
RECOUNTING THE PAST:

A Student Journal of Historical Studies at Illinois State University

Terri Clemens	1	The Age of Enlightenment and the "Woman Question"
Anita Revelle	4	Prairie Shipbuilders: Women Workers in World War II
Lynn Ducey	8	The Antis Alphabet
Monique Leon	10	"There is Many a Fair Found False"
Kathy Moore	13	The Role of "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" in Creating the Myth of the West"
Sarah Drake	17	Thomas Jefferson and James Madison: The Struggle for Liberty of Conscience in Revolutionary America

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INITIATIONS

This issue inaugurates the publication of *Recounting the Past: A Student Journal of Historical Studies*. With the ongoing revision of History curriculum, *Recounting the Past* assumes a pivotal role in the advancement of historical research by ISU students. By instituting an undergraduate capstone seminar, the Department of History plans to steer all students toward writing a rigorous research paper prior to their graduation. A selection of the best student papers presented in semi-annual departmental conferences will be published in future issues of the journal. By linking the journal to the capstone course and the semi-annual conferences, the Department aspires to transform the History undergraduate program into a model of excellence in student scholarship.

Like many other significant strides in higher education, the idea of establishing this journal was initiated by students. In 1994 the members of Phi Alpha Theta proposed to publish a collection of student papers. Andrea Parker, in cooperation with Teresa Kinney, Eric Fair, Ryan Short, John Carpenter, and Sarah Drake, assumed the responsibility for soliciting papers for publication. Encouraged by Professor Louis Perez, the Phi Alpha Theta faculty advisor, students established an evaluation committee consisting of Professors Lee Beier, Carl Ekberg, Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Michael Pierson, Edward Schapsmeier, Richard Soderlund, and Mark Wyman. These readers evaluated submissions and made recommendations for publication. With the graduation of Andrea Parker the work came to a temporary halt. In Fall 1994 a new student-faculty editorial board assumed responsibility for the publication of the journal. The board reevaluated the selected papers and prepared them for publication.

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Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi

The Age of Enlightenment and the "Woman Question"

Terri Clemens

The Age of Enlightenment was a time of radical change. Reason or empiricism was installed as the highest authority, displacing religion and the divine rights of monarchs. There was a new belief in the perfectibility of humankind, dependent on the progress that would come as people found truth through inductive reasoning. Laws of science were being written by observers of natural phenomena, and the understanding of nature gained through these laws led philosophers to believe that their social, philosophical, and political problems could also be resolved by the use of reason. No longer were truths to be accepted unless they met the test of Reason. Enlightenment thinkers laid down principles for republican government, attempted to gain some control over nature, and most importantly, changed our ways of knowing.

The rights of individuals and the logical ordering of society were among the concerns of the Enlightenment thinkers. Their theories were grounded in reason and in natural law. However the debate concerning women's rights was one in which deductive logic was allowed to prevail. Women were denied citizenship in the new republics,¹ and relegated to the protection and control of male members of their families. The arguments against granting equal rights to women were centered on what the philosophers considered to be women's inferior reasoning abilities, their close ties to nature, and the idea that women's interests were covered in the rights of men.

For centuries, women had been connected with supernatural power. Their ways of knowing were developed in response to the emotional and often unspoken needs of their families. Men's ways of knowing were formed in different ways. They were engaged in political and social concerns that were outside the traditional sphere of women, and they were also much more likely to be formally educated.

Women's ways of knowing might be classified as "intuition," defined as "the immediate apprehension of truth, or supposed truth, in the absence of conscious rational processes."² Benjamin Franklin chose "sensibility" and "discernment" to describe women's separate kind of knowledge to a friend who was considering marriage, advising him "It is the Man and Woman united that make the complete human Being. Separate, She wants his Force of Body and Strength of Reason; he, her Softness, Sensibility, and acute Discernment."³ "Sensibility," according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is the "power or faculty of feeling, capacity of sensation and emotion as distinguished from cognition and will." Kant, in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, wrote that sensibility was "the receptivity of the human mind for receiving representations, or the spontaneity of the cognition, the Understanding." "Discernment" is defined as the "keenness of intellectual perception, penetration, or insight."⁴

Women's ways of knowing were not easily categorized or explained by inductive reason. By the Enlightenment concept of the knowable, they were, therefore, not legitimate knowledge. "Women's reason" was ridiculed by seventeenth and eighteenth century writers, as Mary Wollstonecraft explained,

This mode of arguing, if arguing it may be called, reminds me of what is vulgarly termed 'a woman's reason'; for women sometimes declare that they love or believe certain things 'because' they love or believe them.⁵

Women represented the threat of the unknowable to men whose aim was to build a more secure society by imposing order on nature.

Diderot's *Encyclopedie* illustrated the supremacy of reason in the new epistemology. D'Alembert's "tree of knowledge" sorted and classified different branches of knowledge under the headings of reason, memory, and imagination. Newton and Locke had limited knowledge to include only facts that could be learned from sensation and reflection. In D'Alembert's "Detailed System of Human Knowledge," metaphysics, theology, and knowledge of the soul or spirit were devalued by being listed outside the categories that were considered knowable. The categories of knowledge outlined by D'Alembert reflected a man's world, with no mention of those concerns that were traditionally women's.⁶

Knowledge was a powerful tool in this new ordering of ideas. The *Encyclopedie* not only categorized types of knowledge, it offered seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates to explain the words and ideas that were used to build knowledge. Over a hundred writers, two of whom are known to have been women, contributed to the compilation of facts. One of these women wrote the explanation of a plate depicting a trade. The other contributed two articles, one explaining bands of fabric that were applied to skirts, and one concerning hair ribbons. Although women's influence was felt in the salons frequented by the encyclopedists, there is no mention of the salons in the texts.⁷

The encyclopedists may have been conscious of the need for change, as can be seen in the continuing controversy over the position of woman in society. A major contributor, Jaucourt, writes of women as valuable partners to men. Another writer, Desmahis, describes women as "weak, timid, shrewd, false, less capable of attention than men, vicious, vindictive, equivocal, cruel, curious, less capable of friendship with their own sex, living a continual lie call coquetry, vain, superficial, and inconstant." Barthez considered women to be imperfect men, but later seemed to cast doubt on the idea of male supremacy. In an article on "Man," "the author, Le Roi, blames jealous men for depriving women of the chance to develop fully."⁸ Overall, the *Encyclopedie* advances the concept that women are weak and delicate, possessing lively imaginations, strong passions, timidity, and modesty. Her social role as wife, mother, and companion is defined by her anatomy and her personality. Women's judgment was not to be trusted because they "rarely base their decisions on anything other than imagination and feeling."⁹

In the Age of Reason, woman was a creature of Passion. She was acknowledged to be capable of reason, but was too much a victim of her body, her uterus in particular, to be trusted with the responsibilities of full citizenship. The women in Diderot's fictional works reflect

his belief that women are ruled by their passions, experiencing love, anger, jealousy and superstition to a degree that men never feel. In *Sur les Femmes*, he explains the "ferocious beast" that she carries within her; "It is from the organ proper to her sex that all these extraordinary ideas proceed." In *Sur les Femmes*, Diderot wrote that although women were "more civilised than us on the outside, they have remained true savages within."¹⁰ In the *Refutation d'Helvetius*, he remarked "Nothing is so rare as logic: an infinite number of men lack it, nearly all women have none." When complimenting his mistress Sophie, he wrote, "you are scarcely a woman." Diderot offered criticism of repressive society, while implying that women, those "most extraordinary children," must be controlled, pitied, and protected.¹¹

The doctrine of "couverture" assumed that women's interests were included in the rights of men.¹² Male citizens were responsible for protecting their women. Women were dependent on their attachment to a caring and responsible male family member for financial, legal, and social security. This dependence forced women to mold themselves to the needs of men. Their lives depended on their desirability and their usefulness to their fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, or sons-in-law. Their training was centered on pleasing men, on being submissive and attractive. The purpose of women's education was to produce interesting companions for men, or virtuous mothers for sons.

Rousseau gave instructions for the education of boys and girls in *Emile*. He began by explaining the differences between the sexes. The first difference, he stated, is that women are passive and weak, while men are active and strong. From this "fact" he deduced the rest of his argument,

Accept this principle and it follows in the second place that woman is intended to please man...[Man] pleases by the very fact that he is strong...If woman is made to please and to be dominated, she ought to make herself agreeable to man and avoid provocation.¹³

Rousseau explained that it was a law of nature that "women are at the mercy of men's judgments both for themselves and for their children." Therefore,

their education must be wholly directed to their relations with men. To give them pleasure, to be useful to them, to win their love and esteem, to train them in their childhood, to care for them when they grow up, to give them counsel and consolation, to make life sweet and agreeable for them.¹⁴

Rousseau suggested that girls and women could be easily controlled by telling them what people think of them. He believed that "dependence is a state natural to women, and girls realize that they are made for obedience."¹⁵

Benjamin Rush was in favor of educating females to be good stewards of their husbands' property, to prevent superstition, to subdue their passion for reading novels, to cultivate Christianity and virtue, to make them more easily governed, and to prepare them for social and domestic duties.¹⁶

Woman's traditional role as mother, wife, and companion was accepted without question by most of the philosophers. Most "did not meet the woman question head on: women and their distinctive concerns were relegated to the sidelines of official philosophy."¹⁷ But some championed the rights of women to an equal education and citizenship.

Women were valued in the salons of Paris for their conversational and social skills. They facilitated men's authority and genius, but seldom were published. Women who wrote violated rules of modesty and delicacy, risking isolation and ridicule. Adelaid-Gillette Billet Dufresnoy claimed that "authorship lost her family, friends, and love." By writing, she gave up any right to male protection, leaving herself legally and politically vulnerable.¹⁸

Olympe de Gouges was executed for her writings. An uneducated playwright, she wrote, between 1788 and 1791, a series of pamphlets arguing for political and legal equality for women, for better maternity hospitals, for tax reform, and against socially differential treatment of Negroes. She based her reasoning on natural law and utilitarian theory.¹⁹

Mary Wortley Montagu wrote to a friend that girls and boys would benefit from the same education, but that girls should "conceal what learning they had with as much solicitude as they would hide crookedness or lameness."²⁰ Mary Wortley Montagu has been identified by one author,²¹ with a bolder writer, who used the pseudonym, "Sophia, a Person of Quality." Sophia wrote a tract entitled "Woman Not Inferior to Man or, A Short and Modest Vindication of the Natural Right of the Fair Sex to a Perfect Equality of Power, Dignity, and Esteem, with the Men" in 1739. She contended that claims of male supremacy based on the assumption that men were of superior reason and that women were more driven by the passions than were men, were false. She pointed out that the arguments men used to claim superiority were not reasoned "arguments at all, but the consequence of their own passion, prejudice, and groundless custom." She used man's lack of control of their sexual appetites as empirical evidence of their faulty claims of superiority and called for a reasoned judgment of the question.²²

Montesquieu believed that men and women could realize their potential best in an atmosphere of freedom for both sexes. He wrote that women's influence outside the home would reform society, improving sociability, manners and politeness, and that they could make contributions in the refinement of taste and the progress of the arts, commerce and industry. In matters of civil law, he advocated measures that would give women greater equality in marriage, divorce, adultery, and abortion. He rejected the notion that woman is by nature physically and mentally inferior, and thereby deserving of subordinate status. He believed that female potential depended on opportunity and that a society that withholds equal rights to some, could not guarantee the rights of any of its citizens.²³

Condorcet agreed with him, writing in his article, "On the Admission of Women to the Rights of Citizenship", in 1790

Either no individual on the human species has any true rights, or all have the same. And he who votes against the rights of another, or whatever religion, color, or sex, has thereby abjured his own.

In his article, which was written in an attempt to influence the National Assembly, Condorcet argued against considering pregnancy and other female health considerations as a disability, reasoning that depriving a person of citizenship because of pregnancy was not unlike denying rights to a person who suffers from gout or frequent colds. He asserted that citizenship, including the right to hold public office, would not take women from their family responsibilities any more than it would take a

farmer from his fields, or a cobbler from his bench.²⁴ Condorcet dealt with the assumption that women were not capable of reason by explaining,

It has been said that women, in spite of how much ability, much sagacity, and a power of reasoning carried to a degree equalling that of subtle dialecticians, are never governed by what is called reason. This observation is not correct. Women are not governed, it is true, by the reason of men. But they are governed by their own reason. Their interests not being the same as those of men through the fault of the laws, the same things not having the same importance for them as for us, they can (without lacking reason) govern themselves by different principles and seek a different goal.

Condorcet covered many objections to the rights of women, including the grounds of utility. He compared the control of women with the enslavement of Africans, writing that both were continued for the benefit of tyrants.²⁵

Americans followed the lead of the French philosophers who, when faced with a problem that did not fit their program, ignored or ridiculed it.²⁶ John Adams and Thomas Jefferson both visited Paris and were influenced by the philosophers, but both ignored the rights of women when establishing the new American republic. Abigail Adams wrote to John Adams in March, 1776,

I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And by the way, in the new code of law which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more favorable and generous to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

That your sex is naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute; but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of master for the most tender and endearing one of friend. Why not, then, put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity? Men of sense in all ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your sex.²⁷

Adams answered,

... your letter was the first intimation that another tribe, more numerous and powerful than all the rest, were grown discontented. This is rather too coarse a compliment, but you are so saucy, I won't blot it out. Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems. . . We have only the name of masters, and rather than give up this, which would completely subject us to the despotism of the petticoat, I hope General Washington and all our brave heroes would fight;²⁸

In May of 1776, Abigail responded,

I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies; for whilst you are proclaiming peace and good-will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, very liable to be broken . . .²⁹

When John Adams visited France in 1778, he wrote to Abigail of his admiration for the French ladies, describing them as handsome and very well educated. Abigail responded with a criticism of female education in the colonies, and offered a transcription of thoughts of another writer on the subject. This writer believed it to be cowardly and tyrannical to debar women of the privileges of education, and suggested that women were endowed with

the senses as quick as those of men, "their Reason as nervous, their judgment as mature and solid."³⁰

Although John Adams pushed aside his wife's entreaties, he did allow her to participate in his political life. Jefferson held the more traditional opinion that women should not meddle in politics. He wrote to a friend in 1788,

But our good ladies, I trust have been too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics. They are contented to soothe and calm the minds of their husbands returning ruffled from political debate.³¹

Perhaps it was the influence of Rousseau that led to an esteem for the natural and sentimental in the nineteenth century. Americans, filled with hope for the new republic, placated women by idealizing their roles as virtuous, republican mothers. The role of the ideal American woman was expressed by John Adams in a letter to his daughter, written in 1783,

There can be nothing in life more honourable for a woman, than to contribute by her virtues, her advice, her example, or her address, to the formation of an husband, or a son, to be useful to the world.³²

Women's lives were affected by the Enlightenment in many ways. Although female education improved, it was saddled with the idea that Reason was sovereign, putting women in a "catch up" position. Feeling the need to prove ourselves equal to men in a world defined by men's experience, women have suffered from an inferiority complex that has kept us dependent and controlled. We have participated in the ordering of our nature, accepting the devaluation of our ways of knowing.

¹In his *Encyclopedia* article, "Citoyen," Diderot wrote that "Women, young children and servants are only granted the title as members of the family of a citizen, they are not true citizens themselves." (John Hope Mason and Robert Wokler, trans. and eds., *Denis Diderot: Political Writings* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922], 14)

²*The New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*, rev. edition (1990), s.v. "intuition."

³Benjamin Franklin, "Franklin on Marriage," quoted in J.M. Elgart, ed., *Over Sixteen: Prudes Won't Think it Funny* (New York: Grayson Pub. Corp., 1951), 88.

⁴*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933 edition.

⁵Mary Wollstonecraft, cited in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933 ed., s.v. "Reason."

⁶Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage, 1985), 210-3.

⁷Terry Smiley Dock, *Woman in the "Encyclopedie"* (Madrid: Studia Humanitatis, 1983), 5, 93; and Sara Ellen Prociuous Malueg, "Women and the 'Encyclopedie'" in *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Samia I. Spencer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 260-261.

⁸Malueg, "Women and the Encyclopedie," 260-66.

⁹Dock, *Women in the Encyclopedie*, 5, 73.

¹⁰Diderot, quoted in Mason and Wokler, *Denis Diderot*, 14, xvii.

¹¹Blandine L. McLaughlin, "Diderot and Women," in *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Samia I. Spencer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 296-307.

¹²Mary Ellen Waithe, ed., *A History of Women Philosophers* (Netherlands: Kluwer, 1991), 227.

¹³Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. and ed. by William Boyd, *Classics in Education No. 10* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1960), 131.

¹⁴Rousseau, *Emile*, 132-5.

- ¹⁵Rousseau, *Emile*, 136, 140.
- ¹⁶Benjamin Rush, "Thoughts upon Female Education . . . Addressed to the Visitors of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia 28th July, 1787 . . ." in *Essays: Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, ed. Michael Meranze, (Schenectady: Union College Press), 44-54.
- ¹⁷Waithe, *A History of Women Philosophers*, 11.
- ¹⁸Spencer, *French Women*, 24.
- ¹⁹Waithe, *A History of Women Philosophers*, 225-8.
- ²⁰Eva Figes, *Patriarchal Attitudes* (Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett, 1970), 72; and Ralph M. Wardle, "The Intellectual and Historical Background of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*," in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, A Norton Critical Edition, Carol H. Poston, ed. (New York: Norton, 1975), 203-4.
- ²¹Wardle, "Intellectual and Historical Background," 206.
- ²²Waithe, *A History of Women Philosophers*, 223-5.
- ²³Pauline Kra, "Montesquieu and Women", in Spencer, 278-84.
- ²⁴Keith Michael Baker, ed., *Concorcet: Selected Writings* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976), 97-8, 102.
- ²⁵Baker, *Concorcet*, 100-101.
- ²⁶Frederick B. Artz, *The Enlightenment in France* (Kent State University Press, 1968), 43.
- ²⁷Charles Francis Adams, *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife, Abigail Adams, During the Revolution* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1875), 149-50.
- ²⁸Adams, *Familiar Letters*, 155.
- ²⁹Adams, *Familiar Letters*, 169.
- ³⁰L.H. Butterfield, Marc Friedlaender and Mary-Jo Kline, eds., *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family 1762-1784* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 211, 219.
- ³¹Thomas Jefferson, letter to Anne W. Bingham; quoted in Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (New York: Bantam, 1985), 307.
- ³²Butterfield, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 360.

Prairie Shipbuilders: Women Workers in World War II

Anita Revelle

Out of the barren prairie grass along the Illinois River in May of 1942, rose a shipyard, that altered the lives of numerous people. It provided jobs for men from miles around and for others who would intrude into the small town. It supplied sailors a vessel to sail. It produced a landing craft for the men and equipment that would invade the occupied countries. And it gave women in the area a chance to take up the patriotic cause, to free up a fighting man from an industry job. This job experience would bestow on these women a different outlook on life. This paper will take a look at the lives of some of these women who decided to defy tradition and step into a man's world.

The place was Seneca, Illinois. The Chicago Bridge and Iron Co., earlier had a small barge-building yard in the area. Rumors started circulating in March of 1942, that they would be expanding the yard to build boats for the government. By May of 1942, the ground was being leveled, and hardrock was being drilled, and a yard was in progress.

One of the deciding aspects of choosing Seneca, was that the local U.S. Employment Service had registered over 2,500 men in the area that were available for work. The original estimate was for 5,000 employees, and the government felt they could draw from the small towns in the area; but at the height of the boom there were over 10,000 men and women working in the shipyard. To find these extra workers, CBI did some recruiting in southern states where oil refineries had shut down. They looked toward southern Illinois during the slow periods in mining for additional manpower. But ultimately they decided that they would have to rely on women as part of the work force. April of 1943 saw 82 women working in the yard, by August of 1944 there were over 1,400 women, a ratio of 1 in every 8 employees.

In June of 1942, the keel was being laid for the first LST or A Landing Ship Tank, a new type of ship designed especially for the upcoming invasions. It was a flat bottom boat, 327 feet long, and 50 feet wide, that had doors and a ramp in the bow which enabled it to land on the beaches and dispose of its cargo of men and equipment. Its hold consisted of two decks which could be loaded with men, tanks, and ammunition. During the years that the yard was in operation, June 1942 through June 1945, 157 boats were launched. At one point the yard was building seven ships a month.

Women from all around started hearing about the great wages that could be made at the shipyard. "Unskilled workers could start out at \$.83 an hour, while Craftsmen started at \$1.20."¹ Frances Thompson, age 27, had been working at the Morris Paper Mill, upon hearing she could make \$60.00 a week she stated, "no one needed to persuade

her to think twice about taking the job."² Another lady, Mary Ferguson, 33 years old, took a leave of absence from the telephone company for three years so she could do her part in the war effort. Jerry Reyniers, age 18, had been laid off at the Arsenal in Joliet and after a week at home found out about the job and went to apply. Delora Anderson was clerking in a local store making \$25 a week when she decided to join the shipyard forces. Women that had never worked before knew that in order to win the war they would need to help out. "Between 1940 and 1944 the number of women employed in manufacturing increased 141%"³

Even with the willing female workers that were filling the positions in the factories, there seemed to be a push to get women to work and keep working. The Office of War Information kept in contact with The War Advertising Council who stressed companies to use the war or war themes in their ads. Everything from sterling silver flatware, hand lotion, and feminine hygiene products used the women war worker concept. She might be deciding what to pack for lunch, "Ritz would be nice," to using Jergens lotion to soften her work toiled hands. There were movies, songs, magazine articles, and short stories, all imposing this idea of "Rosie the Riveter." The media, movies and press showed her as an amazing individual who could work eight hours a day right beside a man, knowing that she was doing her part for the war effort. Then she could go home to her family and be the perfect housewife, mother or girl friend. Was this a real image or did these ladies work their eight plus hours only to go home and collapse? Many that were interviewed said they went home on week nights, but might do some social activity on weekends. They did not feel that they fit this stereotype "Rosie the Riveter" woman.

Whatever it was, this persuasion to get women to fill the positions seemed to be working. The government was looking to increase women in the work force and going after the young married ones seemed like the ideal situation. "At wartime peak in July 1944, 19 million women were employed, an increase of 47 percent over the March 1940 level."⁴

Mary Bell, the women's counselor at the plant, remembers going out to crowds around the area and talking about jobs at the shipyard. They would put on expositions in the towns around Seneca. These expositions would give people a chance to see what was happening in the shipyard, since it was closed to the general public. They would have models of the ships and certain departments exhibiting some of their job skills. The women from the yards were encouraged to participate in these exposition; this was a way of showing other women that they could perform this same work. Just another way of promoting this idea that "women were vital to victory."⁵

Training was an important part of most of the jobs at the yard. One of the most intense training was that of welding. The first welding schools were held at Ottawa High School, a town about twelve miles away. When a person graduated from the school, the yard would hire the individual. As the number of unskilled workers that needed to learn welding increased, the yard started its own welding school. Approximately one in every eight workers was a welder. The ladies said they would spend their first two weeks learning the skill and then move out into the yard. Most seemed glad to finish the school, as it was boring. Augusta Clawson, a woman welder in a shipyard in Oregon wrote in her diary, "that in training they would weld flat and

vertically, but when they were in the ships they would weld horizontal, flat, vertical, and lying on the floor while another welder spattered sparks from the ceiling."⁶

The shipyard at its most productive was kept going twenty-four hours a day, six days a week; there were two shifts a day, working 54 hours per week. The time between shifts was used for maintaining and moving equipment. Ladies would work both shifts, there was no separation. Some started off at night, but would take day positions when available.

The yard stressed "presenteism." If you were absent that meant your job did not get done during that shift and others would have to wait on you. There was a lot of propaganda in the yard magazine, Our Prairie Shipyard, about absenteeism. The highest days of absent workers were Saturday and Monday because of the weekend, and the lowest was on Friday, as this was payday. CBI changed pay day for awhile to Saturday and that helped keep the numbers up. But because of this the local merchants were upset. They were losing business on Friday night, and the town council encouraged CBI to change payday back to Friday.

One of the different aspects of the Seneca shipyard was the building berths. The design made it similar to a production line. There were thirteen outer berths, six on one side and seven on the other. The outer berths were where the hulls were built. After they were done the ships were moved to the center berths to be finished. As they were completed they were pulled by trucks down to the launching ways and launched. This was a continuous production circle, a new concept in shipbuilding.

There were twenty different periods or steps to completing a ship. Eighteen of these periods were worked on the land, the others after the ship had been launched. The workers were set up in crews, and each worker had a specific job to do. When the crews had finished their period or step, they would move on to another ship.

Jerry Reyniers was on the crew that was top side. She was a tack welder, and spot welded the gun turret in place. The men would come behind her and put a bead of weld all the way around the turret. Frances Thompson was also a tack welder. She welded brackets to the inside of the ship so the men could hang and join the pipes together. There were ladies that painted or others that installed the ship's galley. Some worked in tool rooms, while still others manned the offices of the departments and kept them in motion.

Looking back on their experiences most of the women felt that they had dangerous jobs and now would think twice about taking them. They would get burns on their arms from the hot metal dripping down, and burn their eyes, when they did not get the welding helmet back in place fast enough. Delora Anderson remembers dragging the long, heavy welding cables up ladders and across open scaffolds in order to weld at her position. She recalls some of the girls would fall and injure themselves. The women talked about the small spaces they might have to crawl into in order to get the job done, and the noise inside the ship was deafening. Augusta Clawson wrote about wanting to scream because of the noise, "then realizing that a scream wouldn't even be heard! So I screamed, loud and lustily, and couldn't even hear myself."⁷

It was extremely hot in the summer and cold in the winter. The ships were built outside with no cover. There were a few days in the winter that they shut down because

of the cold, but usually work went on. Some of the women had small welding stoves inside the ship where they would try to keep warm. Others went down to shacks that were next to the ships and warmed themselves around wood fires in barrels. Delora Anderson remembers warming her hands on light bulbs inside the ships while she was welding. They worked in the rain and blistering sun. Sometimes they wore three pairs of coveralls to keep warm, and in the summer just their light duty uniforms. It was not easy work, but it was challenging and fulfilling to these women.

All the supervisors in the yard were male, and the women did not recall any difficulty because of this. Most of the ladies were young, anywhere from eighteen to thirty, and felt that the men working there were more father figures, as many were older. This was also true of the men on their crews. As the young men would leave for the service, women or older men would fill their positions. The ladies interviewed said that most of the men were helpful when they were available, but many times they were busy so the women just had to press on and do their own difficult task.

The women interviewed did not remember any type of sexual harassment while working at the yards. Jerry Reyniers was a tack welder for a year before she joined the WACS, and recalled a remark from some of the men, "If it were my wife she wouldn't be here."⁸ She also felt that her boyfriend seemed resentful of her working at the yard. Probably because he was in the service and getting low pay, while she was making \$60.00 a week and at home. Most all of the women said they felt that the men were glad that they were there, doing their patriotic duty.

When asked about unionization, the women said they could not remember a union at the plant. This would be because the union was a branch of the "Boilermaker's Local," a AFL union which would not have allowed women to join. In The Social History of A War-Boom Community, H. Morgan talks a little about the union. It was not actively looking for new members. In fact Morgan felt that "the union was concentrating on building a strong old membership."⁹ The new members would probably not be remaining in their jobs after the war.

Under the Labor Production Office of the War Production Board it was determined that there should be women counselors in the factories to help the female employees deal with the problems that might occur. The shipyard did have a Women's Counselor, Mrs. Mary Bell, the daughter of the local doctor. Mrs. Bell's husband was in the service and she was back in Seneca living with her family. She had been teaching school out in Kansas prior to the war. When the shipyard was started she was one of the first women hired, supervising three girls in the file department, which was originally housed in a tent. When they needed a counselor they turned to her. Her degree from the University of Iowa, and her father being the town doctor probably helped her acquire the job. She was the only women salary employee in the yard.

The counselor's job was to communicate with the women not only about problems on the job, but also at home. Their husband might be missing in action, or there might be difficulties with children or a boyfriend. Mrs. Bell said "many just wanted someone to talk to."¹⁰ She would hold orientation sessions for all the new women employees discussing the challenges and problems that would confront her in this new job. After the first year there would be as many as two hundred new women employees a month. The

woman counselor was also head of The Women's Advisory Council. This council consisted of women from all the different departments in the yard. If a woman was having problems, they could talk to her department spokesperson first. Then they could present the problem or the woman to the Council.

As the yard grew, management seemed to realize the different nature of women in the work force. Within six months the monthly news magazine, Our Prairie Shipyard, had a separate section just for women called "Denim & Leather." They would recognize a woman once a month, telling what department she was in and cite her for her hard work and diligence on the job. Part of section was low keyed chatterboxing, but it was also used as a tool to keep up the patriotic spirit. There were poems written by workers, and pictures and addresses of former employees who had gone off to war. Women were definitely a part of this shipyard.

Chicago Bridge and Iron would use specific measures at times to keep morale up. One of these was launching ships. If you wanted to, you could take the time off and watch. Jerry Reyniers said "I had a great vantage point from on top of the ship, so I usually stay [sic] at my position."¹¹ It seemed a great honor to be asked to launch a ship. The launching consisted of flags draped around a platform, maybe a band playing and a person breaking a bottle of champagne over the bow, while pictures were being taken. Some of the women workers were asked to launch ships. Harriet Williamson was the first woman welder and launched the first ship on December 13, 1942. Still others that launched the vessels might have husbands who were naval officers and even some were launched by celebrities, such as Cesar Romero, the famous movie star. Frances Thompson remembers him being there, it was a big production and all the women had him sign autographs.

Another high morale time was when the yard was presented with the "Army-Navy 'E' flag for appreciation from the men of the fighting fronts for maintaining high production standards."¹² Army and Navy incentive movies were shown to keep the war first in their minds. The yard did have a good safety record and was awarded the Distinguished Service & Safety Award.

After their work day was done, the women would relax by watching a movie, attending a yard sponsored dance, taking walks, or bowling. There were many bowling leagues within the yard, it was a fun and competitive spirit among the bowlers. Even though their free time was limited, they seemed to have a desire to live life to its fullest, to forget about the war for a little while. Many of the girls had boyfriends or husbands off to war so there was little dating. A few remember taking in a movie with a sailor who was waiting for his ship to sail.

The last hull was laid in March of 1945, and the finished ship was launched on June 8th. The women were laid off along with the men and they went back to their normal lives. Some got married and had children, others moved away with their husbands, still others went back to former jobs. Most all said they missed the companionship of their fellow shipyard workers for awhile.

The years after the war saw an increase of women employment in the United States; some say because women did not want to go back to being housewives after their short lived careers in the war industry. Others feel that the increase in service jobs caused a rise in women employees. Still others say that the returning soldiers and the increase in

younger marriages led women to work. The initial rise in material goods for that time can also be charged as a cause for the rising women work force. No one seems to be able to pin point an answer for this rise in women workers. Karen Anderson in her book Wartime Women, noted this growth of women employees and felt "that World War II had a profound effect on American society and American women."¹³

When asked the question if they felt they had gained a greater sense of independence from this working experience, all of the women interviewed said yes. They had instilled in themselves this spirited work ethic and continued to work most of their lives. In fact many now in their seventies are involved in some sort of volunteer work today. The shipyard changed their lives forever. They took up the call to step into a man's job, and decided that if they could accomplish that they could accomplish anything.

A Lady Welder's Prayer

Dear God, please try to make them see
While working we're the same as he
Who welds. What price we pay,
We're classified Exhibit A.
We'll bear the rain, the snow the sleet,
Not even mind the mud wet feet
If each of us can just be free
To weld our way to Victory.
We'd appreciate this, if you can
Impress upon our fellow man
That we are human 'neath the shield,
Replacements on home battlefield
To let a real man in the fight
We ask You this; it's only right
And just. We can't condone
An audience. A man alone
Can weld -- no ridicule
Is present. Is she a fool
To let it tear her all apart
Or is there some place in your heart
of hearts that knows the way
To show them. Please, God, we ask each day
the right of sister, mother, wife,
To ease the pang of wolfish strife.
"Just let us work" this is our prayer.
We'll send a vessel over there.
We'll give them all a cheery smile
If they will make work life worthwhile.
And if the whistle -- let it be
Because she welds, as well can be.
Amen.

Unknown

¹Robert Havighurst and H. Gerth Morgan. The Social History of a War-Boom Community (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951), 48.

²Frances Thompson, interview by author, [1994].

³Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations & the Status of Women During World War II (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 6.

⁴Anderson, Wartime Women, 4.

⁵Eleanor F. Straub, "United States Government Policy Toward Civilian Women During World War II," Prologue (Winter 1973), 240.

⁶"Working Women and the War," Radical America (May-June 1975), 136.

⁷"Working Women and the War," 137.

⁸Jerry Fergeson Reyniers, interview by author, [1994].

⁹Havighurst and Morgan, The Social History, 29.

¹⁰Mary C. Bell Peterson, interview by author, [1994].

¹¹Jerry Fergeson Reyniers, interview by author, [1994].

¹²Chicago Bridge and Iron Co., Our Prairie Shipyard ([Chicago]: Seneca, 1945).

¹³Anderson, Wartime Women, 173.

The Antis Alphabet

Lynn Ducey

- A is for Antis with banner afloat;
B is for Battle against woman's vote.
C is for Children we fight to protect;
D is for Duties we never neglect.
E is for Energy strengthened by hope;
F is for Folly with which we must cope.
G is the Germ of unrest in the brain;
H is for Home, which we mean to maintain.
I is Insurgency now in the air;
J is calm Judgment we're bringing to bear.
K is for Knights in our American men;
L, Loyal service far out of our ken.
M is for Might, our cause to prevail
N, Noble standards that naught can assail.
O, Obligations we cannot ignore;
P is for Principle marching before.
Q is the Quibble which we must combat;
R is for Reason that answers it pat.
S is Sound Sense, which we have on our side;
T is for Truths that cannot be denied.
U is for Union, whose aid we entreat;
W is Wages the suffragettes claim,
X is for Xanthic, the color and frame.
Y is for Yankee, of Red, White and Blue;
Z is the Zeal to protect them for You.

Woman's Protest, August 1912

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) was established in 1911 to thwart the progress of the suffragists. In the alphabet above, the ideas of NAOWS were clearly stated. The arguments of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage were based primarily on the traditional ideals of the nineteenth century offered in the images of the Republican Mother and the True Woman. Yet the Antis, as they called themselves, also fused the contemporary reality of a rapidly industrializing society with these ideals. In closely analyzing the articles, poems, and letters published in the August to December 1912 issues of The Woman's Protest, one will find support for a traditional woman, one who was non-threatening to men and who acknowledged her existence within her own "sphere."

It is clear from the pages of The Woman's Protest that the members of the NAOWS were middle-to upper-class white women. In their articles against industrialism there was no mention of the plight of the women working in factories. Instead, many of the articles, especially one entitled "Enemy at the Gate" by Max G. Schlapp, focused on how the growing industry of America was causing a breakdown of the family due to the fact that many women were more interested in being able to support themselves than they were in creating and maintaining families. Schlapp stated: "We are developing a womanhood that is

becoming free of the instinctive desire for motherhood, and frequently without the capacity for it."¹

This avoidance of "natural" duties was loathsome to the women in the NAOWS. To them, Divine will dictated the roles men and women would play in life. To refuse to have children was seen as an abnormality. In a poem such as "The Baby's Lament," one sees to what extremes the Antis went to play on the feelings of their readers:

Mother's so busy with speaking
With making addresses to clubs,
With guiding young women who're seeking

The ballot (gee, whiz, but they're flubs!)
She seldom if ever comes near me,
But leaves me to cry myself sick,
To holler and blubber, to watch and to rubber
Until I'm as mad as old Nick.

Father's so busy with voting
(Straw ballots they are, by the way),
With reading, digesting, connoting
What all of the candidates say,
He hasn't a moment to spare me,
But lets me lie here in my crib,
Grow weary with squalling and howling and bawling
Until I've a pain in my rib.

I wish that my parents would grant me
Some notice, no matter how slight;
To see them alone would enchant me,
To know them for certain by sight.
I've heard them discussed by the servants,
And so I am sure they exist;
But why need they shove me aside? Can't
They love me?
I'd give all the world to be kissed!²

This poem shows how suffragists were depicted as less loving and caring mothers. A poem of this sort was meant to incite the sympathy of the Anti towards the child, and stimulate her indignity at the suffragist's avoidance of her "natural" duties.

Biological arguments frequently came to be used in conjunction with arguments against industrialization. Schlapp was again one of the loudest in the cacophony of voices raised against suffrage. The biological arguments intricately meshed together the notion of Woman as Mother with the popular belief that women are inherently physically weaker than men and, therefore, must be treated differently. In an argument such as this, a writer would usually state that God has predetermined one's role in this life: "Nature has to some extent designated the sphere of usefulness for all mankind as moral agents of the Divine will...In both man and woman the limitation of capacity is clearly indicated, and within these defined limitations must lie all possibility of development for either sex."³ This argument is based on the biological "fact" that since women are naturally weaker they would not be able to maintain themselves within the public sphere that God has deemed male-only: "It is not a question of equality at all. It is one of physical difference in the sexes which forbids women from performing either factory labor or disquieting tasks."⁴ Naturally, after arriving at a conclusion such as Schlapp did, "disquieting tasks" could encompass *all acts outside of the home for women*, including clubs, meetings, reform committees, many of

which the anti-suffrage women of 1912 may have felt compelled to join in order to defeat woman's vote.

The women involved in the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage saw themselves as mothers first and foremost who had a duty to protect their children and spouses. They believed that it was their "privilege and sphere" to build the character of a growing society.⁵ To do this, however, it was essential to remain in the home where one had the most influence. In an address to the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. A. J. George stated that woman "trains and educates not only her own children, but also the body politic."⁶ This claim is furthered by an article in the November 1912 issue which asserted: It is women who set the standard of manners and morals [to which] men will rise.⁷ The same article claims that women "cannot bear the nervous strain that the excitement of public life entails without risk of injury to themselves and the race. They become neurotic, hysterical, and unhinged..."⁸ The Antis frequently used scare tactics such as these to keep women out of politics.

Many of the women who were against suffrage for women claimed that giving the vote to women would only add one more burden to their already bursting packs. To these women, it was more important to keep the spheres of men and women separate; that in doing so, woman's independent identity and personality would be preserved.⁹ Suffragists were often accused of "unsexing" women in striving for equality.

Women were urged to maintain those ideals first popularized in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. A woman was meant to be self-sacrificing. It was her duty to produce great men. It becomes quite evident that this role of women is still strong in 1912 when one reads a letter sent in by a reader of Woman's Protest. In this letter the woman claimed that she had to chastise her "dearest friend" for wanting to gain a divorce from her husband on the grounds that he blamed his wife entirely for the unruliness of their children. Elizabeth Yockey, the young woman who wrote the letter, said she told her friend that she was in the wrong, that if she had failed to rear her children well it was she alone who was to blame.¹⁰ It was fervently believed by the Antis that a mother's duty lay in the ability to create an environment conducive to creating great men.

Another characteristic of the Republican Mother that the Antis upheld was that of the benevolent counselor. Women were to counsel their husbands in matters of importance, not to take matters into their own hands. In the article "Women as Character Builders," the English Anti-Suffrage Review reminisces about those glorious days of yore when a woman "support[ed] her husband and children through all trials with wise counsel and sweet, hopeful temper."¹¹ Moreover, women were to see that their presence in the household was for the greater good of society. In the December 1912 issue of Woman's Protest, Annie Russel Marble claimed that "American women who are seeking to give true civic service [should not cast] a ballot but [exercise], to the fullest extent, the prerogatives of educated womanhood."¹² These prerogatives included "laying and preserving the foundations of so imposing a thing as a family and preserving the foundations of so imposing a thing as a family," and in doing so she would "perpetuate and perfect" the church, society, and the republic.¹³

The "evidence" of health problems in women who involved themselves in activities outside of their "natural" duties was another tactic used to keep women in their place. Suffrage, the Antis claimed, made women wild. In support of this argument, frequent reference to England was made, where violence was a factor in the women suffrage issue there. A cartoon accompanying an article entitled "Defense, Not Defiance" illustrates a negative aspect of the Suffrage movement, namely the militant suffragists' propagandistic techniques.¹⁴ The Antis were very good at what they did--scaring women into believing that if they got the vote, the world would turn into a veritable caldron of chaos, despite the suffragists' insistence that giving women the vote would lessen the violence in the world.

Another nineteenth-century ideal often employed by the Antis was the True Woman. The True Woman was to be submissive and domestic. The Antis firmly believed that a woman should find happiness in her domesticity; that a man should love and protect his wife.¹⁵ Nearly all of the articles read came down to these two traditional virtues. Underlying the arguments against industrialization was the notion that women belong in the home. Beneath the disputes over women in politics was the belief that a woman's husband was more capable of fulfilling a woman's political needs than she was. Under the cloak of protection offered by the Cult of True Womanhood, the women of the NAOWS sought to return to more stable times; times in which each knew his or her own place.

It is in the articles extolling the True Woman that one can glean that the majority of the women in the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage were middle-to upper-class. To them, a life spent within the home was perfectly feasible. To the working class woman it was impossible. It is in the guise of the True Woman that the Antis really fell short in their arguments. Industrialization offended the Antis because it threatened to destroy the home as it was known. The problems and needs of the working class were beyond the comprehension of most of these women. The Cult of True Womanhood stressed those characteristics that were only feasible to those who had financial stability. Although the Antis did address the issue of industrialization, they did not understand the endlessly cyclical and precarious position in which it put others and never offered alternative answers to the existence of slums, to the problems of those unable to feed and clothe themselves.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage had high-minded ideals when they published their monthly magazine, The Woman's Protest. For strength and encouragement they looked to the past, to the nineteenth century which upheld the virtues of self-sacrifice, submissiveness, and domesticity. For the women of the NAOWS these ideals were being threatened by the suffragists and their longing for the vote for women. Yet to the Antis, the vote only meant a dissolution of the individualized sphere of women so long in the making. The Antis believed that if women obtained suffrage their uniqueness would be challenged, that the home would slowly dissolve, and that their lives would even lose meaning. One can sympathize with the Antis as they feared what the future might bring. Yet, in the face of change and a rapidly industrializing society, it became necessary to face the problems abounding within society, which the Antis were unable to do.

"There is Many a Fair Thing Found False"¹

Monique Leon

The view of Chinese women formed by reading older or Western missionary works is largely inaccurate. In most of these works women are presented as completely subordinate to males and having no roles beyond serving males. It is also common to attribute women's status to at least one of three things: their family's social standing which determines the second means of status, who they marry, and finally the birth of sons. The exception to these stereotypical views of Chinese women are works written about unique women, like Empress Dowager, who attain power largely through their assumption of male roles.

The superficial view of women's lives found in earlier works can probably be attributed to one of several faults. Past writers may have found women to be inaccessible. Many writers are concerned only with actions that take place in the public sphere and the narrator of a story often portrays the ideal instead of the real circumstances. These defects are not specific to writing's on China, but occur in most cultures. The major factor in China that encourages an unrealistic perception of women's lives are the writings of Confucius. Confucian writings contain many references to women, among them:

First, a 'general virtue' meaning that a woman should know her place in the universe and behave in every way in compliance with the time-honored ethical codes; second, she should be reticent in words taking care not to chatter too much and bore others; third, she must be clean of person and habits and adorn herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex; and fourth, she should not shirk her household duties.²

After reading this, one is prepared to discover that Chinese women were totally subordinate. Confucianism, as an ideology, permeated the entire Chinese culture for centuries. It regulated personal relationships in the public and private spheres. That is, familial as well as governmental systems were ideally controlled by Confucian principles. The Chinese strongly believed that it was the emulation of Confucius and his "way" which kept their society intact. Therefore, most literature, especially that written by Chinese scholars in earlier periods, would probably not reveal anything contrary to the standards of what was considered honorable.

More recent works, such as Wu Ching-tzu's 18th century novel The Scholars, present what appears to be a more realistic view of Chinese life. His work and the other works that will be presented in this paper will help the reader to see that while there is a measure of truth to some of the stereotypes about Chinese women, it is an ahistorical one.

One of the most common misconceptions about women in any culture is that they operate only in the private sphere. Beverly L. Chinas, author of The Isthmus Zapotecs: Women's Roles in Cultural Context, discovered that women operate in both the public and private sphere, in

¹Max G. Schlapp, "Enemy at the Gate," Woman's Protest (September 1912), 6.

²William W. Whitlock, "The Baby's Lament," Woman's Protest (August 1912), 11.

³Julia F. Waterman, "Suffrage Ideals," Woman's Protest (August 1912), 5.

⁴Max G. Schlapp, "Enemy at the Gate," 6.

⁵"Women as Character Builders," Woman's Protest (November 1912), 11.

⁶A.J. George, "If Women Have 'Right' To Vote They Must Bear the Burden," Woman's Protest (December 1912), 3.

⁷"Women as Character Builders," 11.

⁸"Women as Character Builders," 11.

⁹"Feminine vs. Feminist," Woman's Protest (October 1912), 6.

¹⁰Elizabeth Yockey, "Why I Am Not a Suffragette," Woman's Protest (September 1912), 13.

¹¹"Women as Character Builders," 11.

¹²Annie Russel Marble, "The Business of Being a Woman, Ida M. Tarbell's New Book," Woman's Protest (December 1912), 7.

¹³Annie Russel Marble, "The Business of Being a Women, Ida M. Tarbell's New Book," 7.

¹⁴Cartoon from The London Daily News and Leader, Woman's Protest (August 1912), 10.

¹⁵Watermen, "Suffrage Ideals," 5.

formal and non-formal roles. According to her definition, which will be used throughout this paper, "Formalized roles are here defined as those given formal status and recognition by members of the society."³ An example of a formal role for a woman is her role as a mother. "Nonformalized roles are those which are not so clearly perceived or rigidly defined by members of the society."⁴

The purpose of the remainder of this paper is to show that Chinese women of 18th century played roles that do not fit in the stereotypical view of them as subordinate to all and powerless. The reader will discover that Chinese women, under the thumb of Confucianism, held formal and informal roles in the public and private spheres of the economic, political and social realms.

In the sphere of economics it is safe to say that most women fit into stereotypical domestic roles. The task included cooking, cleaning, and child care. The amount of work actually done depended on the class the woman belonged to. If she was a member of the upper class, she may have had little more to do than to see that the household duties were not neglected. Women of the peasantry, especially those in southern China, could often be found spending long hours on household tasks in addition to field work. Their work in the fields increased substantially during the harvest season.⁵

Chinese women also worked in the public sphere. The Scholars indicates that women were often times sellers of goods. One woman owned her own wine shop, sold wine to men, and was therefore independent.⁶ Women were sellers of bread, flowers, trinkets and fortunes. Another lucrative business, mainly for young women, was prostitution. The prostitute, Pin-niang, refused service to anyone but scholars. By setting those standards for herself, she was able to maintain a good line of customers and an independent lifestyle.⁷ Pin-niang, like the young woman who seduced a man and stole his money, used the art of manipulation to gain economic favors.

The young woman, Shen Chiung-Chih, is the best example of economic independence found in The Scholars. This young woman refused to become a salt merchant's concubine because she deemed herself more worthy. She ran away from the merchant's home and settled in Nanking where she sold her own poems for a living.⁸

Chinese women who lived in a city during the 18th century had the opportunity to work in a number of acceptable occupations. Most of the positions open to women revolved around healing and caretaking. The positions included, "physicians specializing in sphymology (diagnosis based on pulse-taking), wet nurses, midwives, pharmacologists and drug peddlers, coroner's assistants, undertakers, and yin-yang specialists."⁹

The most important jobs for women in the cities, those which brought wealth and status, were those in the imperial palace. Three positions open to women were as physicians, midwives, and wet-nurses. To be selected meant a woman had undergone a vigorous set of tests. After being selected she was only permitted in the women's quarters and only while her services were needed. The woman was not permitted to live at the palace for fear that she might wrongly influence the court ladies.

Of the three jobs available, the position of wet-nurse was the most rewardable. Women who served as wet-nurses "were often permitted to retain access to the palace after their terms of employment were completed."¹⁰

Women who were chosen as palace midwives increased their status in the community as well. These women, by the mere fact of imperial approval, were sought after to deliver the babies in their communities.

Women's economic roles stretched far beyond the stereotypical view of them as domestic workers. Even when women worked outside of the home they could be found in positions beyond domesticity.

The word political in and of itself connotes legitimate positions of power which exist in the sphere of government. In China during the 18th century only men could hold formal positions in the government because only they were permitted to take the Confucian Civil Service Exam. A few rare women, such as Empress Dowager, reigned for periods when there was no suitable emperor.

Susan Davis, the author of Patience and Power, uses a definition of the word "political" that allows for women to have roles in the sphere of politics. "The word political refers to all activities designed to secure optimum benefits from the structure of power in a society, where 'power' is the ability to channelize the behavior of others through actual or threatened use of sanction."¹¹ This definition, as will be shown, is a legitimate means to illustrate the ways in which women use communication and strategies of manipulation to secure their goals.

The Scholars shows three separate examples of women seeking government sanction to save what they felt was legally theirs. In one of the examples a concubine became the mistress of the house after the first wife died. She was able to obtain this position because she had a son. Unfortunately, both her husband and son died, leaving her alone and having to contend with her dead husband's family. Her brother-in-law attempted to make her a concubine to his son. Rather than passively accepting this position she took her grievance to the local official and firmly secured her position as the mistress of her home.¹² This example also shows a woman's use of informal power to secure a position for her son.

Women could use communication to control or manipulate their husbands. Miss Lu, also found in The Scholars, was married to a man whom she thought was a scholar. Upon discovering his lie, she informed her father that her husband was a hoax. This information caused an uproar in the family. Her father threatened to take a concubine in order to have an heir who would carry on the scholarly tradition. Miss Lu's use of communication put her on an equal level with her husband since she herself was educated.¹³

Noble women used their position in the palace to secure positions for their relatives and allies. "The ability to do so was an important component of their power. By surrounding the emperor with their own people, palace women were able to influence the policies of their time."¹⁴ This power was well known and feared by the sages of the palace. Women's moves were closely watched. This fear was the main reason that women employed as healers and caretakers for palace women were not permitted constant access to the women they cared for.

The examples just given illustrate ways in which some women used communication and other tactics to secure positions of power in a power structure to which they were denied direct access.

Unlike the economic and political spheres, where women were divided along the lines of class, the social realm is full of roles that were employed by women of all

classes. It would seem that since women were generally subordinated by men, they would interact as equals and form strategies resulting in mutual cooperation. On the public level, which will be addressed later, mutual cooperation occurred. In the domestic sphere, however, women used their authority which often generated conflicts of interest among women.

The House of Lim, written by Margery Wolf, is the study of a Chinese farm family in Northern Taiwan. The family studied was a patrilineal, extended family. The women in China usually entered into patrilocal households as strangers. Upon entrance they had to compete with their mother-in-law for the favor of their new or future husband. Although this in itself would seem to promote conflict in great measures, the situation was much more complex.

In order for the daughter-in-law to be "legitimate," she had to give birth to a son, thereby carrying on the family name. She then could use the son as a source of informal power to influence both her husband and other kin. Since women did not have any power in and among themselves, they had to obtain it through means of influence, the strongest form of persuasion.

From this discussion it can be seen that the influence which one woman uses is used by all women. Obviously then, they will come into conflict. The greatest example of conflict is when both the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are attempting to influence the same man, son and husband, respectively.

Indeed, life as a young wife was the most difficult position in a Chinese woman's life cycle. Her youth was spent in work and bearing children, but in her old age she had her reward. She would be served by the wives of her own sons. The position of the mother of a family was so powerful that even an emperor did not question the authority of his own mother, as the respect due to parents was superior to that accorded to the ancestors.¹⁵

One way for women to gain honor in China was through an act of extreme filial piety. Sometimes the widow would follow her deceased husband to his death. In The Scholars a young woman starved herself to death in order to join her husband. She felt that to live would be a burden on society and her natal family. When acts such as this are committed, the government is notified and it orders that a stone arch or shrine be made to "celebrate womanly virtue."¹⁶ All the members of the family attend the commemoration and the father is usually praised for rearing a virtuous daughter. This act not only brings honor to the deceased woman but to her family as well.

Language, like other social institutions and value systems, does not serve all its speakers equally, for not all its speakers contribute equally to its creation. This is especially true of the written and spoken language in China. Women could speak the language, but few were taught to write it. In one small part of southwestern Hunan province in China, generations of women form the rice-farming villages of Shangjagxu Township created and used a method of writing which gave them "the power and freedom to write their truths."¹⁷

Over a 1,000 years ago a script was invented that was used solely by women. The script became known as Nushu (women's words). Women used this script to create long-term friendships and strong female networks with women of other villages. They also used nushu to send letters of advice and warning to their special friend's new mother-in-law. Although women knew the consequences of

their subversive actions, they continued to use the script as a means of speaking the experiences, griefs and desires of their life.

The social sphere for women was one of great joy and sorrow. Women had to use the powers of influence and manipulation to secure benefits from a largely male power structure. Since women were not allowed legitimate access to authority, their social skills and political maneuvers were often deemed subversive. This increased the attitude of Chinese women as lowly, manipulative creatures. Even with this in mind, Chinese women continued to use what they could to get ahead in a male dominated world.

The status of women in 18th century China was closely linked to the roles they played. Important to women's status was the issue of morality. Virtuous women in China were enshrined and honored. Women's status increased if they were connected directly or indirectly to the imperial palace. Women's manipulation of information could increase their status in the familial sphere in the same way that age increased a woman's status. It could be said that status is a different way of discussing the issue of power. To deliver a fair assessment of Chinese women and their lives is to discuss them separately from men's roles and their means of achieving status.

This paper has attempted to do just that. Chinese women have been viewed on terms specific to their gender. The research revealed that works written in the past often denied women's economic, political, and social roles. It was enough for many of these writers to mention that women existed in China and gave birth to sons. Once mentioned, the subject quickly turned to the public sphere where women seemed to not exist.

Students of history all too often find the same scenario in the classroom. More recently, however, women's lives have become a part of the curriculum. The same can be said for many modern writings on China. This paper is an attempt to reveal these writings as well as give a position in history to the Chinese women of the 18th century.

¹D. Fergusson, Scottish Proverbs, 1641, as quoted in the Dictionary of Quotations and Proverb, ed. D. C. Browning (London: Cathay Books, 1989), 424: 36.

²Elisabeth Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 1e, quoted in Soon Man Rhim, "The Status of Women in China: Yesterday and Today," Asian Studies 20 (1982), 4.

³Beverly L. Chinas, The Isthmus Zapotecs: Women's Roles in Cultural Context (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), 93.

⁴Chinas, The Isthmus Zapotecs, 94.

⁵Elisabeth J. Croll, "Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Case Studies," Signs (Winter 1981), 380-381.

⁶Wu Ching-tzu, The Scholars, trans. Yang Hsien-yi & Gladys Yang, with a foreword by C.T. Hsia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 488.

⁷Wu, The Scholars, 659.

⁸Wu, The Scholars, 512.

⁹Victoria B. Cass, "Female Healers in the Ming and the Lodge of Ritual and Ceremony," American Oriental Society Journal 106 (January-March 1986), 234.

¹⁰Cass, "Female Healers," 237.

¹¹Morton Fried, "Some Aspects of Clanship in a Modern Chinese City," Political Anthropology, ed. Marc J. Swartz (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), 285, quoted in Davis, Patience and Power, 90.

¹²Wu, *The Scholars*, 85.

¹³Wu, *The Scholars*, 142-143.

¹⁴Priscilla Ching Chung, "Power and Prestige: Palace Women," *Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship*, ed. Richard W. Guisso and Stanley Johannesen (Youngstown, New York: Philo Press, 1981), 60.

¹⁵Richard W. Guisso, "Thunder Over the Lake: The Five Classics and the Perception of Woman in Early China" in *Women in China*, 60.

¹⁶Wu, *The Scholars*, 592.

¹⁷Cathy Silber, "Books: A 1,000 Year-Old Secret," *Ms.* (September-October 1992), 58-60.

The Role of "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" in Creating the Myth of the West

Kathy Moore

Western historians agree that the notions of the west portrayed in movies and paperback novels is often a far cry from reality. Wagon trains of desperate immigrants attacked and burned out by fierce Indian warriors, brave troops of cavalry who always arrived in the nick of time to save helpless white settlers from the not so noble Redmen, and wild cowboys who could rope a steer one handed and shoot anything that moved are, without a doubt, myths born from many years of exaggeration and false information. The realities of the western experience were often far from exciting or dramatic, yet these myths have become so much a part of the American historical consciousness that they are often accepted as true. How did these myths originate, and more importantly, how were they perpetuated throughout the United States and the entire world until they became more or less accepted as fact, are important questions for the western historian. Many factors undoubtedly contributed to the creation and survival of exaggerations about western life and experience, but popular entertainment has always been one of the most influential and long lasting tools of the myth making process. Wild West shows were no exceptions to this idea.

Although many variations of these shows existed from the 1870's well into the twentieth century, the most successful and certainly the most celebrated and remembered was "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show." William F. Cody, or Buffalo Bill as he was called throughout his show career, created an extravaganza of western entertainment which toured the United States and Europe for over three decades, drawing huge crowds of spectators from every walk of life. Writing about the success of her brother's western exhibition, Cody's sister Helen Cody Wetmore commented that the show, "has visited every large city on the civilized globe, and has been viewed by countless thousands who have pronounced it the most original show in the world. It is peculiarly a product of the nineteenth century."¹ By examining what types of acts and entertainment comprised Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and exploring why the show was so popular with Eastern and European audiences, the role of wild west shows as influential tools in the creation of the western myth can be better recognized and understood. The idea of the wild west as a source of sensational entertainment for the eastern public was not a new notion born with the wild west shows. By the 1870's, second rate writers like Ned Buntline, Fred G. Maeder, and Colonel Prentiss Ingraham had already inundated the market with countless dime novels about massacres, Indian scouts, pony express riders, and bloody clashes between cavalry troops and Indian warriors.² Buffalo Bill, already somewhat of a legend for his exploits as a soldier and an Indian Scout, was often the hero of these novels. In 1878 Buntline decided to bring his stories to the stage. He persuaded Buffalo Bill to

act with him and another Indian Scout called Texas Jack in a melodrama entitled "The Scouts of the Plains."

The show opened in Chicago on December 16, 1878, and despite the fact that the production was amateur and the acting was terrible, it was an amazing success. The actors forgot their lines and were forced to improvise the entire show, from an off-the-cuff conversation about a recent buffalo hunt to an impromptu Indian shoot out at the end.³ "The play was composed anew, ad lib, on the stage as they went along."⁴ Weybright and Sell suggest that this obviously unintended and unprepared impromptu, ad lib style was what made the show so appealing to the audience. "Without knowing it, the actors were creating a new formula, a new style in entertainment, that years later reached its peak in the Cowboy monologues of Will Rogers."⁵ The show's appeal, however, went beyond the obvious comic effect of untrained actors making up lines as they went along. "What the audience beheld was an adolescent's fantastic dream of the wild west."⁶ There on the stage in civilized, urban Chicago were real Indian scouts, cavalymen, and western heroes. The fact that their show was less than acceptable by theatrical standards merely added to the excitement.

Eastern audiences had little notion of what the west was actually like, and they were more than willing to believe the exaggerated fantasies they saw on stage. The west was obviously different, a place of daring deeds and larger than life heroes. To participate, even vicariously, in these daring exploits allowed eastern audiences temporarily to escape their own sometimes mundane and perhaps a bit too civilized lives.

By the spring of 1883, western exploits as a theme for theatrical entertainment had reached a turning point. Helen Cody Wetmore wrote that it had been a "long cherished plan" of Cody's to "present to the public an exhibition that should delineate in part at least, the wild life of America."⁷ When "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show," began touring the United States in 1883, it was booked as "A Years visit West in Three Hours," with "Actual Scenes in the Nation's Progress to Delight, Please, Gratify, Charm and Interest the Visitor."⁸ The original show was intended to be an exhibition of Native Americans, western animals, and cowboys and Indian scouts performing distinctly western activities such as roping, bronco riding and target shooting. Writing in 1887, Henry Llewellyn Williams described the original shows as being comprised of "the almost vanished buffalo, the rapidly disappearing bighorn or mountain sheep, antelope, bears, tiger-cats, pumas and so forth-the fauna of Western and South-Western North America."⁹ Williams obviously included the Native Americans who played such an important part in Cody's show among the fauna of the western region, for only a page later he states, "To the animals and savages were added horsemen and rifle and pistol-shots."¹⁰

As Buffalo Bill's success and profits grew so did the show. Soon many of the wild animals were replaced with short skits depicting western events. An Indian attack on the Deadwood Stagecoach, another Indian attack on a wagon train of settlers camped in the desert, a buffalo stampede, and a simulated prairie fire all became standard features of Buffalo Bill's show. By the time Cody took the show to Europe in the Spring of 1887, he had hired a large number of Native Americans. An Indian village and an Indian battle, intended to provide Europeans with "a good idea of the barbarity of Indian warfare," became a regular

part of Cody's wild west show.¹¹ Later, Cody began using his show as an opportunity to celebrate famous people and recent history making events like General Custer and the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

The show continued to grow and change throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. By the time of Cody's appearance at the 1893 Colombian Exposition and World's Fair in Chicago, the show had adopted the subtitle "Congress of the Rough Riders of the World." Cody had hired small detachments of "Fully Equipped Regular Soldiers of the Armies of America, England, France, Germany, and Russia," and had incorporated them into his exhibition.¹² He had also added Russian Cossacks, Arabian horsemen, and Mexican cowboys to the acts. The Wild West Show was becoming more and more of an arena for unusual and exceptional feats of horsemanship than "a true rescript of life on the frontier," as Cody had originally intended it to be.¹³ In an article written for the September 3, 1892 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Frederic Remington said that "The great interest which attaches to the whole show is that it enables the audience to take sides on the question of which people ride best and have the best saddle."¹⁴ As folk heroes and current events changed, the events Cody chose to recreate in his show changed as well. By the end of the Spanish American War, Custer had been eclipsed by a new American hero, Teddy Roosevelt.¹⁵

Throughout its relatively long history on the popular entertainment circuit, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" was amazingly successful in almost every locale it played in, both in the United States and Europe. Audiences flocked to the show literally by the thousands, and it got rave reviews from scholars, writers, and journalists. During the first season of touring, the Chicago show attracted forty thousand people in a single afternoon.¹⁶ By the time the show returned to Chicago for the 1893 World's Fair, it was "considered a social disgrace not to see Buffalo Bill's big show."¹⁷ When the show went to Europe in 1887, it was received with equal enthusiasm by both the general population and the European royalty. Queen Victoria, the Prince and Princess of Wales and a score of lesser British royalty attended the show, many of the them more than once, during its stay in London. After attending the performance, the Queen noted in her journal that she had seen "a very extraordinary and interesting sight-a performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West."¹⁸ Some of the Royal spectators were so intrigued and delight that they wanted to be a part of the show by riding in the Deadwood stage coach during a mock Indian attack. Cody's sister's description of this incident illustrates the excitement and enthusiasm with which the European Royalty responded to the wild west show.

The royal visitors wished to put themselves in the place of the traveling public in the Western Region of America, so the four potentates of Denmark, Saxony, Greece, and Austria became the passengers, and the Prince of Wales sat on the box with Will. The coach was surrounded by a demonic band, and blank cartridges were discharged in such close proximity to the coach windows that the passengers could easily imagine themselves to be actual Western travelers.¹⁹

The show was extremely popular on the continent as well, drawing huge crowds in France, Germany, and Italy. Why Buffalo Bill and his Wild West Show enjoyed an almost fanatical sort of popularity is an interesting question. Certainly part of the attraction was William Cody himself. He was obviously a good showman, with a striking

appearance and a charming manner that attracted audiences. A reporter for the Chicago Tribune writing on May 28 of 1885 said, "Buffalo Bill was the object of admiration, especially among the youthful romancers who saw in him the incarnation of their young ideals. Many of them...hope someday to rival the famous Scout."²⁰ Yet, the key to the show's continued and world wide success certainly went beyond Buffalo Bill's appearance and personality. The real magic of the performance lay in the fact that it presented eastern, and particularly urban, audiences with a glimpse into life on the frontier. The west was a strange and often romanticized area of the country about which many Americans knew very little, and most Europeans next to nothing. Cody's show was a novelty. It allowed people to experience a little of the thrill and adventure associated with the western experience, without suffering any of the hardships and dangers. "One should no longer ride the deserts of Texas or the rugged uplands of Wyoming to see the Indians and the pioneers," Remington wrote in 1892 in reference to Buffalo Bill's London exhibition, "but should go to London."²¹

"Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" presented a larger than life image of the west, and most people seemed to care very little if this image was realistic or exaggerated. The frontier experience, as Cody presented it, was something to be proud of. Again and again the exhibits, skits, and feats of daring proved that white Euro-Americans were strong enough and brave enough, and in every way civilized enough to meet and conquer the challenges of the uncivilized west. Cody's show was often advertised as an exhibition which traced the history of civilization, and the response of many writers and reports of the day shows that people were pleased and excited by what they saw. "I saw an entertainment in New York which impressed me immensely," the actor Henry Irving wrote. "It is an entertainment in which the whole of the most interesting episodes of life on the extreme frontier of civilization in America are represented with the most graphic vividness and scrupulous detail." Irving continued to rave that the show had "real cowboys with bucking horses, real buffalo, and great hordes of steers, which are lassoed and stampeded in the most realistic fashion imaginable. Then there are real Indians who execute attacks upon coaches driven at full speed. No one can exaggerate the extreme excitement and go of the whole performance. It is simply immense."²² Even people who had lived in the west and experienced frontier life were mesmerized by Cody's extravagant show. Mark Twain, who had spent several years in the west and was notoriously outspoken about any form of pretense, wrote to Cody: "Down to its smallest detail the show is genuine. It brought back vividly the breezy wild life of the Plains and the Rocky Mountains. It is wholly free from sham and insincerity and the effects it produced upon me by its spectacles were identical with those wrought upon me a long time ago on the frontier."²³ Apparently Cody had discovered a way to mix enough reality into the fantasy and exaggeration to make his shows acceptable as true reenactments of frontier happenings.

Many people felt that Cody's show provided a benefit beyond just entertainment or an opportunity to live out a fantasy, however. They saw the wild west exhibition as a form of history education. The show was serving the vital function of bringing the story of western settlement and civilization to the attention of eastern Americans and Europeans. Americans believed that Buffalo Bill was showing the world the true history of the west, and he was

often praised for his contribution to the education of the civilized world. "You have been modest, grateful, and dignified in all you have done to illustrate the history of civilization on this continent during the past century," William T. Sherman wrote to Cody. "You have caught one epoch of this country's history, and illustrated it in the very heart of the modern world-London, and I want you to feel that on this side of the water we appreciate it."²⁴ Europeans were no less appreciative of the educational value they felt the show provided. The "Illustrated London News" noted that "It is certainly a novel idea for one nation to give an exhibition devoted exclusively to its own frontier history...on the soil of another country 3,000 miles away."²⁵ The English statesman Gladstone was so impressed with what he saw that he "thanked Will for the good he was doing in presenting to the English public a picture of the wild life of the Western Continent, which served to illustrate the difficulties encountered by a sister nation in its onward march of civilization."²⁶ Without intentionally setting out to do so, and perhaps without even really knowing it, Buffalo Bill had made his Wild West Show a vital force in the myth making process which came to be accepted as American history.

One of the greatest educational values which many Easterners and Europeans saw in the wild west show was the opportunity it gave them to see Native Americans. At a time when the United States Office of Indian Affairs was attempting to create an image of Native Americans as "well on their way to productive citizenship," Buffalo Bill was challenging this image by presenting them as "heroic warriors of a vanishing culture."²⁷ Cody claimed that the mission of his show was to "bring the white and red races closer together,"²⁸ and while it is doubtful if his exhibition accomplished anything quite so admirable, Native Americans were one of the most novel aspects of Cody's show.

Indians played a variety of roles in the show from riding and shooting, to engaging in mock attacks on settlers and army men. When they were not actually performing on stage, their living quarters were often opened for public view. Journalists who visited the grounds of the wild west show found the dress, habits and lifestyle of the Native American performers the most intriguing part of Cody's huge enterprise. One journalist, writing in 1894, commented that, "They are genuine Indians, and some are so very genuine that the Indian agents were glad to get rid of them as being the malcontents of their bands."²⁹ After watching them at their daily task and touring their living quarters, however, he was obviously unimpressed by the Native American lifestyle. "To see Colonel Cody's tent and then to visit a teepee twenty-five feet away is to be able to compare the quarters of a modern general with the refuge of a Celtic outlaw of the seventeenth century," he wrote. "By just so much have we advanced; by just so much has the Indian stood still."³⁰

In Europe, Native Americans were viewed with even greater curiosity and interest. In his account of his experience as interpreter for Buffalo Bill's show during their first European tour, Luther Standing Bear recalled the King of England's reaction to his Indian dance. "I shook the lance in his face and danced my very prettiest, you may be sure...when I got down to doing my fancy steps and gave a few Sioux yells, he had to smile in spite of himself."³¹ Native Americans drew such enormous crowds for the show, that when Luther Standing Bear's daughter was born

during the English tour, Cody put her in a side show when she was only a day old. "It was a great drawing card for the show," Standing Bear remarked, "before she was twenty-four hours old she was making more money than my wife and I together."³² Native Americans were a novelty to European audiences. They provided a glimpse of an "uncivilized" and "savage" people, and their curious customs were often used as a yardstick to measure how far and how successfully white European society had advanced. Like so many aspects of the western experience which found their way into Cody's exhibition, Native Americans were often cast in unrealistic and romantic roles. They were billed as cruel savages who posed a threat to the progress of western civilization, while at the same time being romanticized into noble warriors of a lost era. Both of these images undoubtedly provided exciting show material, but they also helped to trivialize the plight of Native Americans in the mind of audiences everywhere.

From the mid 1880's until well into the twentieth century, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" enjoyed almost unrivaled popularity in both the United States and Europe. The exhibition provided audiences with a fantastic, romanticized picture of the western experience. It allowed people to experience the adventure and excitement that had come to be associated with western expansion, unclouded by the many difficulties which actual settlers faced. The show's promoters boasted that it not only provided western entertainment but also a glimpse into the actual history of western civilization. By contrasting the primitive life styles of the Native Americans before the arrival of Europeans with the many so-called improvements that white settlement had brought to the prairies and plains, audiences would be made aware of the great technological and intellectual advances the Euro-Americans had made. The shows allowed Eastern audiences to feel good about the displacement of Native Americans and the acquisition of Native American lands for settlement, by showing that these events were an inevitable step in the march of civilization. The uncheckable progress of civilization would eventually force uncivilized people like the Native Americans to either assimilate to the more advanced culture, or to simply disappear.

¹Helen Cody Wetmore, The Last of the Great Scouts: The Life Story of Col. William F. Cody (Chicago: Duluth Press Publishing Company, 1899), 218.

²Don Russell, The Wild West (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970), 17.

³Victor Weybright and Henry Sell, Buffalo Bill and the Wild West (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1956), 95.

⁴Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 95.

⁵Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 95.

⁶Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 95.

⁷Wetmore, The Last of the Great Scouts, 218.

⁸Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 131.

⁹Henry Llewellyn Williams, Buffalo Bill: A Full Account of His Adventurous Life with the Origin of His Wild West Show (London: George Rutledge and Sons, 1887), 188.

¹⁰Williams, Buffalo Bill, 189.

¹¹Wetmore, Last of the Great Scouts, 220.

¹²Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 176.

¹³Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 131.

¹⁴Frederic Remington, "Buffalo Bill In London," Harper's Weekly (3 September 1892), 847.

¹⁵Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 186.

¹⁶Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 136.

¹⁷Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 174.

¹⁸Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 147.

¹⁹Wetmore, The Last of the Great Scouts, 224.

²⁰Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 136.

²¹Remington, "Buffalo Bill In London," 847.

²²Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 150.

²³Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 141.

²⁴Wetmore, The Last of the Great Scouts, 230.

²⁵Weybright and Sell, Buffalo Bill, 151.

²⁶Wetmore, Last of the Great Scouts, 221.

²⁷L.G. Moses, "Indians on the Midway: Wild West Shows and the Indian Bureau at the World's Fairs, 1893-1904," South Dakota History 21 (Fall 1991), 205.

²⁸Moses, "Indians on the Midway," 207.

²⁹Julian Ralph, "Behind the Wild West Scenes," Harper's Weekly (18 August 1894), 775.

³⁰Ralph, "Behind the Wild West Scenes," 775.

³¹Luther Standing Bear, My People the Sioux, ed. E. A. Brininstool (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 256.

³²Standing Bear, My People the Sioux, 266.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison: The Struggle for Liberty of Conscience in Revolutionary America

Sarah Drake

During the critical period between the writing of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, Americans attempted to establish a firm political foundation on which to build a new nation. The radicalism of the American Revolution, as depicted by the magnitude of the transformation of the relationships among social groups, engendered a spirit of expectation within the American public.¹ Groups within American society, led frequently by political elites, expressed their concerns and expectations as the former colonies moved toward an experiment in republican government. The development and articulation of the radical ideology of the American Revolution evolved slowly. In breaking with their traditional past, an American revolutionary ideology permeated all facets of society. As a result, Americans were forced to redefine and recreate traditional aspects of their society.

Religion and religious liberty served as a focal point of ideological debate during the time period.² The debate over religious liberty in Virginia and the passage of Thomas Jefferson's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom provided a critical link between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The struggle in Virginia concerning religious liberty and freedom of conscience pragmatically connected the ideals of the Declaration of Independence to the fundamental principles of republican government set forth in the United States Constitution.

Writing from Paris on December 16, 1786, Thomas Jefferson jubilantly reported to his intellectual colleague and confidant, James Madison, "The Virginia Act for religious freedom has been received with infinite approbation in Europe and propagated with enthusiasm." Jefferson celebrated the passage of the Virginia Statute and relished the fact that "after so many ages during which the human mind has been held in vassalage by kings, priests, and nobles" Americans finally "had the courage to declare that the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinions."³ Madison had earlier expressed to Jefferson his exuberance that legislation in Virginia had "extinguished for ever the ambitious hope of making laws for the human mind...."⁴ Both Jefferson and Madison regarded religious liberty as a fundamental, natural right and an important contribution to civil liberty. Therefore, by tracing the struggle for religious freedom in Virginia, the development of American constitutional ideology can be explored.

A study of the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia based on the contributions of the Virginia Statue demands an exploration of the beliefs of the two men responsible for the Bill's passage: Jefferson and Madison. In her study, Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration, Adrienne Koch explained the lifelong

partnership of the philosopher statesmen. Observing their differences in style, personality, and rhetorical accomplishments, Koch concluded the "cordial and affectionate friendship" of Jefferson and Madison enabled the two intellectual giants to reap the benefits of each other's ideas and mutually contribute to a common political philosophy while maintaining independent thoughts.⁵ The separate and concurring ideas of Jefferson and Madison provided a basis for the development of the concept of liberty of conscience in America.

Thomas Jefferson regarded religion as an extremely private affair. As a result, he avoided speaking about his personal religious convictions and left no diaries in which his religious thoughts were recorded. To a contemporary biographer he remarked, "Say nothing of my religion, it is known to my god and myself alone."⁶ As a product of Enlightenment thought, Jefferson embodied a rationalistic spirit that was sweeping the western world. His religious history consists mainly of the "tension between the spirit of critical analysis and the tenets of traditional Christianity."⁷ Jefferson ultimately adopted a natural form of religion. This natural religion contributed to his belief in the necessity for freedom of thought and the principle position of morality over dogma in religious concerns.⁸ Writing in 1816, Jefferson commented, "For it is in our lives, and not our words, that our religion must be read."⁹

According to Jefferson, the Bible represented merely a history of humankind. Unfortunately, the message within the Bible was only a history because Jesus had not been recorded his doctrines. Instead, Christ's teachings had been written "by the most unlettered of men, by memory, long after they had heard them from him; when much was forgotten, much understood, and presented in every paradoxical shape."¹⁰ Thus it was the interpretations of Christ's intentions, by appointed representatives, not necessarily Christ himself, that Jefferson opposed.

Early in his life, Jefferson considered religion to be his enemy because its dogmas restricted and suppressed free inquiry.¹¹ Jefferson's fundamental argument on the necessity of religious freedom in Virginia would center around the issue of the power of the clergy in an established system. Jefferson viewed ecclesiastical power as detrimental and dangerous to freedom of the human mind.

Similarly, James Madison focused his religious beliefs around absolute freedom of conscience and unrestricted liberty. Like Jefferson, Madison was reluctant to express his religious view in public. The two men agreed on many religious principles. Contrary to popular belief, however, Madison was not a compliant disciple of Jefferson. Instead, he developed and propagated his own philosophical understanding of religion.¹²

The Madisons were adherents of the Anglican Church, and James Madison, Sr. served as a vestry man in Orange County. As a young man, Madison witnessed the persecution of Virginia Baptists in Culpepper County in 1765 and Spotsylvania County in 1768. The contradiction between Madison's Anglican upbringing and his observations of religious persecution presumably had an effect on the impressionable youth.¹³ Madison's foremost biographer, Irving Brant, suspects that these events influenced Madison's decision to attend the College of New Jersey instead of William and Mary. Princeton's reputation for a devotion to religious freedom would have appealed to Madison.¹⁴ Under the guidance of the College of New

Madison.¹⁴ Under the guidance of the College of New Jersey's new president, John Witherspoon, Madison was exposed to a "Common Sense" philosophy, which challenged the rational theology of the age. Madison read and was influenced by the works of Samuel Clarke and was encouraged by Witherspoon to pursue freedom of inquiry.¹⁵

After 1776, however, Madison dropped his interest in the theological controversy he studied at Princeton.¹⁶ Upon entering public life, he developed a philosophical religious ideology. Madison made a fundamental distinction between religious toleration and the natural right of all individuals to freedom of conscience.¹⁷ Irving Brant characterized this fundamental distinction as his primary contribution to American thought concerning civil liberties.¹⁷

The religious foundations of Jefferson and Madison combined with and took advantage of the turbulent events of the revolutionary period. Utilizing channels opened by Enlightenment thought and revolutionary experience, Jefferson and Madison worked together with the masses and brought the concept of religious liberty to the fore of discussion pertaining to civil liberty. Their work would lead directly to the culmination of the American Revolution, the writing of the Constitution.

According to Gordon Wood, the lack of complete established religion in the American colonies contributed to a loss of social control.¹⁸ In colonial Virginia, a combination of factors made the colony an experimental role model for religious liberty in America. In contrast to the Puritan establishments of the New England settlements and the general religious freedom of the Middle Colonies, the Church of England was an established and financially supported church in Virginia. The lack of a traditional Anglican hierarchical organization in Virginia, however, provided the opportunity for a unique experiment in this region. Because local vestries, not bishops, controlled the action of the church, the traditional link between the Church of England and the royal government was severed.¹⁹ Therefore, because the British government lacked the religious backbone that had provided it with strength and legitimacy in the Old World, questions arose concerning the authority of the government in the New World. Religious liberty provided a crucial link and perhaps impetus to the concept of civil liberty. Writing in 1808, Thomas Jefferson remembered, "In our early struggles for liberty, religious freedom could not fail to become a primary object."²⁰ Through the questioning of religious authority in the governmental and personal sphere, the role of the government in the daily life of citizens was challenged. Because the Church of England and the British government were inextricably linked, a challenge to the authority of Anglicanism facilitated a challenge to the authority of Parliament and King.²¹ Madison and Jefferson recognized this critical link. As adherents to a natural rights philosophy and freedom of conscience, both men seized the opportunity that a fight for religious liberty presented to them-- a battle for the complete liberation of the human mind through republican government. Gordon Wood wrote:

The American Revolution accelerated the challenge to religious authority that had begun with the First real Awakening. Just as people were taking over their governments, so, it was said, they should take over their churches. Christianity had to be republicanized.²²

An increase in religious freedom contributed directly to the acquisition of complete civil liberties.

Enlightenment ideology contributed to the correlation between religious freedom and secular liberty as well. Rationalistic thought challenged the traditional supernaturalistic realm of Christianity. Even the authority of God was challenged during this time period. The God of an enlightened people could no longer assume absolute and arbitrary roles. Instead, religion became linked to nature and reason. Reason prevailed over dogmatism in this new liberal age.²³

Therefore, it was natural that, as enlightened men, Jefferson and Madison would oppose an established church in Virginia. The supremacy of one sect would invite dogmatic religious interpretations and the creation of "artificial structures...built...for the purpose of deriving...power and power, revolt[ing] those who think for themselves."²⁴

In keeping with the questioning of God's right to rule, the absolute authority of political rulers was tested.²⁵ Madison, writing to William Bradford in 1774, expressed his principle of dispersal of power and applied it to religion:

If the Church of England had been established...in all the northern colonies as it had been among us here, and uninterrupted tranquillity had prevailed throughout the continent, it is clear to me that slavery and subjection might and would have gradually insinuated among us. Union of religious sentiments begets a surprising confidence, and ecclesiastical establishments tend to great ignorance and corruption; all of which facilitate the execution of mischievous projects.²⁶

This argument, especially the fear of "mischievous projects," would culminate in Madison's plea for a multiplicity of interests and a multiplicity of sects during his defense of the Constitution.²⁷

Thus, the history of Virginia and the effects of social and intellectual movements combined to make this area, in Buckley's words, a "politico-religious microcosm."²⁸ Specific events in the 1770s and 1780s enabled Madison and Jefferson to seize the opportunity and fuse their ideologies with those of the common man. As a result, religious and civil liberty became the foundation for American republican government.

The Virginia Resolves, unanimously passed by the Virginia general convention on May 15, 1776, called for independence and the creation of a committee to "prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people."²⁹ Twenty-five year old James Madison of Orange County was among those appointed to the committee. George Mason, a wealthy and respected planter who possessed a recognized understanding of republican government, served as the leader. During the debate, the soft-spoken Madison proposed an amendment to Article 16, dealing with religion. Madison objected to the original wording of the article because he opposed the concept of "toleration" as described by Locke. He challenged Locke's idea that toleration can exist only where a civil establishment of religion occurs. Madison, like Jefferson, viewed religion as a private affair and of no concern of the government.³⁰ Therefore, by eliminating the word "toleration" from the declaration, Madison crucially altered the understanding of liberty of conscience. Instead of merely representing a privilege conferred on others by a tolerant elite, liberty of conscience moved to the realm of a substantive, natural right available to all men equally. In what George Bancroft labeled "the first

achievement of the wisest civilian in Virginia," James Madison initiated his quest to liberate the human mind.³¹

Some of Madison's actions, however, were premature. The American public had to be introduced slowly to the liberty proposed by Madison and Jefferson. Madison's first suggested amendment to Article 16 called for disestablishment of the Anglican Church. Although hostility to an established church was growing, especially in the Scot-Irish portions of Virginia, advocates of establishment such as Robert C. Nicholas and Edmund Pendleton remained strong. Therefore, Madison submitted his second proposal which the conservative Pendleton endorsed and offered to the Committee of the Whole.³² Madison satisfied himself with his triumphant victory over toleration and waited for popular opposition toward establishment to build.

By the fall of 1776, petitions calling for an end to religious establishment in Virginia had been received in Williamsburg. Madison was appointed to the Committee on Religion and observed as Thomas Jefferson led proposals to end establishment. Pendleton, Nicholas, and Carter Braxton, also members of the Committee, utilized delaying tactics to maintain establishment.³³ Thus, although statutory religious laws were eliminated by October 1779, common laws remained.³⁴ The shy and inexperienced Madison did not engage actively in the struggle. Instead, he watched as Jefferson attempted to initiate social reforms that would imprint the spirit of the revolution on Virginia society.³⁵

Religious freedom was of growing concern to Jefferson at this time. In 1779 he wrote and presented a Bill for Religious Freedom to the Virginia Assembly. At this early stage, however, the bill went down in defeat. During Jefferson's service in Europe, Madison would resurrect this bill and in 1786 finally secure its passage. By 1787, Americans would plunge toward the culmination of the revolution and create a republic founded on civil liberties.

As stated earlier, Jefferson left few personal records of his early views regarding religion. His 1781 commentary on tolerance, as espoused in Notes on the State of Virginia, provides a crucial insight into Jefferson's beliefs concerning religious and civil liberties. In Query XVII, Jefferson gives "a summary view of that religious slavery under which a people have been willing to remain, who have lavished their lives and fortunes for the establishment of the civil freedom."³⁶

Jefferson proclaimed that rulers only hold authority over natural rights if the people submit these rights to the government. Because rights of conscience are impossible to submit and are answerable only to God, government has no authority over religion.³⁷ Religious establishment, he fervently believed, violates natural rights and erroneously restricts freedom of conscience. Since "reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error,"³⁸ the enlightened Jefferson calls for a government that will allow these vital features without directly supporting particular beliefs. Jefferson wrote, "It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself....Free inquiry must be indulged."³⁹ Free inquiry in religious matters links logically with free inquiry in all questions relating to government. Therefore, rights of conscience must extend beyond religion into the realm of civil liberties.

James Madison's beliefs concerning the connection between religious and civil liberties clearly defined his support of republican government. Madison's main argument centered around his belief in absolute free

conscience. This belief logically extended to his support of the necessary protection of the rights of the minority. The Orange County native trumpeted the call for disestablishment in Virginia and linked this idea to civil liberties. This crucial link provided Madison and his colleagues with the impetus and power to create a republican government in 1787.

Like Jefferson, Madison viewed freedom of conscience as the ultimate protection of liberty in America. Religious affairs in Virginia during the 1770s, however, offered him little hope. Writing to William Bradford in January, 1774, Madison stated he had "nothing to brag of as to the state and liberty of my country." In addition to "pride, ignorance, and knavery among the priesthood," he reported "that diabolical, hell-conceived principle of persecution rages." Madison requested that Bradford "pray for liberty of conscience" to all.⁴⁰

Madison felt constrained by the limits he believed were placed on his freedom due to an established church. In April, 1774, Madison compared the state of liberty in Virginia to that in Bradford's Pennsylvania:

That liberal, catholic, and equitable way of thinking, as to the rights of conscience, which is one of the characteristics of a free people, and so strongly marks the people of your province, is but little known among the zealous adherents to our hierarchy... You are happy dwelling in a land where those inestimable privileges are fully enjoyed; and the public has long felt the good effects of this religious as well as civil liberty....I cannot help attributing those continual exertions of genius which appear among you to the inspiration of liberty....⁴¹

This passage reveals the foundation and thrust for Madison's argument regarding religious and civil liberties.

Although many contemporary Americans argued that religious establishments were necessary to the success of both Christianity and civil government, Madison suggested that the opposite was true. Proposing that "religious bondage shackles and debilitates the mind,"⁴² he sought to exempt religion from societal control.⁴³ If this were accomplished, the liberty he so envied in Bradford's Pennsylvania could occur in Virginia. By the mid-1780s, political and social events provided an atmosphere conducive to Madison's theory.

In 1784, Patrick Henry, backed by petitions from tidewater counties, proposed a tax in Virginia to support "teachers of the Christian religion." Madison was surprised and alarmed by the bill. Although the bill was generally permissive and did not demand citizens support religions of which they did not approve, Madison wrote to Jefferson labeling the idea "obnoxious on account of its dishonorable principle and dangerous tendency."⁴⁴ Speaking before the Virginia Assembly in November 1784, he attempted to refute Henry's argument that taxation would cure Virginia's "moral decay." More importantly, he explained that, if passed, the proposal would be in direct violation of every individual's natural right to freedom of conscience and would involve the state in decisions concerning orthodoxy and heresy entirely outside of its jurisdiction. This belief is also apparent in Madison's notes on the debate surrounding Henry's proposal.⁴⁵ Lacking votes, Madison acquiesced and agreed to support the incorporation of the Episcopal Church (later repealed) in order to postpone a final decision on the tax.⁴⁶ Madison had one year to organize opposition to the bill and secure the liberty of conscience he deemed vital to the success of the new nation.

Serving as minister plenipotentiary in France during this struggle, Jefferson left the responsibility for preserving religious and civil liberties in Madison's hands. Remaining in touch with Madison, in a December 8, 1784 letter Jefferson wryly suggested, "What we have to do I think is devoutly to pray for his [Patrick Henry's] death." Madison chose another route; he ingeniously removed Henry's presence in the Virginia legislature by engineering his election as governor.⁴⁷ With Patrick Henry engaged in the executive branch and approval to hold the formal reading of the taxation bill postponed until November 1785, Madison achieved a temporary victory. He now used the time to muster opposition to Henry's proposal and, at George Mason's suggestion, composed a remonstrance outlining arguments against the bill.⁴⁸

In his 1785 Memorial and Remonstrance, Madison outlined clearly and cogently the beliefs of those in opposition to the taxation bill. He asserted strongly that each individual's religion rested solely on the conviction and conscience of that individual. According to Madison, this right was unalienable and not only "a right towards men, [but] a duty towards the creator." He next reminded citizens of the lessons of the Revolution and warned that the establishment of Christianity in exclusion of other religions could lead to the establishment of one sect to the exclusion of other sects. Clearly, Madison believed once liberty was jeopardized it could be eliminated altogether.

Madison also sought support for his position by labeling the abuse of religious freedom "an offense against God, not against man." He continued by opposing the idea that establishment is required for the support of Christianity. Terming this belief "a contradiction to the Christian Religion itself," Madison explained how religion had prospered without governmental support. Furthermore, he argued that religious establishment, because it is not within the cognizance of civil government, is not necessary for the success of government. Madison concluded his Memorial and Remonstrance with a solemn warning: citizens of Virginia must unite and oppose legislative action to support the teaching of religion through taxation or expect to have future legislators usurp the power of the citizenry.⁴⁹

Combined with this dire prediction and the important points regarding natural rights and the bill's supposed opposition to Christian tenets, the message in Madison's Memorial and Remonstrance had a profound effect on Virginia citizens. Nicholas and Mason publicized the document and an increasing number of petitions opposing the bill poured into Williamsburg.⁵⁰ Combined with the large amount received previously, it appeared Virginia was ripe for sweeping change in its views on religious and civil liberty.

During the fall 1785 session of the Virginia Assembly, Madison introduced the revision laws that Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, and George Wythe had collectively presented to the House during the legislative session of May, 1779. Although individual bills from this work had been passed, the main body of revision laws had been ignored. Bill number 82 concerned religious freedom.⁵¹

Initially, the revision of Virginia's laws was accepted with much enthusiasm. In early December, however, opposition began to mount and Madison began to fear the legislative session would end before all of the bills could be addressed. Therefore, he abandoned an orderly consideration of each revision and on December 14 presented the religious liberty bill to the House.⁵² In only four days,

the twenty-six year old Madison demolished the supporters of assessment; Jefferson's bill passed the House with a majority of 74 to 20.

During debate in the Committee of the Whole, some legislators suggested amendments to the bill. A delegate proposed that the "holy author" referred to in the preamble be identified specifically as "Jesus Christ." The motion was defeated easily. In his *Autobiography*, Jefferson celebrated this victory and exclaimed, "a single proposition provided that its [the Virginia Statute's] protection of opinion was meant to be universal."⁵³ Madison also rejoiced at the amendment's defeat, because the amendment was designed "to imply a restriction of liberty defined by the Bill...." Although recent scholarship reduces the possible significance of the amendment and concludes that the lapse of time between its rejection and Madison and Jefferson's remarks may obscure the actual intention of the amendment's supporters, the arguments of both men remain important.⁵⁴ Madison and Jefferson's comments once again draw attention to their concern with absolute liberty of conscience.

Before the bill's passage, the opposition tried to remove Jefferson's preamble and insert Article 16 of the Declaration of Rights. This attempt plus an effort to utilize delaying tactics failed. Upon passage in the House, the bill moved to the Senate.

The Senate, which was composed of a more aristocratic establishment-oriented membership, passed an amendment to the bill.⁵⁵ This amendment, like the one of the defeated proposals of the House, called for the deletion of the preamble and substitution of Article 16 of the Declaration of Rights. A second amendment, which would have eliminated Jefferson's assertion that although the current legislature lacked authority for the future enforcement of the bill, its protection by the "natural rights of mankind" would prevent violation, failed. Thus, the House and Senate were left with the task of debating the preamble.⁵⁶

The House promptly reaffirmed its commitment to Jefferson's preamble. The Senate refused to accept the preamble and suggested a "free conference" of representatives from both legislatures. Madison served on this committee and accepted several compromises. Two of these were minor and involved a mere alteration in sentence tone. A third amendment, however, eliminated a key tenet of the bill. This amendment called for the elimination of the statement, "the religious opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction" from the preamble. Due to time constraints, Madison allowed this alteration. In January, 1786 Thomas Jefferson's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom became law.⁵⁷

Madison and Jefferson triumphed in their quest to secure liberty of conscience for every individual. Now Madison launched his mission to extend the liberty of conscience found in religion to the realm of civil liberties.

Because religious freedom was of primary importance to Madison, he linked the concept to civil liberties. Therefore, his arguments for the one lead to and enhance the arguments for the other. The best examples of this correlation can be found in Madison's attempts to secure ratification of the Constitution.

The Constitution represented the culmination of the radical ideology of the American Revolution. During the revolutionary period, Americans severed their ties to the past and transformed their political system. As the revolution progressed, its ideals presented Americans with an opportunity to test new ideas and redefine the functions of

traditional societal institutions. As a result, people questioned and redefined the role of religion.⁵⁸ Madison utilized the momentum stemming from religious revisions in Virginia and redirected this energy toward the support for republican government.

The petitioners in the October 24, 1776 Memorial of the Presbytery of Hanover recognized the correlation between religious and civil liberties. They wrote, "Certain it is, that every argument for civil liberty, gains additional strength when applied to liberty in the concerns of religion...."⁵⁹ Madison sought to use Virginia's newly acquired religious liberty to secure similar freedom of conscience in civil liberty.

To support his theory, Madison asserted constantly that freedom of religion enhanced the intrinsic value of religion and at the same time contributed to the common weal. He believed adamantly that separation of church and state protected the church from the corrupting influence of civil authority. Madison also recognized that the habits and attitudes propagated by churches led to the improvement of republican government.⁶⁰ This was only possible, however, due to the variety of religions that were allowed to coexist in America. To Madison, competing factions permitted the protection of liberty.⁶¹ With this argument, Madison extended his support for religious freedom to a defense of the Constitution. In Federalist 10, Madison argued:

The latent causes of faction are thus sown into the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion...[exists].⁶²

Madison saw danger in the development of factions and argued that only through an extended republic could "the greater variety of parties and interests" be given careful consideration.⁶³ He continued:

A religious sect may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it must secure the national councils against any danger from that source.⁶⁴

The variety of religious sects that were allowed to exist in Virginia provided an example for the dispersion of power Madison supported. Instead of concentrating all power in one established sect (or faction), the Virginia Statute allowed various factions to develop and therefore secure religious liberty as each sect worked to check the actions of the other. Madison developed this idea further in Federalist 51.

In the 51st Federalist, Madison called for a limited government and an extended republic. Directly comparing religious freedom and civil liberties Madison wrote:

In a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights. It consists in the one case in the multiplicity of interests and in the other in the multiplicity of sects. The degree of security in both cases will depend on the number of interests and sects; and this may be presumed to depend on the extent of country and number of people comprehended under the same government.⁶⁵

The correlation between a "multiplicity of interests" and a "multiplicity of sects" suggests a logical and direct relationship in Madison's mind between civil liberties and religious freedom. Therefore, with the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, Madison moved the American public

one step closer to his and Jefferson's vision of complete freedom of conscience.

Madison and Jefferson's ultimate victory with freedom of conscience occurred in December 1791 with the passage of the Bill of Rights. It was significant that the freedom of religion, which provided the impetus for Madison and Jefferson's movement, was achieved in correlation with other civil liberties. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson's early efforts to establish freedom of conscience through religion in Virginia culminated in the creation of a republican government founded on the principle of freedom of conscience through civil liberties. The development had been slow, but Jefferson and Madison's articulation of liberty of conscience, coupled with pragmatic behind the scenes politics, secured religious and civil freedom in Virginia and ultimately the nation.

¹Gordon S. Wood, The Radicalism of the American Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 5.

²Thomas E. Buckley, Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), 1.

³Thomas Jefferson to James Madison 16 December 1786, Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 12 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954), 10:603-604.

⁴James Madison to Thomas Jefferson 22 January 1786, Robert A. Rutland and William M.E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison, 17 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 8:474.

⁵Andrienne Koch, Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), 294.

⁶Dickenson W. Adams, ed., Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 4.

⁷Adams, Jefferson's Extracts, 5.

⁸Adams, Jefferson's Extracts, 9.

⁹Thomas Jefferson to Mrs. M. Harrison Smith 6 August 1816, H.A. Washington, ed., The Works of Thomas Jefferson, vols. (New York: Townsend Mac Coun., 1884), 7:28.

¹⁰Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Priestly 9 April 1803, Washington The Works of Thomas Jefferson, 4:476.

¹¹Koch, Jefferson and Madison: the Great Collaboration, 181.

¹²Ralph L. Ketcham, "James Madison and Religion: A New Hypothesis," in James Madison on Religious Liberty, ed. Robert S. Alley (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1985), 175.

¹³Ketcham, "James Madison," 177.

¹⁴Irving Brant, James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), 68-70.

¹⁵Ketcham, "James Madison," 179-180.

¹⁶Ketcham, "James Madison," 179.

¹⁷Brant, James Madison, 131.

¹⁸Wood, The Radicalism, 112.

¹⁹Wood, The Radicalism, 112.

²⁰Thomas Jefferson to Members of the Baltimore Baptist Association 17 October 1808, Washington, The Works of Thomas Jefferson, 7:28.

²¹Wood, The Radicalism, 158.

²²Wood, The Radicalism, 332.

²³Wood, The Radicalism, 158.

²⁴Thomas Jefferson to Mrs. M. Harrison Smith 6 August 1816, Washington, The Works of Thomas Jefferson, 7:28.

²⁵Wood, The Radicalism, 158.

²⁶James Madison to William Bradford 24 January 1774, William T. Hutchinson and William M.E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison, 17 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 1:105.

²⁷Roy P. Fairfield, ed., The Federalist Papers (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1981), 158-163.

- ²⁸Buckley, Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787.
6. ²⁹Ralph Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), 71.
- ³⁰Brant, James Madison, 243.
- ³¹Quoted in Ketchum, James Madison: A Biography, 73.
- ³²Brant, James Madison, 246-247.
- ³³Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography, 76.
- ³⁴Adrienne Koch and William Peden, eds., The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson (New York: Random House, Inc., 1944), 274.
- ³⁵Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography, 76.
- ³⁶Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," in The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Random House, 1993), 274.
- ³⁷Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," 275.
- ³⁸Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," 275.
- ³⁹Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," 275.
- ⁴⁰James Madison to William Bradford 24 January 1774, William T. Hutchinson and William M.E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison, 1: 106.
- ⁴¹James Madison to William Bradford 1 April 1774, William T. Hutchinson and William M.E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison, 1: 112.
- ⁴²Madison, The Papers, 1:112.
- ⁴³Koch, Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration, 28-29.
- ⁴⁴Quoted in Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography, 162.
- ⁴⁵Printed in Alley, James Madison on Religious Liberty, 54-55.
- ⁴⁶Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography, 163.
- ⁴⁷Marvin K. Singleton, "Colonial Virginia as First Amendment Matrix: Henry, Madison, and Assessment Establishment," in James Madison on Religious Liberty, 164.
- ⁴⁸Singleton, "Colonial Virginia," 165.
- ⁴⁹James Madison, "To the Honorable Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia: A Memorial and Remonstrance," in James Madison on Religious Liberty, ed. Robert S. Alley (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1985), 55-60.
- ⁵⁰Buckley, Church and State, 145.
- ⁵¹Buckley, Church and State, 155-156.
- ⁵²Buckley, Church and State, 156-157.
- ⁵³Koch and Peden, eds., The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 47.
- ⁵⁴Buckley, Church and State, 158.
- ⁵⁵Buckley, Church and State, 161.
- ⁵⁶Buckley, Church and State, 162.
- ⁵⁷Buckley, Church and State, 162-163.
- ⁵⁸Buckley, Church and State, 5.
- ⁵⁹"Memorial of the Presbytery of Hanover," in Documents of American History, ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 125.
- ⁶⁰Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography, 167.
- ⁶¹Ketcham, James Madison: A Biography, 166.
- ⁶²Fairfield, The Federalist Papers, 18.
- ⁶³Fairfield, The Federalist Papers, 22.
- ⁶⁴Fairfield, The Federalist Papers, 23.
- ⁶⁵Fairfield, The Federalist Papers, 162.