development of the Working Class; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Manufacturing.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Dawley, Alan. *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976, 2000.

Dublin, Thomas. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860.* 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Schultz, Ronald. *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1986; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

*Ronald Schultz*

## *Agricultural Labor*

Agriculture was the backbone of American life in the new American nation. More than 85 percent of the American people participated directly in agriculture, making agricultural labor arguably the most important single factor in the early national economy. In an age that relied on human and animal muscle to accomplish virtually all farming tasks, a regular supply of labor was always a crucial consideration. Agricultural labor was performed in four contexts: family labor on family farms; hired labor on family farms; hired labor on commercial farms; and slave labor on plantations.

### FAMILY FARMS

For the majority of people in the new American nation, agricultural labor was family labor. Family farms dominated the northern, mid–Atlantic, and western states, but even in the South, despite the high visibility of plantation agriculture, family farms far outnumbered tobacco, rice, and, later, cotton plantations. Although conditions varied slightly from region to region, family farming followed a common life and labor cycle. Newly formed families and families with children younger than seven or eight years of age often did not have enough labor for the myriad tasks—plowing, planting, harvesting, pruning, and building—that early national farming required. This was especially true in frontier areas, where trees had to be felled, land cleared of boulders and stumps, fences erected, and farmhouses and outbuildings constructed. Lacking family labor in these early years, young couples usually hired labor from surrounding farms, young women to help the new wife and mother and young men to help the husband and father. In most rural areas, these "helps" (as laborers were called) were teenaged men and women from surrounding farms who spent from two to three years working for neighboring farmers to save for their dowries or to help them purchase land for their own future farms.

Once a family's children reached an age when they were capable of regular farm work, parents let

their "helps" go and introduced their children to the routines of farm labor. As children grew through childhood and into the teenage years, their labor became an essential component of the family's well-being. Beginning with simple, easily learned tasks, children mastered the regime of labor, and by the time they were eleven or twelve years old, they had became full-fledged family workers, supplying at least as much labor as their fathers and mothers.

As the family aged and children neared adulthood, the family labor cycle shifted again. Now children had to be launched into lives of their own. Better-off parents kept their older children at home, helping the family until they married. In less prosperous families, older children left home to work as "helps" for others. In both cases, when sons reached their early-to-middle twenties and daughters their late teens or very early twenties, they married and left the family homestead. Most farm families were large, however, and the departing older children were replaced by their younger brothers and sisters, who quickly took on their siblings' former role as laborers.

The final stage of the farming labor cycle came when the youngest children reached maturity. By this time both parents were aging and less able to keep up with the labor demands of the farm. Just as they did in their early child-rearing years, farm families needed help in middle and old age. This help often came from the youngest son, who stayed in the home with his own family, helping his parents and eventually inheriting the family farm when his parents died. Where the youngest son was unable or unwilling to stay, parents turned again to hired labor from surrounding farms, much as they had done when they were first married.

This family labor cycle described the lives of the majority of Americans in the new American nation, but in areas where land had been worn out and families grown too large to provide for, life held out a different and less pleasant future. Faced with few prospects at home, young adults by the early 1790s could be seen roaming the countryside, looking for work far from home. These surplus men and women walked from farm to farm and from town to town in hopes of finding employment as farm laborers or household servants or in the rural textile mills that were beginning to dot the American countryside. Little is known about the fate of this growing body of displaced men and women, but they were an increasingly visible and troublesome phenomenon in long-settled agricultural regions, especially in New England.

## COMMERCIAL FARMS AND PLANTATIONS

Even less is known about agricultural labor on northern commercial farms. Large commercial farms producing grain for national and overseas markets existed in small numbers near the ocean ports of New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Work on these commercial farms was performed with hired labor, the workers most likely coming from the flow of displaced agricultural workers mentioned above or from the growing number of Irish immigrants, who began entering the new nation in the early nineteenth century.

Southern plantations were the largest agricultural enterprises in the new nation. Growing tobacco, rice, wheat, and—by the mid-1790s—cotton for export, these plantations relied by the mid-eighteenth century almost exclusively on the labor of African American slaves. Agricultural work on southern plantations was arduous and often unrelenting. Unlike the labor cycle of family farms, which was regulated by the shifting priorities of the seasons, plantation owners demanded constant work from their slaves, putting them to nonagricultural work when crops did not need attention.

Continuing the labor regimes of the colonial period, plantation owners worked their slaves following one of two labor systems. In the gang system, large contingents of slaves were marched to the fields by overseers and given specific tasks to perform. Oversight was intense and slaves had little freedom under the unrelenting gaze of the overseer. The task system allowed much more freedom and self-direction and was much preferred by slaves. In the task system, slave foremen were given a list of tasks and an expected time of completion. The organization of tasks and laborers, as well as the apportionment of work time, was left to the slaves themselves. Both labor systems were in common use throughout the early national period; George Washington, for example, worked his male slaves by the task system and his female field hands by the gang system.

Wherever one traveled in the new American nation, one found men and women working in fields, orchards, and gardens. Not until the advent of the McCormick reaper in 1831 did the age of mechanical agriculture begin. And with it came a new kind of agricultural work unthought of in the new American nation.

*See also* **Agriculture; Childhood and Adolescence; Farm Making; Plantation, The.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Hahn, Steven, and Jonathan Prude, eds. *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Innes, Stephen, ed. *Work and Labor in Early America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Ulrich, Laurel. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Random House, 1990.

Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

*Ronald Schultz*

## Apprenticeship

As the main path to the acquisition of a skill in the early modern world, apprenticeship was an important custom throughout the colonial American and early national period. Although the institution continued to be the main means of attaining a skill, changes in the early American economy, the Revolution, and the experience of new nationhood diminished the importance of apprenticeship and, by the nineteenth century, it was less vital than ever before.

### OPERATION OF THE SYSTEM

Throughout the Old World and the New, apprenticeships had lain at the core of the production of a skilled labor force. They represented the first stage in a system in which workers began as pupils, progressed to the status of journeymen, and finished their careers as masters. Usually, at the age of thirteen or older, children would be sent away from home to live in the household of a master tradesman. Following seven years of training, workers would then "journey" around looking for employment from those with established shops, aiming to accumulate enough capital eventually to purchase their own workshops and tools and take on their own apprentices. Parents paid a fee for their sons (and sometimes daughters) to enter into an apprenticeship, with the amount charged linked to the status and earning potential of the chosen profession. One of the most prized placements was an apprenticeship with a merchant, and many British and colonial American middling sorts would quite happily pay large sums to get their sons taken on at a prestigious trading house in London, Bristol, Philadelphia, or Boston. Cheap apprenticeships for poorer people were to be found in shoemaking or tailoring, where profits would always be modest and capital requirements were low.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when large numbers of Britons were departing the metropole for the nation's colonies, certain elements in this traditional working structure had already begun to break down. Most notably, the power of guilds to regulate the cost of apprenticeships, the price of goods, and the number of masters and journeymen working under their jurisdiction was disintegrating. The weakness of the English guilds had a strong impact on the structures of skilled work in eighteenth-century America, as they were too ineffective by this time to reestablish their authority in a New World setting. For one thing, weak government authority meant that terms of apprenticeship did not always last for the full seven years, and by the 1750s shortened terms of five years had become common. In the southern American colonies, training became further curtailed by the prominence of slave labor. Plantation owners often sent some of their slaves to local artisans to learn a trade, with carpentry, bricklaying, tailoring, and shoemaking proving to be the most popular skills. Artisans also purchased slaves themselves and trained them to work in their own shops. However, African Americans rarely received the full seven years of instruction and often obtained as little as two years. For early America's slaves, however, an apprenticeship nevertheless proved to be one of the few routes to a measure of economic independence. Equipped with a specialist skill, African Americans in northern and southern cities were able to earn money on their own account, despite the best efforts of their white masters to prevent them from doing so. A few slaves used such wages to buy their freedom, while many more were able to run away safe in the knowledge that they were in possession of a means to earn a living.

The institution of apprenticeship in America received boosts that kept it vital at least to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In particular, apprenticeships proved to be an excellent tool for emerging public institutions seeking ways to make poor and orphaned children support themselves. Throughout colonial and early national America, church vestries, orphanages, and charities placed their destitute charges with local artisans to learn a trade, ensuring a steady stream of new trainees. At the same time, as long as the household maintained its position as a building block of early American society, apprenticeship was firmly woven into the social fabric. Often, apprentices were the sons or daughters of family friends, and they lodged with a master and dined with his wife and offspring. As close acquaintances, apprentices sometimes became more than mere employees: many married into their

master's family and were then entrusted with the running of the business following his retirement.

### DEMISE OF THE SYSTEM

At about the time of the American Revolution (1775–1783), however, growing industrialization began to threaten the traditional structures of skilled work, apprenticeship included. Despite mercantilist restrictions imposed by Britain and designed to stop New World manufacturers from competing with their metropolitan counterparts, colonial American industrial development accelerated significantly from the mid-eighteenth century onward. Especially in the large northern cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, workshops increased considerably in size and in some industries—shoemaking, for example—the unit of production began to resemble a small factory. Political independence accelerated this process of industrialization. In the new Republic, Americans not only had the freedom to manufacture their own goods, but had also a strong patriotic desire to free their young nation from dependence on British imports as quickly as possible. Boycotts against the buying of British goods during the 1770s, and again during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), were designed to prevent all purchase of British goods and encourage their replacement with American-made manufactures.

The resulting growth of factories gradually led to the disappearance of the highly skilled and intensely personal working culture embodied by apprenticeship. Unskilled men and women workers began to fill factories. Masters became distanced from their employees, and they no longer hosted them in their households or counted them as part of their families. The position of journeyman also became threatened, and newly qualified apprentices had difficulty finding long-term employment as masters sought cheaper sources of labor and required fewer skills. The wealth gap between masters and journeymen became ever wider, creating a class of dependent workers who had no prospect of being in control of the means of production. And, as the upper echelons of traditional skill structures disintegrated, the institution of apprenticeship was swept away too, as there was little hope of such training leading to a secure income. In the luxury trades (such as cabinetmaking and silversmithing) and in the American South, the demise of apprenticeship was undoubtedly slower, but was under way nevertheless. As the early national period drew to a close, apprenticeship was, if not completely extinct, severely under threat.

*See also* **Industrial Revolution; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rock, Howard B., Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Eds Asher. *American Artisans: Crafting a Social Identity*, *1750–1850*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Salinger, Sharon V. *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labour and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania*, *1682–1800*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class*, *1788–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

*Emma Hart*

## Artisans and Craft Workers, and the Workshop

Craftsmen were the largest sector of the population in America's seaports. They were central to the political and economic life of its emerging municipalities.

### LATE COLONIAL AMERICA

Though found throughout the colonies, artisans were most heavily concentrated in towns and cities, especially the major seaports. They worked in a panoply of trades ranging from goldsmithing, silversmithing, and cabinetmaking at the top to baking, butchering, and carpentry in the middle to tailoring and shoemaking at the bottom. The trades with the largest numbers of artisans were the building crafts, particularly carpentry and masonry, which might employ 40 percent of craftsmen during construction season. Tailoring and shoemaking followed in size.

Mid-eighteenth-century artisans could be classified as either wage earners, the beginning of a working class, or as master craftsmen, incipient bourgeois entrepreneurs, since in the course of a colonial career they were often both. Normally a lad of thirteen or fourteen would contract with a master craftsman to learn a trade as an apprentice. He boarded with his master, who was responsible for his rudimentary education and clothing as well as teaching him the secrets of the trade. Learning the mysteries of the most demanding trades, such as cabinetmaking or watchmaking, took many hours at the hands of the ablest craftsmen, who passed down knowledge gained from centuries of craftsmanship. The more rudimentary trades, such as shoemaking, which required awl and hammer skills, took less time to master. Following release from indentures at the age of twenty-one, the apprentice would become a wage earner, or jour-

**Chippendale Chest.** Eighteenth-century Chippendale style combined Chinese, rococo, and pseudo-Gothic elements in ornately carved furniture. This American Chippendale chest of drawers was made around 1760. © PETER HARHOLDT/CORBIS.

neyman, often working in various cities for master craftsmen. If competent and savvy, he would open his own business. A master's dwelling commonly included a lower-story shop and an upper floor where his family lived.

While the vast majority of artisans in colonial America remained craftsmen throughout their lives, upward mobility was possible within the middling or lower middling ranks of society. Expert cabinetmakers, for example, participated directly in colonial trade, shipping thousands of Windsor chairs. Other highly skilled artisans worked closely with merchants in a nascent capitalist economy operating under the rules of British mercantilism.

Within the poorest trades, notably, shoemaking and tailoring, however, mobility to master craftsman standing was not the rule. Moreover, even masters owning small shoemaker or tailoring shops often earned a subsistence living, with little security in times of personal crisis or economic recession. This

was particularly true of Boston, a city impoverished by wars for empire, where many craftsmen sank to subsistence levels. Shoemaker George Robert Twelves Hewes, the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party (1773), was imprisoned early in his career for small debts; such were the perils of his trade. Poorer artisans, like other economically weak urbanites, were also prey to the scourge of epidemics, especially smallpox and yellow fever, that decimated the nation's seaports.

English guild traditions that limited admission to a trade, controlled prices, supervised craft practice, allowed for the building of elegant headquarters, and provided artisans a respected place in their city's life did not survive the transatlantic crossing. While a few trades established benevolent societies to provide social security and camaraderie for master craftsmen, and some traditions of apprenticeship indentures and workshop practices persisted, colonial America had no guild tradition, nor did it develop one. Artisans, possessing demanding skills and well-fashioned tools, were clearly above the level of laborers on the docks, indentured servants, and the slaves who made up 10 percent of the population of New York and Philadelphia and much more of Charleston. Wearing their noted leather aprons, they dressed in a common manner, kept common hours, and shared common social customs. Yet they were subject to a tradition that classified anyone who performed manual labor, however refined, as beneath the rank of gentlemen. Lacking breeding, wealth, and education, they were expected to defer to their mercantile and professional betters, who regarded mechanics (as artisans were commonly known) with a measure of condescension. There were no guilds to mediate that pejorative standing.

On the other hand, the absence of guilds allowed for a more open society in which many artisans gained freemanship. As independent entrepreneurs who owned their shops, freemen were entitled to vote, an important part of the political mix of eighteenth-century urban politics. If they seldom attained significant political positions, their voices were nevertheless considered by elite factions seeking office. They could easily make the difference in factional struggles such as that between the De Lanceys and Livingstons in New York. Within this role, artisans were generally literate, politically aware, and proud of their craft skills. If not a class consciousness, they developed a sense of their own interests and a readiness to see that their concerns were addressed.

Skilled craftsmen lived in rural communities as well as in urban society. In those communities they

were most likely to be a jack-of-all-trades artisan, such as a joiner who could fix a wheel, mend a coach, or build a chair. There were only a few craftsmen in farming communities, though occasional villages, such as that of the Moravians in Rowan County, North Carolina, were known for their craftsmanship, male and female, in leather and textile.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the Revolutionary era, skilled craftsmen became central players in the movement toward independence. Not that there were no Loyalist artisans; those with strong Anglican roots or allegiance, as well as Scottish or recent (except for Irish) immigrants, often inclined to the British position. Overall, however, artisans tended to be more radical in opposition to British measures compared to the other sectors of the urban population. In Boston the mercantile and professional elite, including John Hancock and John Adams, remained in power to become Revolutionary leaders. The role of craftsmen was largely played out within the Sons of Liberty, an association that enforced anti-British measures, through coercion if necessary, as at the Boston Tea Party (1773).

In New York a sizable number of merchants, though against British measures, remained loyal to the crown; there, artisans took on a stronger political role. Besides enforcing anti-British measures, they rallied behind three incipient merchants with plebeian background—Alexander McDougall, John Lamb, and Isaac Sears—to form their own political party, one that allied first with the DeLancey and later with the Livingston party. As British-American relations deteriorated and the British lost control of the city and colony, artisans formed their own Mechanics Committee that consistently advocated more radical

**New York Mechanick Society Certificate (1791).** This etching celebrates the republican spirit of the nation with symbols representing liberty and the pioneering of the frontier, as well as the various crafts of the city. The central theme is taken from the English blacksmiths guild. COURTESY, WINTERTHUR MUSEUM.

measures than the mercantile leadership, from the calling of a continental congress to a boycott of British imports to a call for independence. As in Boston, craftsmen were willing to use force. When the Stamp Act (1765) was in effect, they required one printer to publish only on unstamped paper, while in 1776 craftsmen and others burned a bookseller's pamphlets that were critical of the artisan hero Thomas Paine. They were supporters of democratic reform, petitioning the state legislature that New York's new constitution be ratified by a popular vote and that property restrictions be lifted for suffrage.

In Philadelphia, a power vacuum occurred as the two governing parties relinquished office, the Quakers from pacifist orientation and the Proprietary Party from Loyalist inclinations. In its place young merchants, supported by the city's artisan population, took power. As in New York, in the years pre-

ceding the outbreak of war Philadelphia's artisans participated in many ad-hoc governing committees such as the Committee of 43, that included artisan members. With Benjamin Rush and Thomas Paine, they backed a radical state constitution that eliminated property requirements for voting and called for free public education and ratification of important legislation by the public and a unicameral legislature. This party and the radical politics it stood for were strongly opposed by more conservative Whigs. Moreover, during hard economic times that was exacerbated by wartime inflation, in 1779 violence broke out at the home of noted conservative Patriot jurist James Wilson over an attempt by large sectors of the artisan population to implement a traditional moral economy of price controls in opposition to the laissez-faire outlook of the mercantile elite and some master craftsmen.

**THE NEW REPUBLIC**

The period from 1790 to 1830 was the golden age of the American craftsman. The era left a great legacy in craftsmanship, as Federal furniture maintains its standing into the twenty-first century as the greatest craft work produced in the American experience. In this period, too, artisan crafts gave birth to the American labor movement and to manufacturing and entrepreneurial innovation. Also, artisans emerged as a major players in American politics.

The craft work produced by such cabinetmakers as Duncan Phyfe and Charles-Honoré Lannuier, to name but two, command very high prices in the early-twenty-first-century antique market. Replacing the eighteenth-century Chippendale fashion, a style that combined Chinese, rococo, and pseudo-Gothic fashions in heavily and ornately carved furniture, Federalist design possessed a manner that emphasized grace, linearity, and proportion based on neoclassical models. This approach first became popular in England in the 1770s. American furniture and craftsmanship drew on the English, Greek, and Roman models, making subtle differences in proportions. It was known for its grace, delicacy, and artful display of color, and used inlays, painted designs, and fine upholstery. Given the sprit of republicanism that pervaded the era, it is not surprising that much of the furniture and silver and many of the grandfather clocks and other fine works displayed American eagles and other symbols of the American Republic, blending easily with classical republican symbols.

**From master to employer.** The business of a craft in the early national period was far more extensive than in the colonial era. First, the economic ambitions and horizons of craftsmen were enhanced by the Revolution. Independence meant more than political rights; it denoted the opportunity to enter the marketplace and prosper subject only to the limitations of one's abilities in craft and business skills. Craftsmen were deft users of advertisement, credit, and banking. Indeed, New York in 1810 incorporated the Mechanics Bank, the city's highest capitalized bank at $1.5 million, with the specification that $600 thousand be devoted to the state's mechanics. Successful artisan entrepreneurs hired many employees and used division of labor; Duncan Phyfe employed over one hundred journeymen, divided among departments of inlay makers, turners, upholsterers, carvers, and gilders. His quarters included a workshop, a warehouse, and display rooms. Large amounts of furniture—of both high and low quality—were built and stocked in the city for sale to the mercantile elite there and to bro-

kers in the West Indies, the hinterlands, and other American cities.

Many other crafts prospered within the period thanks to the strong economic growth during the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815). Shipbuilding contractors employed large numbers of craftsmen in the production of clipper ships and naval vessels. In construction, master builders contracted to construct a home and then hired carpenters, masons, and stonecutters. A number of crafts remained small businesses; many bakers, butchers, and watchmakers still had their own shops. On the other hand, the city's largest crafts—printing, cabinetmaking, construction, shoemaking, and tailoring—became large-scale enterprises requiring considerable capital investment. Type and printing presses, for example, cost well beyond the means of an aspiring journeyman. In these trades masters tended to become cost-conscious employers rather than the paternal master craftsman who nurtured journeymen and apprentices on their way to master standing. (While small enterprises remained, they were more and more the exception.) More and more journeymen lived in boardinghouses rather than with masters, and more and more apprentices left their indentures early for wages in crafts that demanded less skill than the trades they abandoned.

**From journeymen to laborers.** In the new American economy, journeymen had to accept that they were unlikely to become master craftsmen. In so doing, journeymen printers, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, and masons in American seaports formed their own benevolent associations. These provided benefits in case of illness or death and also negotiated conditions of employment with employers. As masters sought to maintain lower prices for labor, journeymen responded by demanding negotiated wages either by the hour in construction or by piecework in tailoring and shoemaking. When the two sides could not agree, the journeymen were not unwilling either to walk out of a single master, stage a citywide walkout, or even open their own stores. They demanded that masters hire only those who belonged to their journeymen societies. It was this demand, and the walkouts that ensued when violations of this principle occurred, that led to major labor conspiracy trials against shoemakers in both Philadelphia and New York in 1806 and 1809. Journeymen were charged with conspiring under English common law against the rights of other journeymen who wanted to work. The trials ended in convictions, and though the fines assessed were not severe, they limited the ability of journeymen to establish a powerful coun-

tervailing force in the marketplace. Labor strife continued, however; at stake for journeymen was no less than the right to maintain republican standing, a station that demanded economic independence. If land ownership or master status was unattainable in the new economy, an acceptable replacement was to be secure wages that offered an opportunity to raise a family within a decent standard of living, a standard faithful to and within the Revolution's legacy.

For masters, at stake in labor conflict was the right to organize their businesses as they saw fit and to fully engage within the new marketplace. Also at jeopardy was their sense of artisan republicanism, in which they saw themselves as the paternalist guardians of the artisan trades. In this light, aside from organizing for labor conflict, which they denounced as harming the unity of the trades, they formed venerable artisan societies like the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen in New York, an ongoing institution, that provided libraries for its apprentices, schools for the children of its members, death and illness benefits, a place of fellowship, an organization to lobby for protective tariffs, and a forum for personal advancement. Stephen Allen, later the mayor of New York, entered public life as president of the Mechanics Society.

**Political allegiances.** Politically, artisans became the pivotal voting bloc in the nation's seaports. Supporters of the U.S. Constitution as a compact that offered trade protection and an advantageous market position, they were originally strong followers of the Federalist Party. However, Jeffersonian egalitarianism soon made strong headway, especially against the deferential expectations and arrogance of Federalist leaders. The Jeffersonian appeal to artisans was not the agrarianism espoused by John Taylor of Caroline. Rather, in pivotal states such as Pennsylvania and New York, it was based upon a sense of equal opportunity and entry into the marketplace and an attack against economic privilege. Artisan masters must be allowed to exploit the new economy without cumbersome restriction or regulation. (However, monopolistic factorylike organizations were not acceptable in a republican marketplace.) Artisan journeymen also had the right to be free of intimidation by Federalist employers who expected them to vote as instructed, as the Republicans were quick to point out through an active press. Also, many artisans joined the Democratic Republican societies in support of the French Revolution, which the Federalists staunchly opposed. A number of artisans followed the deism of Thomas Paine, and these were welcomed into Republican ranks, while others, al-

though still Jeffersonian, formed the backbone of new Baptist and Methodist congregations. Enough artisans had shifted their votes in Philadelphia and New York City by 1800 to give Jefferson the presidency and maintain Jeffersonian political dominance in the mid–Atlantic, even into the hard years of the War of 1812; at that time many craftsmen were willing to temporarily sacrifice their economic welfare for the greater good espoused by President James Madison.

With the rise of the industrial revolution, party machines, and mass immigration, the influence and role of the nation's artisans would soon diminish. The early years of the nineteenth century represented its zenith in American history.

*See also* **Boston Tea Party; Election of 1800; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Manufacturing; Moravians; Paine, Thomas; Sons of Liberty.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Foner, Eric. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Lewis, Johanna Miller. *Artisans in the North Carolina Backcountry.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995.

Lynd, Staughton. "The Mechanics in New York Politics, 1774–1788." *Labor History* 5 (1964): 215–246.

Montgomery, Charles F. *American Furniture, The Federal Period.* New York: Viking Press, 1966.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Rilling, Donna J. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Rock, Howard B. *Artisans of the New Republic, The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: New York University Press, 1979.

Rock, Howard B., ed. *The New York City Artisan, 1789–1825: A Documentary History.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

Schultz, Ronald. *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Smith, Billie G. *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Young, Alfred F. "The Mechanics and the Jeffersonians, 1789–1801." *Labor History* 5 (1964): 247–266.

———. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

*Howard B. Rock*

BY JACOB RADCLIFF, ESQ.

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,

*TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:*

Know Ye, That I Have licensed and appointed, and by these presents Do license and apppoint to be one of the CHIMNEY SWEEPERS during pleasure, hereby authorizing him to employ as many boys, apprentices or servants, as he may see fit, to assist him in carrying on the said business, Provided however that each of them be at least eleven years of age, and that the said      keep them decently and comfortably clad, and sufficiently provided with good and wholesome food, and also that he the said      shall obey all such rules a d ordinances of the Common Council as now are, or may from time to time be made for the regulating Chimney-Sweepers in the said City.

*Given under my hand and seal, this day of      in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen*

*Jacob Radcliff*

**Chimney Sweep Certificate (1815).** New York City was determined to improve the lives of young chimney sweep apprentices, usually black children of eight to ten who climbed chimneys and were subject to both disease and abuse. A number of masters, also African American, opposed regulation. NEW YORK CITY MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES.

### *Child Labor*

In the early Republic, adults expected most children to labor as soon as they were physically able to do so. Typically, free white boys and girls began by helping out their parents on farms. Slave children went to work early on plantations. By the time free white youngsters reached their early teens, the parents of many had apprenticed them to learn skilled trades, although this practice began to decline in importance after the American Revolution. Public welfare authorities interceded and arranged for the indenture of poor free white and black children at a young age to work until their late teens or early twenties.

#### FARMS AND PLANTATIONS

In the early Republic, most Americans were farmers. To survive, white farm families required the labor of all family members, although the tasks that each person performed varied by gender and age. Between the ages of six and twelve, white boys began to help their fathers in the fields and girls began to assist their mothers with domestic tasks. Nonetheless, such gendered roles varied, depending on the makeup of the family: if there were no daughters, sons also helped out in the garden and kitchen, and if there were no sons, daughters helped in the fields. In a society that depended more on barter than on cash, parents of large families sometimes exchanged the labor of their youngsters with neighboring families in need of child labor.

Enslaved black children in the South went to work at about the same age as white children, although they did not labor for their own parents but for white masters and mistresses. While young slave boys might learn from their fathers how to stack wheat or pick worms off tobacco plants, and slave girls might learn to dust and clean silver alongside their mothers in plantation homes, for black children labor in family groups was short-lived. As soon as they were physically able, most slave boys and girls became field hands, where they worked directly under the control of white slave masters and their overseers. Only a few slave children, most girls,

worked in plantation homes, and there they worked not for their mothers but for their white mistresses. White owners could punish black slave children harshly or sell them away from their families. As cotton became the dominant crop in the South in the early nineteenth century, whites moved from Virginia and the Carolinas south to Georgia and Mississippi and west to Texas. They took their slaves with them or purchased young slaves to work in the cotton fields. Many slave children were sold away from their parents and put to work picking cotton far from their family homes, a work experience unlike that of any white children.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the American Revolution, children frequently had to take over the work of fathers who had gone to fight. In some cases, the work of children was not enough to keep a family solvent. Then, or when a father died, families were broken up. Mothers often became live-in servants and welfare authorities placed children in other families to work.

During the war, some boys enlisted in the military. While the minimum age for service was sixteen, some boys lied about their age, while others served as waiters to their fathers or as substitutes for them. Few actually engaged in battle. Many were fifers at a time when the fife was used to broadcast signals to the military, including the time to get up, eat meals, assemble, and turn lights out. Fifers were also used to position troops and signal them to turn, halt, and march.

### YOUNG PEOPLE, FAMILIES, AND APPRENTICESHIP

By the time their children were in their early teens, parents in all but the poorest white families sought to prepare them for self-sufficiency by apprenticing them to learn a trade. Parents typically searched for a place that suited the youngster's interests and inclinations. If the father were himself a skilled craftsman, sometimes he took his son as an apprentice. More commonly, parents contracted with a skilled craftsman for a set number of years. The craftspeople who took on the children promised to feed, clothe, house, and educate the youngsters. Some slaves learned trades as well, but few ever became self-sufficient, in contrast to white boys and girls. Instead, they worked to learn a skill and then plied that skill for their white masters, not for themselves.

Apprenticeship was highly gendered. Only boys were apprenticed to a whole variety of crafts, including furniture making, shoemaking, printing, candle making, blacksmithing, weaving, and others. Girls were typically apprenticed as domestics or seamstresses—about the only jobs outside the home then available to females.

Apprenticeship began to decline in importance after the American Revolution. The war challenged patriarchal relationships and led some apprentices to rebel against their masters' treatment. The economy changed after the Revolution as demand for various products fluctuated. Masters proved reluctant to take on apprentices for long periods when demand for their service might not be needed, and apprentices were less willing to spend long years learning a craft that might be outmoded. By the 1820s masters increasingly paid wages to apprentices and refused to promise them room, board, and clothes.

Children who were not apprenticed sometimes found jobs in textile mills. Samuel Slater opened one of the first in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. There he employed children from ages seven through twelve. By 1810 there were eighty-seven textile mills in the United States employing thirty-five hundred women and children. In the 1820s new cotton mills opened in Lowell, Massachusetts, and employed many children under the age of fifteen, mostly girls.

### INDENTURING BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Throughout the early Republic, impoverished white and free black children were removed from their families and placed out to live and work with more prosperous adults. In this way, public officials sought to take care of needy children, provide families with needed labor, save money on welfare in the short term, and forestall applications for relief in the future. The children were placed out through an indenture, a contract that was signed by local welfare authorities and the families that took in the children. In contrast to apprenticeship, parents of poor children and the children themselves had little choice in the matter of indenturing. Boys were typically indentured to age twenty-one and girls to eighteen, presumably because boys supposedly took longer to become self-sufficient farmers or craftsmen than girls took to learn how to keep house.

*See also* **Industrial Revolution; Slavery: Slave Life; Textiles Manufacturing.**

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Murray, John E., and Ruth Wallis Herndon. "Markets for Children in Early America: A Political Economy of Pauper Apprenticeship." *Journal of Economic History* 62, (2002): 356–382.

Reinier, Jacqueline S. *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775–1850.* New York: Twayne, 1996.

Rorabaugh, W. J. *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Schwartz, Marie Jenkins. *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Stevenson, Brenda E. *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Williams, Elizabeth McKee. "Childhood, Memory, and the American Revolution." In *Children and War, A Historical Anthology.* Edited by James Marten. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

*Priscilla Ferguson Clement*


## Domestic Labor

Between the birth of the new Republic and the advent of the Civil War, a great transformation occurred in domestic labor. This transformation was not a result of inventions that made housework easier but rather of market penetration and the reallocation of tasks within the household. The American colonial farmstead, although never self-sufficient, had been the site of much household production. However, by the 1840s and 1850s the market revolution had taught women that it was to their advantage to buy many mass-produced items (including candles, soap, and cloth) rather than making them at home. Domestic labor was transformed from an integral part of the family economy, producing goods that could be obtained nowhere else, to a vaguely discredited activity that paid no wages. In North and South alike, most middle- and upper-class families, and many farm families, had always had servants, but the nature of servitude was changing as the definition of domestic labor changed.

### DOMESTIC LABOR IN THE NORTH

In the North the allocation of tasks within the household depended on location and social status. Frontier women, assisted by children, had the most onerous domestic burden, as is evident in documents like the diary of Martha Ballard, a Maine midwife. Their labor was unrelenting and thought to be detrimental to health, with tasks like washing, brewing, or baking consuming entire days' work. Daily cooking required the kindling and tending of fires and the provision of vast amounts of wood—theoretically a man's job that devolved onto women when men were absent. Cooking, laundry, and personal hygiene also required large amounts of water, often carried in from wells some distance from the farmhouse. In addition to these daily tasks, women were responsible for child care, sewing for clothing production and maintenance, animal husbandry, gardening, and seasonal or occasional work, such as candle making, soap making, and butter and cheese making. Although some tasks, like warping looms in preparation for weaving, were farmed out to specialists, frontier households also engaged in spinning and weaving their own cloth, especially if there were teenage daughters at home needing to outfit their own future households.

In contrast with toiling farm women, urban middle-class women hired household "helps" to do heavier tasks while they supervised. In the first decades of the Republic, as in the colonial period, many native-born teenagers were sent out to service other households, either as a form of domestic apprenticeship or out of economic need. These young women, who formed emotional bonds with the families they served, coexisted alongside wives of "cottagers" who got paid to help with household work.

By the 1820s and 1830s, the stigma of heavy and dirty domestic work, and the appearance of opportunities for factory work and work outside the home, or outwork, led native-born white women to desert domestic jobs. They were replaced by Irish immigrants. Although their work schedules kept them moving from dawn until late in the evening, Irish women were said to prefer domestic work, which enabled them to earn money to pay for the migration of family members, to save money for their old age, and to donate to causes they found worthy. The expectation that a live-in domestic worker would be a member of the household (although not an equal member) did not disappear, despite yawning cultural differences between mistress and maid. Households that were unable to find and keep live-in domestic servants relied on a piecework system, in which women living within their own homes did extra washing, sewing, and other such chores for families in the community. This arrangement allowed women to participate in the cash economy while still retaining autonomy over the way in which these chores were completed.


### DOMESTIC LABOR IN THE SOUTH

Southern domestic labor was organized on a two-track system. Yeoman households without slaves resembled farm households throughout the North, with women still accomplishing much of the household production and heavily weighed down by their tasks. In contrast, in Southern planter households domestic labor was largely carried out by slaves. House servants included not only women but also

children who were too young to work as field hands. Slaves worked in Southern households as cooks, provided child care, and even served as wet nurses. Many of these slaves had a double burden, as they were responsible for cooking, sewing, and cleaning within their own households in the slave quarter as well as for the maintenance of the Big House. Plantation mistresses taught the slaves their tasks, superintended their work, and planned household consumption, including the feeding and clothing of the workforce.

Like their Northern counterparts, many antebellum Southerners felt that it was more ladylike for women to devolve the heavier tasks of household upkeep onto servants if they could afford to do so. As a result, even yeoman households rented single slave women or children to work at domestic tasks. Hirers had to pay these slaves' owners an annual hiring fee and also provide the slaves with food, shelter, and clothing. Hiring slaves to perform domestic tasks did not necessarily help yeoman families climb the economic ladder by acquiring more land and slaves, but it did help them to feel as though they were higher up in the hierarchical social order of the South.

Jeanne Boydston, one of the most prominent historians of domestic labor, has pointed out that as the division between the public world of commerce and the private world of the house became more distinct, women took less pride in, and received less credit for, their unpaid work around the home. At the same time, however, housework done well contributed to the family economy, as when working-class women took in boarders and their children scavenged fuel from local docks. Furthermore, for many rural and urban women alike, "domestic labor" meant labor performed for the market within the home, as well as unpaid labor to keep the family economy running. Whether they were shoemakers' wives stitching shoes or rural women plaiting straw hats and straw brooms, women and girls prefigured much of the tenement-based outwork that would characterize the second half of the nineteenth century.

*See also* **Domestic Life; Economic Development; Immigration and Immigrants: Ireland; Market Revolution; Women: Professions; Work: Work Ethic.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Barton, Keith C. "'Good Cooks and Washers': Slave Hiring, Domestic Labor, and the Market in Bourbon County, Kentucky." *Journal of American History* 84, no. 2 (1997): 436–460.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Clark, Christopher. *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Diner, Hasia R. *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Izard, Holly V. "The Ward Family and Their 'Helps': Domestic Work, Workers, and Relationships on a New England Farm, 1787–1866." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 103, no. 1 (1993): 61–91.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

*Jamie L. Bronstein*

## *Factory Labor*

Industrial systems are evolutionary. While seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manufacturing and labor systems in British North America did not, in many ways, resemble nineteenth-century factory systems, they were the building blocks on which the processes of the industrial revolution were built.

### COLONIAL MANUFACTURING

Early American manufactories, where commodities were processed or produced in large quantities for designated markets, both local and far away, included iron furnaces and forges, tanneries, glassworks, and various types of mills. The greatest difference between colonial manufactories and those of the nineteenth century and beyond was that their operations were seasonal. Prior to the advent and application of the steam engine to American manufacturing in the 1790s, ironworks and mills were dependent on waterpower from fast-moving rivers, creeks, and streams. Nearly 75 percent of the water sources suitable for effective milling were located from the Upper Chesapeake Bay region (the northern counties of Maryland) northward through the New England colonies. In this region, winter freezes limited the availability of waterpower to run the mill wheels to approximately nine months in northern Maryland and southeastern Pennsylvania and to little more than seven months in New England. The seasonal dependence on waterpower not only placed limits on the extent of production but also ultimately dictated the relationship between entrepreneurial owners and managers of manufactories and their workforces.

Free men, whether landowners, tenant farmers, or landless, could not depend on factory work as a

constant source of income. Landowning farmers needed industrial jobs the least, while landless men most needed any type of work to live. Work at an iron company or a mill could be a source of supplementary income for farmers, particularly for those with older children whose labor was not constantly needed at the farm. Farm work, however, had to come first, meaning that a balance had to be achieved between the need or desire for work and its seasonal availability. Landless men sought work both on farms and at manufactories, hiring on where and when labor was needed. Given the seasonality of colonial manufacturing, in either case most men worked part-time in manufacturing. Across all the colonies, at least 50 percent of families had at least one member working in industry in any given year, but the work was overwhelmingly part-time. Even if one considers an eight-to-nine-month industrial work year as the basis for full-time employment, over two-thirds of industrial laborers worked only part-time in manufacturing prior to the American Revolution.

Owners, realizing that they did not have access to a sufficient full-time labor force of free men during peak manufacturing seasons, turned to bound workers—both indentured servants and slaves. In all regions, servants and slaves formed the core of full-time workers at ironworks, mills, and tanneries, but there were regional variations. In New England, approximately 20 percent of full-time manufactory workers were slaves (5 percent of all workers) and 65 percent of full-time workers were servants (20 percent of all workers). In the middle colonies, 60 percent of full-time workers were slaves (17 percent of all workers) and 25 percent of full-time workers were servants (7 percent of all workers). In Virginia, 80 percent of full-time workers were slaves (60 percent of all workers) and 13 percent of full-time workers were servants (10 percent of all workers). These regional differences were directly related to seasonality and the relative value of various types of labor.

In New England the costs of bound labor, particularly slaves, were prohibitive in industry, as they were in farming. To buy a slave for seven months' work at a manufactory without enough work to keep that slave busy the other five months of the year was economically inefficient. The availability of slaves for hire in New England was also limited because of their overall rarity, so that manufacturers could not access slave labor only at times when needed. The purchase of an indentured servant's contract was generally much more common, and servants for

hire could more easily be found. In the middle colonies the manufacturing season was longer, as was the growing season. There, it was more feasible to purchase a slave for nine-months' work in industry and also find them work for another month or two during the year. The greater number of slaves in the region from northern Maryland through New York, approximately 12 percent of the overall population, also made it easier to hire slaves as needed—for a month or a year at a time. In Virginia, a manufacturer could count on a ten-month productive season, and winter was not so severe that work could not be found in the off-season for slaves. Therefore, a much greater number of slaves were purchased for full-time manufacturing work than further north.

## MANUFACTURING AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The American Revolution acted as a watershed of a kind for industry. While no technological changes of any consequence occurred, labor patterns during the War for Independence and the war's effects caused both entrepreneurs and laborers to view industry and industrial work differently beginning in the mid-1780s.

The disruptions of war as well as its length created opportunities for bound servants and slaves to run way from their masters. Beginning with the call of Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia, for bound workers to run to the British lines to seek their freedom, successful flight encouraged others to run. While flight affected production in all areas, industrial production, necessary for the war effort, was hurt the most. Ironworks and mills, particularly in the mid-Atlantic and the South, had constructed their core, full-time workforces around slaves and servants. Commercial operations lost over 20 percent of their total workforces during the war and nearly 35 percent of their full-time workers. The realization that bound labor was not always dependable hit home with force. In the mid-Atlantic region generally, which was the center of early American manufacturing, there was an impetus toward a full-time workforce of free labor by the Revolution's end.

If this could be achieved, factory owners would save on the up-front investment in bound workers and remove the possible loss of that investment should the worker escape from bondage. Also, free wage earners were not paid for their labors until after production was completed, which would enable manufacturers to exert more quality and production controls. The question was whether a conversion to a free labor base could be done.

Workers proved to be generally cooperative in the decades immediately after the Revolution. The economic crisis of the 1780s put both landless workers and tenant farmers in a very poor position, and many landed farmers felt the pressures of high inflation and sagging markets. Immigration after 1785 also began to have an effect, as many newcomers sought work in industry as a possible step toward land ownership in the future. The availability of workers allowed owners and managers to slowly move toward a larger full-time workforce of free workers. The only thing many could not offer until the 1790s was year-round work. Beginning at that time, however, the opportunity for converting to steam power, the availability of loans for conversion and expansion made possible by the new Bank of the United States, a stabilizing currency, and increasing support for manufacturing by the federal government made it possible for full-time, free industrial labor slowly to become a reality and opened the way to the industrial revolution.

*See also* **Iron Mining and Metallurgy; Manufacturing.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bezís-Selfa, John. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers and the Industrious Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Bining, Arthur C. *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1938.

Dew, Charles B. *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge.* New York: Norton, 1994.

Kennedy, Michael V. "The Home Front during the War for Independence: The Effect of Labor Shortages on Commercial Production in the Mid-Atlantic." In *A Companion to the American Revolution.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Oxford, U.K., and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000.

Paskoff, Paul F. *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry, 1750–1860.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Starobin, Robert S. *Industrial Slavery in the Old South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

*Michael V. Kennedy*

## Indentured Servants

Indentured servitude was an important form of labor utilized in British North America during the colonial and early national periods. Bound laborers came in a variety of forms and their experience changed significantly over the time period, both in type of labor performed and in opportunities for advancement. The term "indentured servant" applied to the largest and broadest group of European immigrants who sold their labor for a period of years in exchange for passage to the New World. Indentured servants first appeared in the Chesapeake colonies, but they also were present in the middle colonies and the Lower South. The term "redemptioner" applies to eighteenth-century immigrants, usually from Germany and Switzerland but also from England and Ireland, who traveled to the colonies in family groups and sold their labor upon arrival to repay the cost of passage. This group was most common in Pennsylvania. A third group, transported convicts, became more prevalent after the Transportation Act of 1718 permitted the banishment of convicted felons. They usually went to Virginia and Maryland, were of English, Scottish, or Irish descent, and were the least popular form of bound laborer in the colonies. Colonists complained about the questionable character of convict servants and were thus more reluctant to purchase their services.

### LEGAL STANDING AND CONTRACTS

Likened to slaves in that masters had almost complete control over them, including the right to control their labor and the ability to severely punish them, indentured servants nevertheless possessed some legal rights that clearly distinguished them from lifetime chattel. Reflecting the colonies' British heritage, as did the impulse to enter into an apprenticelike or servant relationship in one's teens and early twenties, servants negotiated contracts, owned property, sued their owners for abuse, and testified in court while in service.

Servant contracts varied in length. For adults, who were sometimes able to negotiate their contract based upon their skill level, periods of service usually lasted from four to seven years. For minors, indenture lasted until they reached adulthood. In reality, this meant that most servants did not achieve their freedom until they were in their early to mid-twenties. Until they were free, servants could not marry without the consent of their master. This restriction had long-term consequences on colonial population growth. At the end of their indenture, servants received their freedom and "freedom dues," which consisted at various times and different locations of land, clothing, corn, tobacco, a musket, blankets, or tools—or some combination of these.

### MIGRATION

Indentured servants played a critical role in the process of populating the North American colonies, and

their motivation to migrate changed over time. Estimated to have made up 75 percent of the seventeenth-century migrants, servants were critical both to population growth and to successful tobacco cultivation in the Upper South. They continued to arrive in significant numbers during the eighteenth century, especially in the middle colonies. Most seventeenth-century servants were drawn from the mass of the increasingly mobile English population unable to find work because of enclosure, economic instability, and overpopulation. Eighteenth-century bound migrants came from more diverse backgrounds and for a variety of reasons. With many of the previous century's challenges in England resolved by the eighteenth century, English servant migration waned. Scottish Covenanters and Jacobites from the 1715 and 1745 uprisings were deported to American plantations as an expediency. Irish from Ulster traveled out of Belfast as indentured servants and redemptioners. Restrictions on Irish trade, the rack-renting of absentee landlords, and anti-Catholic fervor made survival in Ireland difficult and many saw emigration as an appealing alternative. Famine in the late 1720s gave particular impetus to emigration. Germans from the Rhineland and Palatinate, having survived decades of war, found themselves persecuted for their Protestant practices as the eighteenth century unfolded. The British government also sent thirty-two-hundred Germans to New York in 1710, hoping to provide a labor force to produce naval stores. Convict laborers were also more common in the later period. An estimated two-thirds of British felons were transported between 1715 and 1775, with estimated total numbers varying from twenty thousand to fifty thousand. There was a particularly intensive period of migration between the end of the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution (1763–1775).

### CHANGES IN OCCUPATION

As the southern colonies came to rely upon African slave labor in the eighteenth century, the type of labor in which indentured servants engaged and their opportunities for advancement changed. Most worked as agricultural laborers during the seventeenth century, learning the skills they hoped would one day enable them to establish their own farms. Although seventeenth-century bound laborers faced grueling conditions and high mortality rates, their opportunities for advancement and economic independence were reasonable. By the end of the early eighteenth century, however, reduced availability of land, a more complex economy combining agriculture, nascent industries, urban commercial ventures,

and a more diverse and plentiful supply of labor changed the nature of servitude and the opportunities for freed servants.

While some servants still engaged in agricultural work, the shift to slave labor meant that they increasingly worked as skilled laborers and in supervisory positions on farms or plantations. Indentured servants appeared with much greater frequency in craft shops and as workers for merchants and retailers either in their businesses or as domestic workers. In *White Servitude in Colonial America* (1981), David W. Galenson noted a rise in the eighteenth century in the percentage of servants who had skills. An estimated 60 percent of registered servants during the period from 1725 to 1750 described themselves as skilled, and that proportion jumped to 85 percent in the 1770s. Similarly, servants identifying themselves as having an agricultural background declined significantly. In northern Maryland, servants worked alongside slaves and wage laborers in the growing iron industry. In cities like Philadelphia, servants made up an increasing proportion of workers in small craft shops and in domestic trades. Bound labor in Philadelphia peaked in the mid-eighteenth century, when it accounted for nearly half of the city's workforce. (This percentage includes slave labor.) During this period, artisans purchased two-thirds of the indentured servants in the city. Given high wage rates for journeyman workers, servants were a better economic investment and were more manageable in the domestic shop structure at that time.

### WANING OF SERVITUDE

An important shift occurred during the Revolutionary period, especially in cities such as Philadelphia. With growing economic instability, increasing stratification of wealth, and the gradual move toward a more capitalist wage-labor economy, the proportion of bound laborers in the city shrank while that of wage laborers grew. Artisans no longer purchased long-term servants because their cost grew while that of wage laborers fell. The greater number of journeymen unable to raise the capital for their own businesses provided a ready supply of wage earners whose costs were tied to supply and demand. Wage laborers also permitted a greater flexibility in hiring that was valuable during periods of economic instability. Sharon Salinger has noted that in Philadelphia less than 15 percent of those who owned servants were artisans by 1791. As they disappeared from craft shops, servants appeared with greater frequency in the homes and businesses of merchants and re-

tailers. This transition also signaled the end of a need for skilled servants. Servants now functioned as unskilled workers and domestic help. Concomitantly, those masters seeking servants requested and purchased female servants in much greater numbers.

The shift to a market economy after the American Revolution and in the early nineteenth century signaled the demise of bound labor (apart from slaves) as an appealing choice for employers. The market revolution guaranteed the dominance of wage labor in areas where slaves were not owned, and the practice of indenture became less economically viable and desirable for most immigrants and workers.

*See also* **Economic Development; Immigration and Immigrants.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ekirch, A. Roger. *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies*, 1718–1775. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Galenson, David W. "'Middling People' or 'Common Sort'?: The Social Origins of Some Early Americans Reexamined, with a Rebuttal by Mildred Campbell." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 35 (1978), 499–524.

———. *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Heavner, Robert Owen. *Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude in Colonial Pennsylvania.* New York: Arno Press, 1978.

Herrick, Cheesman A. *White Servitude in Pennsylvania: Indentured and Redemption Labor in Colony and Commonwealth.* Philadelphia: McVey, 1926.

Salinger, Sharon. "Artisans, Journeymen, and the Transformation of Labor in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 40 (1983): 62–84.

———. *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labour and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania*, 1682–1800. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Smith, Abbot Emerson. *Colonists in Bondage. White Servitude and Convict Labor in America*, 1607–1776. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947.

*Alexa Silver Cawley*

## Middle-Class Occupations

The occupations that characterized the American middle class included many jobs that predated the market revolution as well as a few that were created as a result of it. A list of middle-class occupations would include physicians, lawyers, educators, merchants, and ministers. But it would also have included new kinds of businessmen, whose jobs resulted from the decline of artisanal production. In general, middle-class occupations were defined by nonmanual, or what came to be called "white-collar," work. Over the course of the antebellum period, these jobs, available mostly to Euro-American men, were increasingly associated with upward mobility, proprietorship, and respectability.

Early-nineteenth-century city directories reveal few new job titles. But new forms of business organization and, to a lesser extent, technological innovation transformed the component tasks, status, and cultural meanings of older occupations. By the 1820s many successful artisans were no longer master craftsmen, working alongside journeymen and apprentices on shop floors. Instead, they had abandoned the practice of their crafts to become businessmen who concentrated on supervising employees and monitoring increasingly complex accounting systems. Many of these men continued to identify with their artisanal origins, describing themselves as tailors or cabinetmakers in city directories. Still, the nonmanual work they performed, and the opportunities it afforded, served to increase their social and economic distance from the laborers they employed.

This distance was reflected in several ways. As early as the 1820s, some firms created specialized retail spaces, whose clean, well-lit interiors and architectural embellishments marked a sharp contrast to the noise, smells, and dirt of artisans' shops and factories alike. White-collar work environments conferred a status that was underscored by salaries: in general, nonmanual proprietors and salaried employees in the early nineteenth century enjoyed higher incomes and accumulated more wealth than did manual workers. The elevated status of white-collar work even extended to entry-level clerical employees—clerks, salesmen, and bookkeepers—who typically earned less than skilled journeymen and who often performed manual labor, including stocking shelves, sweeping the store, and distributing handbills. Focusing on the prospect of upward mobility, these young men identified themselves as future businessmen and proprietors. At the same time, they exaggerated the differences between themselves and manual laborers.

Perhaps most important, white-collar occupations derived social prestige and economic power from their association with proprietorship. By the end of the Jacksonian era, cities like Philadelphia witnessed a growing correlation between white-collar work and business ownership on the one hand and manual work and permanent wage labor on other.

Small firms owned by manual laborers did not disappear, although proprietorship became more elusive and more precarious. But over the course of the antebellum era, especially in urban areas, they would be overshadowed by firms whose owners devoted themselves to management. Middle-class occupations thus derived their status partly from economic benefits, including income and proprietorship, and partly from their growing spatial, cultural, and economic distance from manual labor. By emphasizing that they worked with their heads, not with their hands, artisans who had developed into businessmen and their salaried employees aligned themselves with members of the nascent professions—lawyers, physicians, educators, and ministers.

The segmentation of labor markets by gender and race ensured that the majority of middle-class occupations were dominated by white men. Nevertheless, many middle-class women found themselves drawn into the labor market, despite the rise of a domestic ideology that relegated them to privatized, sentimental homes and that emphasized their roles as wives and mothers. Married women took in boarders and sewing. Single women most often found work as teachers. Although large numbers of middle-class women worked for money, if not for wages narrowly defined, their opportunities were restricted by domestic ideology. Women's occupations replicated the unpaid labor that they performed for their families; even teaching was cast less as a career than as an extension of child nurture. Many middle-class women worked to pay for the educations and support the early careers of male kin who struggled to establish themselves in a white-collar world.

Racism all but prohibited free blacks from securing most of the nonmanual jobs that defined the northern, white middle class. Pervasive, deeply rooted prejudice undercut the respectability that might have been accorded to African American teachers and ministers by northern society at large. But some ministers, teachers, and entrepreneurs attained relative economic security and exerted considerable influence in their communities. Members of these occupations formed the core of the black middle class that would emerge after the Civil War.

See also **Class: Rise of the Middle Class; Consumerism and Consumption; Economic Development; Market Revolution; Women: Professions.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Hodges, Graham Russell. *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

*Catherine E. Kelly*

## *Midwifery*

Midwives cared for women during and after childbirth and provided advice on other problems related to female reproduction, including breast-feeding and infant care. They also served as general medical advisers and practitioners.

### THE WORK OF MIDWIVES

The most common and well-known work of midwives was delivering babies. A woman in labor called the midwife when she entered what modern physicians call "active labor," the early stage of childbirth when the contractions become regular and strong. Usually the midwife would encourage the woman to remain active as long as she could at this stage, believing that activity such as walking made labor shorter. Midwives rarely used medicines, allowing nature to take its course.

In the system of "social childbirth" that dominated this period, births were attended not just by a midwife but by a group of female neighbors and relatives. At some point—usually when the birth seemed imminent—the woman or her husband would "call the women." The women took an active role in assisting the midwife. Often a woman gave birth supported on either side by other women; some accounts describe women delivering babies while seated on another woman's lap. Midwives sometimes used birthing stools, a horseshoe-shaped raised chair on which a woman could sit while giving birth, but even then the birthing woman would be held or supported by other women. The midwife's job was to catch the infant, cut the umbilical cord, and deliver the afterbirth.

After the birth and the delivery of the placenta, the midwife would wrap the mother's abdomen and legs with linen bands, a practice thought to prevent postpartum complications. Mothers would then "lie in" for a week or so to recover from the birth, but midwives rarely cared for their patients during this
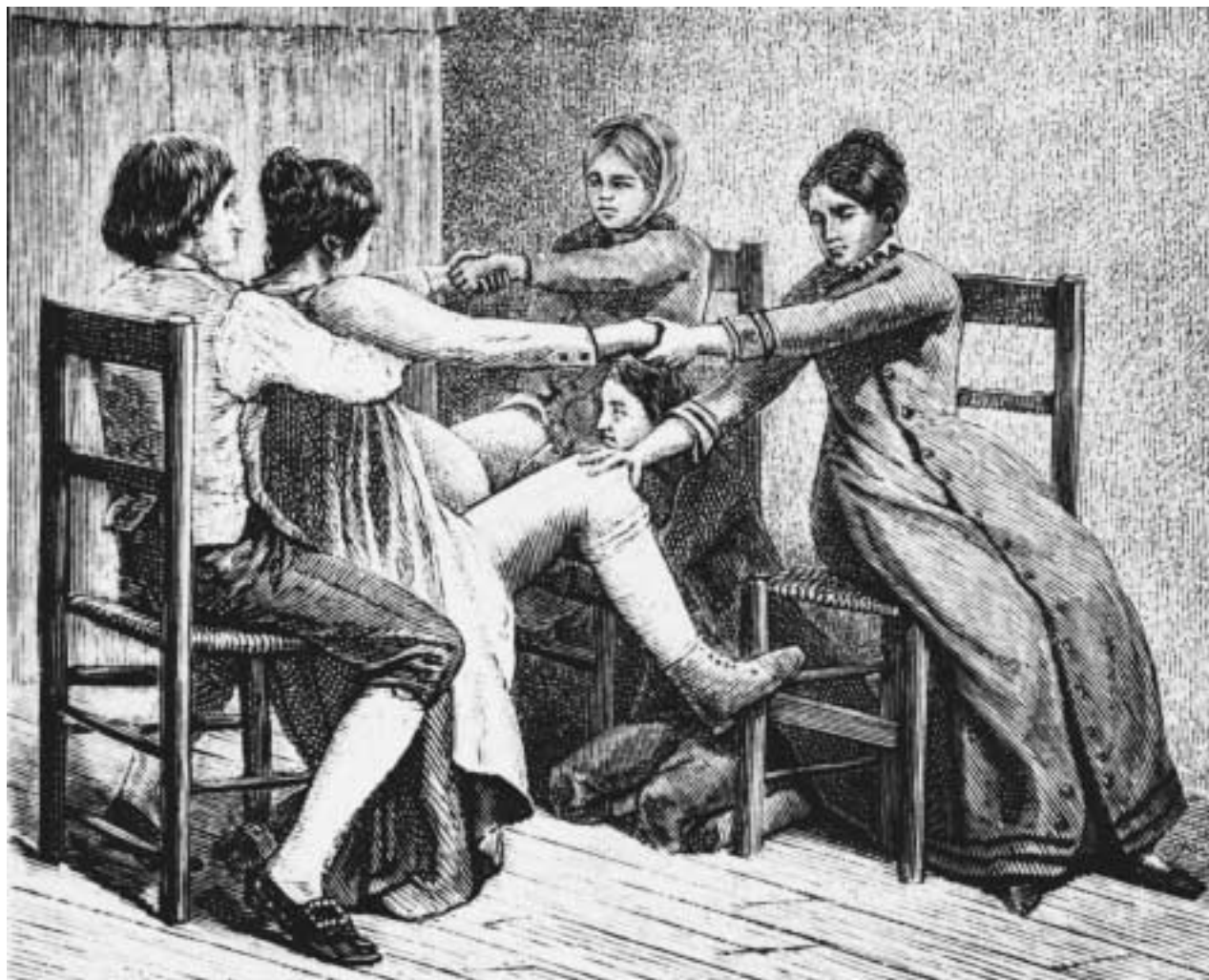
**Social Childbirth.** In the system of social childbirth, births were attended not just by a midwife but by a group of neighbors and relatives, as shown in this picture, which dates to around 1800. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

time unless complications arose; instead, new mothers were attended by an "after-nurse," who could be a paid caregiver or an unpaid relative.

In addition to attending childbirth, midwives provided advice and remedies on breast-feeding and postpartum complications. Midwives supplied medicines to increase the flow of breast milk, made ointments for sore nipples, and sometimes even lanced breast abscesses. If childbed fever set in, as it sometimes did, midwives nursed the invalid and provided what medicines they could until the woman either recovered or died.

Although midwives were primarily birth attendants, their responsibilities often went further. Many midwives acted as general practitioners, making medicines, nursing the sick, and even setting broken bones. At a time when physicians were some-

times in short supply or beyond the purses of many patients, midwives filled the gaps in available medical care.

### MIDWIVES' TRAINING

A midwife was typically a married or widowed woman past menopause who had borne children herself. Most often, she was of middling rank or class, although elite women also became midwives. All of these characteristics were considered crucial for midwifery. The midwife must be respectable and well-thought of by her neighbors, or they would not trust her; she must be past childbearing herself, or her own pregnancies and the care of young children would interfere with her duties; and she must have given birth in order to properly empathize with her patients.

Most midwives did not have formal education or training. Instead, they served informal apprenticeships with older midwives. Often this apprenticeship was as simple as merely attending many births as one of "the women," learning from the midwife, and gradually taking on more and more responsibility. Women also learned home remedies and herbal medicines from their older female neighbors and relatives, especially mothers and grandmothers. Such knowledge was passed down through families along with other household practices and family remedies.

### MIDWIVES IN NON-EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Enslaved African American women also served as midwives. Like their European American counterparts, African American midwives provided general health care as well as obstetrical services. Slave midwives took care of their own families, their fellow slaves, and sometimes the white family as well, using herbal remedies and homemade medicines. They relied on oral traditions to learn their skills, although occasionally a master provided more formal training. On large plantations, masters often built specialized slave hospitals or infirmaries, with slave midwives and nurses in attendance.

Midwifery was one of the few specialized skills reserved for female slaves. As such, it sometimes conferred unusual privileges. Some slave midwives were called not just to their fellow slaves but to neighboring white families as well. As a result, they had unusual freedom of movement. Such mobility enabled midwives to see friends and relatives on other plantations and to act as messenger or go-between for other slaves. Midwifery could also be a source of outside income for an enslaved woman if her master allowed her to keep some of her fees. Because of their skill and their privileges, slave midwives were deeply respected in their communities. Their fellow slaves looked to them for wisdom as well as healing.

Less is known about Native American midwives. Research on Native American childbirth customs suggests that they, like other cultural practices, varied considerably from culture to culture. In general, Native American women were attended by other women, often kin, who assisted and supported the mother during childbirth. If a birth was complicated, a traditional healer or shaman might be called in, and in some tribes these healers were women. Shamanistic healers used sweat baths, herbs, roots, and prayer to ease the birth.

### CHANGES BETWEEN 1750 AND 1820

The years from 1750 to 1820 were a critical period in the history of midwifery. Shortly after the Revolution, male physicians trained in Europe began attending the births of wealthy urban women. Male physicians could offer services that midwives could not, specifically the use of forceps and painkillers such as opium. Patients felt these techniques made childbirth safer and less painful, and women who could afford to do so chose male physicians over midwives.

As time passed, physician-attended birth became more and more common, even in rural areas and among the middle class. At times, a woman called both a midwife and a physician to attend her. Midwives and physicians thus negotiated a delicate balance between traditional childbirth and the new physician obstetrics. What did not change, however, was the female domination and control of childbirth. As long as births remained in a woman's home, as they would until the early twentieth century, women remained in charge of their own birth experiences, and the tradition of social childbirth continued. Midwives themselves continued to practice throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although their practice became more and more marginal, often limited to remote rural areas, new immigrants, and the poor.

*See also* **Medicine.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fett, Sharla. *Working Cures: Healing, Health and Power on Southern Slave Plantations.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Leavitt, Judith Walzer. *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America, 1750–1950.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Marie Plane, Ann. "Childbirth Practices among Native American Women of New England and Canada, 1600-1800" in Peter Benes, Ed. Medicine and Healing, Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England. *Folklife* 15 (1990): 13-24.

Tannenbaum, Rebecca J. *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Early New England.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

*Rebecca J. Tannenbaum*

## Overseers

Overseers supervised the slave plantations of absentee owners or planters who could not themselves manage a large agricultural enterprise.

In the Deep South, absentee planters with more than a few slaves were legally required to hire overseers. In the rice-growing region of the Southeast, overseers enjoyed higher salaries and more prerogatives than their counterparts in the Upper South. Depending on local customs and laws, overseers might share planters' authority to permit slaves to travel, conduct business, purchase liquor, assemble in large groups, or possess weapons.

In the Upper South, many overseers earned modest salaries and lacked the prerogatives and privileges of a trusted manager. They were financially liable for harm to their employers' property, including damage caused by slaves, regardless of the overseers' fault. On a Virginia plantation during the 1820s, Charles W. Jones and O. L. Fowler lost their jobs because they injured slaves while punishing them and negligently caused the death of livestock. Planters were not required by law to hire overseers, and the social distance between the two classes discouraged collegial relationships.

Most overseers were mature white men, some of them neighboring farmers. If they were aspiring planters—like Maryland's James Riggs, who worked for Charles Carroll for several years during the 1770s, and Jordan Myrick, who once managed thirteen South Carolina rice plantations simultaneously—then they frequently performed their duties capably and enjoyed job security. Planters' sons and other relatives performed less predictably. Itinerant, propertyless overseers who lacked relevant aspirations and skills gave the occupation a bad name but nonetheless found positions when cotton planting became profitable in the Deep South during the early 1800s.

Some planters appointed slaves to manage plantations rather than merely lead work gangs, but they often bore the title of "overlooker" or "driver" rather than "overseer." In Louisiana, they were called "commandeurs." This arrangement was not unique to the Deep South. Thomas Jefferson sometimes used an enslaved overseer named Jim. At the end of his life, George Washington relied solely on slave overseers, as he prepared all his slaves for their eventual freedom. In times of revolution or invasion, black overseers replaced white counterparts whose militia units were called to active duty.

Wary planters insisted that overseers sign highly restrictive contracts. These contracts spelled out in detail an overseer's duties, from times and methods of cultivation to care and feeding of slaves and livestock. These contracts also imposed an isolation on overseers by restraining them from leaving the plantation and entertaining visitors. Accounts by both planters and former slaves attest to overseers' cruelty and degradation, including the despicable but legal exploitation of female slaves. Nonetheless, after the Revolutionary War, planters grew cautious about slave revolts. As a result, overseers gained enhanced power, including the authority to deny slaves' basic needs and comforts such as hunting for meat or gathering for religious worship.

Overseers plied their trade amid several conflicts. Planters insisted that they produce bumper crops while not exhausting plantation resources, notably the slaves. Absentee employers appointed relatives, friends, and neighbors to scrutinize overseers' performance even as they entertained slaves' complaints. At the same time, slaves devised clever methods of resistance.

*See also* **Antislavery; Slavery: Overview.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bassett, John S. *The Southern Plantation Overseer as Revealed in His Letters.* Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1925.

Scarborough, William K. *The Overseer: Plantation Management in the Old South.* 1966. Reprint, Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1984.

Steffen, Charles G. "In Search of the Good Overseer: The Failure of the Agricultural Reform Movement in Lowcountry South Carolina, 1821–1834." *Journal of Southern History* 58 (1997): 753–802.

*William E. Wiethoff*

## Sailors and Seamen

Maritime work and labor in America from the 1750s to the 1850s was predominantly a world of men from poor working families. However, there were variations in the socioeconomic backgrounds of sailors. The third son of a well-to-do farmer, lacking the prospect of a lucrative inheritance in the future, was just as likely to go to sea as the firstborn son of a destitute urban mechanic. There were also variations in race and ethnicity. In the two major branches of maritime employment, the American merchant marine (commercial shipping) and the navy, crews regularly comprised men from various nations around the globe. In addition, African Americans also carried

cargo across the oceans and fought to keep shipping lanes open to American commerce. The motley workers of "the wooden world" made key contributions to the commercial and industrial expansion that took place in America up to and beyond the Civil War.

For the most part, the terms "sailor" and "seaman" were used interchangeably throughout the Age of Sail, or roughly from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Any sailor could be given the moniker Jack Tar, taken from the maritime weather-proofing agent that frequently covered worker's clothing. On a warship the quarterdeck was the space reserved for the captain and the officers; those not permitted to walk along the quarterdeck were sometimes called fore-the-mast men. This phrase was also used to describe the people on board merchant vessels, generally those common seamen who lived in a ship's forecastle. Although the term "mariner" applied to anyone at sea, it could specifically designate a ship's captain.

Women sometimes masqueraded as males at sea, working in the merchant marine and in the navy. Wives followed husbands in their berths and performed a variety of functions, from carrying water to gun crews in battle to washing clothes and preparing medicinal cures for the many diseases that afflicted seamen. In certain circumstances, women even became pirates.

Through the first half of the nineteenth century, different wooden worlds awaited an American Navy seaman or a sailor in the merchant marine. Work on an American warship was typically more demanding than work on a merchant marine vessel. In addition to the manual labors associated with the day-to-day art of harnessing trade winds and ocean currents, naval seamen conscientiously prepared to engage in battle at sea. Regular military training, including gunnery exercises, and constant order were required. To ensure discipline, the captain had the authority to inflict corporal punishments on the crew. Punishments for poor work performance in the naval service ranged from isolation in iron chains to flogging with the cat-o'-nine-tails (a whip of nine knotted lines that left scars resembling cat scratches) and, in extreme cases, hanging. Impressed men, those who served involuntarily, frequently equated naval service with slavery. Owing to their propensity to mutiny or desert, these coerced laborers were confined to quarters below deck when not at work; their movements on board were closely monitored, and they were typically denied shore leave or liberty. Upward mobility, not uncommon in the merchant ma-

rine, was rare in the navy. As had been the custom in the British Navy, commissioned officers were almost exclusively politically connected, educated, and propertied. By contrast, meritocracy remained the sole province of the merchant marine up to the American Civil War. Naval service also took individuals to sea for longer periods than did the merchant marine. As a result, families were separated and naval seamen were forced to endure greater isolation than most merchant mariners. Yet, for the patriot, naval service brought honor and glory. Moreover, naval vessels were generally better provisioned with food and drink than trade ships. Regular rations of rum were given to naval seamen to help boost morale and dull the pains associated with hard manual labor.

A maritime laborer at the turn of the nineteenth century would have encountered a different life in the American merchant marine. Whereas the navy ranked its seamen, sailors in the merchant marine rated, or classified, themselves. There were three types of sailors: workers with no prior maritime experience, known as landsmen, landlubbers, green hands, and waisters; regular or common seamen, who had some experience or who were previously employed with another merchant; and the able-bodied seamen, veterans with deep working knowledge of nautical matters. (An able-bodied seaman past his prime was often called an old salt.) A sliding pay scale afforded able-bodied seamen the best wages. Typically, wages were higher in the merchant marine than in the navy, especially during wartime periods of greater risk. Merchant mariners could also supplement their wages by using the trade ship to transport private cargo for separate sales. On average, however, sea work paid less than most landed occupations. Signing on for a trading voyage required a sailor to come to terms with a captain, a merchant, or a merchant's agent, or supercargo. This process of negotiation sharply contrasted with the hardships endured by pressed men in the navy. In addition, crew sizes and ship tonnages were smaller on average in the merchant marine than in the navy.

Despite these differences, sailors or seamen on naval vessels and merchant ships engaged in comparable work. On both merchant ship and naval vessel, maneuvering a wooden sailing vessel on the open sea required coordinated activity between those in charge of navigation—usually the captain, sailing master, or hired pilot—and the crew. It was the crew that set and reefed, or unfurled and furled, sails. The crew also maintained and altered the ship's rigging,

including the cordage, block, and tackle, to suit varying sail positions. Even the most seaworthy vessel took on water that had to be pumped, and the sturdiest craft required routine cleaning. Scrubbing, or "holystoning," the decks involved rigging hoses to pumps, wetting the decking, coating them with sand, using stone blocks that resembled Bibles (thus "holystones"), sweeping the planks free of sand, and swabbing everything dry. Additionally, both merchant vessels and warships had to be ever vigilant against the threat of attack at sea. Crews were therefore split into two watches, which were further divided into groups with alternating four-hour shifts. Two two-hour shifts, called dog watches (a corruption of "docked," meaning shortened), ensured that the same group would not have a monotonous work schedule. Laboring in this manner, sailors and seamen safeguarded American commerce and transported manufactured goods and raw materials around the world.

*See also* **Impressment; Naval Technology; Revolution: Naval War; Shipping Industry.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bolster, W. Jeffrey. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Harland, John. *Seamanship in the Age of Sail: Shiphandling of the Sailing Man-of-War*, *1600–1860.* 6th ed. London: Conway Maritime Press, 2000.

Labaree, Benjamin W., William M. Fowler, Edward W. Sloan, John B. Hattendorf, Jeffrey J. Safford, and Andrew W. German. *America and the Sea: A Maritime History.* Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum Publications, 1998.

Lemisch, Jesse. *Jack Tar vs. John Bull: The Role of New York's Seamen in Precipitating the Revolution.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1997.

Linebaugh, Peter, and Marcus Rediker. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.

Shepherd, James F., and Gary M. Walton. *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Stark, Suzanne J. *Female Tars: Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

*Christopher P. Magra*

## Slave Labor

Slave labor was vital to the economy both of Britain's North American colonies on the eve of the American Revolution and of the new nation. Most slaves toiled in obscurity, but the visible work other slaves did in prominent places—from making the colonial port towns go to building the independent Republic's new capital in Washington, D.C.— underscored their economic importance. But if the significance of slave labor to the economy as a whole was a constant, the years between the late colonial and early antebellum eras witnessed sweeping changes in the type and scope of the work. And given that labor molded the entire life—in nonworking as well as working hours—of every enslaved person, the transformations of slave labor shaped the lives of millions of black as well as white Americans.

### BROAD CHANGES

The Revolutionary and early national periods witnessed a massive growth in the American slave population as well as in the population as a whole. At the time of the American Revolution, roughly 1 in 5 Americans—just under 500,000—was of African descent, the vast majority of these enslaved. By the 1820 census, the enslaved population had more than tripled to over 1.5 million. (There were 1.8 million black Americans altogether, however, with 13 percent of this total being free.) However, the general population had grown so quickly between 1770 and 1820 that the proportion of slaves had dropped to 1 in 6, and African Americans made up 18 percent of the American people.

The geographic outlines of American slave labor also shifted dramatically in this half century. In the Revolutionary era, almost all slaves, along with their masters, lived in settlements hugging the Atlantic coast. They could be found in every colony, however, and in significant numbers in the northern port towns and the mid-Atlantic countryside as well as on southern plantations and farms. By 1820, the abolition of slavery in the North, though gradual, was well under way. This took longer in parts of the mid-Atlantic than elsewhere in the North. In the greater New York City area, for instance, slaves were still a central component of the labor force well into the nineteenth century. When New York State and New Jersey passed gradual abolition acts in 1799 and 1804 respectively, about one-third of all households in New York City and the surrounding countryside employed slave labor. By the 1820s, the transition to free labor was advanced but not complete. Meanwhile, southern plantation and farm agriculture had spread to the Mississippi River and beyond. Slave labor had become a "peculiar," sectional institution, but it gained more territory in the South than it lost in the North.

Sectionalization was not the only alteration in slavery's place in the American economy and society. In the colonies, African bondage was only one of many forms of unfree labor. Indentured servants and convicts from Britain, as well as bound apprentices, all worked alongside slaves. But in the 1780s, the newly independent nation was not about to continue accepting shipments of convicts from the erstwhile mother country. And legal changes in the early Republic struck down indentured servitude and gave new rights to apprentices, making all white people (except home-grown criminals) free. This left black slaves essentially alone in the category of unfree labor by the 1820s.

### UPPER SOUTH

As abolition proceeded in the North, the Chesapeake states and their western satellites became the northern boundary of slave labor. But while the labor regime transmogrified in the face of crop changes and ideological attack, it hardly wilted. Indeed, it remained entrenched in old bastions like Virginia and expanded to Kentucky, Tennessee, and beyond in the early Republic. Slave labor thus demonstrated its durability and adaptability.

In the decades surrounding the Revolution, Virginia and Maryland transformed themselves from predominantly tobacco colonies to predominantly grain-producing states. As tobacco proved its ability both to exhaust the soil and to plunge planters deeper in debt as its price stagnated, slaveholders explored the possibilities of wheat and other grain crops. Those possibilities were great, especially in the form of exports to the hungry, war-torn Europe of the late eighteenth century.

As the crop changed, so did most Chesapeake slaves' labor regime. Tobacco had required painstaking year-round labor, but wheat did not. The latter did, however, bring in its train all manner of new tasks relating to maintaining draft animals (which planters were using in more abundance with the crop change) and to transporting, processing, and marketing flour. This switch imparted much greater variety to most slaves' work routines, requiring that they learn new skills and become jacks of many trades.

The lack of demand for year-round intensive work on a staple crop, however, convinced many Chesapeake slaveholders that they were now saddled with an excess slave population. For some masters, this made the antislavery ideas circulating in the Revolutionary era seem like common sense. These men and women manumitted their slaves in large numbers; ten thousand went free in Virginia alone in the 1780s. Maryland and especially Delaware saw an even greater proportion of slave laborers manumitted; by 1820 free people made up 27 percent of the black population in the former and 74 percent in the latter.

But other slaveholders saw a more lucrative way of unloading these surplus hands as slave labor expanded across the South in the early Republic. To be sure, the slave population of the Chesapeake grew in the period between 1770 and 1820. Virginia's quadrupled in that time, and the Old Dominion still had more slaves than any other state at the time of the Civil War. But the Chesapeake also supplied the rising domestic slave trade. "Movement," as historian Ira Berlin has phrased it, "became the defining feature of black life in the postwar Chesapeake" (*Many Thousands Gone*, p. 267). This included the growing practice of hiring slave laborers in pursuits both urban and rural, industrial and agriculture; but the main form of movement was a new migration to the interior South.

One place masters and slave traders dragged enslaved workers was the newly settled region directly to the west. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, white Americans poured into Kentucky and Tennessee, utilizing slave labor to establish and run new operations there. These were overwhelmingly agricultural as they were in the Chesapeake, but they took different forms. Kentucky, for instance, replaced Virginia as the epicenter of American tobacco cultivation and also made a name for itself producing hemp. The slaves' lives changed to suit the new crops as well as the exigencies of settling new territory.

### DEEP SOUTH

The Lower South became the Deep South in the early national era. Rice cultivation in coastal South Carolina and Georgia was the main experience of slaves south of the tobacco colonies, but their lives in the new nation centered on cotton cultivation in new states and the up-country of the older states. As in the Upper South, the long-settled region's slave population persisted, but it also formed a terminus of the domestic slave traffic.

In both the colonial and the early national low country of South Carolina and Georgia, rice was king. Like all crops, its unique rhythms and conditions patterned the lives of the slaves working it. The combined effects of drudgery in knee-deep water and a pestilential disease environment, for instance, made for a higher mortality rate amongst slaves on rice

plantations than obtained anywhere else except the sugar parishes of Louisiana.

Moreover, the low country's slave population hammered out a distinctive form of labor: the task system. Low country masters and overseers found that the difficulty of supervising their large black majority militated against working their slaves in gangs from sunup to sundown as in the archetypal model of American slavery. They therefore assigned their workers plots of land to cultivate every day. Once that task was complete, the slave's time was his or her own. The tasks were not easily completed for most slaves. But this system did allow a certain autonomy for slaves both during working hours and afterward; indeed, for some it increased the number of hours not spent working for the master. Some of these turned this time to growing their own produce, which they traded in local markets both clandestine and open.

But by the early nineteenth century, the main event for slave labor in the United States was neither rice nor tobacco nor wheat; it was cotton. Aided by a new gin that allowed for easier processing, cotton culture spread rapidly in the up-country of South Carolina and Georgia in the 1790s and 1800s, then in subsequent decades to newly conquered territories in the interior—what would become the heart of the Cotton Kingdom in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The rising planters of the cotton frontier employed slave labor in carving out plantations in the new regions. They required mostly young and mostly male laborers to clear trees and brush in preparation for planting. Even such workers managed to clear only twelve acres every four months, so this stage stretched laboriously on for a long time. Furthermore, it was a new type of work for slaves who had worked staple crops before moving to the cotton frontier. Accordingly both their lives and communities had been forcibly restructured.

The adjustments were by no means finished once cotton cultivation was under way. The low country task system extended to cotton in some of these new settings, but gangs of slaves predominated, forcing migrants from the Lower South into new rhythms. Furthermore, whether from the Upper or Lower South, slaves had to learn new skills to cultivate and harvest cotton. The new work routines, together with the separation slaves experienced from kin and familiar surroundings, rendered forced entrance into the Cotton Kingdom a bitter experience. It was a trauma that as many as a million African Americans would endure before the Civil War.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Cotton; Emancipation and Manumission; Slavery: Slave Life; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ball, Charles. *Fifty Years in Chains; or, the Life of an American Slave.* New York: H. Dayton, 1859. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1970.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

———. *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Berlin, Ira, and Philip D. Morgan, eds. *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Smith, Abbot Emerson. *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776.* New York: Norton, 1947.

Starobin, Robert S. *Industrial Slavery in the Old South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Steinfeld, Robert J. *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Tadman, Michael. *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

White, Shane. *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810.* Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1991.

*Matthew Mason*

## Teachers

Ideas about teaching and education circa 1750 drew heavily on the cultural and religious heritage of the colonists. The earliest civic legislative call for the compulsory education of all children came in theocratic New England in 1642, and was followed by the organization of compulsory public (though not universal) education in 1647. In the middle colonies, however, denominations tended to establish school-

ing systems to inculcate pupils in the virtues of the doctrine of the particular faith. Thus, schooling tended to be parochial and in the hands of individual churches rather than the state. In the southern colonies, the upper-class distinction and Anglican faith of the ruling property owners forged a private and philanthropic model for education. The upper class educated their own children through private tutors or tuition schools, and philanthropic efforts provided "pauper schools" to some families without means.

Just as these three models of education varied in the early national period, so did the roles and status of teachers. In New England teachers often were preachers and college-educated. Most teachers, and nearly all of the Latin grammar school instructors, were men. The most important qualification was religious and moral character. Of secondary importance were his skills at reading and writing and, more rarely, ciphering. In towns with at least one hundred families, school law required the instruction of Latin, though compliance was not universal.

Children achieved basic literacy before entering these schools, either at home or sometimes at a petty or dame school. Dame schools provided an arrangement of day care and basic education for younger children, probably under the age of eight. As the name suggests, a woman, typically a widow, earned small fees from parents by taking in young children and teaching the older ones to read and write. By the time of the American Revolution, the practice of having women teach the fundamentals and men the more advanced curriculum was probably quite common.

There is less comprehensive information available about teachers in the middle and southern colonies, but records suggest that many were local clergymen, farmers, or individuals who used teaching to supplement their incomes. Others were indentured servants who worked to pay back their passage from Europe. But some were highly qualified and provided high-quality instruction in a broad array of subjects. Overall, the work and social roles of teachers varied significantly across and within the colonies depending on the role of the state, the size of the community, the education of the instructor, and the preparatory orientation of the school.

As the ideologies of independence and equality came to be seen as central to the new Republic, George Washington, among others, called for the development of institutions that "enlightened" public opinion. Still, free public schools, or "common" schools, did not emerge until the late 1830s. In the early Republic, it was parents' responsibility to pay fees for their children to go to school; sometimes local communities helped them pay for the schoolhouse and some of the materials. During this time, two trends set the direction of education: First, education became increasingly secular, and "Rithmetic" replaced "Religion" as one of the three Rs. Second, education also began to shift its focus from the classics—a curriculum that aimed to prepare students for college—toward practical education. Useful subjects such as bookkeeping and gunnery were common additions to the curricula, and records suggest that pupils learned practical skills such as writing receipts and bills of sale.

Even in the absence of significant government involvement, education grew increasingly important. For men, in this period of high mobility, having an education became increasingly important in obtaining employment off the farm in a new city or new town. For young women, school-keeping became a viable option to escape the drudgery of housework and child rearing. The incomes of these young women often enabled families to send yet more children to school.

Teaching was seasonal and often itinerant work. Teachers traveled far and wide in search of better schools, more supportive communities, and better pay. Nahum Jones (born 1779) used money from teaching to buy a farm near his father's in Massachusetts. After failing to make a living at farming, he returned to teaching, although he complained of having to "walk around" New England. The increasing presence of women as "schoolmarms," the term common for a schoolmistress, in the summer months when men were occupied with agriculture, allowed them to make inroads into teaching in the winter season and, in turn, a more advanced curriculum to older children.

Without a system of teacher certification, the credentials and skills of teachers varied widely, as did teaching conditions and pay. Either out of need or lack of ability to verify teacher credentials, many communities hired young teachers who could read but barely write. A teacher might have been qualified after only a few seasons of formal learning. As time passed, more teachers became trained, and some had studied in the newly emerging "academies," which would have required advanced study of the classics as well as basic skills.

During the early national period, teacher contracts also came to govern the community-teacher relationship. Many specified the number of days to be taught and the methods to be used. Typically, teachers would assign individual lessons and would

monitor pupil progress through listening to their recitations. In addition to the single schoolmaster model, the "monitorial" system (as was adopted in New York) became a popular and inexpensive teaching methodology from around 1800. In these schools the oldest and best pupils were responsible for conveying lessons to approximately five hundred to one thousand younger pupils.

In turn, school trustees or parents often provided a schoolhouse, the children's materials, and textbooks, which became increasingly secular and American in character. (Popular at that time were Noah Webster's *American Speller* and Nicholas Pike's *Arithmetic.*) Teachers were paid wages and sometimes board. Although compensation was rarely enough to justify teaching as a primary or even permanent vocation, it did offer a way to make a modest living and provided a stepping stone to other careers or marriage.

The common school movement, a public initiative to provide free, universal public education for all, grew over the course of the nineteenth century, and created the need for greater numbers of qualified teachers. This demand was partly met in the establishment of new teacher training schools. *Lectures on Schoolteaching*, notes on the "art of teaching" by Samuel R. Hall, the founder of a private teacher-training school in Concord, Vermont, constituted the first American professional textbook for teachers in 1829. The demand was also met by a growing teaching force of women. Teaching provided one of the very few jobs in which a woman could use her education. Skilled women not only expanded the supply of teachers, but they reduced the cost at which communities might provide education to local children, thus securing low-cost schools for the future.

*See also* **Childhood and Adolescence; Education: Elementary, Grammar, and Secondary Schools; Education: Professional Education; Education: Public Education; Education: Tutors; Women: Professions.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bayles, Ernest E., and Bruce L. Hood. *Growth of American Educational Thought and Practice.* New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Carter, Susan B. "Occupational Segregation, Teachers' Wages, and American Economic Growth." *Journal of Economic History* 46, no. 2 (1986): 373–383.

Clifford, Geraldine Joncich. "Home and School in 19th Century America: Some Personal-History Reports from the United States." *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1978): 3–34.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *The American Common School: An Historic Conception.* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

———. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876.* New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Lemlech, Johanna, and Merle B. Marks. *The American Teacher, 1776–1976.* Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.

Margo, Robert A., and Joel Perlmann. *Women's Work? American Schoolteachers, 1650–1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

*Martha J. Bailey*

## Unskilled Labor

After the American Revolution (1775–1783), economies in the North and South changed and grew. In the North, manufacturing and industry emerged, while in the South industry and agriculture diversified. These developments required a pool of unskilled laborers. The unskilled workers, while facing new and difficult work environments, nevertheless created lively communities and maintained an ideology premised upon independence. Many, however, would find that their condition conflicted with their ideas.

### THE NORTH

In the North, numerous economic factors pushed men and women into the unskilled labor force. The scarcity of land in parts of the North forced some rural Americans to move to cities in search of higher wages, where they found work in the emerging manufacturing economy. This dearth of land led aspiring male farmers into the workforce, and it had a similar effect on women. The propensity of young men to search for better economic opportunities created a labor shortage in some areas. There, women and children filled the void, especially in textile mills. After the American Revolution, merchants also invested capital in manufacturing. They centralized production into small factories and attempted to make the job process more efficient. This required the existence of a large mass of unskilled workers, filled by hopeful young farmers, women, and children; European immigrants; and free and enslaved African Americans. Thus, race, gender, and ethnicity segmented the unskilled workforce.

Unskilled workers in the North had a diverse array of occupations. In maritime-oriented cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, men and women found jobs as seamen, longshoremen, carters, and domestic servants as well as

in ship construction, woodcutting, and road building. Workers also found jobs in the emerging factories. In Massachusetts, for instance, men and women worked in cotton mills and the shoemaking industry. These jobs were monotonous and repetitive and lacked individuality. Under the outing system, whereby manufacturers advanced the raw materials of shoes to women living on farms, the workers mass-produced shoes, working long hours and frequently finding themselves indebted to their employer.

Unskilled workers also faced capricious job conditions. Since they lacked a discernible skill, employers could fire them on a whim. Unskilled ironworkers in New Jersey, for instance, faced termination for drinking, negligence, or defiance. Fishermen in Massachusetts worked long hours and faced the dangers of the sea. Construction employees paid canal workers with alcohol (either on credit or in lieu of wages) or with credit, forcing them into a system that resembled debt peonage. The nascent capitalist system fully exploited unskilled workers. Because of the poor working conditions, many unskilled laborers were notoriously mobile. They moved from city to city in search of good wages. While this mobility enabled the laborers to escape places where work conditions were deteriorating, it also prevented effective efforts to organize them.

Despite their mobility and the dangers associated with work, unskilled workers created a common community life and ideology. Canal workers, for instance, typically lived near their job sites in shantytowns or temporary work camps. After the workday had concluded, canal workers entered a male bachelor subculture. They imbibed alcohol and participated in a variety of rough-and-tumble sports, including horse racing and boxing. Naturally, this subculture had a dark side. Excessive alcohol consumption led to fights between workers. This too was a world riddled with crime. Thefts, robbery, and assaults were common in the canal workers' camps. Yet men and women flocked to unskilled jobs, primarily because they still believed that wage work was temporary. Men aspired to own land and believed that working for wages in their youth would enable them to save enough money to purchase land in the future. Women, too, considered unskilled labor temporary because they expected eventually to marry someone and leave the factory. Still, by the 1830s many men and women were becoming lifelong wageworkers.

## THE SOUTH

In the South, many unskilled workers were slaves, and their conditions varied according to region. After the American Revolution, mixed farming, with an emphasis on wheat, replaced tobacco cultivation as the primary economic enterprise in the Upper South. Wheat production required fewer year-round workers than tobacco. This precipitated two important changes in the lives of unskilled slave workers. For one, mobility and movement was the norm. Some slaveholders sold African Americans into the Deep South because they no longer needed their labor. Other slaveholders, however, moved blacks into skilled jobs, both in the countryside and, increasingly, in the city. Since most men became skilled workers, women worked in the fields and, sometimes, in iron factories in unskilled jobs. Second, the agricultural revolution broadened job opportunities for slaves. Rather than working in a monoculture, slaves worked in a diversity of crops, freighted goods, and tended to livestock. Lastly, slaves in Upper South towns who worked in the ironworks earned cash wages for working overtime.

In the Deep South, on the other hand, rice production returned to prewar levels, and the expansion of cotton spread slavery into the interior Southeast. The expansion and intensification of slavery required slaveholders to import slaves from the North, Upper South, and Africa (until 1808). In rice-producing areas, the number of skilled workers increased slightly, which forced more women into the fields. In the cotton regions, however, slaveholders required many unskilled workers and thus brought men and women, young and old, into the fields. Unskilled slave workers contested changes in their workday. In the rice areas, tasking still dominated production, mainly because slaves resisted efforts to change the pace of the workday. However, in cotton-producing areas, slaveholders moved to a gang labor system, which irritated slaves removed from the rice areas of South Carolina.

Unskilled slave workers created a community life. After the American Revolution, slaves flocked to Christianity in increasing numbers. Upper South slaves utilized their newfound mobility to travel to other plantations and create a pan-plantation community life. This freedom of movement allowed Upper South slaves to maintain families, even when slaveholders sold a spouse to another plantation. Lastly, the American Revolution and emancipation in the North had opened the door, if slightly, to the possibility of freedom. Slaves resisted the efforts of slaveholders to limit their freedom and opportunities. When masters attempted to speed up the pace of

work, slaves fought to maintain tasking, which granted them some free time, and instituted stints, whereby slaves agreed among themselves the amount of work they would accomplish in a given day.

After the American Revolution, economic changes in the North and South made America's unskilled workforce expand. It absorbed landless young men, single women, children, and enslaved African Americans. Women, both free and unfree, entered the unskilled labor force in increasing numbers. Yet the Revolution's rhetoric of freedom captivated some workers. Young men believed that wages were the ticket for landed independence, while African American slaves gravitated to the messages of the Revolution and northern emancipation. Still, unskilled workers faced dangerous and exploitative work environments and faced a future where they would labor in perpetuity.

*See also* **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Industrial Revolution; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Slavery: Slave Life; Textiles Manufacturing.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Way, Peter. *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780–1860.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

*William J. Bauer Jr.*

## Women's Work

In the mid-eighteenth century, the colonial economy was centered on the household. Although tasks were usually divided along gender lines, all members of the family contributed essential labor. Importantly, this labor did not typically generate income. In an agricultural society the home was a center of production for the family's needs, with both women and men performing nonwaged labor that sustained the family. Men had primary responsibility for agricultural labor. Among women's many responsibilities were spinning thread and sometimes weaving cloth, keeping gardens, taking care of poultry, milking cows, and producing butter. Excess produce might be bartered or sold. In addition, women prepared and preserved food, made soap, washed and repaired clothing, bore and raised numerous children, and kept their large households clean and running. These varied tasks filled the days of the overwhelming majority of colonial women. Such time-consuming and essential labor was the norm; the required, specialized skills defined a good wife. Although largely confined to a single household, some tasks involved communal labor, as when women gathered to sew quilts.

Women's labor in the farming household complemented that of their husbands. When their spouses were away, married women also acted as what the historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has termed "deputy husbands," conducting family affairs to the best of their ability. During harvest times, women joined men in the fields, although such labor was not considered ideal for women of European descent. On a temporary basis or for indentured servants, fieldwork was more acceptable. Enslaved women performed both fieldwork and a range of domestic tasks. Throughout the colonies, they contributed essential labor, whether of an agricultural nature on plantations and farms or as domestic or household servants.

In nonfarming families, women often worked alongside their spouses in their trades and in their shops, assisting in the production of goods and attending customers, while remaining responsible for child care and other housewifery tasks. In his autobiography, for example, Benjamin Franklin noted the helpful labor that his wife, Deborah Read Franklin, provided in his print shop, where she folded and stitched pamphlets. Such labor has been rendered largely invisible in the historical record by the legal position of married women in the colonial period. Under the doctrine of coverture, which dictated that a woman's legal identity merged with her husband's upon marriage, married women had no right to enter into contracts, keep their own wages, make wills, or sue debtors. For this reason, many married women who worked in family enterprises did not show up in contemporary records, unless someone commented on their labor, as in Franklin's case, or they continued to run businesses as widows. Widowhood was a common means of a woman assuming control of a business in her own name. Also, in some colonies, femme sole trader statutes allowed married women to conduct trade in their own right.

Throughout the colonial period, while most women worked within the context of the farm household, there were other women who ran or engaged in a range of enterprises. They obtained licenses to dispense alcohol and became tavern keep-

ers; many of these women were poor widows. Others taught school, took in boarders, or ran printing presses, like Mary Katherine Goddard (1738–1816). After taking over her brother's Baltimore press, Goddard became a notable printer, the first to print a copy of the Declaration of Independence with the names of the signers; she also served as the first postmistress of the colonies in 1775. Elizabeth Murray set up her own business in Boston in 1750, taking advantage of rising consumer demand for British goods to run her own shop and later setting up other women in business. Generous credit and the availability of inexpensive, high-quality cloth and ceramics prompted many women in colonial ports to pursue shopkeeping in the decades before the Revolution. Imported goods began to replace some domestically produced items, such as cloth. One of the most lucrative trades in the colonial period, as well as in the early Republic, was midwifery, a field in which women held a near monopoly.

### THE LEGACY OF THE REVOLUTION

Although the Revolutionary War years interrupted prewar patterns in some regards—with women like Abigail Adams assuming more responsibility for running family farms, for example, while their husbands were away and eventually asserting a sense of ownership—the Revolution itself did not signal a dramatic turning point in women's economic endeavors. Although, the disruptions that accompanied it led to the relocation of many single women, who became part of a new, cheap labor pool, most women continued to run households and raise children; the average birthrate remained high, at 7.04 in 1800. The Revolution challenged women to make political commitments and follow them up with economic actions, such as producing homespun cloth during boycotts of British imports in the 1760s and 1770s, but its effects were limited in the short term.

One important legacy of the Revolution, however, was an increased attention to the content of women's education. Reformers argued that women needed to be better schooled so as to raise their sons to be good citizens; women would exercise their political influence within the domestic sphere. This ideal, which the historian Linda Kerber has termed "republican motherhood," contributed to a shift in female education. Although much of the schooling girls received remained oriented toward the skills of housewifery and ornamental accomplishments, new subjects entered the curriculum. Ultimately, the combined domestic and political rationale for women's improved education lay the basis for the

emergence of female academies in the early Republic. Subsequently, women began to apply their educational achievements outside of their own homes, entering the teaching profession in large numbers.

### THE MARKET ECONOMY AND THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATE SPHERES

Larger changes in industrial development and the market itself led to profound changes in work and the perception of it. In the late 1700s the putting-out system, a phase of industrial development that preceded the integrated factory, brought income-generating labor directly to the household. This process, which historian Jan de Vries characterizes as part of an "industrious revolution," signaled both an increase in the labor of women and children in the home and accompanying increases in overall productivity. In some industries, like shoemaking, women constituted a significant portion of the workforce, using their skill with the needle to stitch together shoe parts at home. Such work, also found in clothing production and hat making, was generally poorly paid.

Household production began to decline gradually as the market economy expanded. As waged labor grew increasingly time-oriented and separated from household production, men's nonagricultural work became distinguished by taking place outside the home and generating wages. In contrast, for the majority of women, work remained within the domestic sphere and was task-oriented rather than delimited by time. Crucially, such female labor was unwaged, and paid labor was increasingly privileged over unpaid. With the emergence of an ideology of separate spheres, where women were confined to a domestic sphere supposedly untouched by the market and where men left the sanctuary of the home to gain income for their families in a competitive, cut-throat public work space, women's contributions to sustaining their families and households were minimized. The historian Jeanne Boydston describes the "pastoralization" of housework that occurred in the early Republic; a rhetoric emerged that idealized women's domestic endeavors and characterized them as duties lovingly performed in an idyllic sphere, rather than as labor. As contemporaries drew increasingly sharp distinctions between "home" and "work," this dichotomy discounted the economic value and necessity of housework.

The doctrine of separate spheres ignored important facets of women's work experience in the early Republic. First, this pervasive ideology was most applicable to middle-class women; working-class

women of necessity went outside of their homes to work for their families' subsistence. Second, women's household labor constituted an essential, if unpaid, contribution to their families. Third, the birth of industrialization in the United States witnessed the intentional incorporation of large numbers of women into the market economy. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, widespread efforts were made to develop the industrial base of the United States, with the interruption of trade during the War of 1812 adding fuel to the drive to industrialize.

In Lowell, Massachusetts, mill owners in the 1810s and 1820s hired a largely female workforce in an effort to balance agrarian and economic aims; men could stay on the farm while women toiled in factories. Lowell itself became a leader in the textile industry in terms of numbers of workers and volume of cloth produced. By 1828, 90 percent of textile workers in New England were female. The "mill girls," who lived in company boardinghouses, earned wages much lower than those of male mill workers, yet they earned enough to supplement their wardrobes, save money, and send funds home, sometimes paying for the professional education of brothers. The growth of professional school and accreditation negatively affected some female trades. As states began to license medical practitioners, for example, midwives found their position challenged by the institutionalized training that came to define medicine, schooling from which they were excluded.

The period was one of flux, with new possibilities for some women's employment and deteriorating circumstances for others. The rationale for paying women less than men in the mills, and in other trades as well, lay in the notion that men's labor and income supported their families. The laws of coverture remained intact, and women's labor, wherever they performed it, was seen as either nonessential to their families' livelihoods, as in the case of mills, or as nonwork, as in the household.

*See also* **Childbirth and Childbearing; Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Home; Industrial Revolution; Market Revolution; Marriage; Widowhood; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Professions.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Dublin, Thomas. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860.* 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Gundersen, Joan R. *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740–1790.* New York: Twayne, 1996.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

*Patricia Cleary*

## Work Ethic

The work ethic is a debased, vulgarized version of a moral vision that the German sociologist Max Weber conceptualized a century ago as the Protestant ethic. In the Reformed Protestantism of the sixteenth-century Geneva theologian John Calvin, an inscrutable God predestined men and women to salvation or damnation yet withheld from them the ability to read his design or discover their eternal fate. They could only hope to have intimations of an answer to that most urgent of all questions. The capacity for steady work seemed such an intimation, because Calvin's God wished to be worshipped in the world, not in monasteries and other such retreats from it. Work was, for Reformed Protestants, a way of worshipping their God and easing their anxiety.

In Weber's ingenious formulation, Protestants who dedicated themselves to unremitting labor were decisive in the creation of capitalism because they believed God disallowed pleasure as much as he demanded industry among his faithful. Their ascetic reluctance to enjoy the fruits of their labor left them nothing to do with the mounting wealth that came of their diligence but to put it back into their businesses. Thus they inadvertently—and systematically—amassed capital.

Weber took Benjamin Franklin and his Poor Richard maxims as the epitome of the Protestant ethic. And observers before and since have seen America as a culture singularly wedded to work and peculiarly convinced that work was the core of the moral life.

But Weber probably misread Poor Richard and certainly misread Franklin. Franklin was no Puritan. He pursued the pleasures of the flesh from his youth to his dying days. He gave up work itself at an early

age, quitting the printing business for what he unabashedly called leisure and philosophical amusements.

Franklin was hardly alone in his aversion to the laborious and his enjoyment of the carnal. Few of the richest men in early America embraced an ethic that made moral significance of work. Few, indeed, did much work. Southern planters had squadrons of slaves to clear the land and till the soil; they spent most of their time exchanging social visits with one another. Northern merchants enjoyed an equivalent leisure; their ledgers reveal that they rarely made more than three or four sales a day, their letter books show that they rarely wrote more than three or four letters a day, and their diaries indicate that they spent the better part of their time dining and chatting with fellow merchants. Common people in all the colonies similarly sought relief from the biblical curse on labor that attended the expulsion from Eden. Promotional pamphlets routinely promised those contemplating migration to the New World that they would find there a life of Edenic ease. Hogs and cattle multiplied marvelously, without human effort. Crops flourished in fertile soils. Fish ran so abundantly in the rivers that a single netting would feed a man for a week. Birds flew so thickly in the air that a single shot fired into the flock would bag half a dozen. Men and women went to colonial America for the prospect of wealth and leisure that it offered more than for the work that it required.

After the Revolution the emphasis shifted. In the staple-producing South, work remained a slave's affliction and exemption from physical labor remained a mark of gentility. But beyond the regions where tobacco, rice, and cotton absorbed men's ambitions, the pace of business quickened. North of the Mason-Dixon Line, a veritable revolution in transportation—scheduled transatlantic shipping, turnpikes, canals, steamboats, and, at the end of the era, railroads—opened a vast new access to the market. Farmers responded to the incentive to produce more for it. An emergent middle class set standards of respectability that increasingly centered on a new gospel of work.

The norms themselves were not new. The Puritans had brought them to New England, the Quakers to Pennsylvania. But they had been confined to Puritan and Quaker precincts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the young Republic they overspread much more of the North.

Everyone noticed. European visitors commented in tones at once acerbic and astonished on Americans' obsession with what the novelist Charles Dickens would later call the "almighty dollar." Almost without exception, such observers complained of meals frantically wolfed down so as to lose no time that might be spent making money. They remarked on the meager fare of amusements and the absence of a substantial class of men and women devoted to them. As Alexis de Tocqueville, the great nineteenth-century French observer of American life, noted, even the wealthy considered themselves obligated to persist in "some kind of industrial or commercial pursuit." A rich man "would think himself in bad repute if he employed his life solely in living."

Americans themselves testified to the same effect, in their words and in their actions. The mill girl turned poet Lucy Larcom recalled New England childhoods "penetrated through every fibre of thought with the idea that idleness is a disgrace." Merchants withdrew from the politics they once dominated because commerce demanded all their time in the nineteenth century as it never had in the eighteenth. Artificers in the 1820s petitioned for ten times the number of patents they had thirty years before. The very beverages that Americans drank made manifest the changes: coffee, a stimulant, displaced whiskey, a depressant.

Needless to say, there were those who did not embrace the new ethos or give themselves enthusiastically to incessant labor. Urban artisans still celebrated "Saint Monday" and punctuated the rest of the work week with booze breaks and other premodern rituals of conviviality. Farmers sometimes disdained the opportunities that new markets offered. A Pennsylvanian remarked that he had thought to move to Kentucky till he heard that there was no winter there so people had to work all the time; "that was not his fancy." But such common folk did not occupy, or even have access to, the command-posts of middle-class opinion.

The work ethic of the new nation was not the Protestant ethic that Weber delineated. It was far more broadly diffused: a secular faith rather than a sectarian one. It was essentially disconnected from anxiety over salvation: the notion that work was a "calling" in which the worker glorified God virtually vanished from common parlance.

This work ethic justified work by its usefulness to the early Republic and, more, by its advantage to the worker himself. Work built character. Work kept a person from the debilities of idleness. And work was the way to a new American dream of success. As the idea of the "calling" disappeared, the idea of "the self-made man" came to the fore. By diligent application, men of modest origins could become rich.

By industry alone—"plain, rugged, brown-faced, homely clad, old-fashioned industry," as the mid-nineteenth-century minister Henry Ward Beecher would later put it.

There was an irony in all that. The crux of the work ethic was that labor in a social context made economic life more than mere drudgery by the sweat of the brow. Such labor conferred moral meaning on toil. But the more that men worked harder for private gain—for success and self-advancement—the more they dissolved the social context that could make their labor meaningful. It was a conundrum that would only be exacerbated with the advent of the factory system in the years ahead.

*See also* **American Character and Identity; Bible; Character; Class: Development of the Working Class; Class: Rise of the Middle Class; Farm Making; Franklin, Benjamin; Plantation, The; Professions: Clergy; Professions: Lawyers; Professions: Physicians; Quakers; Wealth; Wealth Distribution.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Bertelson, David. *The Lazy South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1967; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Cole, Arthur. "The Tempo of Mercantile Life in Colonial America." *Business History Review* 33 (1959): 277–299.

Rodgers, Daniel T. *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850–1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* Translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Scribners, 1958.

*Michael Zuckerman*

**XYZ AFFAIR** The decade of the 1790s was a perilous era for the new federal government of the United States. The economy only slowly emerged from the Revolutionary War slump, international commerce flagged, and the nation faced a crushing foreign and domestic debt. In addition, France—its former ally—had launched its own democratic revolution that slid into a bloodbath and led to resumed naval warfare with Britain in the Atlantic and the Caribbean. The American army and navy were woefully unready to protect their own vessels, rendering the nation's ill-prepared ports and harbors virtually defenseless. In 1793 the Federalist administration of George Washington sought to navigate these treacherous waters by proclaiming American neutrality in the Anglo-French War, seeking trade with both sides. Instead, however, it succeeded only in incurring the wrath of both and also of its emerging domestic opponent, the Democratic Republicans.

Then, in 1794 Washington sent John Jay to London to negotiate with Britain for the settlement of issues unresolved since the Treaty of Paris (1783) and to broker a trade agreement that would open British ports in the Caribbean to American commerce. Jay's Treaty (1794) outraged the French, who claimed that the Franco-American Treaties of Amity and Commerce (1778) still bound the Revolutionary allies. A French minister to the United States, Jean Fauchet, was so outraged he demanded that Americans be made to hear "the voice of France thundering against the treaty and demanding justice." When trade resumed with Britain in the Caribbean and beyond in 1796, the French began attacking and confiscating American merchant vessels in a conflict that became known as the Quasi-War. Hundreds of thousands of tons of American merchant vessels were lost and all-out war with France seemed imminent.

In May 1797 President John Adams, another Federalist, determined to stave off disaster by sending a bipartisam Extraordinary Commission to France consisting of three ministers: Federalists John Marshall and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Democratic Republican Elbridge Gerry. The commission arrived in France by the fall to discuss settlement for American commercial losses and to pursue an agreement that would secure neutral trading rights for the United States and preclude further French attacks. After they had waited a considerable time to be received by the French Directory, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, the French minister of foreign affairs, sent three lesser, anonymous officials to receive the American delegation. However, the operatives, identified only as X, Y, and Z, refused officially to receive the Americans without payment of tribute to the French government. When Marshall and

Pinckney returned to the United States and reported the slight, the Democratic Republicans suspected a Federalist plot to instigate war with France and challenged the Federalist Adams administration to prove the allegations. With that, Adams released the XYZ dispatches in March 1798, to general American outrage. Letters, memorials, petitions, and declarations of support poured into the capital at Philadelphia vowing "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" Citizens pledged to stand behind the president, even in the case of war, to protect the honor and security of the Republic. Many wore black ribbons or cockades on their hats to exhibit support for the president and their disapproval of France. Republicans, however, took to wearing red, white, and blue cockades, opposing war with their ally from the American Revolution.

Federalists manipulated the popular attitude of the "black cockade fever" to draft defense legislation fortifying ports and harbors, creating a Department of the Navy (1798), authorizing the construction of three new warships, and augmenting the army with a provisional force of ten thousand troops. The administration also secured passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) to stifle domestic dissent and remove suspected foreign agitators. The Fifth Congress in 1797 and 1798 appropriated more than $10 million for defense, $4 million more than the normal expenditure would have been for the entire nonmilitary federal budget. As a result, Congress also used the XYZ affair and fear of French invasion to levy the first federal direct tax (1798), a rate collected from the value of lands, dwelling houses, and slaves. Many in Congress demanded a declaration of war against France, but Democratic Republicans and moderate Federalists following the lead of President Adams refused to go that far. In 1799 the president sent another delegation, the Ellsworth Commission, to France to seek a peaceful solution. By the autumn of 1800, the French had received the American commission and reached a peaceful settlement at the Convention at Mortefontaine, just before President Adams's loss to Democratic Republican Thomas Jefferson in the presidential election.

Partisan intrigue, the Anglo-French War, and popular hysteria over the XYZ affair cost the American people their civil liberties and millions in tax dollars in 1798. But cooler diplomatic heads among moderate Federalists forestalled a potentially disastrous war and bought the young nation another decade of growth and stability until a similar crisis led to a Democratic Republican declaration of war against Britain in 1812.

*See also* **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Presidency, The: John Adams; Quasi-War with France.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Ray, Thomas M. "'Not One Cent for Tribute!': The Public Addresses and American Popular Reaction to the XYZ Affair." *Journal of the Early Republic* 3 (Winter1983): 389–412.

Stinchcombe, William. *The XYZ Affair.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

*Paul Douglas Newman*

*YANKEE DOODLE*   *See* **Music: Patriotic and Political.**

**YELLOW FEVER**   *See* **Epidemics; Health and Disease.**

**YORKTOWN, BATTLE OF**   In 1778 the British shifted their military emphasis to the American South. Lieutenant General Charles Lord Cornwallis had waged an aggressive campaign there. Defeating Continental Army forces in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina in March 1781, he then moved north into Virginia. Continental Army commander General George Washington was preoccupied with New York and had positioned at White Plains his main force of four infantry regiments, a battalion of artillery, and the four-thousand-man French Legion commanded by Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau.

In May 1781 French admiral the count de Barras arrived with a small squadron at Newport, Rhode Island, with news that Admiral the count de Grasse was on his way from France with a powerful fleet. At sea the British and French were each chiefly interested in the West Indies, with each seeking to deprive the other of the valuable sugar trade. Barras told Washington, however, that the French fleet would come north during the hurricane season.

Meanwhile, raids by turncoat British brigadier general Benedict Arnold in the Chesapeake Bay and along the James River west to Richmond led Wash-

**Battle of Yorktown**

— American troops
--- British troops
.... French troops
✳ American victory
✸ British victory
✳ Indecisive battle

troops, commanded by the Marquis de Saint Simon, and sent his transports up the bay to ferry Washington's force down the Chesapeake. The allies then concentrated near Williamsburg.

Barras, meanwhile, sailed south from Newport with eight ships of the line convoying eighteen transports carrying siege guns. On 32 August British rear admiral Thomas Graves with nineteen ships of the line set sail south to intercept Barras. On 5 September the British ships reached the Chesapeake Bay and de Grasse, although shorthanded, stood out to meet them. The French had twenty-eight ships of the line to only nineteen for the British. The resulting naval battle of the Chesapeake was a tactical draw, with damage and casualties but no ships lost on either side. Strategically it was one of the most important battles in world history, for at its end the French still controlled the bay. Also, during the battle Barras's ships arrived. Now outnumbered by thirty-six to nineteen Graves returned to New York to gather more ships, leaving Cornwallis to his fate.

Washington's army arrived at Yorktown on 28 September. He had nine thousand American troops (three thousand of them militia who played no significant role in the battle), and seven thousand French regulars. French engineers now directed a siege of Yorktown, digging zigzag trenches toward the British defenses and laying parallels. Time was of the essence, and the Americans and French soon began a bombardment.

Cornwallis was outnumbered 2 to 1. Gloucester Point across the York River was his only means of escape. It was only thinly held by the Continentals, but Cornwallis did not move to take it until too late. On the night of 14 October the Allies stormed the British Nos. 9 and 10 redoubts, sealing Cornwallis's fate. The most important charge was led by Alexander Hamilton, whose victory was secured by the mostly African American First Rhode Island regiment.

On the morning of 17 October Cornwallis asked for terms, seeking parole for his men. Washington insisted the British surrender as prisoners of war, and Cornwallis agreed. On 19 October 8,077 British surrendered: 7,157 soldiers, 840 seamen, and 80 camp followers. During the siege the British lost 156 killed and 326 wounded; the allies lost only 75 killed and 199 wounded (two-thirds of them Frenchmen).

Too late, Clinton arrived on 24 October with a powerful fleet and seven thousand land troops. De Grasse had already departed for the West Indies. The British had lost control of the American seaboard for one brief period, and it cost them the war. Yorktown brought down the British government headed by the

ington to send Major General the Marquis de Lafayette south with twelve hundred men to capture Arnold. Cornwallis then arrived. His seven thousand men represented a quarter of the British armed strength in North America. Cornwallis failed to take Lafayette's much smaller force, however. He then withdrew to the small tobacco port of Yorktown on the York River, just off the Chesapeake Bay. Lafayette followed.

On 14 August Washington learned that de Grasse would be sailing not to New York but to the Chesapeake. He would arrive in a few weeks and remain there until the end of October. Washington immediately saw that if de Grasse could hold the bay while he came up from the land side, he might be able to trap the entire British force at Yorktown.

Washington ordered Lafayette to contain Cornwallis, and on 21 August he sent two thousand American and four thousand French soldiers south. He left only two thousand Continental Army troops to watch Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton's British force at New York. Not until early September did Clinton realize what had happened, but he did little to help Cornwallis.

On 30 August, meanwhile, de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with twenty-eight ships of the line and three thousand land troops. He put ashore the

hard-liner Lord North and ushered in a new British policy of cutting losses immediately and seeking peace.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Davis, Burke. *The Campaign that Won America: The Story of Yorktown.* New York: Dial Press, 1970.

Lumpkin, Henry. *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981.

Morrissey, Brendan. *Yorktown 1781: The World Turned Upside Down.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2004.

*Spencer C. Tucker*

# Synoptic Outline

This outline provides an overview of the conceptual scheme of the encyclopedia. It is divided into twenty-two parts:

Cultural Contexts; Biographies; The Revolution and the Revolutionary War; Constitutionalism and the U.S. Constitution; Law, Legislation, and the Courts; Government and Politics; Social Problems, Social Control, and Reform; Foreign Relations; War and the Military; Economic Life; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Cities and Urbanization; Places and Regions; Education; Religion and Religious Groups; Science, Technology, and Medicine; Arts and Letters; Daily Life; Gender and Sexuality; Peoples and Population; African Americans; American Indians.

Reflecting the interconnectedness of American Studies, many entries are listed under multiple subject headings.

## CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Ideas, concepts, symbols, and miscellany that help to define the emergence of American nationhood.

Affection
American Character and Identity
Americans in Europe
Anti-Masons
Character
Classical Heritage and American Politics
Concept of Empire
Deism
Emotional Life
Equality
Era of Good Feeling

European Influences
  The French Revolution
  Mary Wollstonecraft
  Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule
European Responses to America
Fairs
Fame and Reputation
Freemasons
Frontier
Happiness
Holidays and Public Celebrations
Home
Humanitarianism
Humor
Iconography
Imperial Rivalry in the Americas
Individualism
Language

Latin American Influences
Liberty
Material Culture
Monuments and Memorials
Muslims, Concepts and Images of
Naming of the Nation
National Symbols
Natural Disasters
Nature, Attitudes Toward
Parades
Patriotic Societies
People of America
Politics: Political Economy
Proslavery Thought
Racial Theory
Rationalism
Recreation, Sports, and Games
Revolution, Age of

Rhetoric
Romanticism
Sensibility
Sentimentalism
Work: Work Ethic

---

## BIOGRAPHIES

Limited to thirteen key figures. See index for access to other individuals.

Adams, John
Adams, John Quincy
Franklin, Benjamin
Hamilton, Alexander
Jackson, Andrew
Jay, John
Jefferson, Thomas
Lafayette, Marie-Joseph, Marquis de
Madison, James
Marshall, John
Monroe, James
Paine, Thomas
Washington, George

---

## THE REVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Boston Massacre
Boston Tea Party
British Empire and the Atlantic World
Bunker Hill, Battle of
Continental Army
Continental Congresses
Declaration of Independence
Haitian Revolution
Hessians
Historical Memory of the Revolution
Independence
Intolerable Acts
Latin American Revolutions, American Response to
Lexington and Concord, Battle of
Loyalists
Newburgh Conspiracy
Olive Branch Petition
Parsons' Cause

Quartering Act
Radicalism in the Revolution
Regulators
Revolution
  Diplomacy
  European Participation
  Finance
  Home Front
  Impact on the Economy
  Military History
  Military Leadership, American
  Naval War
  Prisoners and Spies
  Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution
  Social History
  Supply
  Women's Participation in the Revolution
Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict
Saratoga, Battle of
Sons of Liberty
Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress
Treaty of Paris
Trenton, Battle of
Valley Forge
Yorktown, Battle of

---

## CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

Albany Plan of Union
Annapolis Convention
Anti-Federalists
Articles of Confederation
Bill of Rights
*Chisholm v. Georgia*
Constitution: Eleventh Amendment
Constitution: Twelfth Amendment
Constitution, Ratification of
Constitutional Convention
Constitutionalism
  Overview
  American Colonies
  State Constitution Making
Constitutional Law
Federalist Papers
Freedom of the Press

Hartford Convention
Judicial Review
*Marbury v. Madison*
*McCulloch v. Maryland*
States' Rights

---

## LAW, LEGISLATION, AND THE COURTS

Alien and Sedition Acts
Capital Punishment
*Chisholm v. Georgia*
Coinage Act of 1792
Constitutional Law
Corporal Punishment
*Dartmouth College v. Woodward*
*Fletcher v. Peck*
Flogging
Freedom of the Press
Fugitive Slave Law of 1793
*Gibbons v. Ogden*
Immigration and Immigrants: Immigrant Policy and Law
Intolerable Acts
Judicial Review
Judiciary Act of 1789
Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802
Law
  Federal Law
  Slavery Law
  State Law and Common Law
  Women and the Law
Legal Culture
*Marbury v. Madison*
*Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*
*McCulloch v. Maryland*
Northwest and Southwest Ordinances
Patents and Copyrights
Penitentiaries
Professions: Lawyers
Sugar Act
Supreme Court
Supreme Court Justices
Tea Act
Townshend Act

---

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Albany Plan of Union

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS, SOCIAL CONTROL, AND REFORM

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

British Empire and the Atlantic World
Canada
China Trade
Diplomatic and Military Relations, American Indian
Embargo
Foreign Investment and Trade
Haitian Revolution
Hartford Convention
Impressment
Jay's Treaty
Latin American Revolutions, American Response to
Liberia
Louisiana Purchase
Mexico
Monroe Doctrine
Panama Congress
Quasi-War with France
Revolution
  Diplomacy
  European Participation
Slavery: Slave Trade, African
Spain
Spanish Conspiracy
Spanish Empire
Transcontinental Treaty
War and Diplomacy in the Atlantic World
XYZ Affair

## WAR AND THE MILITARY

Entries on the U.S. military and on pre- and post-revolutionary conflicts. *See also* The Revolution and the Revolutionary War.

American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion
Antislavery
Army, U.S.
Army Culture
Arsenals
Barbary Wars
British Army in North America
Camp Followers
*Chesapeake* Affair
Creek War
Diplomatic and Military Relations, American Indian

Fallen Timbers, Battle of
Forts and Fortifications
French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy
French and Indian War, Consequences of
Ghent, Treaty of
Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military)
Hartford Convention
Horseshoe Bend, Battle of
Imperial Rivalry in the Americas
Impressment
Lake Erie, Battle of
Marines, U.S.
Military Technology
Militias and Militia Service
Monuments and Memorials
Naval Technology
New Orleans, Battle of
Pontiac's War
Quasi-War with France
Seminole Wars
Soldiers
"Star-Spangled Banner"
Thames, Battle of the
Tippecanoe, Battle of
War Hawks
War of 1812
Washington, Burning of
Whiskey Rebellion

## ECONOMIC LIFE

Includes commerce, banking, regulation, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and all forms of economic life.

Advertising
Agriculture
  Overview
  Agricultural Improvement
  Agricultural Technology
Alcoholic Beverages and Production
Banking System
Bank of the United States
Bankruptcy Law
Barter
Book Trade
China Trade

Civil Engineering and Building Technology
Class
  Overview
  Development of the Working Class
  Rise of the Middle Class
Coinage Act of 1792
Construction and Home Building
Consumerism and Consumption
Corporations
Cotton
Cotton Gin
Currency and Coinage
Dairy Industry
Debt and Bankruptcy
Economic Development
Economic Theory
Equality
Erie Canal
Farm Making
Fisheries and the Fishing Industry
Foreign Investment and Trade
Fur and Pelt Trade
Government and the Economy
Hamilton's Economic Plan
Industrial Revolution
Inheritance
Insurance
Intolerable Acts
Iron Mining and Metallurgy
Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes
Land Speculation
Leather and Tanning Industry
Livestock Production
Lumber and Timber Industry
Manufacturing
Manufacturing, in the Home
Market Revolution
Merchants
Mint, United States
Panic of 1819
Pioneering
Plantation, The
Poverty
Proclamation of 1763
Professions
  Clergy
  Lawyers
  Physicians
Property
Railroads

**SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE**

*See also* African Americans.

**CITIES AND URBANIZATION**

**PLACES AND REGIONS**

*See also* Cities and Urbanization; Peoples and Population.

Vermont
Virginia
West
Wisconsin Territory

## EDUCATION

*See also* Arts and Letters.

Academic and Professional
    Societies
Education
  Overview
  Elementary, Grammar, and
    Secondary Schools
  Colleges and Universities
  Professional Education
  American Indian Education
  Education of African Americans
  Education of Girls and Women
  Education of the Deaf
  Proprietary Schools and
    Academies
  Public Education
  Tutors

## RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

African Americans: African
    American Religion
American Indians: American
    Indian Religions
Anglicans and Episcopalians
Anti-Catholicism
Architecture: Religious
Backsliding
Baptists
Bible
Catholicism and Catholics
Cemeteries and Burial
Communitarian Movements and
    Utopian Communities
Congregationalists
Deism
Denominationalism
Disciples of Christ
Disestablishment
Frontier Religion
Jews
Judaism

Methodists
Millennialism
Missionary and Bible Tract
    Societies
Mormonism, Origins of
Muslims, Concepts and Images of
Pietists
Presbyterians
Professions: Clergy
Prophecy
Quakers
Religion
  Overview
  The Founders and Religion
  Spanish Borderlands
Religious Publishing
Religious Tests for Officeholding
Revivals and Revivalism
Sabbatarianism
Shakers
Theology
Unitarianism and Universalism
Virginia Statute for Religious
    Freedom
Welfare and Charity

## SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND MEDICINE

Agriculture: Agricultural
    Improvement
Archaeology
Arithmetic and Numeracy
Balloons
Biology
Botany
Cartography
Chemistry
Civil Engineering and Building
    Technology
Cotton Gin
Demography
Environment, Environmental
    History, and Nature
Epidemics
Erie Canal
Firearms (Nonmilitary)
Geography
Gunpowder, Munitions, and
    Weapons (Military)
Health and Disease
Heating and Lighting

Hospitals
Industrial Revolution
Internal Improvements
Inventors and Inventions
Iron Mining and Metallurgy
Malaria
Maritime Technology
Medicine
Mental Illness
Mesmerism
Military Technology
Natural History
Nature, Attitudes Toward
Naval Technology
Paleontology
Patent Medicines
Patents and Copyrights
Phrenology
Printing Technology
Professions: Physicians
Railroads
Royal Society, American
    Involvement
Science
Smallpox
Steamboat
Steam Power
Surveyors and Surveying
Technology
Transportation
  Animal Power
  Canals and Waterways
  Roads and Turnpikes
Travel, Technology of
Waterpower
Water Supply and Sewage
Weights and Measures

## ARTS AND LETTERS

Includes literature, philosophy,
the visual arts, architecture, pub-
lishing, and music.

Academic and Professional
    Societies
Almanacs
American Philosophical Society
Architectural Styles
Architecture
  American Indian
  Greek Revival
  Parks and Landscape

Public
Religious
Spanish Borderlands
Vernacular
Art and American Nationhood
*Aurora*
Authorship
Autobiography and Memoir
Blackface Performance
Book Trade
Cartoons, Political
Children's Literature
Circuses
Dance
*Encyclopédie*
Erotica
European Influences:
    Enlightenment Thought
Fairs
Fiction
Folk Arts
Freedom of the Press
Free Library Movement
Furniture
German-Language Publishing
History and Biography
Iconography
Language
Magazines
Museums and Historical Societies
Music
  African American
  Classical
  Patriotic and Political
  Popular
*National Intelligencer*
Natural Rights
Newspapers
*Niles' Register*
Nonfiction Prose
Painting
Philosophy
Poetry
Press, The
Print Culture
Printers
Printing Technology
Rationalism
Religious Publishing
Rhetoric
Romanticism
Satire
Sentimentalism
"Star-Spangled Banner"

Theater and Drama
Travel Guides and Accounts
Women
  Women's Literature
  Writers

## DAILY LIFE

Alcoholic Beverages and
    Production
Cemeteries and Burial
Childbirth and Childbearing
Childhood and Adolescence
Clothing
Contraception and Abortion
Courtship
Death and Dying
Disability
Divorce and Desertion
Domestic Life
Domestic Violence
Drugs
Dueling
Emotional Life
Fashion
Fires and Firefighting
Food
Gambling
Games and Toys, Children's
Health and Disease
Holidays and Public Celebrations
Home
Housing
Manners
Marriage
Old Age
Pain
Parenthood
Parlor
Personal Appearance
Rape
Refinement and Gentility
Seduction
Sexual Morality
Siblings
Smallpox
Social Life: Rural Life
Social Life: Urban Life
Taverns
Vacations and Resorts
Widowhood
Wigs

## GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Includes subjects commonly studied as "women's" or "men's" issues.

Childbirth and Childbearing
Contraception and Abortion
Courtship
Divorce and Desertion
Education: Education of Girls and
    Women
Gender
  Overview
  Ideas of Womanhood
Homosexuality
Interracial Sex
Law: Women and the Law
Male Friendship
Manliness and Masculinity
Marriage
Parenthood
Prostitutes and Prostitution
Rape
Revolution: Women's
    Participation in the
    Revolution
Seduction
Sexuality
Sexual Morality
Widowhood
Women
  Overview
  Female Reform Societies and
    Reformers
  Political Participation
  Professions
  Rights
  Women's Literature
  Women's Voluntary
    Associations
  Writers
Work: Women's Work

## PEOPLES AND POPULATION

Includes immigration, exploration, colonization, settlement, and expansion. *See also* American Indians; African Americans.

Acadians

## AFRICAN AMERICANS

*See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

## AMERICAN INDIANS

# Directory of Contributors

**W. Andrew Achenbaum**
*Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Houston*
    Old Age
    Widowhood

**Thomas Adam**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Texas, Arlington*
    Philanthropy and Giving

**Gretchen A. Adams**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Texas Tech University*
    Iconography
    Nationalism
    National Symbols

**Sean Patrick Adams**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Florida*
    Government and the
        Economy
    Internal Improvements
    Railroads

**J. Mark Alcorn**
*Independent Scholar, Avon, Minn.*
    Gibbons v. Ogden

    Marshall, John
    Presidency, The: John Quincy
        Adams

**Ginette Aley**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Southern Indiana*
    Land Policies

**John Logan Allen**
*Professor and Chair, Department of Geography, University of Wyoming*
    Exploration and Explorers

**Michael Allen**
*Professor, Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences, University of Washington, Tacoma*
    Mississippi River

**Robert J. Allison**
*Associate Professor and Chair, Department of History, Suffolk University*
    Immigration and
        Immigrants: Political
        Refugees

**J. L. Anderson**
*Graduate Teaching Assistant, Rural and Agricultural History Program, Iowa State University*
    Dairy Industry
    Fairs

**Dee E. Andrews**
*Professor and Chair, Department of History, California State University, East Bay*
    Denominationalism
    Methodists

**J. Chris Arndt**
*Professor, Department of History, James Madison University*
    Maine
    Revolution: Women's
        Participation in the
        Revolution

**James R. Arnold**
*Independent Scholar, Lexington, Va.*
    British Army in North
        America
    Continental Army
    Revolution: Military
        Leadership, American

**R. Bryan Bademan**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Sacred Heart University*
Catholicism and Catholics
Revivals and Revivalism

**Paul A. Baglyos**
*Campus Pastor, Thiel College*
Immigration and
Immigrants: Germans

**Martha J. Bailey**
*Post–Doctoral Fellow, Department of Health Management, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Work: Teachers

**H. Robert Baker**
*Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, Marquette University*
Citizenship
Constitution: Eleventh Amendment
Constitution: Twelfth Amendment
Market Revolution
Sentimentalism
Voluntary and Civic Associations
Wisconsin Territory

**Elizabeth Barnes**
*Associate Professor, Department of English, College of William & Mary*
Seduction
Sensibility

**Norma Basch**
*Professor Emerita, Department of History, Rutgers University, Newark*
Law: Women and the Law

**Marilyn C. Baseler**
*Visiting Scholar, Department of History, University of Connecticut, Storrs*
Alien and Sedition Acts
Immigration and Immi-grants: Immigrant Policy and Law

**William J. Bauer Jr.**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Wyoming*
American Indians: American Indian Religions

American Indians: Far West
Education: American Indian Education
Work: Unskilled Labor

**Douglas C. Baynton**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Iowa*
Education: Education of the Deaf

**Jonathan M. Beagle**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Western New England College*
Flag of the United States
Naming of the Nation
Parades

**Annemarie Bean**
*Assistant Professor, Department of Theatre, Williams College*
Blackface Performance

**Richard J. Bell**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Harvard University*
Albany
Liberia
White House

**Doron S. Ben-Atar**
*Professor, Department of History, Fordham University*
Patents and Copyrights

**Carl Benn**
*Chief Curator, Museums and Heritage Services, Toronto*
Iroquois Confederacy
Washington, Burning of

**R. B. Bernstein**
*Adjunct Professor, School of Law, New York Law School*
Founding Fathers

**Daniel Blackie**
*Ph.D. Candidate, The Renvall Institute, University of Helsinki*
Disability

**Sharon Block**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of California, Irvine*
Rape

**Wayne Bodle**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Indiana*
Mid-Atlantic States
Revolution: Military History
Siblings

**Charles Boewe**
*Independent Scholar, Pittsboro, N.C.*
Royal Society, American Involvement
Science

**George W. Boudreau**
*Assistant Professor, School of Humanities, Penn State Capital College, Middletown*
Education: Professional Education

**Monique Bourque**
*Director, Student Academic Grants and Awards, Willamette University*
Poverty

**Henry Warner Bowden**
*Professor, Department of Religion, Rutgers University, New Brunswick*
Religion: Spanish Borderlands

**Q. David Bowers**
*Independent Scholar, Wolfeboro, N.H.*
Coinage Act of 1792

**Kenneth R. Bowling**
*Adjunct Associate Professor, Department of History, George Washington University*
Male Friendship

**Michael P. Branch**
*Professor, Department of English, University of Nevada, Reno*
Nature, Attitudes Toward

**Gerard J. Brault**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of French and Francophone Studies, Pennsylvania State University, University Park*
Immigration and Immigrants: Canada

**Linzy A. Brekke**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Stonehill College*
Clothing

**Simon Bronner**
*Professor, Department of American Studies, Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg*
Folk Arts
Material Culture

**Jamie L. Bronstein**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, New Mexico State University*
Land Speculation
Work: Domestic Labor

**John L. Brooke**
*Professor, Department of History, Ohio State University*
Public Opinion

**Alfred Brophy**
*Professor, School of Law, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa*
Fletcher v. Peck

**R. Blake Brown**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Dalhousie University*
Acadians

**William H. Brown**
*Editor II, Governors' Documentaries, North Carolina Office of Archives and History*
Army Culture

**Robert B. Bruce**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Sam Houston State University*
French

**Thomas E. Buckley**
*Professor, Jesuit School of Theology, University of California, Berkeley*
Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom

**Richard Buel Jr.**
*Professor, Department of History, Wesleyan University*
Revolution: Home Front

**Steven C. Bullock**
*Professor, Department of Humanities and Arts, Worcester Polytechnic Institute*
Freemasons

**Martin J. Burke**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Lehman College and the Graduate Center, CUNY*
Academic and Professional Societies
*Encyclopédie*

**John C. Burnham**
*Research Professor, Department of History, Ohio State University*
Medicine
Professions: Physicians

**Jon Butler**
*Professor, Department of Religious Studies, Yale University*
Religion: Overview

**David R. Byers**
*Doctoral Student, Department of History, University of Connecticut, Storrs*
Civil Engineering and Building Technology
Maritime Technology
Travel, Technology of

**James Campbell**
*Lecturer, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Portsmouth*
Law: Slavery Law

**Benjamin L. Carp**
*Lecturer, School of History and Classics, University of Edinburgh*
Boston Tea Party
Bunker Hill, Battle of
Intolerable Acts
Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict

**E. Wayne Carp**
*Professor, Department of History, Pacific Lutheran University*
Orphans and Orphanages

**Stephanie A. Carpenter**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Murray State University*
Agriculture: Agricultural Technology
Farm Making

**Dennis A. Carr**
*Doctoral Student, Department of Humanities, Yale University*
Furniture

**Bret E. Carroll**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, California State University, Stanislaus*
Parenthood

**Mark M. Carroll**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia*
Arkansas

**Joseph J. Casino**
*Lecturer, Department of History, St. Joseph's University*
Anti-Catholicism

**Alfred A. Cave**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Toledo*
Thames, Battle of the
Tippecanoe, Battle of

**Alexa Silver Cawley**
*Visiting Assistant Professor, C. V. Starr Center for the Study of the American Experience, Washington College*
Work: Indentured Servants

**Douglas B. Chambers**
*Assistant Professor, History Department, University of Southern Mississippi*
Slavery: Slave Trade, African

**Philander D. Chase**
*Senior Editor and Associate Professor, The Papers of George Washington, University of Virginia*
Revolution: Prisoners and Spies
Valley Forge

**Emily Clark**
*Lecturer, Department of History, Lewis & Clark College*
New Orleans

**Patricia Cleary**
*Professor, Department of History, California State University, Long Beach*
Work: Women's Work

**Priscilla Clement**
*Professor, Department of History, Pennsylvania State University, Delaware*
    Work: Child Labor

**Daniel Cobb**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Miami University of Ohio*
    American Indians: Overview

**Patricia Cline Cohen**
*Professor, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara*
    Arithmetic and Numeracy
    Sexual Morality

**Donald B. Cole**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Phillips Exeter Academy*
    Massachusetts
    New Hampshire

**Aaron N. Coleman**
*Doctoral Student, Department of History, University of Kentucky*
    Liberty
    Loyalists

**Cheryl R. Collins**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Virginia*
    Annapolis Convention

**Patrick T. Conley**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Providence College*
    Providence, R.I.
    Rhode Island

**Seth Cotlar**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Willamette University*
    Paine, Thomas

**Edward Countryman**
*Professor, Department of History, Southern Methodist University*
    Art and American
      Nationhood
    Class: Development of the
      Working Class
    Hamilton's Economic Plan
    New York State

    Plantation, The
    Radicalism in the Revolution
    Revolution: Social History

**Pattie Cowell**
*Professor, Department of English, Colorado State University*
    Authorship

**Robert S. Cox**
*Head, Special Collections and Archives, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
    American Philosophical
      Society
    Biology
    Mesmerism
    Museums and Historical
      Societies
    Natural History
    Paleontology
    Phrenology

**Theodore J. Crackel**
*Editor in Chief, Papers of George Washington, University of Virginia*
    Army, U.S.

**Glenn Crothers**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Indiana University*
    Insurance
    Southeast

**Tom D. Crouch**
*Independent Scholar, Fairfax, Va.*
    Balloons
    Trails to the West
    Transportation: Canals and
      Waterways

**John E. Crowley**
*Professor, Department of History, Dalhousie University*
    Heating and Lighting

**Light Townsend Cummins**
*Professor, Department of History, Austin College*
    Spain
    Spanish Borderlands

**William W. Cutler III**
*Professor, Department of History, Temple University*
    Education: Public Education

**Bruce Dain**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Utah*
    Racial Theory

**Norman Dain**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Rutgers University, Newark*
    Mental Illness

**Bruce C. Daniels**
*Professor, Department of History, Texas Tech University*
    Connecticut

**Richard O. Davies**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Nevada, Reno*
    Gambling
    Recreation, Sports, and
      Games

**Jack Davis**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Florida*
    Florida

**James E. Davis**
*Professor, Department of History and Political Science, Illinois College*
    Illinois

**John G. Deal**
*Assistant Editor, Dictionary of Virginia Biography, The Library of Virginia*
    Norfolk

**Gregory J. Dehler**
*Adjunct Professor, Front Range Community College, Westminster*
    Militias and Militia Service
    Olive Branch Petition

**Donna I. Dennis**
*Assistant Professor, School of Law, Rutgers University, Newark*
    Erotica

**Andrew Denson**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Western Carolina University*
    American Indians: American
      Indian Resistance to
      White Expansion

**Donald O. Dewey**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, California State University, Los Angeles*
　　Supreme Court
　　Supreme Court Justices

**Laurent Dubois**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Michigan State University*
　　Haitian Revolution

**Wade G. Dudley**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, East Carolina University*
　　Impressment
　　Naval Technology

**David Dzurec III**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Ohio State University*
　　Pontiac's War

**James Early**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of English, Southern Methodist University*
　　Architecture: Spanish
　　　Borderlands

**Carolyn Eastman**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Texas, Austin*
　　Rhetoric

**Max M. Edling**
*Research Fellow and Lecturer, Department of History, Uppsala University*
　　Constitution, Ratification of
　　Taxation, Public Finance, and
　　　Public Debt

**Pamela C. Edwards**
*Adjunct Instructor, Department of History, Shepherd University*
　　Appalachia
　　Richmond

**Douglas R. Egerton**
*Professor, Department of History, Le Moyne College*
　　Gabriel's Rebellion
　　Slavery: Slave Insurrections
　　Vesey Rebellion

**Hans Eicholz**
*Senior Fellow, Liberty Fund, Inc.*
　　Equality
　　Government: State

**Linda Eikmeier Endersby**
*Assistant Director, Jefferson Landing State Historic Site, Missouri State Museum*
　　Leather and Tanning
　　　Industry
　　Textiles Manufacturing

**Todd A. Estes**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Oakland University*
　　Federalist Party
　　Jay's Treaty

**Nicole Eustace**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, New York University*
　　Emotional Life
　　Happiness

**Eli Faber**
*Professor, Department of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*
　　Judaism

**John Fea**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Messiah College*
　　New Jersey
　　Presbyterians

**Matthew J. Festa**
*Attorney, Locke Liddell & Sapp LLP*
　　Statehood and Admission

**Peter S. Field**
*Lecturer, Department of History, University of Canterbury*
　　National Capital, The

**Paul Finkelman**
*Professor, College of Law, University of Tulsa*
　　African Americans: Free
　　　Blacks in the North
　　Antislavery
　　*Chisholm v. Georgia*
　　Constitutional Law
　　*Dartmouth College v.*
　　　*Woodward*

Election of 1800
Emancipation and
　　Manumission
Fugitive Slave Law of 1793
Government: State
Jay, John
Law: Federal Law
*Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*
*McCulloch v. Maryland*
Proslavery Thought

**Roy E. Finkenbine**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Detroit Mercy*
　　African Americans: African
　　　American Responses to
　　　Slavery and Race

**Julie Flavell**
*Independent Scholar, Dundee, London*
　　Scotland

**Robert Fogarty**
*Professor, Department of History, Antioch University*
　　Shakers

**William E. Foley**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Central Missouri State University*
　　Missouri

**Robert P. Forbes**
*Lecturer, Department of History, Yale University*
　　Missouri Compromise

**David Forte**
*Professor, Cleveland–Marshall College of Law, Cleveland State University*
　　*Marbury v. Madison*

**Thomas A. Foster**
*Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, Rice University*
　　Homosexuality

**Joanne B. Freeman**
*Professor, Department of History, Yale University*
　　Dueling

**Joanne B. Freeman** (continued)
Fame and Reputation
Hamilton, Alexander

**Craig Thompson Friend**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, North Carolina State University*
Migration and Population Movement
Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes

**J. William Frost**
*Emeritus Professor, Department of Religion, Swarthmore College*
Religious Tests for Officeholding

**Kevin M. Gannon**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Grand View College*
New England
Spanish Empire

**Tim Alan Garrison**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Portland State University*
American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1815–1829
American Indians: American Indian Slaveholding
American Indians: Southeast

**Edwin S. Gaustad**
*Emeritus Professor, Department of History, University of California, Davis*
Disestablishment

**George W. Geib**
*Professor, Department of History, Butler University*
Town Plans and Promotion

**John R. Gillis**
*Professor, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick*
Home

**Bradley J. Gills**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Arizona State University*
Lumber and Timber Industry

Michigan
Pioneering

**Jay Gitlin**
*Lecturer, Department of History, Yale University*
Fur and Pelt Trade

**Charles N. Glaab**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Toledo*
City Growth and Development

**Lorri Glover**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Tennessee*
Divorce and Desertion

**Kevin L. Gooding**
*Doctoral Student, Department of History, Purdue University*
Fisheries and the Fishing Industry

**Lewis L. Gould**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Texas, Austin*
First Ladies

**Edward G. Gray**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Florida State University*
Language

**Amy S. Greenberg**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, The Pennsylvania State University*
Fires and Firefighting

**Christopher S. Grenda**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Bronx Community College, CUNY*
European Influences: Enlightenment Thought
Rationalism

**J. Marc Greuther**
*Curator, Department of Historical Research and Education, The Henry Ford, Dearborn, Mich.*
Steam Power
Waterpower

**Robin Grey**
*Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Illinois, Chicago*
Nonfiction Prose

**Gerald N. Grob**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick*
Health and Disease
Hospitals

**Robert H. Gudmestad**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Memphis*
Steamboat

**L. Ray Gunn**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Utah*
Politics: Political Corruption and Scandals
Society of St. Tammany

**Paul C. Gutjahr**
*Associate Professor, Department of English, Indiana University*
Bible
Religious Publishing

**Kevin R. C. Gutzman**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Western Connecticut State University*
Bill of Rights
Monroe, James
Parsons' Cause
Presidency, The: George Washington
States' Rights

**Songho Ha**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Alaska, Anchorage*
Era of Good Feeling

**Samuel Haber**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley*
Professions: Lawyers

**Mary A. Hackett**
*Associate Editor, The Papers of James Madison, University of Virginia*
National Intelligencer
Wigs

**Matthew Rainbow Hale**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Goucher College*
European Influences: The French Revolution
European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule

**Van Beck Hall**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh*
Democratic Republicans

**Terri Diane Halperin**
*Adjunct Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Richmond*
Congress

**Robert L. Hampel**
*Professor, School of Education, University of Delaware*
Temperance and Temperance Movement

**Klaus J. Hansen**
*Professor, Department of History, Queen's University*
Mormonism, Origins of

**Jeffrey L. Hantman**
*Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia*
Archaeology

**Marc L. Harris**
*Associate Professor, Division of Arts and Humanities, Pennsylvania State University, Altoona*
Newburgh Conspiracy

**Emma Hart**
*Lecturer, School of History, University of St. Andrews*
Social Life: Urban Life
Work: Apprenticeship

**Clyde Haulman**
*Professor, Department of Economics, College of William & Mary*
Bank of the United States

Panic of 1819

**Kate Haulman**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, The Ohio State University*
Consumerism and Consumption
Fashion

**Donald E. Heidenreich Jr.**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Lindenwood University*
Northwest and Southwest Ordinances
St. Louis

**C. Dallett Hemphill**
*Professor, Department of History, Ursinus College*
Manners

**David C. Hendrickson**
*Professor, Department of Political Science, Colorado College*
Federalism

**Monica Henry**
*Teaching Assistant, Faculté d'AES, Université de Paris 12*
Latin American Influences

**Martin J. Hershock**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Michigan, Dearborn*
American Indians: Old Northwest
Government: Territories Northwest

**Rodney Hessinger**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Hiram College*
Courtship
Education: Tutors

**Donald Hickey**
*Professor, Department of History, Wayne State College*
Ghent, Treaty of
Quasi-War with France

**Charles F. Hobson**
*Editor, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, College of William & Mary*
Judicial Review

**Michael Hoeflich**
*Professor, School of Law, University of Kansas*
Legal Culture

**Samuel B. Hoff**
*Professor, Department of History, Political Science, and Philosophy, Delaware State University*
Delaware

**James J. Holmberg**
*Curator, Special Collections, The Filson Historical Society*
Lexington
Louisville

**Larry E. Hudson Jr.**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Rochester*
Slavery: Overview

**Carol Sue Humphrey**
*Professor, Department of History, Oklahoma Baptist University*
Advertising

**Thomas J. Humphrey**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Cleveland State University*
Riots

**Markus Hünemörder**
*Lecturer, America Institute, University of Munich*
Society of the Cincinnati

**Jon Hunner**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, New Mexico State University*
Santa Fe

**T. K. Hunter**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History and NWC, Western Connecticut State University*
Painting

**Anthony A. Iaccarino**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Reed College*
Colonization Movement

**Christopher Iannini**
*Postdoctoral Fellow, McNeil Center for Early American Studies, University of Pennsylvania*
Environment, Environmental History, and Nature

**Joseph E. Illick**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, San Francisco State University*
Childhood and Adolescence

**Charles A. Israel**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Auburn University*
Tennessee

**Jeffery A. Jenkins**
*Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University*
Continental Congresses
Politics: Political Parties

**Shawn Johansen**
*Professor, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Idaho*
Marriage

**Richard R. John**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Illinois, Chicago*
Post Office

**Robert F. Jones**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Fordham University*
Politics: Political Pamphlets

**Susan Juster**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Prophecy

**Laura Croghan Kamoie**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, U.S. Naval Academy*
Chesapeake Region
Slavery: Slave Patrols

**Catherine O. Kaplan**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Arizona State University*
Poetry

**Marjoleine Kars**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Maryland*
Regulators

**Peter J. Kastor**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History and American Culture Studies, Washington University, St. Louis*
Cabinet and Executive Department
Louisiana Purchase
Mississippi
West

**Catherine E. Kelly**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Oklahoma*
Class: Rise of the Middle Class
Refinement and Gentility
Work: Middle-Class Occupations

**Michael V. Kennedy**
*Department of History, University of North Carolina, Greensboro*
Domestic Violence
Iron Mining and Metallurgy
Revolution: Impact on the Economy
Work: Factory Labor

**Roger G. Kennedy**
*Director Emeritus, National Museum of American History*
Architecture: American Indian
Architecture: Greek Revival
Architecture: Public Architectural Styles
Flags

**Ralph Ketcham**
*Professor Emeritus, The Maxwell School, Syracuse University*
Presidency, The: Overview

**Julie Chun Kim**
*Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Florida, Gainesville*
Food

**Bruce A. Kimball**
*Professor*
Education: Colleges and Universities

**Ann Kirschner**
*Visiting Scholar, McNeil Center for Early American Studies*
Backsliding

**Susan E. Klepp**
*Professor, Department of History, Temple University*
Contraception and Abortion

**Louise W. Knight**
*Adjunct Professor, Department of Communication Studies, Northwestern University*
Women: Political Participation
Women: Rights

**Dale T. Knobel**
*President, Denison University*
Immigration and Immigrants: Anti-Immigrant Sentiment/Nativism

**Gerard T. Koeppel**
*Independent Scholar, New York*
Erie Canal
Water Supply and Sewage

**David Konig**
*Professor, Department of History, Washington University, St. Louis*
Inheritance
Law: State Law and Common Law
Popular Sovereignty
Property

**Lloyd Kramer**
*Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Lafayette, Marie-Joseph, Marquis de

**William Krattinger**
*Historic Preservation Specialist, New York State Historic Preservation Office*
Housing

**Doug Krehbiel**
*Graduate Student, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Wilmington*
> British Empire and the Atlantic World
> Immigration and Immigrants: England and Wales

**Marc W. Kruman**
*Professor and Chair, Department of History, Wayne State University*
> Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making

**Ned Landsman**
*Professor, Department of History, State University of New York, Stony Brook*
> Immigration and Immigrants: Scots and Scots-Irish

**Kris Lane**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, College of William & Mary*
> Piracy

**Scott Langston**
*Adjunct Professor, Department of Social Science, Tarrant County College*
> African Americans: African American Religion
> Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities
> Pietists

**Jack Larkin**
*Affiliate Professor, Department of History, Clark University*
> Personal Appearance
> Social Life: Rural Life

**Kathleen Laughlin**
*Professor and Chair, Department of History, Metropolitan State University*
> Women: Women's Voluntary Associations

**David La Vere**
*Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Wilmington*
> Oklahoma

**Peter Leavenworth**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of New Hampshire*
> Music: Patriotic and Political
> Music: Popular

**Andrew Lewis**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, American University*
> Botany

**Charlene M. Boyer Lewis**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Kalamazoo College*
> Vacations and Resorts

**James E. Lewis Jr.**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Kalamazoo College*
> Burr Conspiracy
> Latin American Revolutions, American Response to
> Monroe Doctrine
> Transcontinental Treaty

**Jan Ellen Lewis**
*Professor, Department of History, Rutgers University, Newark*
> Humanitarianism
> Law: Women and the Law
> Women: Overview

**Blanche M. G. Linden**
*Independent Scholar, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.*
> Cemeteries and Burial

**Charles H. Lippy**
*Professor, Department of Philosophy and Religion, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga*
> Religion: The Founders and Religion

**Tim Lockley**
*Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of Warwick*
> Benevolent Associations
> Welfare and Charity

**James Loewen**
*Professor, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America*
> Monuments and Memorials

**Anne S. Lombard**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, California State University, San Marcos*
> Sexuality

**David Lucander**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Afro-American Studies, University of Massachusetts*
> Slavery: Slave Life
> Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic

**Christopher P. Magra**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh*
> Work: Sailors and Seamen

**Joyce Lee Malcolm**
*Professor, Department of History, Bentley College*
> Firearms (Nonmilitary)

**Christopher Malone**
*Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Pace University*
> African Americans: Free Blacks in the North
> Voting

**Elizabeth Mancke**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Akron*
> Canada

**Daniel R. Mandell**
*Associate Professor, Division of Social Science, Truman State University*
> American Indians: Northern New England
> American Indians: Southern New England

**Jennifer Manion**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Rutgers University, New Brunswick*
> Reform, Social

**Bruce H. Mann**
*Professor, School of Law, University of Pennsylvania*
> Bankruptcy Law
> Debt and Bankruptcy

**Timothy W. Marr**
*Assistant Professor, Curriculum in American Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Muslims, Concepts and Images of

**Aaron W. Marrs**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of South Carolina*
South Carolina

**Robert W. T. Martin**
*Associate Professor, Department of Government, Hamilton College*
Freedom of the Press

**Matthew Mason**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Brigham Young University*
Hartford Convention
Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution
Work: Slave Labor

**Mark A. Mastromarino**
*Assistant Managing Editor, Duke University Press*
Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement
Livestock Production

**Cathy Matson**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Delaware*
Economic Development
Politics: Political Economy

**David B. Mattern**
*Senior Associate Editor, The Papers of James Madison, University of Virginia*
Madison, James

**Rowena McClinton**
*Associate Professor, Department of Historical Studies, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
American Indians: American Indian Ethnography

**Robert McColley**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign*
Anglicans and Episcopalians

Congregationalists
Disciples of Christ
Jefferson, Thomas
Music: Classical
Theology
Unitarianism and Universalism

**Brendan McConville**
*Professor, Department of History, Boston University*
Revolution, Age of

**Daniel McDonough**
*Professor, Department of History and Philosophy, University of Tennessee, Martin*
Charleston
Fallen Timbers, Battle of
Proclamation of 1763
Saratoga, Battle of
Tea Act
Townshend Act
Trenton, Battle of

**Lucia McMahon**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, William Paterson University*
Affection
Education: Education of Girls and Women

**James A. McMillin**
*Associate Professor, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University*
African Survivals

**Joanne Pope Melish**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Kentucky*
Abolition of Slavery in the North

**Michael Meranze**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of California, San Diego*
Penitentiaries

**Michael Merrill**
*Dean, The Harry Van Arsdale Jr. Center for Labor Studies, SUNY Empire State College*
Barter

**Peter C. Messer**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Mississippi State University*
History and Biography

**Stephen Mihm**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Georgia*
Currency and Coinage

**Karl Hagstrom Miller**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Texas, Austin*
Music: African American

**Neil Brody Miller**
*Instructor, Department of History, Southeast Missouri State University*
Romanticism

**Allan R. Millett**
*Professor, Department of History, Ohio State University*
Marines, U.S.

**George Edward Milne**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Oklahoma*
American Indians: Old Southwest
Creek War
Horseshoe Bend, Battle of

**Sandy Moats**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Parkside*
Presidency, The: James Monroe

**Peter C. Molin**
*Doctoral Student, Department of English, Indiana University*
Magazines

**Rubil Morales-Vazquez**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Bergen Community College*
Washington, D.C.

**Edward T. Morman**
*Director, Francis C. Wood Institute for the History of Medicine*
Smallpox

**Richard J. Morris**
*Professor, Department of History, Lycoming College*
    Salem

**James W. Mueller**
*Chief Historian, History Branch, Independence National Historical Park*
    Forts and Fortifications

**Matthew Mulcahy**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Loyola College*
    Natural Disasters

**Dan Murphree**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Texas, Tyler*
    Alabama

**Brian Phillips Murphy**
*Graduate Student, Department of History, University of Virginia*
    Banking System
    Corporations

**Gail Murray**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Rhodes College*
    Children's Literature

**Heather S. Nathans**
*Associate Professor, Department of Theatre, University of Maryland*
    African Americans: African
        American Life and
        Culture
    Dance
    Theater and Drama

**Charles Patrick Neimeyer**
*Professor, Robertson School of Government, Regent University*
    Hessians
    Lexington and Concord,
        Battle of
    Soldiers

**Louis Nelson**
*Assistant Professor, Department of Architectural History, University of Virginia*
    Architecture: Vernacular

**John Nerone**
*Research Professor, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign*
    Press, The

**Caryn E. Neumann**
*Lecturer, Department of History, Ohio State University*
    Alaska
    Blount Conspiracy
    Fourth of July
    Maryland
    Patent Medicines
    Spanish Conspiracy

**Shaun-Marie Newcomer**
*Adjunct Instructor, Department of History, Political Science, and Philosophy, Delaware State University*
    City Planning
    Construction and Home
        Building
    Quakers

**Paul Douglas Newman**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown*
    Camp Followers
    Fries's Rebellion
    Lewis and Clark Expedition
    Presidency, The: John Adams
    XYZ Affair

**Richard S. Newman**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Rochester Institute of Technology*
    Abolition Societies

**David A. Nichols**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Indiana State University*
    Kentucky

**Elizabeth M. Nuxoll**
*Editor, The Papers of John Jay, Columbia University*
    Mint, United States

**James W. Oberly**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire*
    American Indians: American
        Indian Relations, 1763–
        1815

**Peter S. Onuf**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Virginia*
    Politics: Political Thought
    Presidency, The: Thomas
        Jefferson

**J. M. Opal**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Colby College*
    America and the World
    Autobiography and Memoir
    Individualism
    Whiskey Rebellion

**Karen Orren**
*Professor, Department of Political Science, UCLA*
    Government: Local

**Andrew O'Shaughnessy**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Virginia*
    Sugar Act

**Robert G. Parkinson**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Virginia*
    Independence
    Quartering Act
    Sons of Liberty

**Jon Parmenter**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Cornell University*
    American Indians: British
        Policies

**Jeffrey L. Pasley**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia*
    Democratization
    Newspapers
    *Niles' Register*
    Politics: Political Culture
    Politics: Political Parties and
        the Press
    Printers

**Leslie Patrick**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Bucknell University*
    Capital Punishment
    Crime and Punishment

**William Pencak**
*Professor, Department of History, Pennsylvania State University*
    Jews
    Patriotic Societies
    Pennsylvania
    Violence

**Lawrence A. Peskin**
*Associate Professor, Department of History and Geography, Morgan State University*
    Industrial Revolution
    Manufacturing
    Manufacturing, in the Home

**Christopher Phillips**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Cincinnati*
    African Americans: Free
        Blacks in the South
    South

**Ed Piacentino**
*Professor, Department of English, High Point University*
    Humor

**Stephen B. Presser**
*Professor, School of Law, Northwestern University*
    Judiciary Act of 1789
    Judiciary Acts of 1801 and
        1802

**William S. Pretzer**
*Curator, Historical Research and Education, The Henry Ford, Dearborn, Mich.*
    Inventors and Inventions
    Technology

**Carl E. Prince**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, New York University*
    Politics: Political Patronage

**Francis Paul Prucha**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Marquette University*
    American Indians: American
        Indian Policy, 1787–1830

**Hugh Randall**
*Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of History, Ohio State University*
    Frontiersmen

**Donald J. Ratcliffe**
*Lecturer, Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford*
    American Indians: American
        Indian Removal
    Anti-Masons
    Election of 1824
    National Republican Party
    Ohio
    Politics: Party Organization
        and Operations

**Steven J. Rauch**
*Adjunct Professor, Department of History, Philosophy, and Anthropology, Augusta State University*
    Revolution: Supply
    "Star-Spangled Banner"

**Kristopher Ray**
*Assistant Editor, Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series*
    North Carolina

**John Reda**
*Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of History, University of Illinois, Chicago*
    Surveyors and Surveying

**Benjamin Reiss**
*Associate Professor, Department of English, Tulane University*
    Asylums

**Kym S. Rice**
*Assistant Director, Museum Studies Program, The George Washington University*
    Cartoons, Political

**Carl J. Richard**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Louisiana, Lafayette*
    Classical Heritage and
        American Politics

**Leonard Richards**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Massachusetts*
    Shays's Rebellion

**Andrew W. Robertson**
*Associate Professor, Lehman College, CUNY*
    Democratization

**David Brian Robertson**
*Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Missouri, St. Louis*
    Government: Overview

**Barry Robinson**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Samford University*
    New Spain

**Howard B. Rock**
*Professor, Department of History, Florida International University*
    New York City
    Work: Artisans and Crafts
        Workers, and the
        Workshop

**Seth Rockman**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Brown University*
    Class: Overview

**James R. Rohrer**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Nebraska, Kearney*
    Free Library Movement
    Sabbatarianism

**S. Scott Rohrer**
*Independent Scholar, Arlington, Va.*
    Moravians

**W. J. Rorabaugh**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Washington*
    Alcohol Consumption
    Alcoholic Beverages and
        Production

**E. Anthony Rotundo**
*Instructor, Department of History and Social Science, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.*
    Manliness and Masculinity

**Jeremy David Rowan**
*Independent Scholar, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.*
    Education: Elementary,
        Grammar, and Secondary
        Schools

**Witold Rybczynski**
*Professor, Department of Architecture, University of Pennsylvania*
Architecture: Parks and Landscape

**Richard Alan Ryerson**
*Editor in Chief, The David Library of the American Revolution*
Election of 1796

**John Sacher**
*Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, Emporia State University*
Education: Education of African Americans
Louisiana

**Leonard J. Sadosky III**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Iowa State University*
Imperial Rivalry in the Americas

**Richard Samuelson**
*Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre for the Study of Human Settlement*
Adams, John
Adams, John Quincy

**Margaret Sankey**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Minnesota State University*
European Influences: Mary Wollstonecraft
German-Language Publishing
Seminole Wars

**Jonathan D. Sassi**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, College of Staten Island, CUNY*
Professions: Clergy

**Steven Scalet**
*Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy and Economics, Binghamton University, SUNY*
Constitutionalism: Overview
Philosophy

**Susan Scheckel**
*Associate Professor, Department of English, Stony Brook University*
American Indians: American Indians as Symbols/Icons

**Dorothee Schneider**
*Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign*
Immigration and Immigrants: Race and Ethnicity

**Brian Schoen**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, California State University, Sacramento*
Cotton
Embargo
Foreign Investment and Trade
Tariff Politics

**Martha Schoolman**
*Assistant Professor, Department of English, Miami University*
Travel Guides and Accounts

**Ronald Schultz**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Wyoming*
Shoemaking
Work: Agricultural Labor
Work: Labor Overview

**A. Truman Schwartz**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of Chemistry, Macalester College*
Chemistry

**Mary Schweitzer**
*Associate Scholar, McNeil Center for Early American Studies, University of Pennsylvania*
Philadelphia

**Loren Schweninger**
*Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Greensboro*
Slavery: Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities

**Paul Searls**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Vermont*
Vermont

**Erik R. Seeman**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, SUNY, Buffalo*
Millennialism

**Chris Semancik**
*Curator, Army Heritage Museum, United States Army War College, Carlisle, Pa.*
Arsenals

**Stephen Servais**
*Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of History, Marquette University*
Transportation: Animal Power

**William G. Shade**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Lehigh University*
Politics: Overview

**Andrew Shankman**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Rutgers University, Camden*
*Aurora*
War and Diplomacy in the Atlantic World

**Timothy J. Shannon**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Gettysburg College*
Albany Plan of Union
French and Indian War, Consequences of
Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress

**Tina H. Sheller**
*Adjunct Professor, Department of History, Towson University*
Baltimore

**Roger Sherman**
*Associate Curator, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution*
Weights and Measures

**Nancy Shoemaker**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Connecticut*
Whaling

**John Rennie Short**
*Professor, Department of Public Policy, University of Maryland, Baltimore County*
Cartography

**Frank Shuffelton**
*Professor, Department of English, University of Rochester*
Deism

**David A. Sicko**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Mississippi State University, Meridian*
Georgia

**David J. Siemers**
*Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*
Anti-Federalists
Presidency, The: James
Madison

**David Skaggs**
*Adjunct Professor, Department of History, East Carolina University*
Lake Erie, Battle of

**Bradley Skelcher**
*Professor, Department of History, Delaware State University*
Education: Overview

**Shelia L. Skemp**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Mississippi*
Franklin, Benjamin

**Mark C. Smith**
*Associate Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Texas, Austin*
Corporal Punishment
Drugs

**Robert W. Smith**
*Instructor, Department of History, Worcester State College*
Boston
China Trade
Panama Congress
Revolution: Diplomacy

**Itai Nartzizenfield Sneh**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*
Treaty of Paris

**Diane Miller Sommerville**
*Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences and History, Fairleigh Dickinson University*
Interracial Sex

**Patrick Spero**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania*
Almanacs
Holidays and Public
Celebrations

**John Stagg**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Virginia*
Flogging
War Hawks

**Ian K. Steele**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Western Ontario*
French and Indian War,
Battles and Diplomacy

**Jeremy A. Stern**
*Doctoral Student, Department of History, Princeton University*
Federalists

**Laura M. Stevens**
*Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Tulsa*
Missionary and Bible Tract
Societies

**Jennifer Stiles**
*Lecturer, Department of Theatre, Boston College*
Immigration and
Immigrants: Ireland

**Helen Stoddart**
*Lecturer, School of English, Keele University*
Circuses

**Steven Stoll**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Yale University*
Agriculture: Overview

**Terry L. Stoops**
*Graduate Teaching Assistant, Curry School of Education, University of Virginia*
Education: Proprietary
Schools and Academies

**Nancy L. Struna**
*Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland*
Taverns

**Sarah Swedberg**
*Associate Professor, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Mesa State College*
Fiction
Pain
Women: Women's Literature

**Kirsten D. Sword**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Indiana University*
Gender: Overview
Gender: Ideas of Womanhood

**Rebecca Tannenbaum**
*Lecturer, Department of History, Yale University*
Work: Midwifery

**John A. Taylor**
*Professor, Department of History, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
European Responses to
America

**Nikki Taylor**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Cincinnati*
Cincinnati

**Daniel Thorp**
*Associate Professor, Department of History, Virginia Tech University*
Frontier Religion

**Karim M. Tiro**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Xavier University*
American Indians: Middle
Atlantic

**Christopher L. Tomlins**
*Senior Research Fellow, The American Bar Foundation*
Labor Movement: Labor
Organizations and Strikes

**Andrew S. Trees**
*Department of History, Horace Mann School*
Character

Federalist Papers
Historical Memory of the
    Revolution
Washington, George

**Spencer C. Tucker**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of
History, Virginia Military Institute*
    Barbary Wars
    *Chesapeake* Affair
    Revolution: European
        Participation
    Revolution: Naval War
    Yorktown, Battle of

**Deborah Bingham Van
Broekhoven**
*Executive Director, American
Baptist Historical Society*
    Baptists

**George Van Cleve**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of
History, University of Virginia*
    Articles of Confederation
    Constitutional Convention

**David G. Vanderstel**
*Executive Director, National Council
on Public History*
    Immigration and Immi-
        grants: Overview
    Immigration and Immi-
        grants: Immigrant
        Experience
    Indiana

**Kellie M. VanHorn**
*Graduate Student, Department of
Anthropology, Texas A&M
University*
    Shipbuilding Industry

**Wil Verhoeven**
*Professor and Chair, Department of
American Studies, University of
Groningen*
    Book Trade
    Print Culture
    Printing Technology

**Peter O. Wacker**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of
Geography, Rutgers University,
New Brunswick*
    Geography

**Jenny B. Wahl**
*Professor, Department of Economics,
Carleton College*
    Demography

**Shirley Teresa Wajda**
*Assistant Professor, Department of
History, Kent State University*
    Games and Toys, Children's
        Parlor

**Christopher Waldrep**
*Professor, Department of History,
San Francisco State University*
    Police and Law Enforcement

**Helena M. Wall**
*Professor, Department of History,
Pomona College*
    Domestic Life

**Stephen Warren**
*Assistant Professor, Department of
History, Augustana College*
    Diplomatic and Military
        Relations, American
        Indian

**Matthew Warshauer**
*Associate Professor, Department of
History, Central Connecticut State
University*
    Election of 1828
    Jackson, Andrew
    New Orleans, Battle of
    War of 1812

**James L. A. Webb Jr.**
*Professor, Department of History,
Colby College*
    Epidemics
    Malaria

**François Weil**
*Director of Studies, Center for North
American Studies, Paris*
    Immigration and
        Immigrants: France

**Cheryl A. Wells**
*Assistant Professor, Department of
History, University of Wyoming*
    St. Lawrence River

**Colin Wells**
*Associate Professor, Department of
English, St. Olaf College*
    Satire

**Robert V. Wells**
*Professor, Department of History,
Union College*
    Death and Dying
    People of America

**Diane Wenger**
*Assistant Professor, Department of
Humanities, Wilkes University*
    Merchants
    Shipping Industry
    Women: Professions

**Elliott West**
*Professor, Department of History,
University of Arkansas*
    Frontier

**Jennifer Hughes Westerman**
*Doctoral Student, Department of
English, University of Nevada, Reno*
    Women: Writers

**Larry Whiteaker**
*Professor, Department of History,
Tennessee Technological University*
    Prostitutes and Prostitution
    Women: Female Reform
        Societies and Reformers

**Henry Wiencek**
*Senior Research Fellow, Virginia
Foundation for the Humanities*
    Slavery: Slavery and the
        Founding Generation

**Roberta Wiener**
*Independent Scholar, Lexington, Va.*
    Cotton Gin
    Virginia
    Wool

**William E. Wiethoff**
*Professor, Indiana University*
    Work: Overseers

**Stephanie J. Wilhelm**
*Graduate Student, Department of
English, Wayne State University*
    African Americans: African
        American Literature

**Peter W. Williams**
*Professor, Department of American
Studies, Miami University, Ohio*
    Architecture: Religious

**James G. Wilson**
*Professor, School of Law, Cleveland State University*
    Americanization
    Concept of Empire
    Expansion
    Wealth Distribution

**Richard Bruce Winders**
*Historian and Curator, The Alamo*
    Gunpowder, Munitions, and
        Weapons (Military)
    Mexico

**Cary D. Wintz**
*Professor, Department of History, Geography, and Economics, Texas Southern University*
    Texas

**Jacqueline H. Wolf**
*Associate Professor, Department of Social Medicine, Ohio University*
    Childbirth and Childbearing

**W. Raymond Wood**
*Professor Emeritus, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri, Columbia*
    American Indians: Plains

**Donald R. Wright**
*Professor, Department of History, SUNY, Cortland*
    African Americans: Overview

**Robert E. Wright**
*Associate Professor, Department of Economics, New York University*
    Economic Theory
    Revolution: Finance
    Wealth

**Melvin Yazawa**
*Professor, Department of History, University of New Mexico*
    Sectionalism and Disunion

**Craig Bryan Yirush**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, UCLA*
    Constitutionalism: American
        Colonies

    Declaration of Independence

**Neil L. York**
*Professor, Department of History, Brigham Young University*
    Military Technology

**Serena Zabin**
*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Carleton College*
    Boston Massacre

**Philipp P. Ziesche**
*Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Yale University*
    Americans in Europe

**Michael Zuckerman**
*Professor, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania*
    American Character and
        Identity
    Work: Work Ethic

**Michael Zuckert**
*Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame*
    Natural Rights

# Index

Page numbers in boldface refer to major entries about the subject. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations, figures, tables, and maps.

# F

## T

## U

## V

## W

**X**

**Y**