

Featuring:  
Phi Kappa Phi  
Member Focus

- New Web Site Launched •
- Chapter News •
- Member News •
- Bookshelf •

## Summer 2006 Founders

**Why Write the History of Ordinary People?**

*Alfred F. Young*

**"It Was I Who Did It": Women's  
Role in the Founding of the Nation**

*Carol Berkin*

**The American Revolution in Red and Black**

*Gary B. Nash*

**Yankees with "Staves and Musick":  
The First American Revolution**

*Ray Raphael*

**The Middling Sort in the American Revolution**

*Gordon S. Wood*

**The United States in Congress Assembled**

*Jack N. Rakove*

**The Constitutional Convention of 1787:  
A Revolution in Government**

*Richard R. Beeman*

**An "Excess of Democracy" — Or a Shortage?  
The Crisis that Led to the Constitution**

*Woody Holton*

**"Take This or Nothing"**

*Pauline Maier*



Phi Kappa Phi Forum has won three APEX awards for Publication Excellence and a Magnum Opus Silver Award for Best Series of Articles.

# Phi Kappa Phi FORUM

## Phi Kappa Phi Forum Staff

Guest Editor:

**RAY RAPHAEL**

Editor:

**JAMES P. KAETZ**

Associate Editors:

**STEPHANIE BOND SMITH**

**LAURA J. KLOBERG**

Book Review Editor

**NEIL LUEBKE**

Marketing and Member Benefits Director:

**TRACI NAVARRE**

Interns:

**XIANGRONG LIU**

**LISA MAZZONE**

### Phi Kappa Phi Forum Mission Statement

The purpose of the *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* is to enhance the image of the Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi and promote the pursuit of academic excellence in all fields through a quality, intellectually stimulating publication for its membership.

The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the staff of *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* or the Board of Directors of The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi.

*Phi Kappa Phi Forum* is indexed in *PAIS Bulletin*, *Current Index to Journals in Education*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Book Review Index*, *Management Contents*, *America: History and Life*, *SIRS*, and *Magazine Index*. It is also available on microfiche from University Microfilms International and Bell & Howell Micro Photo Division and in print from UMI Article Clearinghouse, Ann Arbor, MI. **Reprint Permission:** Written permission to reprint articles may be obtained by mail or FAX to the following: Permissions Department, *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, 108 M. White Smith Hall, Mell Street, Auburn University, AL 36849-5306; FAX: 334/844-5994. Copying for other than personal or internal reference use without permission of *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* is prohibited.

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi was founded in 1897 and became a national organization through the efforts of the presidents of three state universities. Its primary objective has been from the first the recognition and encouragement of superior scholarship in all fields of study. Good character is an essential supporting attribute for those elected to membership. The motto of the Society is *philosophia krateitō phōtōn*, which is freely translated as "Let the love of learning rule humanity."



Phi Kappa Phi encourages and recognizes academic excellence through several programs. Through its awards and grants programs, the Society each triennium distributes more than \$1,700,000 to deserving students and faculty to promote academic excellence and service to others. These programs include its flagship Fellowship program for students entering their first year of graduate study, Study Abroad grants for undergraduates, and Literacy Initiative service grants. For more information about how to contribute to the Phi Kappa Phi Foundation and support these programs, please write Perry A. Snyder, PhD, Executive Director, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893 or go to the Phi Kappa Phi Web page at [www.PhiKappaPhi.org](http://www.PhiKappaPhi.org).

*Phi Kappa Phi Forum* (ISSN 1538-5914) is published quarterly by The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893. Printed at R.R. Donnelley, 1600 N. Main, Pontiac, IL 61764. ©The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, 2006. All rights reserved. Nonmember subscriptions \$25.00 per year. Single copies \$8.50 each. Periodicals postage paid at Baton Rouge, LA and additional mailing offices. Material intended for publication should be addressed to James P. Kaetz, Editor, *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, 108 M. White Smith Hall, Mell Street, Auburn University, AL 36849-5306.

### The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi Mission Statement:

*Recognizing and Promoting Academic Excellence  
in All Fields of Higher Education  
and Engaging the Community of Scholars  
in Service to Others*

### POSTMASTER:

Send address changes to:

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi  
Box 16000  
Louisiana State University  
Baton Rouge, LA 70893

## Board of Directors

**Paul J. Ferlazzo, PhD**

*National President*

Northern Arizona University  
Dept. of English, Box 6032  
Flagstaff, AZ 86011

**Robert B. Rogow, CPA, PhD**

*National President-Elect*

Eastern Kentucky University  
College of Business and Technology  
317 Combs Building  
Richmond, KY 40475

**Donna Clark Schubert**

*National Vice President*

Troy University  
101-C Wallace Hall  
Troy, AL 36082

**Wendell H. McKenzie, PhD**

*Past President*

Dept. of Genetics  
Box 7614 NC State University  
Raleigh, NC 27695

**Gilbert L. Fowler, PhD**

*Vice President, South Central Region*

Arkansas State University Honors  
College  
P.O. Box 2889  
State University, AR 72467-2889

**Ronald E. Johnson, PhD**

*Vice President,*

*Northeastern Region*

Old Dominion University  
Dept. of Ocean, Earth &  
Atmos. Sciences  
Norfolk, VA 23529

**Sandra W. Holt, PhD**

*Vice President,*

*Southeastern Region*

Tennessee State University  
3500 John Merritt Blvd., Box 9545  
Nashville, TN 37209-1561

**Terry Mathias, PhD**

*Vice President,*

*North Central Region*

130 Sasamac Road  
Carbondale, IL 62901

**Penny L. Wright, PhD**

*Vice President,*

*Western Region*

13844 Avenida de la Luna  
Jamul, CA 91935

**Nancy H. Blattner, PhD**

*Regent*

Fontbonne University  
6800 Wydown Blvd.  
St. Louis, MO 63105

**Marya M. Free, PhD**

*Director of Fellowships*

185 Oakland Way  
Athens, GA 30606

**Perry A. Snyder, PhD**

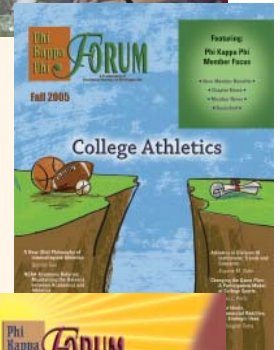
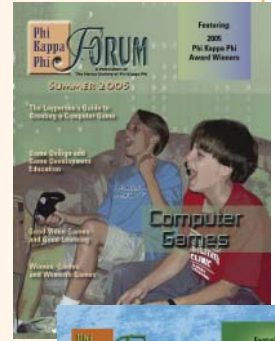
*Executive Director*

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi  
P.O. Box 16000 — LSU  
Baton Rouge, LA 70893

# Back Issues\*

Number of Copies

Fall 2001	Teachers Teaching	_____
Winter 2002	Crime and Punishment	_____
Spring 2002	Terrorism	_____
Summer 2002	Food & Culture	_____
Fall 2002	Big Space/Little Space	_____
Winter 2003	Cancer Research	_____
Spring 2003	Professional Ethics	_____
Summer 2003	Architecture	_____
Fall 2003	Globalization	_____
Winter 2004	Is Democracy in Danger?	_____
Spring 2004	Literacy	_____
Summer 2004	Sequential Art: The Comics	_____
Fall 2004	Professors Professing: Higher Education Speaks Out	_____
Winter/Spring 2005	The Human Brain	_____
Summer 2005	Computer Games	_____
Fall 2005	College Athletics	_____
Winter/Spring 2006	Is the Sky Falling?	_____
Summer 2006	Founders	_____



Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of back issues of *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* checked above at \$8.50 each for nonmembers and \$2.75 each for members.\*\*

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Please enter my nonmember subscription to *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* at \$25.00 per year.\*\*\*

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL AMOUNT:

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

**Check, money order, or purchase order only.** Please make checks payable to *PHI KAPPA PHI FORUM* and return to: Subscriptions, *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893.

\* Call 1-800-804-9880 to order available back issues.

\*\* Ten or more copies of the same issue are available for \$5.00 each for nonmembers and \$1.65 each for members.

\*\*\* Members of Phi Kappa Phi receive *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* as a benefit of membership. To renew your membership, please contact The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi at the above address or go to [PhiKappaPhi.org](http://PhiKappaPhi.org) to renew online.

## ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

### NOTE TO PHI KAPPA PHI MEMBERS AND NONMEMBER SUBSCRIBERS

Please check the space below for "MEMBER" or "NONMEMBER SUBSCRIBER" and list your old address, current address, and I.D. number (if you are a member). On your mailing label, your member I.D. number is the first multi-digit number from the left immediately above your name. Then return this form to:

**The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi  
Box 16000, Louisiana State University  
Baton Rouge, LA 70893**

JOURNALS THAT ARE NOT DELIVERED BECAUSE OF FAILURE TO NOTIFY THE SOCIETY HEADQUARTERS OFFICE OF A CHANGE OF ADDRESS CANNOT BE REPLACED FREE OF CHARGE.

### Change of Address Form

Please check one: \_\_\_\_\_ MEMBER \_\_\_\_\_ NONMEMBER SUBSCRIBER

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ I.D. Number (members only): \_\_\_\_\_

Old Address: \_\_\_\_\_ New Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



ISSN 1538-5914

---

## Regular Features

- 2 **President's Page**  
Paul J. Ferlazzo
- 3 **Forum on Education & Academics**  
Jennifer M. Stolpa Flatt
- 4 **Forum on Business & Economics**  
Anthony J. Dukes
- 6 **Forum on Science & Technology**  
Evelyn Tiffany-Castiglioni
- 8 **Forum on the Arts**  
Heidi Tolles Motzkus
- 10 **A Note from the Guest Editor**
- 53 **Letters to the Editor**



THE HONOR SOCIETY OF  
**PHI KAPPA PHI**

---

## Member Focus

- 54 **Phi Kappa Phi Launches New Web Site**
- 55 **Phi Kappa Phi Chapter News**
- 58 **Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf**
- 59 **Financial Front**
- 60 **Member News**
- 63 **In Memoriam**
- 64 **Phi Kappa Phi Merchandise**

---

## Articles

- 11 **Why Write the History of Ordinary People?**  
*Alfred F. Young*
- 15 **"It Was I Who Did It": Women's Role in the Founding of the Nation**  
*Carol Berkin*
- 19 **The American Revolution in Red and Black**  
*Gary B. Nash*
- 23 **Yankees with "Staves and Musick": The First American Revolution**  
*Ray Raphael*
- 27 **The Middling Sort in the American Revolution**  
*Gordon S. Wood*
- 31 **The United States in Congress Assembled**  
*Jack N. Rakove*
- 35 **The Constitutional Convention of 1787: A Revolution in Government**  
*Richard R. Beeman*
- 39 **An "Excess of Democracy" — Or a Shortage? The Crisis that Led to the Constitution**  
*Woody Holton*
- 45 **"Take This or Nothing"**  
*Pauline Maier*

---

## Book Reviews

- 49 **Lois Roma-Deeley's *northSight* reviewed by Peter Huggins**
- 49 **Roland Sarti's *Italy: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present* reviewed by V. Louise Katainen**
- 51 **Mary Lang's *How to Choose The Perfect School* reviewed by Terry Palardy**

---

## Poetry

- 44 **"Paintings" by Catherine McLaughlin**

# President's Page

**Paul J. Ferlazzo**

President of The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi



Approximately 2.3 million students are enrolled in distance-education programs across the United States. Many of these programs are professional-training or career-enhancement programs, and many of these students are not seeking a college degree. However, many other distance-learning students are enrolled in college courses and are seeking advanced degrees from accredited institutions of higher education. In fact, nearly every Phi Kappa Phi institution offers distance-education courses, and many offer entire programs and degrees to students who rarely attend classes on campus.

Distance-learning students enroll in classes, participate in lecture/discussion sessions, take exams, and submit reports, papers, and other class assignments to their instructors and to other students through a technological environment. Very commonly students receive their instruction and exchange class materials over the Web, but also via cable, satellite, or closed-circuit television, or through some combination of technologies. Students may participate in these courses from home or from a classroom located in a nearby high school, community center, or even from a naval ship halfway around the world. A great variety of locations may serve as a classroom as long as they are appropriately connected. Campus residency may not be required or may be required only in a very limited way.

Many faculty and administrators embrace this new method of delivering courses as a positive response to the changing needs of our students, the changing demographics of the student

population, and the increasing costs associated with new campus construction and maintenance. However, some faculty members are wary of the quality of the teaching/learning experience or are concerned about the loss of a face-to-face experience for their students. Nevertheless, growing numbers of students appear to value distance education for the relief that it offers from the financial burdens of travel and campus residency. It allows them to receive an education while maintaining necessary living and working arrangements that require them to remain away from a campus.

Distance education is a growing trend. Realistically speaking, it is not likely to completely replace the traditional classroom-learning environment, although some futurists have enjoyed making sweeping statements to that effect. But two facts cannot be ignored. First, our institutions are investing heavily in distance education through technology infrastructure and faculty-development programs. Second, increasing numbers of students consider it a viable option for them.

These facts prompt me to ask this question: What role should Phi Kappa Phi play in this rapidly expanding field of higher education? This question grows out of my concern that Phi Kappa Phi must remain responsive to change in higher education and relevant to the needs of our students and faculty. We must do these things while maintaining our ideals and high standards.

Therefore, early in my term as president I formed a committee chaired by our immediate past-president, Dr. Wendell McKenzie, and made up of Phi Kappa Phi members from around the country who had interest and expertise in distance education — Yaw A. Asamoah, Catherine Clark-Eich, Marylin Musacchio, and

Diane G. Smathers. I asked them to explore the issues and challenges that our chapter officers may face as distance-education students and faculty become a greater part of their campus environments.

What are the problems and complexities of which we should be aware? How can we become an effective force in support of high quality distance-education programs? What are the barriers to identifying candidates from the distance-education branch of our campuses who may be worthy of membership into Phi Kappa Phi?

I asked the committee to factor into their considerations available research and current best practices in the field of distance education. The committee has been discussing these and other questions in the context of our values and traditions as a premier honor society. At the moment committee members are preparing a document that I trust will improve our understanding of distance education and offer practical guidelines to our chapter leaders. The document must eventually be reviewed and approved by the Board of Directors. My expectation and hope are that the committee's work will prove beneficial to the future of Phi Kappa Phi. The document they produce will be made available for wide distribution to the membership beginning with our triennial Convention in Orlando scheduled for August 2007.



***Paul J. Ferlazzo, PhD, is a professor of English at Northern Arizona University. He can be reached at [paul.ferlazzo@nau.edu](mailto:paul.ferlazzo@nau.edu).***

# Forum on Education & Academics

Jennifer M. Stolpa Flatt



## Teacher Retention

I was walking back to my office one Friday in February after teaching my final composition class for the day. I could not help but feel completely discouraged. “Only half of the students had done the reading for today,” I thought to myself, “and where were Sam and Alex? They’ve both missed seven classes already this semester. I don’t know if they can catch up at all, and they’re both such good writers.”

“How should I have reacted when Lisa got upset over the C- she received on her last essay? She knows that she didn’t work at the revision at all, so I don’t understand what she expected. Oh, I don’t know if I can do this for another thirty years. I don’t know if I can handle this job for even another year! Why do I do this?”

I was cutting through the computer lab, head down, when I heard a student call out, “Have a good weekend!” Rachel and Liz both smiled at me, and I wished them the same. “They both added so much to the discussion this afternoon. Thank goodness they were there to help everyone understand the reading better. They always come prepared.” I smiled. “I guess there’s my answer. Students such as Rachel and Liz are why I’ll come back energized on Monday.”

Financially speaking, it was definitely to my benefit that I ran into those two students on my way back to my office rather than going to the dean to hand in a resignation letter. Those two students’ very presence shifted the direction of my thoughts. They reminded me that for every student who tries my patience, at least one responds to my efforts and preparation with his or her own astounding level of dedication and preparation for our class meetings.

Unfortunately, not every teacher happens to run into this type of student at such a key moment. Granted,

I probably would not have quit that day anyway. I have a great support network of fellow teachers, including family members, who understand what a bad day is like in education and who can help pick me up — who remind me of the delicate balance I must maintain between optimism and realism.

That balance is essential for my sanity, and yet it is an incredible challenge and an emotional drain to maintain it. On one side, I must continue to believe that students who enroll in my classes want to learn, to succeed, to better their skills, and to grow as people. If I lose my optimism about their ability to change, grow, and improve, I give up on them in the same way that some of them have already given up on themselves.

However, my optimism must be tempered with a healthy dose of realism: I cannot reach every student.

For most teachers, I think that those are the hardest words to say. It is difficult to acknowledge that some individuals who cross our paths are not yet ready to hear what we have to say, not yet ready to learn what we have to share with them, not yet ready to grow or to accept their own ability to grow.

Many people who choose teaching as a career do so because they want to make a difference. They want to change the world. Yet the realities of day-to-day life in the classroom threaten that idealism. If we, as teachers, hope to remain dedicated and effective, if we strive to maintain some of that idealism, we cannot allow ourselves to believe that our students’ failures are our own.

My friend Bethany recently spent some time as a substitute teacher in a high school. It was her first teaching experience. Listening to her talk about

the daily challenges that she faced, I realized once again how universal the struggles are of not just first-year teachers, but all of us. Bethany mentioned that she found herself thinking of particular students hours after school ended and wondering why they were acting out in class, how to reach someone after he came off in-school suspension, or what activities might help settle down a difficult group.

“Did I do enough? What if I had approached that student differently? Would I have been able to reach her or save him from failing?” These are the questions that haunt us.

Indeed, for thousands of teachers, the balance between idealism and realism has apparently been upset. At the end of the 1999–2000 school year, 287,370 teachers left the profession (*No Dream Denied*, National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future, [http://documents.nctaf.achieve3000.com/summary\\_report.pdf](http://documents.nctaf.achieve3000.com/summary_report.pdf)). This number does not include retirees or transfers to another school district and is typical of preceding and subsequent years. Thus, in geographical areas where some may cite a teacher shortage, the greatest problem may not be a shortage of qualified educators, but the *retention* of qualified educators.

Who is leaving? Using data from surveys conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics, Robert M. Ingersoll and Thomas M. Smith argue that “after just five years, between 40 and 50 percent of all beginning teachers have left the profession.” (This information can be found in several works by Ingersoll, including an article he co-authored with Smith in *Educational Leadership* from May 2003 entitled “The Wrong Solution to the Teacher Shortage.”)

The numbers can be broken down in this way: with an average of 180

(continued on page 5)

# Business & Economics

Anthony J. Dukas

## Tailor-Made Prices

Booking online for a seat on a Scandinavian Airlines (SAS) flight from Copenhagen to Madrid last summer cost around \$165 — if you lived in the United States. If you lived in Denmark, however, you would have paid \$436! In other words, a Dane paid almost three times as much as an American for the same European flight. This price was not a one-time special offer for Americans. Rather, SAS's online booking system, until recently, quoted different prices depending on the country of residence entered when you logged on. When consumer-advocacy groups in Denmark demanded an explanation, SAS management claimed that a software glitch was to blame.

Software defect or not, SAS's online booking system was perfectly consistent with a basic tenet in marketing known as "segmented pricing." To illustrate the notion behind segmented pricing, consider the different circumstances between an American and a Dane booking this flight. For the American, this flight is likely part of a European vacation route, while for the Dane, it may well be a routine flight for a business or work-related meeting. Vacationers have flexibility for travel dates and destinations, while business travelers are subject to fixed meeting or conference dates. Flexibility allows the vacationer to be more sensitive to the price of a flight than the business traveler. The distinction in price sensitivity may be further exaggerated because business travelers often are reimbursed by their employer, rather than paying directly out of pocket as vacationers do. The implication is that, on average, a Dane values a flight out of Copenhagen more than an American does. For SAS, identifying this difference in value — and pricing accordingly — is more profitable than setting a single price for both types of customers. Segmented

pricing is thus identifying segments of consumers with different purchasing characteristics and setting segment-specific prices. It is no different from the notion of price discrimination taught in Economics 101.

This pricing strategy is nothing new for airlines, and the story above also explains the now classic "Saturday-night stay over" criterion that airlines require to get a lower fare. Business travelers are less inclined to stay away from home over the weekend than a vacationer is.

Airlines have always been the best in the business at this marketing tactic because the time, date, and flight route reveal a lot about the price that a traveler is willing to pay. However, through the growth of Internet technology and improved customer databases, many other types of firms can practice segmented pricing as well as the airlines do. Take a recent example of e-commerce giant Amazon.com's use of Internet browser cookies to determine the shopping attitudes of its customers. (Amazon.com has since abandoned this practice.) If you regularly visited and purchased from Amazon.com, cookies dropped on your computer indicated that you were a loyal buyer. Upon your next purchase, you would be quoted a higher price than a shopper whose computer did not possess the "loyalty cookie."

This practice is indeed upsetting for customers who feel that their loyalty should be rewarded, not exploited. You might recall, for instance, the days when you received a calendar, pen, or desk caddy at Christmas from your insurance agent thanking you for being a long-term client. But the agent's cost of providing these rewards is easily covered by the exorbitant premiums you pay as a long-term policy holder. Insurance agents love "loyals"

because they know a loyal, by definition, is not shopping around. (Try the following. Get an online quote for car insurance from a discount insurer, take it to your traditional agent, and then see the "reductions" to which you are suddenly entitled.)

Necessary for segmented pricing is the ability to identify the customer's purchasing attributes. Showing a student ID, for example, tells the theater owner that the customer is perhaps more cash-strapped than a fully employed adult patron. Readers reveal their enthusiasm for a particular author by paying the high cost of a hardcover version of a book rather than waiting for the cheaper paperback edition. Price-sensitive grocery shoppers hunt for and use coupons, leaving the hurried shopper with a higher price. And an experienced car salesman knows to ask showroom visitors their professions to gauge their ability to pay.

This information all suggests that in some situations customers might want to hide or modify their identity to get a better deal. For example, clerks at some hotels are trained to give room rates depending on whether you call for a rate or visit the lobby looking for a room. "Walk-ins" need a room immediately, while callers can simply hang up and call another hotel in hopes of paying a cheaper rate. Knowing this, the next evening that you are away from home and looking for lodging, try calling the hotel from across the street and securing a rate before walking in.

Setting different prices for the same product or service may seem unfair — especially if you are the one getting the higher price. Why should some people pay a higher price for the same room simply because they walked in, rather than phoned? When businesses use segmented pricing, they



understand that it may leave some customers upset and feeling unjustly treated. If customers become sufficiently annoyed, the bad image could harm a company more than the increased revenue that it gets from segmented pricing. Coca-Cola faced this issue several years ago when it introduced a vending machine that detected the outside-air temperature. A hot day meant a high value placed on a cold Coke, and the machine's computer chip accordingly modified the price. Consumers immediately caught wind of the plan, and newspapers reported their outrage. Coca-Cola quickly abandoned its plans out of fear of damaging its trusted image.

Unfair or not, segmented pricing is practiced because it is profitable. Consumers who understand the principle, however, have counter-strategies and should not be afraid to use them. If you are quoted a price for a custom service, ask the sales agent if it is the best he or she can do. (It may help to express shock when given the quote.) Indeed, the meek are less price-sensitive than the assertive. Admittedly, however, haggling over price can be uncomfortable in face-to-face situations. Nevertheless, for residents of Denmark purchasing flights on the Internet, there should be no shame in clicking on "United States" as the country of residence.



**Anthony J. Dukes is an associate professor at the School of Economics and Management, University of Aarhus in Denmark. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Pittsburgh and conducts research concerning the economics of advertising, marketing, and commercial media.**

(Teacher Retention continued from page 3)

school days in the 1999–2000 academic year, the equivalent of almost 1,600 teachers every day had a day like I did, said "I can't do this any more," and left the profession.

Given the amount of education and preparation that these individuals undertook before beginning their careers, it is unlikely that they made the decision to leave on a whim. Such a decision must result from a number of complicated factors. Granted, some may leave for personal reasons, and a certain number simply may discover that teaching is not the best profession for them. However, those reasons do not account for such a high turnover rate among educators, particularly among those new to the field.

Those teachers who quit the profession usually cite as their reason not just pay issues, but also low administrative support, problems with student discipline, low student motivation, and a lack of teacher input in school decisions (*No Dream Denied*). These cited reasons suggest that we need to create a better support network for our educators.

One possible source of such support is professional mentoring programs, used by many school districts across the country already. However, to be the most effective, mentoring programs require training for the mentors. Experienced teachers and

administrators need guidance, support, and release time if they are to truly help new teachers. Mentoring cannot be simply handing off lesson plans to a newcomer to the classroom, but instead must be a carefully developed relationship that helps new teachers to understand how to maintain their optimism while confronting the daily realities of teaching. Furthermore, experienced teachers also need a qualified group to act as a support system; experience does not make all problems in the classroom disappear.

One key to retaining qualified teachers is to assist them in the daily battle between optimism and realism, to remind them not to take home every student failure and not to forget every student success. That way they can come back the next day with the energy to believe once again in the possibilities for all students, to try once again to make a difference.



**Jennifer M. Stolpa Flatt is an associate professor of English at the University of Wisconsin-Marquette, where she also teaches Spanish. She can be reached at [jflatt@uwc.edu](mailto:jflatt@uwc.edu).**

## Appreciations

A big thanks and farewell to the second half of our current *Forum* columnists: Jennifer Stolpa Flatt, Anthony J. Dukes, Evelyn Tiffany-Castiglioni, and Heidi Tolles Motzkus. We greatly appreciate your fine efforts these past three years.

And thank you to Xiangrong Liu and Lisa Mazzone, our two professional writing practicum students this past spring semester. Their help was greatly appreciated.

## The World in a Culture Dish

[For this column, which is my last, Phi Kappa Phi correspondent Ethel Cetera interviewed Dr. Olivia Pate, a professor of anatomy and neuroscience. — ET-C]

**ETC:** Dr. Pate, a lot of discussion has taken place in the press about in vitro biology, such as in vitro fertilization and in vitro testing to reduce or replace testing in animals. Could you please tell us about this? To begin with, what does “in vitro” mean?

**Dr. P:** In vitro is Latin for “in glass.” It refers to experiments or techniques done in an artificial environment outside of the living organism or cell. Experiments done in a whole organism, such as a mouse, are called “in vivo” experiments.

**ETC:** What types of in vitro systems are commonly used in your field, neuroscience? It would seem difficult to study the brain outside of the living organism.

**Dr. P:** Both dispersed cells and structurally intact tissues can be cultured from the brain, as well as from other organs. They are called, respectively, cell culture and tissue culture. My opinion is that the history of neuroscience has been punctuated by oracular disclosures from in vitro systems.

**ETC:** That is a rather bold claim, isn't it?

**Dr. P:** Not at all. The ancient Greeks consulted oracles to guide their decisions. They consulted the oracle at Delphi, for instance, before undertaking wars and founding new colonies. These oracular disclosures therefore decided the course of subsequent events.

**ETC:** But didn't the oracle at Delphi often mislead the listener? Croesus of Lydia followed its ambiguous advice and lost his empire.

**Dr. P:** I'll grant you that Delphi was not accurate; nevertheless, Hellenic culture was greatly influenced by oracles. My point is that some discoveries made with in vitro experimental systems have had the power of oracles. They have changed the course of neuroscience or significantly speeded it up. Also, it is worth emphasizing that science (unlike oracles) has a good record for accuracy.

**ETC:** Could you give me an example?

**Dr. P:** Surely. Let's go back a hundred years. Neuroscientists were trying to explain how neurons, the primary computational units in the nervous system, develop long extensions called axons to establish connections with other neurons. Santiago Ramón y Cajal proposed in 1890 that the immature neuronal cell body extends an axon that elongates freely. A competing hypothesis held that the axon formed from the fusion of elements produced by other cells and that it later joined the neuronal cell body. With the techniques of the time, it was impossible to answer this fundamental question. One could only look at dead tissues under the microscope, as Cajal did, and try to piece together their living activities.

**ETC:** How did an in vitro model answer this question?

**Dr. P:** Well, in 1907, Ross G. Harrison at Johns Hopkins University published a stunning paper that was the birth of tissue culture (*Anatomical Record* 1:116). He took a piece of living embryonic nervous tissue from a frog tadpole and observed it for several days under a microscope. He watched axons grow out from cell bodies, thus proving Cajal's hypothesis. This work has been hailed as “one of the most revolutionary results in experimental biology” by the

eminent neurobiologist Gordon Shepard.

**ETC:** You could call it a cultural revolution.

**Dr. P:** That was bad, but I'll let it pass. This work was revolutionary. It was a breakthrough that set neurobiology on the right track.

**ETC:** Well, what happened next?

**Dr. P:** Oddly enough, Harrison never used tissue culture again, though he went on to make many important contributions to embryology, the study of development. It was many years before scientists picked up on the value of cell and tissue culture for other experimental uses.

**ETC:** I guess you could say that during that time developmental biologists lacked culture.

**Dr. P:** How many more of those do you have?

**ETC:** How many of what?

**Dr. P:** Nerd puns.

**ETC:** Um, none.... Well, one.

**Dr. P:** I can hardly wait. To continue, however, on the value of tissue culture, I'll give you another example. Some fifty years after Harrison's work, three investigators discovered a protein that came to be called nerve growth factor. This work became the paradigm for the discovery of other growth factors. Growth factors help axons find their way to their targets during embryonic development. When we finally understand how axons are guided to their targets, it may be possible to cure spinal cord injuries, strokes, brain damage from trauma, and the like. It is the neuroscientist's dream. Imagine how immensely the quality of human life would improve. But I digress. Where was I?

**ETC:** You were going to explain how in vitro systems were key to the discovery of nerve growth factor.

**Dr. P:** Thank you. To continue, the three investigators, Rita Levi-Montalcini, Victor Hamburger, and Stanley Cohen, used a little aggregate of neurons cultured from chick embryo as a bioassay to detect the unknown and elusive nerve-growth factor. Levi-Montalcini and Cohen won the Nobel Prize for this work in 1986. Tellingly, Dr. Levi-Montalcini published her Nobel Laureate address in *In Vitro Cellular and Developmental Biology*, a journal dedicated to cell and tissue culture, rather than in a neuroscience journal.

**ETC:** You have made a strong case for the influence of in vitro systems in neuroscience. To broaden the topic a bit, may we return to my initial comment about in vitro testing to reduce or replace testing in animals? I know that there are both ethical and economic pressures to reduce the numbers of animals used for biomedical experimentation and testing. Can in vitro systems be used instead of animals?

**Dr. P:** Let me begin to answer that with a metaphor. I have been working on this metaphor for some time, so please attend closely.

**ETC:** Ready.

**Dr. P:** All right. I am going to show you two photos. What do you see?

**ETC:** The first seems to be a very large marching band on a football field. I take it the band is from your university?

**Dr. P:** Correct. And the second?

**ETC:** The second shows a grainy black-and-white image of three small boys playing clarinets.

**Dr. P:** Yes. The Aggie Marching Band is the whole animal, such as the whole rat or human. The three boys are cell culture. Suppose you were a musicologist required to write down accurately all the notes that each member of the band played and explain how the instrument produced its sound. That would be like a biologist trying to

study the functions of each different cell type in the body.

**ETC:** OK. So if you could isolate three clarinet players, you could study their playing more closely than if they were in the band. That makes sense. But why are they young boys instead of college students?

**Dr. P:** To illustrate that cells in culture tend to be immature. Older cells are much harder to culture. Also, the immature cells may not be as practiced or proficient as their older counterparts. Cells in culture are often of tumor origin and have lost some normal properties.

**ETC:** Another difference is that the three boys have no drum major conducting and no other instruments to help them come in at the right time in the music. I used to play glockenspiel in the band, you see.

**Dr. P:** Exactly. That astute observation makes up for one of your bad puns. In cell culture one loses important tissue context, such as interactions with other cells and control by hormones and the nervous system. Still, being able to study the clarinets in isolation has significant scientific value. One can directly observe them and see how they respond to experimental changes in the environment. Would certain environmental stimuli impair clarinet performance?

**ETC:** That brings us to toxicity testing. Is it useful and meaningful to study toxic substances in cell culture? Can culture predict which chemicals may be harmful to human health?

**Dr. P:** Cell cultures are not good predictors as yet. However, they are very useful for discovering underlying mechanisms of toxicity at the cellular level. This capacity should allow us to refine screening methods for identifying potential toxic substances, such as workplace chemicals, food contaminants, and the like. Tens of thousands of chemicals in the environment need to be tested for possible toxicity to the developing or aging nervous system. Testing them under current guidelines in animals is not feasible and some would argue not ethical.

**ETC:** So cell culture systems have the potential to identify chemicals that should undergo further testing, and, in so doing, reduce animal use?

**Dr. P:** Yes. Those are two of the goals. Effective in vitro screens also would increase the numbers of chemicals that could be screened. What we lack is a battery of common core endpoints that we can measure in cell cultures. These endpoints must accurately detect the neurotoxic chemicals without missing any of them and must detect subtle abnormalities in cell function, not just cell death. In a human, one can measure a host of diagnostic endpoints in an apparently healthy person to determine underlying illness. One example is blood pressure. We need analogous endpoints in cell cultures. We are still working independently in labs around the world, with no clear consensus on the best battery of tests to use.

**ETC:** I see. So you have no cultural norms?

**Dr. P:** I was waiting for that. Nerd pun number three. We have no standardized tests that can identify sublethal neurotoxic substances at exposure levels that are relevant to humans. We are working toward those. I am confident that very sensitive screening systems for cellular neurotoxicity will be devised soon.

**ETC:** You would indeed be a cultural hero if you found such a system.  
**Dr. Pate,** thank you very much for your time.

**Dr. P:** You are quite welcome.



**Evelyn Tiffany-Castiglioni, PhD, is associate dean for Undergraduate Education and head of the Department of Integrative Biosciences, College of Veterinary Medicine, Texas A&M University. She conducts research on the neurotoxicity of environmental contaminants. She recently edited *In Vitro Neurotoxicology: Principles and Challenges* (Humana Press, 2004).**



Heidi Tolles Motzkus

## The Stories We Tell: Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake*

French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) had a keen interest in the principles of ordering and categories. He examined documents of institutions from the late sixteenth century through the nineteenth century. Foucault took note of the ways in which institutions gave birth to new ways of thinking and how those ways of thinking worked themselves incrementally into ideology. For example, the notion of what conditions are “sick” and what conditions are “healthy” has changed throughout history. Among many other things, Foucault observed that homosexuality did not exist as a category until the nineteenth century. Each time new categories are created, our understanding of the world changes. The task of “naturalizing” these categories, making them seem normal or abnormal, falls to the dominant social group. The dominant social group ensures that the school curriculum, the bedtime stories, the mass media, and so on reflect its own ideology. Through repetition, these categories become the social norms. In other words, we are the stories that we tell.

British choreographer and director Matthew Bourne imagined a new story. Ten years after its first performance, Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* is touring North America once again, thrilling audiences with its vibrant energy, biting wit, and dramatic power. Originating in England, Matthew Bourne's production reimagines Tchaikovsky's story of the hunter who falls in love with a female swan. Tchaikovsky's inspiration for the story is unknown, but stories of women transforming into swans are told in many cultures, dating back hundreds of years.

A decade ago, Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* was viewed as controver-

sial, if not subversive, due in part to his decision to change the all-female corps de ballet that normally dances the roles of the swans, to an all-male corps. Bourne explains that, “By using men, you are wiping away all those mental pictures in the audience's mind and freeing up their imagination, ready to experience something new.” There are many “new” things in Bourne's ballet, including a love story that shifts to the love between a prince and a male swan.

This ballet emphasizes the strength and the sometimes violent nature of the swans. Bourne explains, “The idea of a male swan makes complete sense to me. The strength, the beauty, the enormous wingspan of these creatures suggest to me the musculature of a male dancer. . . .” Bourne's new version of the *Swan Lake* story differs from the original ballet, though the themes remain the same. This version is set somewhere between 1950 and the present and tells of a young English prince who is in conflict with himself. His mother, The Queen, is an unloving mother and is not attentive to The Prince's emotional needs. The Prince becomes enamored of a woman with behavioral characteristics that remind one of Sarah Ferguson, former Duchess of York (and there are many other royal-family references). They all attend a ballet, a side-splittingly funny send-up of traditional ballet, at which The Girlfriend behaves abominably, and The Queen is mortified. The Prince follows The Girlfriend to a seedy disco, rife with amusing references to the 1960s and 1970s. After a drunken brawl, the rejected and despairing Prince staggers out into the moonlit night. As he is about to drown himself in a lake, he meets a swan. That is, he meets The Swan and the flock of swans — all strong, bare-chested, beautiful, and sometimes

vicious. The Prince and The Swan dance an athletic and emotional duet, a physical expression of the dangers of forbidden love. The Prince's life has been changed. Something new in him has been awakened.

In the next act, The Queen holds a royal ball. Bourne has stated of his work, “I use humor for comic relief, but once the audience is relieved, I lead them into deeper, darker areas.” This act illustrates that method perfectly. After events at the ball that reflect the emotions of love, jealousy, and betrayal, The Prince is confined, sedated, and put into the care of doctors and nurses. He is considered ill. The lovers die. After their deaths, The Swan appears, cradling The Prince and taking him on a journey, leading to the bittersweet closing.

As stated before, we are the stories that we tell. Stories shape our cultural expectations and our perceptions about ourselves. The stories that we tell children firmly fix notions of “normal” into their consciousness. These stories routinely feature male-female romances, embedding in young minds the idea that romantic love can exist only in that configuration. For the last ten years, a different story has been told. In this *Swan Lake*, a young prince falls in love with a male swan. The image of the swan gently cradling the prince evokes the universal nature of the need to be loved. Bourne states, “The need to be held — it's so simple and so universal — and everyone can identify with it.” The men, women, and children who made up the capacity crowd at the Ahmanson Theatre certainly did. As this ballet and other new stories enter the cultural consciousness, we are able to easily imagine a world in which romantic love is not a category exclusively for couples composed of a man and a woman.

The audience at the Ahmanson in 2006 included children and every type of adult imaginable. Each person was standing and cheering at the curtain call. After ten years of telling, the story seems to be working its way into the cultural consciousness of a very wide audience.

Since the American premiere of Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* in Los Angeles, the city has had the privilege of seeing more of Bourne's work than any other American city. The Ahmanson Theatre audiences have seen his *Swan Lake*, *Cinderella*, *The Car Man*, *Nutcracker!*, and *Play Without Words*.

A distinctive feature of all these works is the narrative line. The plots of his ballets are clear and do not require extensive reading of program notes to comprehend. In fact, part of the audition process for Bourne's company, New Adventures, includes character improvisation to determine acting ability. His performers are dancers who can act or actors who can dance. This dual talent brings an added dimension to the dance aspects of Bourne's ballets, telling the story more directly to the audience, who may or may not be well versed in the language of dance.

Matthew Bourne can count among his many accomplishments two Tony Awards, five Olivier Awards, *The Evening Standard* Award, and an OBE. His latest production, *Edward Scissorhands*, is currently touring the United Kingdom.

Matthew Bourne seems to have achieved his goal of "creating a wider audience for dance." Perhaps more importantly, he has told a new story that challenges the old stories which we tell. And this, as happens throughout history, may bring a new understanding of the world.



**Heidi Tolles Motzkus is a PhD candidate in cultural studies at Claremont Graduate University. She teaches in Los Angeles and has held the positions of dramaturge and theatre critic.**



Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake*

Photos by Bill Cooper



#### Member Benefits

Check out the discounts and privileges you get from these Phi Kappa Phi strategic partners just for being an active member:

Dell Computers	Barnes&Noble.com
Enterprise Rent-A-Car	The Princeton Review
SunTrust Bank	Becker CPA Review
Liberty Mutual Insurance	WOMEN FOR HIRE Network

Just go to [PhiKappaPhi.org](http://PhiKappaPhi.org) and log on to the secure members-only site, then click on Member Benefits for the complete details.



# A Note from the Guest Editor



Ray Raphael

## We, the People

In Revolutionary days, when people objected to decisions made in official chambers, they decided things on their own “out-of-doors” or “out-of-chambers,” as they said at the time. Taverns, churches, village greens — these became the venues of revolution. Gathering by liberty poles and liberty trees in the open air, a generation of political activists laid the groundwork for a new nation.

In recent years, many scholars have left chambers behind as well, following these rambunctious rebels and telling their stories. The most widely selling history writers, on the other hand, have remained inside, standing shoulder to shoulder with those they portray as history’s leading characters, whom they designate as “founders.” Joseph Ellis, in his best-selling *Founding Brothers*, presents their case: the “central players in the drama,” he claims, were “the political leaders at the center of the national story who wielded power.”

So where was the real action, indoors or out? Were the “founders” of our nation the men in dress suits and powdered wigs who signed the Declaration of Independence and drafted the Constitution, or were they the farmers in frocks and mud-caked boots who defied British authority, the women who kept the troubled economy afloat, and the soldiers with bare feet and torn shirts who bested the Redcoated Regulars?

The inside story is easier to tell. There, the drama is intimate, the cast of celebrities small, and their records and accounts voluminous. If left to stand on its own, however, this narrative has a serious shortcoming. The basic message of the American Revolution, and the very reason for

our nation’s existence, was that government should be rooted firmly in the will of the people, but when we say that we owe our existence to a handful of very important men, we lose this key component of our national identity.

In this issue of the *Forum*, nine leading historians of the Revolutionary Era have combined to present a broad view of our nation’s founders, both insiders and outsiders. In the first article, Alfred Young establishes the importance of including ordinary people within our nation’s founding narrative. Carol Berkin then makes a case for treating women as founders, and Gary Nash nominates African Americans and Native Americans for inclusion as well. Because these various constituencies traditionally appear as mere appendages, if at all, we thought it appropriate to give them more prominent billing.

From there, we start a gradual progression up the social and political ladder. In my contribution, I show how ordinary folks from rural Massachusetts — not oppressed tenants, but solid citizens who owned their own land — overthrew British authority and moved toward independence well before Lexington and Concord or the Congressional Declaration of Independence. Gordon Wood next discusses the critical role of the “middling sorts,” an incipient middle class formed of artisans, mechanics, shopkeepers, and the like.

Moving inside chambers, Jack Rakove outlines the history of our nation’s first governing body, the Continental Congress, and Richard Beeman discusses the group traditionally labeled as “founders” — delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Even here, instead of focusing exclusively on well-known personalities, Rakove and Beeman introduce

other figures who have not received the attention that is their due.

Finally, Woody Holton and Pauline Maier extend the notion of “founders” to include some of those who actually opposed the 1787 Constitution. Holton contends that the framers wanted to limit popular participation in a new national government because a democratic spirit had become widespread in the states; these true democrats, he feels, should be acknowledged. Maier contends that opponents of the Constitution, the so-called Antifederalists, spoke out against the new plan of government because it lacked adequate protections against possible abuses of power, not because they opposed a federal government per se. We have these people to thank, she says, for our Bill of Rights.

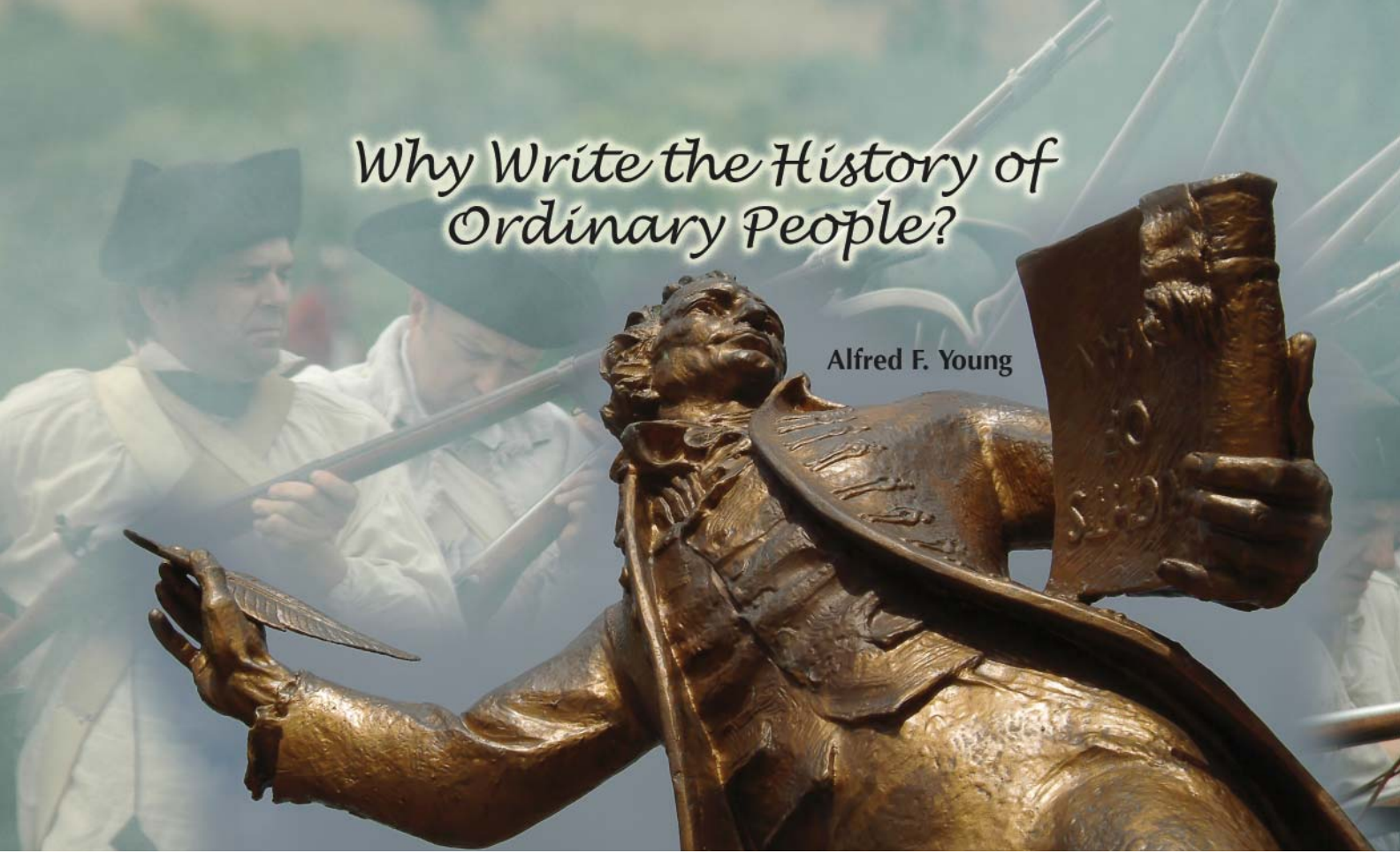
All of these groups played significant roles in founding the United States of America and in establishing national ideals such as freedom and equality. If we take the words “we, the people” seriously, we must include each of their stories in the master narrative of our national origins.

Revolutionary Era Americans believed in popular sovereignty, the notion that all government is rooted in the will of the people. Creating a new nation based on that principle was the supreme achievement of their generation. Our founders, however, could not agree on who “the people” actually were. Today, by consensus, “the people” means everyone, and the telling of our history, as evidenced in the articles that follow, reflects the evolution of our values.

**Guest Editor Ray Raphael may be reached through his Web site, [rayraphael.com](http://rayraphael.com).**

# Why Write the History of Ordinary People?

Alfred F. Young



**J**oseph Plumb Martin was a Connecticut farm boy who enlisted in the Continental Army in 1777 at the age of sixteen and served until 1783, the end of the Revolutionary War. In 1830, when he was seventy, Martin published his memoir, *A Narrative of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*, which has to be the best extant autobiography for a rank-and-file soldier: pungent, humorous, and always irreverent. After describing a particularly hard-fought battle, Martin wrote, “but there has been little notice taken of it, the reason for which is, there was no Washington, Putnam, or Wayne there. Had there been the affair would have been extolled to the skies.” He was naming three of the most famous generals of the war: Israel Putnam, Anthony Wayne, and, of course, Commander-in-Chief George Washington, under whom he had served from Valley Forge to Yorktown. “Great men get great praise; little men, nothing,” wrote Martin. “What could officers do without such men? Nothing at all. Alexander never could have conquered the world without private soldiers.”

Martin remembered the army in the terrible winter of 1777, when soldiers were “not only shirtless and barefoot but destitute of all other clothing, especially blankets.” And he remembered joining his fellow soldiers, who were “exasperated beyond endurance” by such conditions and threatened mutiny in 1780. To Martin, his comrades in arms were “a family of brothers,” and a half-century after the war he was still bitter at their plight. When soldiers enlisted, he wrote, “they were promised a hundred acres of land.... When the country had drained the last drop of blood it could screw out of the poor soldiers, they were turned adrift like old worn-out horses, and nothing said about land to pasture them upon.... Such things ought not to be.”

After the war, Martin, the landless veteran, “squatted” on land on the Maine frontier that had been confiscated from Loyalists and subsequently bought by General Henry Knox, one of the “Great Proprietors” who acquired legal title to hundreds of thousands of acres for a pittance. Together with other settlers in Maine, Martin fought for years for the right to the land that he farmed. The Liberty Men, as they called themselves, asked: “Who can have bet-

ter rights to the land than we who have fought for it, subdued it & made it valuable?" In 1801, settlers won the right to buy the land that they farmed, but Martin was never able to pay for his and eventually lost it. In 1818, when he applied for a pension, he testified: "I have no real or personal estate, nor any income whatever.... I am a laborer, and by reason of my age and infirmity, I am unable to work. My wife is sickly and rheumatic. I have five children.... Without my pension I am unable to support myself and my family." Martin eked out a living and died in 1850. The epitaph on his gravestone reads: "A Soldier of the Revolution."

---

### ORDINARY SOLDIERS

---

Martin's poignant life story opens a window to a side of the American Revolution almost totally lost in the master narrative of our nation's founding, so often told as a success story led by "great men." Martin was not unusual, save for his ability as a writer. He was one of more than one hundred thousand young men, most of them landless, who saw military service in the Continental Army during the seven years of war. Another one hundred thousand served in the militia, and several tens of thousands served at sea. He was among the tens of thousands of veterans who applied for a pension in 1818 for veterans "in reduced circumstances." And he was like several thousand farmers in other states who engaged in struggles to acquire or hold on to land. Many would have agreed with Herman Husband, a leader of a backcountry farmer rebellion in North Carolina defeated in the 1770s and in another that was put down in western Pennsylvania in the 1790s: "In Every Revolution, the People at Large are called upon to assist true Liberty," but when "the foreign oppressor is thrown off, learned and designing men" assume power to the detriment of the "laboring people." [For more on Herman Husband, see Woody Holton's "An Excess of Democracy" — Or a Shortage? The Crisis that Led to the Constitution" on page 39 — Ed.]

As such words testify, ordinary people in the Revolutionary era were far from inarticulate. Quite the contrary, they could be eloquent, as were Martin and Husband. As the participant-historian Dr. David Ramsay of South Carolina wrote in 1789, "When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen [farmers], merchants, mechanics and fishermen, but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants and set them on thinking, speaking, and acting in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed.... It seemed as if the war not only required but created talents."

Martin was one of more than five hundred Revolutionary War soldiers who kept diaries, wrote memoirs, or collaborated with others in "as told to" accounts. Collective activity by ordinary people was the hallmark of the American Revolution: the Sons of Liberty, Committees of Correspondence, Committees of Inspection, Committees of Safety, town meetings, caucuses, county conventions, militia organizations. And for these there are bodies of scattered documents: petitions, resolutions, newspaper accounts, speeches, court testimony, legal records. If, over the past half-century, a fraction of the resources that have poured into the projects publishing the papers of the "Founding Fathers" had gone into assembling the full record of popular participation, we might have a more proportionate sense of the role of ordinary people in the creation of our nation.

---

### WHY WRITE THIS HISTORY?

---

Why write the history of ordinary people in the American Revolution? I use ordinary people not as the opposite of extraordinary but in contrast to elites, the people in a society with wealth and status who also hold political power. I would prefer "common people" which, unlike "ordinary people," was much used at the time, except that when used today it too often smacks of condescension. Actually, the most frequently used term at the time was simply "the people," which emerged as part of the changing language of the Revolution, as did words such as "mechanic" and "democratic." In Boston, leaders called meetings of "the whole body of the people" when they wanted to broaden participation at public rallies beyond those eligible to vote in official town meetings. John Adams referred to "the whole people," others to "the people at large." And, of course, the Declaration of Independence spoke of "the right of the people to alter or abolish" governments that persistently violated their rights. At the Constitutional Convention the framers referred frequently to the "genius of the people."

Such common usage alone should make us wonder, do we even have to ask: why include "ordinary people" as founders of our nation? They were actors and players; they made history happen, as individuals and especially collectively. They were hardly marginal or peripheral — indeed, they were often indispensable — but they did not receive the recognition that they sought at the time or since. Much more is at stake than giving credit, as important as that is, or expressing compassion. The simple truth is that we cannot understand the American Revolution and the founding of our nation without taking into account the part played by "the people."



## THE INFLUENCE OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

At certain times in history, ordinary people have had enough influence to shape the outcome of events. Take a very famous moment in July 1776, which many Americans today feel is familiar: the day when delegates from the thirteen colonies to the Continental Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence. Whose moment was it?

Today, we feel we know that moment from visiting the faithfully restored Independence Hall in Philadelphia or from looking at John Trumbull's famous painting of the delegates, displayed in the rotunda of the United States Capitol and endlessly reproduced. The painting, frequently misnamed "The Signing of the Declaration of Independence," represents a "top-down" version of the event. You would never know from the painting that the well-dressed gentlemen whom Trumbull portrayed — the "men in suits" of that day — had been forced to abandon reconciliation and declare independence by a groundswell of opinion expressed "out of doors" by the "plough joggers" of the countryside, who wore homespun, and the mechanics of the cities, known as "leather apron men." For six months, people had been debating options for the country and for themselves as never before. In January 1776, Thomas

Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* made the case for independence in language that stirred ordinary people to a sense of their own capacity to effect change. "We have it in our power to begin the world over again," wrote Paine, a former English artisan. By July, more than one hundred thousand copies had been sold, and several times that number had read *Common Sense* or had it read to them in army camps, taverns, or meeting houses.

In the spring of 1776, while Congress dithered, at least eighty local meetings adopted resolutions instructing their representatives to support independence: town meetings, county conventions, militia companies, and in New York City a meeting of mechanics in "Mechanics Hall." Nine state conventions did the same. The delegates knew it; on May 20, John Adams wrote, "Every post and every day rolls in upon us independence like a torrent." On July 3, the day after Congress voted for independence, he spelled out the process: "Time has been given for the whole people maturely to consider

the great question of independence... by discussing it in newspapers and pamphlets, by debating it in assemblies, conventions, committees of safety and inspection, in town and county meetings as well as in private conversations, so that the whole people in every colony of the thirteen, have now adopted it as their own." But Trumbull portrayed the men within the Pennsylvania State House as if they alone were responsible for the decision. In reality, "the whole people" were far ahead of Trumbull's "eminent statesmen."

The Constitution, our other founding document, was written under very different circumstances, but even so, political decisions by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention can be explained only by taking into account the movements from below. Delegates were intensely aware that they were living through a time of tumult, internal rebellions, democratic upheavals, and popular awakenings that challenged the status quo. James Madison, James Wilson, and the other framers make sense not as "geniuses" who wrought "a miracle in Philadelphia" as they are often depicted, but as astute political leaders who knew that they had to accommodate "the genius of the people," a phrase which meant their values or spirit. As George Mason, a respected Virginia delegate, put it: "Notwithstanding the oppression &

injustice experienced among us from democracy, the genius of the people is in favor of it, and the genius of the people must be consulted."

The delegates were drawn from the elites; they were more well-to-do, more educated, more politically experienced than the average man, and they were far more conservative, fearful of an "excess of democracy." Yet while such democratic spokesmen as Thomas Paine, Daniel Shays, and Abraham Yates were not present at the convention, they were a distinct pres-

ence. They were the ghosts of the popular movements of the past two decades, haunting the delegates. Paine was so popular because he was the champion not only of independence but also of simple democratic government based on a broad suffrage. Shays was one of several leaders of a rebellion of angry, over-taxed, debt-ridden farmers in western Massachusetts in the 1780s that set off a tremor of alarm among conservatives everywhere. Yates was a fiery petrel



**"Revisionist" has been treated by some as a dirty word, but that is what historians do: revise interpretations of the past found wanting. The business of historians is to examine previous versions of history, to look at familiar subjects from a new vantage point or with original sources that have been newly discovered or little appreciated.**



in the New York Senate, a man who began life as a shoemaker, a foe of all “high flyers,” as he called Alexander Hamilton. (Hamilton put him down as the “late cobbler of laws and old shoes.”) He was typical of state legislators elsewhere who had “an itch for paper money” (Madison’s phrase), debtor-relief laws, and other measures opposed by “moneyed men.”

The new Constitution vested the national government with the power to “suppress insurrections” (so much for the ghost of Daniel Shays) and erected specific curbs on the states to “emit” paper money or pass “laws impairing the obligation of contracts” (which presumably laid to rest the ghost of Abraham Yates). It also provided for the return to their owners of future fugitive slaves — another “ghost” that loomed large over southern slaveholders who had experienced a massive loss of runaway slaves during the war. (George Washington, presiding officer at the Convention, lost seventeen slaves from his Mount Vernon plantation alone.) But to accomplish these goals, the framers knew that they had to create a government that could be ratified by conventions in each state, where delegates would be elected by popular vote. In the big cities this meant that it had to win the approval of democratic-minded mechanics who had imbibed the ideas of Thomas Paine.

## REVISING HISTORY

Historians, whatever their subject, have no choice but to select from among a vast array of facts to present a narrative or an analysis. This means that as new facts are discovered, the narrative or the analysis is revised. “Revisionist” has been treated by some as a dirty word, but that is what historians do: revise interpretations of the past found wanting. The business of historians is to examine previous versions of history, to look at familiar subjects from a new vantage point or with original sources that have been newly discovered or little appreciated.

Joseph Plumb Martin, the irreverent soldier in the Continental Army, was probably correct when he wrote, “Great men get great praise; little men, nothing,” but he was unduly pessimistic when he added, “But it was always so and always will be.” Martin would be excited to know that his memoir of 1830 was reprinted several times in the twentieth century and that historians use it to recover the experiences of rank-and-file soldiers and the meaning of the Revolution for those who felt that its promises were unfulfilled. We can take heart in the knowledge that one generation’s “revisionism” is often accepted as the next generation’s wisdom.



Alfred F. Young is the author of *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Beacon Press, 1999) and *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (Knopf, 2004). He elaborates on the theme of this essay in *Liberty Tree: Ordinary People and the American Revolution* (New York University Press, 2006). He is a Senior Research Fellow at the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Excerpted from the Introduction to Alfred F. Young, *Liberty Tree: Ordinary People and the American Revolution* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). Used by permission.

## CALL FOR NEW COLUMNISTS

Once again the *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* needs a few good volunteers to serve as regular columnists for the magazine. You must be an active member (have paid current annual dues or be a life member) to be considered. We are looking for writers for the following columns:

Education and Academics

Business and Economics

Science and Technology

The Arts

Plus two new columns:

Organizational/Personal Ethics

The Workplace

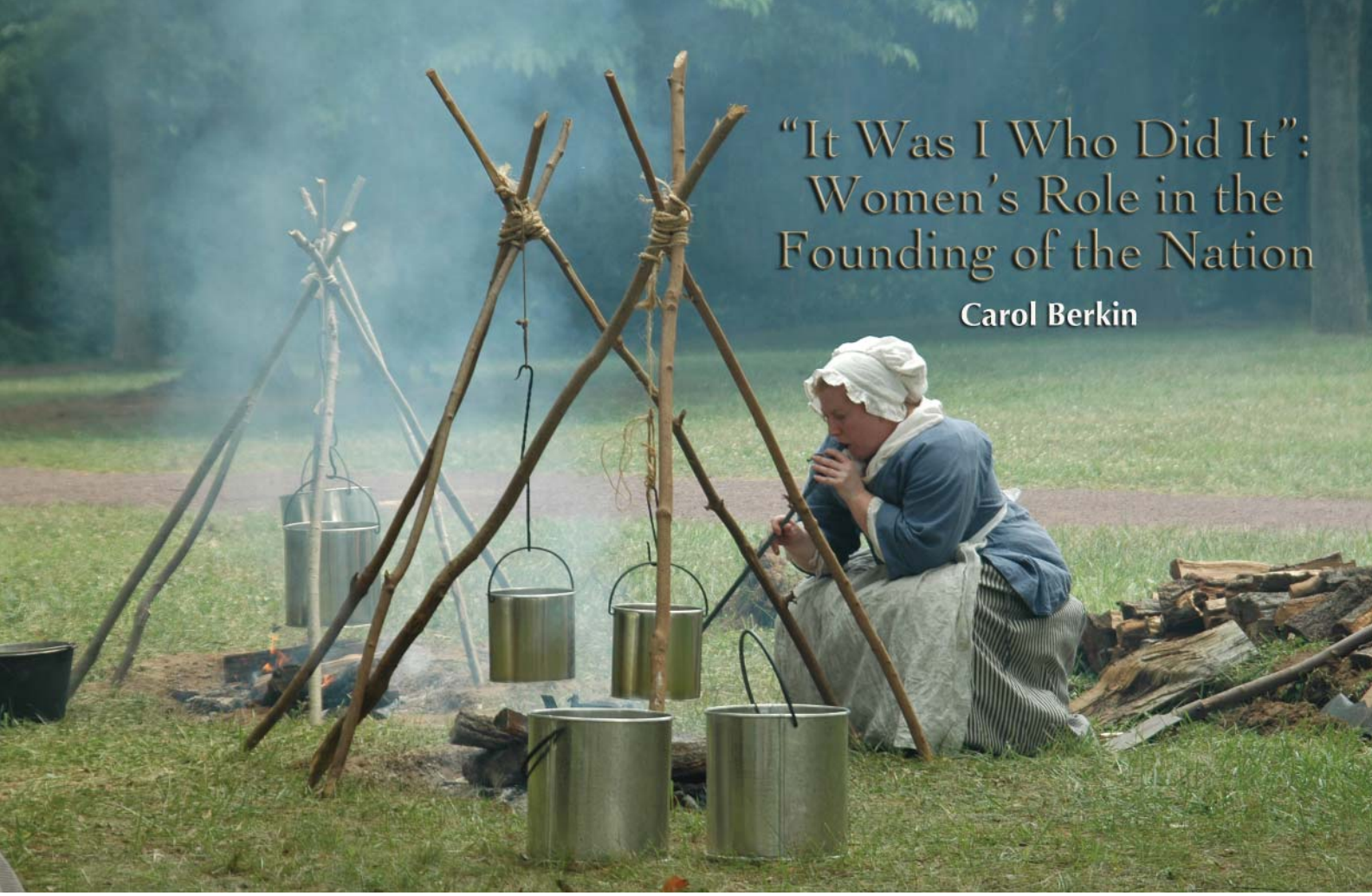
For the “Organization/Professional Ethics” column, we want to address issues of both institutional and personal ethics. For the “Workplace” column, we would like to have members with long-term success in the corporate world to write about issues that arise daily in the workplace.

Your term will be a two-year commitment (three total columns). The first set of new columnists will appear in the Winter/Spring 2007 issue.

Please submit a copy of your résumé and no more than two writing samples of reasonable length (less than five pages) to:

*Phi Kappa Phi Forum*  
108 M. White Smith Hall  
Mell Street  
Auburn University, AL 36849-5306

Apply for only one position. Deadline for submitting materials is October 2, 2006. Selections will be made by November 1.



# “It Was I Who Did It”: Women’s Role in the Founding of the Nation

Carol Berkin

In the 1770s, King George III was convinced that all of the problems with his colonies could be laid at the feet of “that brace of Adamses” and the rebellious mobs of Massachusetts men. As it turned out, he was wrong — not only about the widespread nature of American discontent and desire for independence, but also about the gender of many of his Massachusetts opponents. Abigail Adams, as much as her husband John, supported an American revolution, and rebellious crowds of Massachusetts women picketed the shops of merchants who broke the boycott, staged mass spinning bees to show their solidarity with American resistance to British taxation, and served as spies for the American army. And, after independence was won, women played a central role in ensuring that the republic would survive.

Any account of the creation of the United States must begin in the 1760s, when the great debts amassed during the French and Indian War drove the British government to revamp its colonial policy by

tightening trade regulations and levying new taxes. The response in the colonial legislatures was immediate: orators orated, lawyers drafted constitutional arguments against these novel changes, and assemblies fired off petitions demanding the repeal of legislation such as the Stamp Act and later the Townshend Acts. The British government, which viewed the colonials as just that, colonials, found it easy to ignore the fiery rhetoric of a Patrick Henry or a John Adams. But, the Americans had another strategy that Parliament could not ignore: the boycott of British goods.

---

## SUPPORTING THE BOYCOTT

---

The success of this boycott depended heavily upon women’s participation, for it was wives and mothers who were the primary purchasers and consumers of these goods. The determination of these women to honor the boycott sent English profits tumbling, and this drop in profits in turn sent English merchants rushing to their government to demand repeal.

The boycott strategy politicized women's domestic sphere — and women with it. In New England, hundreds of young women flocked to publicly staged spinning bees, taking quick lessons on what was, by the 1760s, almost a lost art. Wearing the homespun that these women produced became a badge of honor, a sign that you were indeed a "daughter of liberty." Matrons stepped out of the domestic shadows and into the public arena by signing pledges to honor the boycott and publishing them in the local newspapers. From Edenton, North Carolina, to Boston, Massachusetts, women vowed publicly not to drink tea or purchase British imports until the hated laws were repealed. Conservative men spoke out in horror at this unfeminine interest in politics, but patriot ministers who only recently had enjoined women to silence and obedience now proclaimed from the pulpit that the fate of liberty lay in the hands of America's wives and mothers.

---

### SUPPORTING THE WAR EFFORT

---

When the war itself began, women were vital participants in every aspect of the struggle for independence. Girls and young women served as spies and couriers for American generals, risking capture as they rode through enemy-held territory to carry messages or give warnings of enemy-troop movements. A middle-aged Quaker woman of Philadelphia, Lydia Darragh, saved Washington's troops from a deadly surprise attack in 1776; a young New York teenager, Sybil Luddington, rode through the night to muster her father's militia troops for the defense of neighboring Connecticut; and an African American slave woman known as Mammy Kate planned and executed the escape of her master, Georgia's future governor Stephen Heard, as he languished in a British prison, awaiting execution.

Women organized massive fund-raising operations to finance Washington's ragtag army. In Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin's daughter Sarah Bache and Esther DeBerdt Reed mounted a door-to-door canvas of Philadelphia, organizing women volunteers into teams, dividing the city into wards, and raising more than \$300,000 for the continental soldiers. In a declaration defending the active participation of women in the war effort, Bache and Reed cited biblical and ancient heroines as their models.



**Valley Forge was no stag affair; wives, mothers, and sweethearts were there, gathering firewood, cooking meals, washing the filthy clothing of their husbands and sons and their comrades, nursing the sick and the wounded.**

As men went off to war, women took over the management of farms and shops, adding multiple new tasks to their already-existing domestic and child-care duties. They learned on the job under the worst of circumstances — rising inflation, growing scarcity, danger, and uncertainty. For many, the experience was oppressive; but for others, the mastery of male work roles diminished the mysteries of the gendered division of labor and brought additional self-confidence. No better example of this growing confidence in one's abilities exists than the exchange, now famous among historians of women in the Revolutionary era, between a Massachusetts Loyalist and his wife. He had fled to safety in England; she had remained behind to protect their claim to the farm. Overwhelmed at first, she slowly found the mysteries of the male-related world revealed to her. "Your farm is doing well," she wrote in the early months; "our farm is doing well," she assured him later; and finally, in a shift that marked a change in more than pronouns, she wrote, "my farm is doing well."

Women proved resourceful in devising substitutes for scarce but needed supplies. Walnut ash replaced salt as the preservative for winter meat; recipes for homemade soaps were passed from household to household; and when the traditional rum rations that were every soldier's due could not be found, women produced corn liquor and rye whiskey. Standing by the side of the road, much as supporters do today at marathons, bottles of Gatorade or water in their hands for the thirsty runners, farm women ladled out liquor to the passing soldiers.

Women were present in the army camps as well.

When enemy forces threatened rape, pillage, or even death, or when dwindling supplies of food or firewood made surviving the winter doubtful, thousands of women gathered up their children, their pets, and their most prized possessions and made their way on foot to the winter encampments of the American or British army. Valley Forge was no stag affair; wives, mothers, and sweethearts were there, gathering firewood, cooking meals, washing the filthy clothing of their husbands and sons and their comrades, nursing the sick and the wounded. Some of these "camp followers" may have been prostitutes, and some were tradeswomen, hawking

alcohol and other small luxuries, but the majority were ordinary women, determined to survive the war by living within the protection of the army. Generals begrudgingly admitted that, without these women, the army would have been dirtier, hungrier, and less healthy.

---

### ACCIDENTAL AND DELIBERATE SOLDIERS

---

Often, especially in the forts, camp followers became soldiers — for when husbands fell beside the cannons that they manned, wounded or killed by the enemy, wives took up their posts, loading and firing over the fortress walls. Women such as Margaret Corbin of New York were wounded in action and taken prisoner by the British. After the war, Corbin applied for a veteran's pension — and received it. Although many other women veterans of war sought pensions, few received them from the financially struggling Continental or Confederation Congresses.

If some camp followers became accidental soldiers, other women intentionally sought combat. Historians cannot tally the number of women and girls who disguised themselves as men and enlisted in the military, for, if they were successful, they passed unnoticed; if they failed, many officers did not record their names or their punishments. Still, we know that women who were discovered in their disguises were often treated harshly. An imposter could be led out of camp behind a wagon, her hands tied, her back bleeding from the lash, with the drum and fifers playing a tune that they called "the whore's march."

Perhaps the most celebrated of these female soldiers came from Massachusetts. Her name was Deborah Sampson, but her fellow soldiers knew her as Private Robert Shirtliffe. Deborah's motives tell us much about the status of women in eighteenth-century New England. Poor and without a dowry, she spent her years before the war working for small wages as a domestic servant. When she learned that recruiting agents were offering a generous bounty to able-bodied men who agreed to wear a uniform, Deborah made up her mind. Tall and strong, she donned a man's shirt and trousers and enlisted in the army. As Private Robert Shirtliffe, she served honorably for a year and a half, seeing battle and being wounded twice. Her masquerade, as historian Alfred Young aptly called it, ended when a camp fever led a doctor to closely examine the young private. Sampson's military superiors were so impressed by her years of service that they refused to dishonorably discharge her; she left, honorably, and was awarded a veteran's pension. For several years, Deborah continued to present herself as a man, aware that field hands earned more than domestic helpers. Then, as she tells us in her autobiography, one spring morning

she awoke to birds singing and flowers in bloom, put on her apron and bonnet, and married and raised a family. The story does not end here; when Deborah Sampson Gannett died, her husband sued for a widow's pension — and got it.

---

### THE LOYAL OPPOSITION

---

Not all women flocked to the patriot side, of course, and we should remember that the ideals of the Revolution — freedom, liberty, independence — meant very different things to African American slave women or to Native American women. Indeed, the Revolution was not just one struggle but was many struggles: for the slaves of patriot leaders, the British army held out the promise of freedom. Thousands of African American women risked recapture or death to join the British as they marched through the South. And, when New York and Charleston were evacuated at the end of the war, those women who had survived traveled to Canada to start their lives anew. Most Indian women, like most Indian men, preferred a British victory to American independence, for the white colonists were notoriously land-hungry, and their desire to seize Indian lands seemed insatiable.

Even among the white population, women whose loyalties were to their husbands meant loyalty to the King. For thousands of these women, American victory meant exile from their homes; separation from sisters, brothers, and parents; and the need to adjust to a new, more Spartan life in Nova Scotia or Halifax. "Nova Scarcity" they called their new home, and not a few of these women broke down and cried as the British transport ships sailed away. Nevertheless, as did their patriot counterparts, these women did their best to reestablish what one of our twentieth-century presidents called "normalcy," transforming a strange land into a new home.

---

### AFTER THE WAR

---

When independence was won and a new republic established, few radical changes happened in women's legal and political status. Married women continued to lose their legal autonomy, and gender continued to determine who was eligible for suffrage — and who was not. Yet, in the decades after the war, American intellectuals and reformers did debate what we call "the woman question." Brilliant essayists such as Judith Sargent Murray of Massachusetts established the arguments for women's intellectual and moral equality that would be put forward again in the 1830s and 1840s by reformers such as the Grimke sisters and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The pre-Revolutionary notions that women were incapable of

rational thought or moral judgment were abandoned by a generation whose leading intellectuals not only embraced the Enlightenment but also acknowledged the political commitments that American women patriots had made.

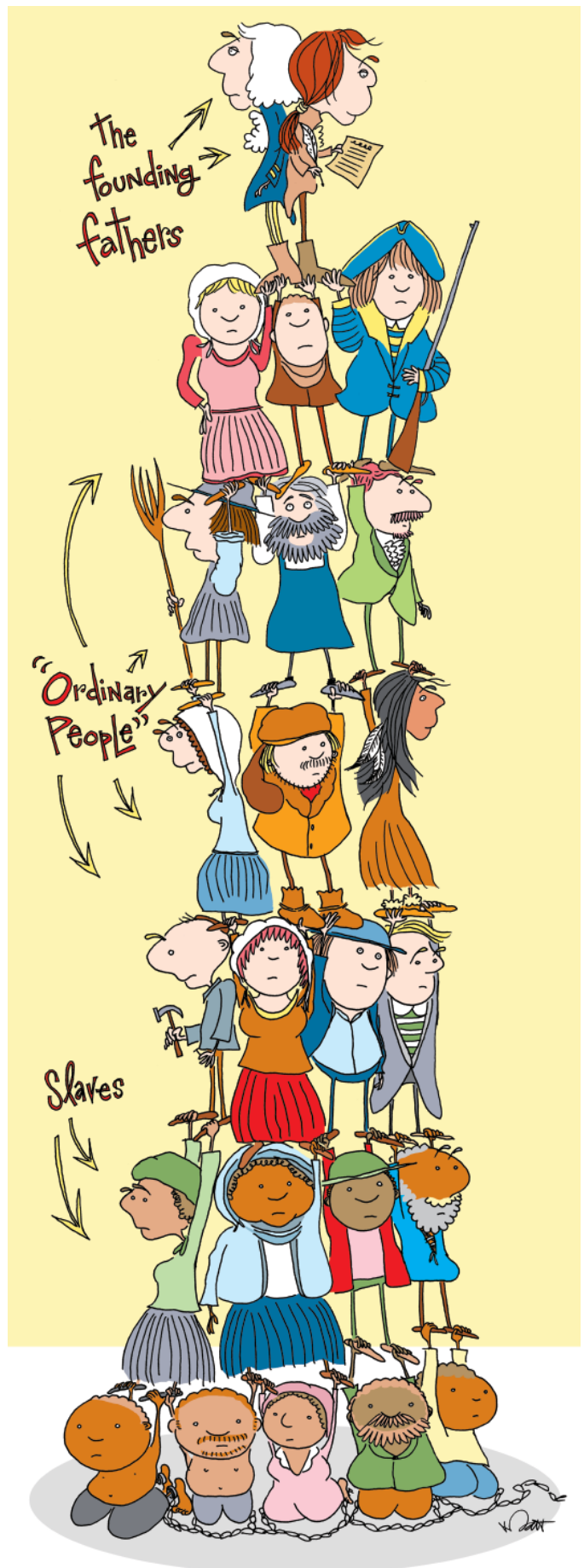
Despite the failure of the revolutionary generation to grant women full citizenship, the early Republic did witness significant changes in gender ideology. Leaders such as John Adams and Benjamin Rush believed that the republican experiment could endure only if each succeeding generation embraced the principles of representative government and exhibited the patriotism needed to defend those principles. They called upon women to ensure the continuance of republican ideals, asking them to school their sons in patriotism and to instill public virtue in the next generation of men. Thus, women's domestic sphere now included a critical civic component. But if women were to educate their sons properly, they must themselves be educated. Therefore, the 1780s and 1790s saw an explosion of young ladies academies, where women received rigorous and formal education in subjects including history and political philosophy. The original purpose of women's formal education may have been to prepare them to educate their sons, but it had unexpected consequences; it marked the beginnings of a gender revolution that these eighteenth-century Americans never imagined.

Protesters, propagandists, boycotters, fundraisers, spinners, surrogate farmers and shopkeepers, nurses and washerwomen, spies, couriers, soldiers, bold slaves and brilliant intellectuals — the canvas of the revolution and the early republic is filled with female figures, patriots and loyalists, participants in and acute observers of the political, military, and diplomatic history being made not simply around them, but by them.

As the British army evacuated New York, a soldier was heard to comment that, even if the King's soldiers defeated America's men, they could never conquer American women. Perhaps King George should have paid closer attention to the Daughters of Liberty who helped found a new nation.



Carol Berkin is a professor of history at Baruch College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, where she teaches colonial, early national, and women's history. She is the author of *A Brilliant Solution: Inventing the American Constitution* (Harcourt, 2002) and *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* (2005), now out as a Vintage paperback. She is currently working on a book on women of the Civil War.





Gary B. Nash

## The American Revolution in Red and Black



**H**istorians customarily portray the American Revolution as an epic struggle for independence fought by several million outnumbered but stalwart white colonists against a mighty England. But the battle for “unalienable rights” also involved tens of thousands of African Americans and Native Americans residing in the British colonies of North America. Among the many remarkable freedom fighters whose memories have been lost in the fog of our historical amnesia were Agrippa Hull, Thomas Peters, Joseph Brant, and Nancy Ward. Hull and Ward struggled on the American side, Peters and Brant on the British side. Yet all four pursued, at the most basic level, the same things: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Collectively these four figures tell us about the little-known American Revolution of those who were red and black.

---

### AGRIPPA HULL

---

**A**grippa Hull was a free-born black New Englander who enlisted in the Continental Army at age eighteen. He served as an orderly for the Massachusetts general John Paterson and then for the Polish military engineer Tadeuz Kosciuszko. For six years and two months he was present at many of the major battles of the Revolution, much longer than most soldiers. One of about five thousand free black men — perhaps two-thirds of all free black men of fighting age — who fought for “the glorious cause,” Hull personified these men’s desire to prove their mettle on the battlefield with hopes that their service would help dissolve white hostility against those with dark skin. And they hoped also that petitions from enslaved blacks in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other states to end slavery would fall on receptive ears of white colonists, who were complaining that mother England was trying to enslave them. “We are

the creatures of that God, who made of one blood, and kindred, all the nations of the Earth,” went one petition. Therefore, “there is nothing that leads us to a belief...that we are any more obliged to serve them [our masters] than they us, and...can never be convinced that we are made to be slaves.”

Hull also encountered hundreds of black men from the northern colonies who had been released from slavery to serve in Washington’s manpower-starved army. Most notable was Rhode Island’s First Regiment, which in 1778 recruited about two hundred slaves and a score of Native Americans whose masters freed them (with compensation from the state’s treasury) to reform the remnants of a white regiment close to disintegration. These were the men whom the first African American historians in the mid-nineteenth century heralded as the “Colored Patriots of the American Revolution.”

---

#### THOMAS PETERS

---

Much more representative of the pursuit of unalienable rights among African Americans was Thomas Peters, one of nearly half a million slaves in North America on the eve of the Revolution. Captured in about 1760 in what is now Nigeria, he was brought to French Louisiana and sold to William Campbell, an immigrant Scotsman who had settled in Wilmington, North Carolina, located on the Cape Fear River. There he was caught up in the anticipation of what the colonial resistance movement might mean for enslaved Africans. Hearing of colonial protests against British oppression, British tyranny, and British plans to “enslave” the Americans, Peters was primed to respond to the proclamation issued in November 1775 by Virginia’s royal governor, Lord Dunmore, that offered lifelong freedom for any American slave or indentured servant “able and willing to bear arms” who escaped his master and made it to the British lines. White owners and legislators threatened dire consequences to those who were caught stealing away. Attempting to squelch bids for freedom, they vowed to take bitter revenge on the kinfolk left behind by fleeing slaves. But Peters, like tens of thousands of others, escaped to the British. There they redefined themselves as men instead of pieces of property. They made the American Revolution the first large-scale rebellion of slaves in North America and the largest ever attempted.



**For every Agrippa Hull fighting on the American side, there were perhaps twenty such as Thomas Peters who fought alongside the British. Hull and Peters did not differ in the principles for which they risked their lives; they differed only in the road that they chose in fighting for freedom and equality.**



For the rest of the war, Peters fought with the British-officered Black Guides and Pioneers. For every Agrippa Hull fighting on the American side, there were perhaps twenty such as Thomas Peters who fought alongside the British. Hull and Peters did not differ in the principles for which they risked their lives; they differed only in the road that they chose in fighting for freedom and equality.

After the war, Agrippa Hull returned to Stockbridge, in western Massachusetts, but Thomas Peters had no such option. Wounded twice and promoted to sergeant, Peters and his wife Sally, along with two children, were scheduled for evacuation from New York City by the British along with several thousand other African Americans who had joined the British during the course of the long war. Others were being evacuated from Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia.

But where would England send the American black loyalists? Her other overseas possessions, notably the West Indian sugar islands, were built on slave labor and had no place for a large number of free blacks. England itself wished no influx of ex-slaves, for London and other major cities already felt themselves burdened by growing numbers of impoverished blacks demanding public support. The answer to the problem was Nova Scotia, the easternmost part of the frozen Canadian wilderness that England had acquired at the end of the Seven Years War. Here, amidst sparsely scattered old French settlers, remnants of Indian tribes, and more recent British settlers, the American blacks were relocated.

In Nova Scotia the dream of life, liberty, and happiness turned into a nightmare. The refugee ex-slaves found themselves segregated in impoverished villages, given scraps of untillable land, deprived of the rights normally extended to British subjects, forced to work on road construction in return for promised provisions, and gradually reduced to peonage. In 1790 Peters personally carried a message from his fellow refugees to authorities in London, asking to be resettled “wherever the wisdom of government may think proper to provide for [my people] as free sub-



jects of the British Empire.” He arrived at a momentous time, when English abolitionists were pushing a bill through Parliament to charter the Sierra Leone Company and to grant it trading and settlement rights on the West African coast. Peters returned to Nova Scotia to spread the word, and on January 15, 1792, under sunny skies and a fair wind, 1,200 black Canadians set sail for Sierra Leone, where they hoped to be truly free and self-governing.

Legend tells that Thomas Peters, sick from a shipboard fever, led his shipmates ashore in Sierra Leone singing, “The day of jubilee is come; return ye ransomed sinners home.” He died less than four months later. His family and friends buried him in Freetown, where his descendants live today.

During thirty-two of his fifty-four years, Peters struggled for personal survival and a larger degree of freedom. He worked as a field hand, millwright, ship hand, casual laborer, and soldier. His crusade for basic political rights, for social equity, and for human dignity was individual at first, as his circumstances dictated. But when the American Revolution erupted, Peters merged his individual efforts with those of thousands of other American slaves seeking their freedom. Was he not a black founding father?

---

### JOSEPH BRANT

---

For some one hundred and fifty thousand Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River, the American Revolution was also a time to “try men’s souls.” Thayendanegea (known to the English as Joseph Brant) stands as an illuminating example. Born in a Mohawk village, he served at age thirteen with the Americans in the Seven Years’ War and aided the colonists in 1763 by battling against Pontiac’s Indian insurgents who tried to expel the British soldiers and encroaching colonists from the Ohio Country. But as the revolution loomed, Brant suspected that the Mohawk and other Iroquois nations would be drawn into the fighting. Taking ship to London to see how the British would help protect Iroquois sovereignty and their ancient homelands, Brant met with the King’s ministers. His decision after these meetings augured the decisions of a majority of Indian tribes in the next few years — that only by fighting against the independence-seeking Americans could Indian peoples remain independent. Returning to New York a few weeks after the Declaration of Independence, Brant began a long trek through Iroquoia to spread the message that “their own country and liberty” were “in danger from the rebels.” Brant’s message, borne on foot and by canoe and horse, brought most of the Iroquois into the war on the British side in the summer of 1777.

During the next six years, Brant seemed to be everywhere — at Oriskany when the British and their Indian allies defeated the Americans trying to reach the besieged Fort Stanwix, which controlled access to the western Mohawk Valley and the Great Lakes; at Cherry Valley in 1778, when the Iroquois drove American farmers from southern New York and northern Pennsylvania; at skirmishes in the campaign of 1779, when General John Sullivan invaded Iroquois country burning villages, destroying crops, and pursuing his blunt motto, “civilization or death to all American savages,” in a scorched-earth campaign exceeded in American history only by Sherman’s march to the sea during the Civil War.

Though never militarily suppressed during the war, the Iroquois lost about one-third of their people and were then abandoned by their British allies at the Paris peace talks in 1783. They were left to cope with the aggressive, combat-hardened, and land-hungry Americans. Thunderstruck that British diplomats deserted them and confronting insurmountable odds, the Iroquois signed dictated treaties that dispossessed them of most of their land. Brant spent the last twenty years of his life trying to lead the Iroquois in adjusting to harsh new realities in which the pursuit of happiness by white Americans required proud and independent red Americans to surrender their own life, liberty, and property.

Brant’s story encapsulates the American Revolution experienced by most Indians. All but a few Indian nations followed the Iroquois lead in siding with the British. For example, the Shawnee of the Ohio country and the Cherokee of the upper South allied to attack encroaching Virginians even before the Declaration of Independence. In former days they had “possessed lands almost to the seashore,” the Shawnee told the Cherokee, but “red people who were once masters of the whole country [now] hardly possessed ground enough to stand on.” It was “better to die like men than to dwindle away by inches.” So the fight went on, during the Revolution and for years after it as the victorious Americans conducted a war of national expansion.

---

### NANCY WARD

---

Some Indian tribes, mostly small ones surrounded by white colonies and greatly reduced in population by disease and earlier wars, fought alongside the Americans or struggled to maintain neutrality. Among them were the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot in Maine, the Oneida in New York, and the Tuscarora and Catawba in North Carolina. Pledging allegiance to the Americans, they contributed scouts and warriors to the revolutionary cause. The Cherokee ceremonial chief Nancy Ward, who goes down in the

annals of American history as the “good Indian,” epitomizes the pro-American stance.

Niece of an aging Cherokee leader, Ward had opposed militant Cherokee warriors who chose to fight at the side of the British, and she had even warned Virginians and Carolinians about imminent attacks on their frontier settlements. In her mind, the Cherokee could survive only by accommodating the Americans, ceding land piece by piece while trying to maintain trade relations and peace. Following her lead were many aging Cherokees who had seen their attempts at preserving their homelands fail before the superior arms of the Americans. But Americans repeatedly ravaged Cherokee towns in the winter of 1780–1781, not even sparing towns that had sworn allegiance to the Americans. Such was the fate of other tribes that had supported the Americans. Although grateful state governments compensated a number of faithful Indian warriors after the war, this did little to protect the tribes from the land-hungry, well-equipped, and battle-toughened Americans who, after the war, rushed westward for more land.

In reflecting on the American Revolution and our nation’s founding, we need to recognize that the conflict compelled most nonwhites to take the British side in quest of the same goals pursued by those who answered the call to arms against their king. Red and black people were animated by the

doctrine of natural rights as surely as the minutemen at Concord Bridge or the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Most of them chose the other side to gain or preserve their rights. In their struggle against the white revolutionaries, most of them lost heavily in the proximate sense. What they won, however, was a piece of history, for they kept lit the lamp of liberty and passed on their own revolutionary accounts to their children and their children’s children. The founding principles of the American Revolution lived on in the nineteenth-century struggles of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Black Hawk, Tecumseh, Sequoyah, and a host of other black and red leaders.



Gary B. Nash is professor emeritus of history at UCLA and Director of the National Center for History in the Schools. He served as president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95. His most recent books are *African American Lives: The Struggle for Freedom* (with Clayborne Carson and Emma Lapsansky-Werner) (2005); *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (2005); and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (2006).



Copyright Matthew Henry Hall. Reprinted by permission.

A person in a white Revolutionary War uniform is playing a drum. The drum is made of wood with a red-painted top and bottom edge. The person is holding two wooden mallets. The background is a stone wall with a diamond-shaped pattern.

## Yankees with “Staves and Musick”: The First American Revolution

Ray Raphael

**B**efore dawn on September 6, 1774, more than seven months before the showdown at Lexington and Concord, a group of patriots entered the county courthouse in Worcester, Massachusetts, and barricaded the doors. As the sun rose, militiamen from across the county started marching through town to the village green at the other end of Main Street, and by ten o'clock, 4,622 militiamen from thirty-seven different towns stood at the ready. Approximately half of the adult-male population of rural Worcester County, from the Connecticut border to New Hampshire, had mustered in force on that momentous morning to overturn British authority.

When the Crown-appointed court officials showed up to work, they had nowhere to meet but Daniel Heywood's tavern, halfway between the courthouse and the green. There they huddled, waiting for the throngs to determine their fates.

This decision took awhile, for there was no central command. Across from the courthouse, at the home of blacksmith Timothy Bigelow, the men who had plotted the event all summer tried to coordinate the day's activities, but they soon adjourned “to attend the body of the people” outside. Each of the thirty-seven militia companies had recently elected a new military captain, and now each selected a political representative as well. These men at once appointed a smaller committee, which visited the court officials to work out the details of their recantations — but the plan that they worked out had to make its way back to the thirty-seven representatives, and through them to the “body of the people,” who alone had the power of approval. This cumbersome apparatus, heavily weighted at the bottom, moved only slowly. People became impatient.

Finally, by midafternoon, the stage was set. In full company formation, 4,622 militiamen lined both sides of Main Street from Heywood's tavern to the courthouse, while the twenty-five officials, hats in

hand, walked the gauntlet between them, each one reciting his renunciation more than thirty times so that all of the patriots could hear. With this ritualistic act of submission, all British authority disappeared from Worcester County, never to return.

---

## DISENFRANCHISED COLONY

---

How had it come to this? The patriots of Worcester were upset at more than just taxes. In the wake of the Boston Tea Party, Parliament had decided to "punish" the people of Massachusetts for their defiance by passing four new bills called the "Coercive Acts," labeled by Americans as the "Intolerable Acts." In our history books today, we read about the one that closed the port of Boston, but for Revolutionary Americans, that was hardly the worst of it. Of much greater concern was the Massachusetts Government Act, which unilaterally revoked key provisions of the 1691 charter for the colony of Massachusetts Bay:

- Members of the powerful Council, formerly elected, would henceforth be appointed by the King.
- Town meetings, the basis of local self-government, were outlawed. They could convene only at the pleasure of the Crown-appointed governor, who must approve all agenda items.
- All local officials, such as sheriffs and judges, would no longer be subject to the approval of elected representatives.
- Jurors, formerly determined by the people, would be selected by Crown-appointed officials.

Effectively disenfranchised, the people of Massachusetts refused to abide by the new laws. Outraged patriots vowed to shut down the government as of August 1, 1774, the day that the act took effect, and they made good on that pledge.

In every shiretown (county seat), as in Worcester, patriot militiamen terminated the quarterly sessions of the courts, which at that time also served as the administrative arm of local government. At Springfield, more than three thousand patriots marched "with staves and musick" to unseat the officials. "Amidst the Crowd in a sandy, sultry place, exposed to the sun," said one observer, judges were forced to renounce "in the most express terms any commission which should be given out to them under the new arrangement."

In Plymouth, according to merchant John Andrews, some four thousand rebels were so excited after deposing the officials that they:

attempted to remove a Rock (the one on which their fore-fathers first landed, when they came to this country) which lay buried in a wharfe five feet deep, up into the center of the town, near the court house. The way being up hill, they found it impracticable, as after they had dug it up, they found it to weigh ten tons at least.

In Cambridge, four thousand patriots forced the lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts to resign his seat on the Council. All other Crown-appointed members of the Council also were intimidated by large crowds; most resigned under pressure, while those who did not fled their homes to Boston, where they sought protection from the British Army. Boston itself became a garrison for the Redcoats, but in other towns and across the countryside, where 95 percent of the population resided, patriots reigned supreme.

The people persisted with their town meetings in direct violation of the new law. When Governor Gage arrested seven men in the capital of Salem for calling a town meeting, three thousand farmers immediately marched on the jail to set the prisoners free. Two companies of British soldiers, on duty to protect the Governor, retreated rather than force a bloody confrontation. Throughout Massachusetts, in some three hundred towns, meetings continued to convene. As one contemporary observer noted:

Notwithstanding all the parade the governor made at Salem on account of their meeting, they had another one directly under his nose at Danvers [the neighboring town], and continued it two or three howers longer than was necessary, to see if he would interrupt 'em. He was acquainted with it, but reply'd — "Damn 'em! I won't do any thing about it unless his Majesty sends me more troops."

Responding to rumors that British Regulars had killed six patriots and set Boston ablaze, an estimated twenty thousand to sixty thousand men from throughout the countryside headed toward Boston to confront the Redcoats. In some towns, nearly every male of fighting age participated in the "Powder Alarm," as it came to be called. British troops had in fact removed some powder from a magazine on the outskirts of Cambridge, but they had killed no patriots and set no fires. The patriots, however, were clearly on edge, and the rumors fired them up even more. "The People seemed really disappointed," one man told John Adams two months later, "when the News was contradicted."

By early October of 1774, more than half a year before the "shot heard round the world" at Lexington, patriots in Massachusetts had seized all

political and military authority outside of Boston. Throughout the preceding decade, patriots had written petitions, staged boycotts, and burned effigies — but this was something new. In the late summer and early fall of 1774, patriots did not simply *protest* government, they *overthrew* it. Then, after dismissing British authority, they boldly assumed political control through their town meetings, county conventions, and a Provincial Congress. One disgruntled Tory from Southampton summed it all up in his diary: "Government has now devolved upon the people, and they seem to be for using it."

### THE FORGOTTEN REVOLUTION

The Massachusetts Revolution of 1774 was the most successful popular uprising in the nation's history and the only one to alter existing political authority permanently. It was also the most grounded, with half of the adult males in the rural counties literally taking to the streets. Despite its power — or possibly *because* of its power — this momentous event has been virtually lost to history. It is rarely mentioned even in passing, and it is never included in the core narrative of our nation's birth.

Our most triumphant rebellion did not always suffer such neglect. All of the historians who lived through those times featured the 1774 uprising, and one, Mercy Otis Warren, called it "one of the most extraordinary eras in the history of man: the exertions of spirit awakened by the severe hand of power had led to that most alarming experiment of leveling of all ranks, and destroying all subordination." But conservative historians of the early nineteenth century, who expunged the word "rebel" from their own texts, refused to celebrate a revolution this powerful. For them, obstreperous rebels became Good Samaritans who virtuously came to Boston's aid.

Then came the legend of Paul Revere, promoted in 1861 by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's famous poem. According to Longfellow, Revere awakened the sleepy-eyed farmers; in fact, these farmers were already so awake that they had toppled British rule, and they had been arming and training for half a year to defend the revolution that they had made.

The full, dramatic story is taking a long time to reemerge, for its very strengths contribute to its anonymity. "If it bleeds, it leads" — but this revolution involved no bloodshed, for resistance was unthinkable. The force of the people was so overwhelming that violence became unnecessary. The handful of Crown-appointed officials in Worcester, when con-

fronted by 4,622 angry militiamen, had no choice but to submit. Had opposition been stronger, violence might have occurred; that would have made for a

bloodier tale but a weaker revolution.

The story lacks heroes as well as gore. This revolution was democratic by design; the people not only preached popular sovereignty but also practiced it. Although the toppling of authority enjoyed

unprecedented, widespread support, no charismatic or self-promoting leaders emerged to anchor the story and serve as its "heroes." That equality made for a stronger revolution, but it simultaneously helps to explain why we know so little about it.

In 1774, the people led, and the leaders followed. Samuel and John Adams, in Philadelphia at the time attending the First Continental Congress, wrote to their friends back home, pleading with them to do whatever they could to slow the country people down. If Massachusetts went too far and declared "independency," they warned, other colonists might become frightened and abandon the cause.

The citizens of Worcester did not heed this warning. On October 4, 1774, exactly twenty-one months *before* the Declaration of Independence, they issued instructions to blacksmith Timothy Bigelow, their representative in the illegally convened Provincial Congress:

You are to consider the people of this province absolved, on their part, from the obligation therein contained [of the 1691 Massachusetts charter], and to all intents and purposes reduced to a state of nature; and you are to exert yourself in devising ways and means to raise from the dissolution of the old constitution, as from the ashes of the Phenix, a new form, wherein all officers shall be dependent on the suffrages of the people, whatever unfavorable constructions our enemies may put upon such procedure.

The farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers of Worcester were ready to form a new government, no

**The Massachusetts Revolution of 1774 was the most successful popular uprising in the nation's history and the only one to alter existing political authority permanently. It was also the most grounded, with half of the adult males in the rural counties literally taking to the streets.**

matter what British officials might say. This idea was, of course, new and revolutionary, but the technique that they used — issuing instructions to their representatives — had been with them for many years. Their notion of “representation” was not to elect a person who would then do as he pleased, but to elect someone who would execute their demands. This was how democracy worked in New England in the late colonial period.

During the Revolutionary Era, the idea that people could command their so-called leaders through written “instructions” spread throughout the colonies. In the spring of 1776, when the Continental Congress found itself deadlocked over the issue of independence, delegates returned home to get new instructions from the people — and the people told them, loud and clear, to take the leap. Congressional delegates from Maryland, for instance, had initially opposed independence, but on June 28, Samuel Chase announced to John Adams that his state Convention had just voted unanimously to support it. “See the glorious Effects of County Instructions,” he wrote. “Our people have fire if not smothered.”

Such fire could not last forever, of course, although it would not be entirely smothered either. As the Revolutionary War dragged on, patriots in Worcester who had once worked in unison bickered over taxes, the military draft, and a shortage of salt. After the war, when disgruntled farmers from Western Massachusetts tried once again to close the courts, the people of Worcester divided over whether to support or oppose “Shays’ Rebellion.” Two years after that, in 1788, they divided over whether to accept or reject the new Constitution.

But at that special moment in 1774, when they overthrew British rule and moved toward setting up a new government of their own, these folks from the heartland of New England engaged in grassroots political activity with a spirit and effectiveness that has rarely been equaled since. Students of history are fond of noting that the United States was created as a republic, not a democracy, and they accurately point

to the views of the “Founding Fathers,” who feared too much power in the hands of the people. But if we shift our gaze from Founders to founders, from the gentry inside to the people “out-of-doors,” we find that a very different attitude prevailed. All decisions, even in the midst of their mass street actions, had to be approved by “the body of the people.” The representatives whom they selected to deal with recalcitrant officials served for one day only — the ultimate in term limits. These rebels ran their revolution like a mobilized town meeting, each participant as important as any other. At no time in our nation’s history have citizens been more passionate about adhering to the notion that all political authority resides with the people themselves.

Even the nighttime mobs (and there were many) maintained a democratic aspect. In Braintree, two hundred men gathered on a Sunday around 8:00 p.m. to remove some gunpowder from the powder house and make the local sheriff burn two warrants that he was attempting to deliver. Successful in their missions, they wanted to celebrate with a loud “huzzza.” But should they disturb the Sabbath? “They call’d a vote,” wrote Abigail Adams, who observed the affair, and “it being Sunday evening it passed in the negative.”




---

Ray Raphael’s full treatment of the 1774 Massachusetts Revolution appears in his *First American Revolution: Before Lexington and Concord* (2002). His dozen books include *A People’s History of the American Revolution* (2001) and *Founding Myths: Stories that Hide Our Patriotic Past* (2004), which details how and why our most cherished tales about the American Revolution were invented in the nineteenth century. A senior research fellow at Humboldt State University, California, he is currently working on a character-driven narrative of our nation’s birth that features people from diverse levels of the social and political hierarchy in lead roles.

## WINNER



The *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* has received three APEX Awards of Excellence for the following categories:

Magazines & Journals – Print Four Color

Feature Series Writing — “The Human Brain”

Spreads (from “Computer Games”) — “I Still Don’t Quite Get It: Video Games and New Realities,” Laura J. Kloberg, graphic designer



# THE MIDDLE SORT IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Gordon S. Wood

**W**e know all too well the story of the leaders of the American Revolution, that galaxy of founders who spoke in the Congress, led the armies, and wrote the great documents of the period — John and Samuel Adams, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and other such leaders who were members of the gentry. And recently we have learned a great deal about women and the oppressed of the period — the native peoples, the slaves, and those on the bottom rungs of society. But what about those white men in the middle of the society, those who were neither rich gentry nor poor servants and slaves? Although these people in the middle of the society represented the heart and soul of the Revolution, their story has never been fully told.

Eighteenth-century Anglo-American society tended to divide itself into two parts, with a tiny elite of gentlemen on the top dominating the bulk of ordinary folk. This division between gentlemen and commoners overwhelmed all other divisions in

the society, even that between free and enslaved that today seems so horribly conspicuous. Gentlemen were those who did not have to work for a living, at least not with their hands. They were the wealthy landowners, well-to-do college graduates and professionals, and perhaps rich merchants (if they did not attend to their counting houses too often). Since the time of the ancient Greeks, these leisured elites tended to regard the great mass of the working population with contempt precisely because those ordinary folk had to labor for a living. Working people, as Aristotle had said, could not be noble; they were preoccupied by the need to support themselves with their manual labor and thus were incapable of virtue and of disinterested political leadership.

---

## RISE OF THE ARTISAN

---

**Y**et by the first third of the eighteenth century, this dichotomous social structure was changing rapidly. The astonishing growth of commerce, trade, and manufacturing in the English-speaking world was creating hosts of new people who did not fit easily into either of the two basic social categories. Commercial

farmers, master artisans or mechanics, traders, shopkeepers, and petty merchants — ambitious “middling” men, as they were increasingly called — were acquiring not only wealth but also some genteel learning and awareness of the larger world. Although they were not gentlemen, for they had occupations and continued to work for a living as tradesmen and mechanics, they were eager to be regarded as something other than members of a “vulgar herd.” Already thinkers such as Daniel Defoe were trying to explain and justify these emerging middling people, including those whom Defoe called the “working trades, who labour hard but feel no want.” These were people such as the young Philadelphia printer Benjamin Franklin who more and more prided themselves on their industriousness, their frugality, and their separation from the idleness and dissipation of the gentry above them and the poor beneath them.

Not only were these middling sorts a major social force in bringing about and sustaining the Revolution, but also in the end they were its greatest beneficiaries, at least in the North. They eventually became the market farmers, shopkeepers, traders, clerks, and businessmen of the new middle class of the nineteenth century. These middling men were the ones who turned the idea of equality into the most powerful ideological weapon in American history.

During the imperial crisis in the 1760s and 1770s, ordinary people in America for the first time on a large scale began claiming a share in government, not just as voters but as actual rulers. Beginning with the Stamp Act disturbances and the formation of the Sons of Liberty in colonial ports in 1765, ordinary people — chiefly mechanics or artisans from many different crafts — came together to call for a boycott of British goods. In 1772, the mechanics of Philadelphia, who comprised half of the male residents of the city, formed the Patriotic Society, the first organized, non-religious public-pressure group in Pennsylvania’s history. In New York, the mechanics began convening at first in taverns; soon they bought a meeting place for themselves and named it Mechanics Hall. Everywhere in the colonial ports artisans developed a new sense of collective identity and began speaking openly of a distinct “mechanical interest” in the society.



**During the imperial crisis in the 1760s and 1770s, ordinary people in America for the first time on a large scale began claiming a share in government, not just as voters but as actual rulers.**




---

## GAINING POLITICAL POWER

---

But the artisans were not content simply to be a pressure group. They wanted to make governmental decisions for themselves, and they called for explicit representation of their interests in government. By the 1770s, artisans in the various port cities were forming slates of candidates and were being elected to various committees, congresses, and other prominent offices. The traditional gentry no longer seemed capable of speaking for the interests of artisans or for those of any other groups of ordinary people. “If ever therefore your rights are preserved,” the mechanics told each other, “it must be through the virtue and integrity of the middling sort, as farmers, tradesmen, etc. who despise venality, and best know the sweets of liberty.” Artisans, they said, could trust as their government representatives only spokesmen of their own kind, only those “from whose Principles,” as South Carolina craftsmen declared, they had reason “to expect the greatest assistances.”

In 1770, artisans in Philadelphia won four of the ten elected city offices. In the wake of their success, other particular interest groups — religious and ethnic — clamored for equal recognition through representation in government. By 1774, the Philadelphia Committee of Nineteen, the principal organization of the resistance movement, invited six persons from each religious association in the city to take part in its deliberations. In June 1774, the proposal of the Philadelphia radicals to add seven mechanics and six Germans to the committee that would succeed the Nineteen marked a significant moment in the history of American politics. It was the beginning of what would eventually become the very stuff of American politics — consciously pluralistic and interest-group based. By 1775, the royal governor of Georgia could only shake his head in astonishment that the revolutionary committee in control of Savannah consisted of “a Parcel of the Lowest People, chiefly carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths etc. with a Jew at their head.”

---

## THE GENTRY RESPONDS

---

Demands for participation in government by artisans and other ordinary workers were sufficiently novel and threatening to provoke responses from the gentry. However respectful of the people such revolutionary leaders might have been, they were not prepared to accept the participation in government



of carpenters, butchers, and shoemakers, even when they were wealthy “proto-businessmen” with many employees.

It was inconceivable to someone such as William Henry Drayton of South Carolina that gentlemen with a liberal education who had read a little should have to consult on the difficulties of government “with men who never were in a way to study, or to advise upon any points, but rules how to cut up a beast in the market to the best advantage, to cobble an old shoe in the neatest manner, or to build a necessary house.” Drayton was willing to admit that “the *profanum vulgus*” was “a species of mankind,” even that mechanics were “a useful and necessary part of society,” but, he said with more courage than discretion, such men were not meant to govern. “Nature never intended that such men should be profound politicians or able statesmen . . . Will a man in his right senses,” he asked, “be directed by an illiterate person in the prosecution of a law-suit? Or, when a ship is in a storm, and near the rocks who, but a fool, would put the helm into the hand of a landsman?”

It was not, said the gentry, just their lack of ability that disqualified artisans from important governmental office. It was their deep involvement in work, trade, and business, their occupations — their very interestedness — that made them ignoble and thus unsuited for high office. They lacked the requisite liberal, disinterested, cosmopolitan outlook that presumably was possessed only by enlightened and liberally educated persons — only by gentlemen. When artisans and other interested men in the 1760s and 1770s defended their self-interestedness and claimed that they and their marketplace interests had a right to be personally involved in government, they were in effect demanding to be judges in their own causes; they were insisting that party or faction be made a legitimate participant in government. This position was tantamount to saying that the object of government was the pursuit of private interests instead of the public good. Such ideas ran too strongly against the grain of enlightened republican thinking to be acceptable at that time. Thus, in the 1760s and 1770s it was relatively easy for Drayton and other gentry to dismiss contemptuously these early defenses by artisans of interest-group politics. But such arguments did not go away.

---

### ARTISAN LEADERS

---

Unlike the French Revolution, the American Revolution did not devour its children; its leaders — Washington, Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, and other gentry — continued to dominate events and control the upper levels of government. Yet beneath the surface of elite dominance, middling

sorts of ordinary men in the 1780s and 1790s were asserting themselves, especially by securing places in the greatly expanded state legislatures. One of the most prominent was William Findley, a Scotch-Irish ex-weaver from western Pennsylvania who became the scourge of the Philadelphia gentry. Another middling leader was Jedidiah Peck of upstate New York, who became the defender of the common farmers and other laborers against all those privileged lawyers and leisured gentry who never really worked for a living. And still another was Matthew Lyon, a former servant who through ambitious scrambling became one of the wealthiest businessmen in Vermont and a bitter enemy to all those who claimed genteel superiority.

These middling men were not liberally educated college graduates, and unlike the well-known founders, they made little or no effort to acquire the attributes of gentility. Instead, they turned their deficiencies against their critics in the gentry. They ridiculed book learning and genteel manners and, to the amazement of the gentry, won popularity in the process. The gentry called such upstarts “democrats,” a pejorative label that the middling men soon turned into a badge of honor. The middling men in turn called all those who resisted their rise “aristocrats,” which, in the increasingly egalitarian atmosphere of the 1780s and 1790s, no one wanted to be labeled.

---

### REDEFINING POLITICS

---

In the North, these middling sorts came to make up a substantial proportion of the Jeffersonian Republican party, in opposition to the gentry-dominated Federalist party. In the South, Jefferson and other slaveholding gentry-planter leaders remained relatively immune to the middling-democratic politics that was eroding traditional social hierarchies in the North. Consequently, they did not lose their faith, as the northern Federalist gentry tended to do, in the honest heart of the common man. Ironically, it was Jeffersonian rhetoric that justified the challenges of the northern middling people against the Federalist “aristocracy.”

Everywhere in the early Republic, countless numbers of these middling people relentlessly, mercilessly besieged the northern gentry who came to dominate the Federalist party. Such middling men were sick and tired of being dismissed as factious, narrow, parochial, and illiberal (as Madison and Hamilton had dismissed them in *The Federalist* papers) and were unwilling to defer any longer to anyone’s political leadership but their own.

In 1797, George Warner, a sailmaker in New York, spoke for all the “tradesmen, mechanics, and the industrious classes of society” who for too long

had considered “themselves of TOO LITTLE CONSEQUENCE to the body politic.” In the early 1790s, these sorts of men organized themselves in mechanics associations and Democratic-Republican societies, and eventually they came to make up the body and soul of the northern part of the Jeffersonian Republican party.

Everywhere in their extraordinary speeches and writings of these years, artisans, laborers, and proto-businessmen of all sorts in the North vented their pent-up egalitarian anger at all those leisured “aristocrats” who had scorned and despised them as swine and rabble — and all because they had “not snored through four years at Princeton.” They urged each other to “keep up the cry against Judges, Lawyers, Generals, Colonels, and all other designing men, and the day will be our own.” They demanded that they do their “utmost at election to prevent all men of talents, lawyers, rich men from being elected.” For a half-century following the Revolution, these common, ordinary middling men stripped the northern gentry of their pretensions, charged them at every turn with being idle drones, and relentlessly undermined their capacity to speak for working people.

In the end, not only did they transform what it meant to be a gentleman and a political leader in America, but also they celebrated work to a degree not duplicated by any other society. In doing so, they made slavery more and more an anomaly in America and turned the slaveholding southern planters into a besieged minority that was totally out of step with a society in which everyone was supposed to work. Eventually these parvenu democrats made being a member of “the middle class” almost the only legitimate status for an American. In these changes was the real American Revolution — a radical alteration in the nature of American society whose effects are still felt today.




---

Gordon S. Wood is Alva O. Way University Professor and professor of history at Brown University. He is the author of many works, including *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (1969), which won the Bancroft Prize and the John H. Dunning Prize in 1970, and *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992), which won the Pulitzer Prize for History and the Ralph Waldo Emerson Prize in 1993. His most recent publication is *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, which was awarded the Julia Ward Howe Prize by the Boston Authors Club in 2005. His most recent book is *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*, published in 2006.

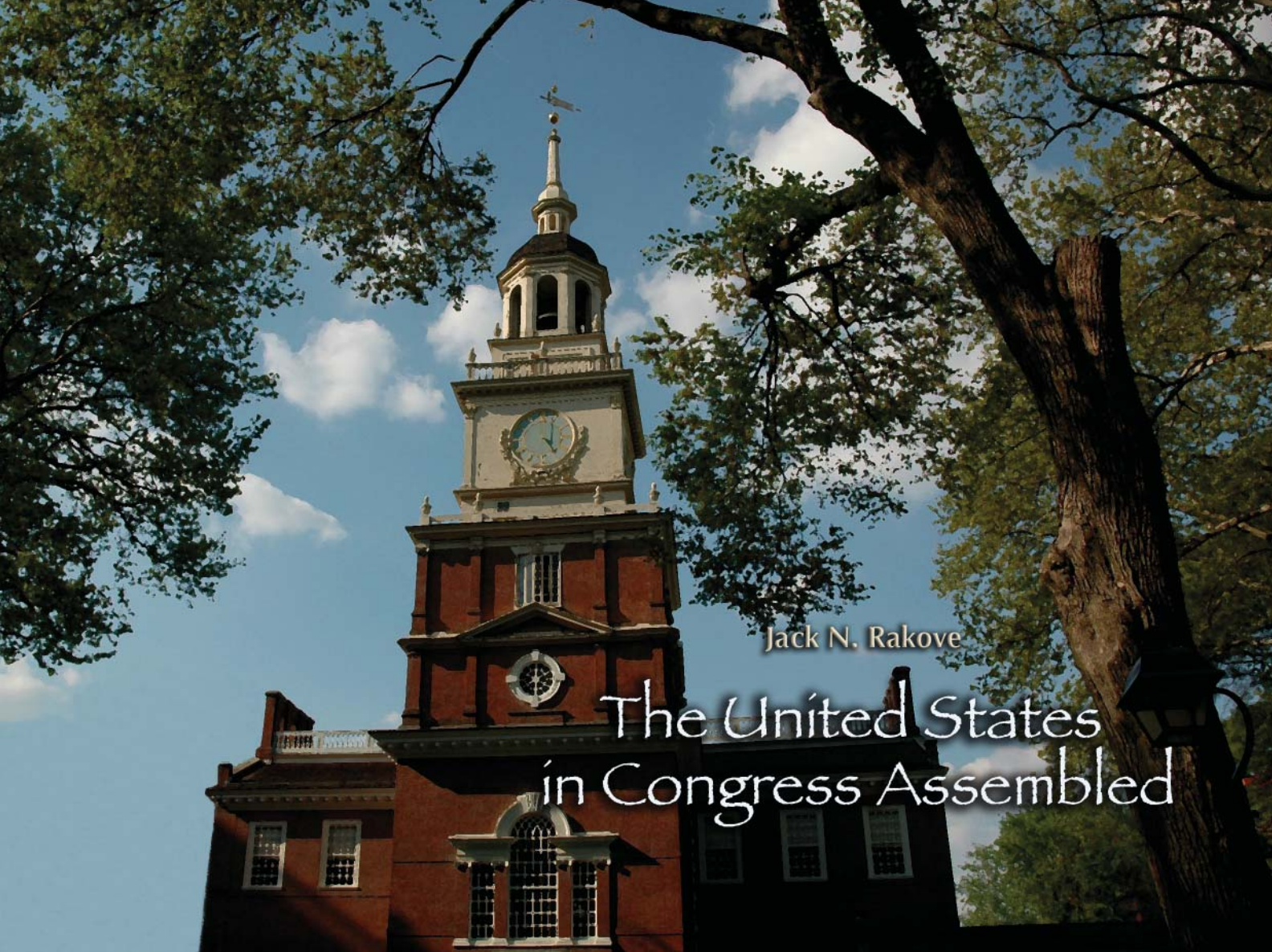


### **SunTrust Bank to Offer Federal Student Loan Consolidation Program to Phi Kappa Phi Members**

In a new partnership agreement, SunTrust Bank will offer Phi Kappa Phi members (and their families!) special interest rate reductions on federal student loan consolidation.

- Lower your interest rate by .50 percent just for having your monthly payments deducted from your personal bank account.
- If you have a balance of \$40,000 and greater, you can earn another 1 percent interest rate reduction for making your first twelve consecutive on-time payments.
- If you have a balance between \$10,000 and \$39,999, you are eligible for a .50 percent discount for automatic payment deduction and an additional 1 percent reduction after twenty-four consecutive on-time payments. (Borrower must remain current for the remaining term of the loan.)

These special discounts are only available by phone. Call 877.855.9842 to apply. For more information on SunTrust and student loan consolidation, visit <http://www.suntrusteducation.com/pkp>. There are no credit checks or application or origination fees. This offer is subject to change without notice.



Jack N. Rakove

# The United States in Congress Assembled



**B**efore there was a Congress of the United States, formally recognized in Article I of the Constitution, there was “the United States in Congress assembled,” better known as the Continental or the Confederation Congress. The delegates, many of the most renowned figures in their respective colonies, first met at Philadelphia in September 1774 as an extra-legal body summoned to coordinate colonial resistance. A Second Continental Congress convened in May 1775, three weeks after civil war erupted at Lexington and Concord. That event transformed the quasidiplomatic assembly of 1774 into a national government, and so it remained, through thick and thin, for richer and poorer (mostly poorer), until its evident “imbecility” in the mid-1780s led to the Federal Convention of 1787.

Congress was never more popular than it was at the start of the Revolution. In 1774 and 1775, it was often hailed as “the collected wisdom” of America; its decisions were compared to the “laws of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not” (as the Book of Daniel noted). As members of a revolutionary presidium, the original delegates had to balance their own skeptical assessment of British intentions with the knowledge that many colonists would support independence only as a last alternative. Within Congress, militant delegates such as Samuel and John Adams of Massachusetts and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia had to find common ground with more prudent men of business, such as Robert Morris and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania and James Duane and John Jay of New York. The British commitment to a policy of military repression made this possible. When Congress resolved on independence in

early July, it did so knowing that Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of that fact would meet with the general approval of the delegates' constituents.

---

### THE END OF "SUNSHINE PATRIOTISM"

---

Releasing the Declaration closed the great period of "sunshine patriotism," as Thomas Paine soon called it. Almost immediately, British battlefield victories in the area around New York City ushered in a new phase of the revolutionary conflict. In December, the enemy's advance across New Jersey sent Congress into a secure exile in Baltimore. There it finally realized that its military commander, George Washington, had been right to argue that short-term enlistments and reliance on the patriotism of the officer corps were no substitutes for recruiting soldiers willing to serve for several years and for giving officers material incentives to supplement their sense of duty.

For the remainder of the war, Congress was preoccupied with devising one expedient after another to keep the army in the field.

Few at the time gave Congress high marks for its performance. By late 1777, its supply system was teetering on collapse. Congressional reliance on issuing paper currency and naïve expectations that the states would levy adequate taxes created other problems, most notably a spiraling inflation that forced every American family to weigh its private interests against the claim of public good.

In its defense, it must be said that no American government, before or arguably since, ever faced the problems that Congress encountered, with so few resources or relevant experience to draw upon. Colonial America had been an under-governed society. There was no real state to speak of; most of the business of governance was performed at the level of town and county. On those occasions when war did erupt, the British Empire was there to handle the critical decisions of war and diplomacy. Under these conditions, the entire experience of national governance after 1774 was essentially on-the-job training.

Most delegates believed that the success of the Revolution depended on the willingness of the states, and their citizens, to accede to congressional decisions. To define and confirm its authority, Congress began drafting Articles of Confederation in June

1776. A draft prepared largely by John Dickinson was actively discussed during the late summer of 1776, but the final version was not completed until November 1777, when Congress was once again meeting in exile at York, Pennsylvania. Disputes over the rules for apportioning representation and the expenses of the war among the states were sources of delay, but the critical obstacle was the desire of a bloc of landless states to give Congress possession of vast tracts of interior lands claimed by various states. The landless states lost this decision within Congress, but New Jersey, Delaware, and finally Maryland held out over this issue. As a result, the Articles did not take effect until March 1, 1781.

---

### POWER OF THE STATES

---

During this period, Congress continued to govern as the revolutionary body that it had been since its inception. Its true sources of authority were political, not constitutional. It relied upon the state legislatures to implement the resolutions, recommendations,

and requisitions that it sent to them. Although it effectively monopolized the powers of war and diplomacy and authorized the individual colonies to resume legal government under new constitutions, the states exercised all other essential powers of sovereignty. Only the states could adopt laws binding individual citizens, and only the states could levy taxes. All matters of "internal police" — domestic governance — fell under their jurisdiction as well.

The new state constitutions had to establish the whole array of legislative, executive, and judicial institutions that Americans expected to find in any government properly organized on republican principles. All of these branches of government were thought

to be accountable, directly or indirectly, to their constituents. At the national level, by contrast, the unicameral Congress remained the sole constitutionally recognized institution. Its members were appointed by the state legislatures, for terms of a single year. Often they attended for much shorter periods. Most delegates found prolonged absences from home a real hardship. After the heady days of 1774–1776, Congress typically scraped by with a few dozen delegates in attendance. Members came and went as personal circumstances and other obligations in their states dictated.



**No American government, before or arguably since, ever faced the problems that Congress encountered, with so few resources or relevant experience to draw upon.**



---

## HOLDING CONGRESS TOGETHER

---

The longer that the war dragged on, the less confident many Americans grew that Congress still embodied “the collected wisdom” of the continent. Many delegates felt the same way, pointedly contrasting their own limited talents with the superior virtues that they ascribed to the delegates of 1774–1776. But in another sense, they did their best to maintain one fundamental principle that had guided Congress since 1774. Amid all their grumbling, they generally worked hard to prevent their constituents from knowing much about their own internal divisions and disagreements. Maintaining a rough façade of unanimity was essential to preserving the authority of Congress. Not only did its debates have to remain secret, but also did the disagreements that periodically perplexed and disrupted its politics.

This effort to shield Congress was not perfect, of course. Private letters to trusted correspondents were full of grouching, and in 1779 a bitter and prolonged dispute over peace terms and diplomatic appointments prodded some delegates to vent their concerns in the press. By that time, personal antagonisms had become painfully evident. John Dickinson once refused to converse with John Adams for a matter of months. There was never any love lost between James Duane, an Anglican lawyer and land speculator who was openly contemptuous of New Englanders, and the arch republican Samuel Adams, loyal son of Puritan Boston and an unreconstructed Calvinist. Nor could James Lovell, the impecunious Boston schoolteacher, ever feel comfortable in the company of Robert Morris, the merchant prince of Philadelphia. The cumulative grievances, real or fancied, that some delegates harbored toward each other could no longer be concealed, and when they coincided with differences over important issues of policy, their repercussions were doubly disturbing. Even so, despite personal and political animosities and the near meltdown of 1779, Congress retained the minimal level of confidence — and perhaps a few measures more — required to see the cause through to victory.

Disputes among the delegates seemed particularly harmful because they interfered with congressional attempts to halt depreciation of the currency and properly supply the army. By 1781, Congress’s financial woes were so severe that it turned to Robert Morris, perhaps the richest man in America, and granted him unprecedented powers to get the economy back on track. Morris evinced little interest in the problems of political theory that agitated many of his colleagues, but he acted swiftly and boldly. Because Continental currency had become worthless, he issued a second currency, the so-called Morris notes, backed by his own private credit. He also planned to establish the Bank of North America, to be funded by

private subscriptions and incorporated by Congress. Delegates quickly deferred to Morris’s expertise and endorsed his proposal without alteration for a national bank only three days after he had taken office as Superintendent of Finance. Foreshadowing the policies that Alexander Hamilton later pursued, Morris was trying to restore public credit permanently and detach Congress from its debilitating dependence on the states, which alone possessed the authority to levy taxes. No matter what the powerful Superintendent of Finance did, however, Congress seemed destined to languish in a condition of lassitude unless it obtained the authority to procure independent funds.

---

## A FLAWED CONFEDERATION

---

Once the Articles of Confederation took effect in 1781, the delegates had to reckon with the constitutional constraints placed on their authority. By the time that Maryland ratified the Articles, many of them believed that the formal powers which Congress now possessed were inadequate to the real needs of national governance. Congress sent its first proposed amendment of the Articles to the states even before the Confederation was inaugurated. Designed to raise revenue by giving Congress the authority to collect import duties on foreign goods, this amendment failed when Rhode Island rejected it outright. In 1783 Congress tried again, sending a compromise package of revenue amendments to the states. It, too, failed to secure the required unanimous approval of the states. So did two further amendments, relating to foreign commerce, that Congress proposed in 1784.

The failure of all these amendments is rightly regarded as an illustration of one of the worst defects of the Confederation: the capacity of individual states to thwart reforms produced by earnest debate within Congress and the ability to compromise required of all viable governments. But more was at stake than the formal structure and powers of the Confederation. With the coming of peace, Congress was no longer a revolutionary presidium, unified by the common objectives of repelling British arms and securing national independence. It was now a national government in a different sense: a forum in which the delegates were more free to act upon the provincial concerns of their constituents. Before 1783, independence defined the national interest. After 1783, it became an open question as to whether a national interest even existed, and if so, how it could be recognized.

Just how serious an issue this might become was evident in 1786, when John Jay, its secretary for foreign affairs, asked Congress to revise the instructions under which he was attempting to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Spain. Two years ear-

lier, Spain had closed the Mississippi River at New Orleans to American navigation, effectively preventing the settlers who were now moving into the trans-Appalachian west from shipping their produce to West Indian markets. Jay asked to be allowed to yield American demands on this point for a period of twenty years. Securing a commercial treaty with Spain would be advantageous to northern commercial interests. But southern leaders saw western expansion as a boon to their region and were loath to sacrifice their interests for northern advantage. The ensuing, starkly sectional rift within Congress did become known to state leaders, and it also suggested that the Confederation might break up before its founding charter, the Articles, could be reformed.

---

### IMPETUS FOR CHANGE

---

This was the immediate background against which nationally minded leaders, such as James Madison and Alexander Hamilton — who had served together in Congress in 1782–1783 — began to prepare for the general convention that met at Philadelphia in May 1787. They knew that a national government which had to rely upon the states to implement its decisions and policies would no longer work. The unicameral Congress in which each state cast a single vote would have to give way to a genuine national legislature, with two houses, at least one of which would have to be elected by the people themselves. Such a legislature would have to pass laws binding upon individuals, not resolutions

that were really only recommendations to the states. And that legislature could form only one branch of a genuine national government that would also need its own executive and judicial departments to administer and adjudicate national law.

Before this great transformation could take place, however, the Federal Convention of 1787 borrowed one last leaf from the Continental Congress. As did the Congress, it met behind closed doors, insulated during that period from the thoughts and concerns of the citizens “out-of-doors.” Had its doors been open, it never could have contemplated the major changes that the Constitution which it wrote soon proposed.



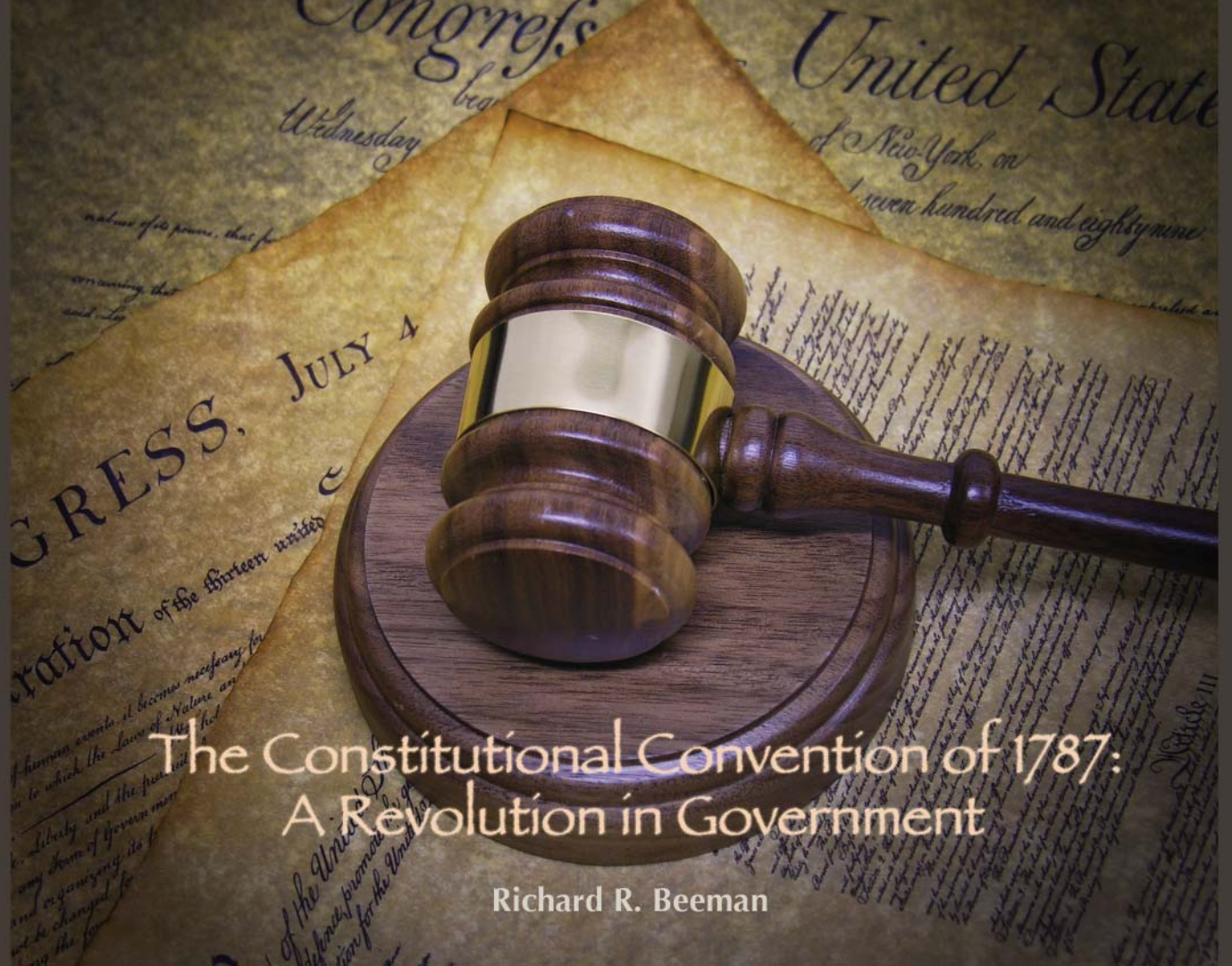

---

Jack N. Rakove is the W. R. Coe Professor of History and American Studies, and professor of political science and (by courtesy) law at Stanford University, where he has taught since 1980. He is the author of four books, including *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress*, and *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*, which received the 1997 Pulitzer Prize in History. His current project, *Revolutionaries: Inventing an American Nation*, will be published by Houghton Mifflin in 2008.

### Randy Siegel to Provide Discount to Members on Advanced Career Coaching and Communications Training



Randy Siegel, “The Career Engineer,” is offering a 10 percent discount to Phi Kappa Phi members on his advanced career coaching and communications training programs. Siegel’s Me, Inc. TeleSeminars and POWER UP TeleSupport Groups provide comprehensive guidance to help you break through to a higher level in your work and life. Visit <http://www.PowerHouseCommunications.com> or call Randy Siegel at (828) 236-0045 for more information and to find out which program is right for you. Be sure to mention that you are a member of Phi Kappa Phi. To “test drive” abbreviated versions of these programs free of charge, log in to the Members’ Only site to access archived recordings of Siegel’s “Me, Inc.” TeleSeminar and “93% Solution” Webinar.



# The Constitutional Convention of 1787: A Revolution in Government

Richard R. Beeman



America's "Revolution of 1787" was no accident. The men who deliberated in the Pennsylvania State House during the summer of 1787 were hardly wild-eyed radicals; they were, overwhelmingly, men of property and prestige, the acknowledged leaders of their political communities. Yet, as they prepared to conclude their business on September 17, 1787, after nearly four months of debate, disagreement, and compromise, they were being asked to add their assent to a document that would effect a radical revolution in the character of their continental government.

It did not begin auspiciously. On May 14, 1787, the day on which the convention that was called to amend the Articles of Confederation was due to begin, James Madison found himself in a gloomy mood. Only a handful of delegates had turned up, and indeed, eleven more days would pass before the Convention finally was able to get underway with

a bare quorum of state delegations assembled. As things turned out, however, that eleven-day hiatus would provide for those few delegates who had bothered to turn up on time a rare opportunity to plan the revolution in government.

---

## SEIZING THE INITIATIVE

---

The ringleader was the thirty-seven-year-old Madison. Historian, Forrest McDonald has said of Madison that "he had read so much and remembered so much that he could sound wise when actually he was only quoting somebody wise," but that assessment, though containing a grain of truth, is unfair. Standing only a few inches over five feet tall, scrawny, suffering from a combination of poor physical health and hypochondria, and painfully awkward in any public forum, Madison nevertheless possessed a combination of intellect, energy, and political savvy that would mobilize the effort to create an entirely new form of continental union.

Madison was gradually joined over the days between May 14 and May 25 by a group of delegates from Virginia and Pennsylvania who would combine to concoct a plan not merely to “amend” the Articles of Confederation, but instead to set the proceedings of the Convention on a far more ambitious course. The first gathering of these nationalist-minded delegates took place on the evening of May 16, in the home of Benjamin Franklin, where dinner was served in his impressive new dining room along with a “cask of Porter,” which, Franklin reported, received “the most cordial and universal approbation” of those assembled. The Pennsylvania and Virginia delegates would meet frequently thereafter during the days leading up to May 25, both in the afternoons in the state house itself and in the evenings in City Tavern or the Indian Queen.

Franklin’s and Washington’s presence gave the group both dignity and gravitas, but it was Madison and James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania who provided much of the intellectual leadership. Wilson, a dour but brilliant Scotsman, brought to the business of constitution-making a contradictory mix of beliefs. He was, on the one hand, the only delegate in the Convention who was, intellectually, a true “democratic nationalist.” On the other hand, he was instinctively uneasy with the “common man” in his real-life, day-to-day interactions with ordinary citizens. Gouverneur Morris was nearly as intellectually brilliant as Wilson, but personally much more outgoing (particularly when it came to his amorous relationships with women) and more avowedly elitist in his views about the dangers of “democracy.”

---

### THE VIRGINIA PLAN

---

By seizing the initiative, this small group of nationalist-minded politicians was able to set the terms of debate during the initial stages of the Convention, gearing the discussion toward not whether, but how, a vastly strengthened continental government would be constructed. The plan of government that these men proposed during the opening days of the Convention would form the basis for a revolution in government. The “Virginia Plan,” as it came to be called, featured:

- A “national” legislature consisting of two branches, with membership to be apportioned according either to “quotas of contribution” or the “number of free inhabitants.” This body would have the power to “legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent” and to “negative all laws passed by the several States.”

- A powerful “national executive,” to be elected by the national legislature.
- A “Council of Revision,” composed of the chief executive and a “convenient number of the national judiciary,” which could veto laws passed by either the national legislature or the various state legislatures.

The Virginia Plan constituted not a mere revision of the Articles of Confederation but a bold start on an entirely new kind of government. The word “national” rather than “federal” was used repeatedly to describe the various branches, and the powers of this national government were consistently defined as superior to those of the states. The Virginia Plan reflected some of the deep reservations that its authors had about democratic political processes. Of all the branches of the government, only the lower house was to be directly elected by the people; officials in the other branches were to be either appointed or indirectly elected.

The rule of secrecy in effect during the Convention operated powerfully in favor of those delegates who wished to see such drastic change. Had a strong advocate of the sovereign power of the individual states such as Patrick Henry, who was elected a delegate to the Convention but who had declined to serve, heard of this radical deviation from the instructions of the Confederation Congress, he would have mounted his horse and ridden to Philadelphia to join the Virginia delegation. But Henry and other politicians jealous of guarding the power of their states were not apprised of the proceedings, so on May 30, just three days after the Convention had begun its work, six of the eight states present agreed that “a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary.”

It was an amazing victory for that small cadre of nationalist-minded delegates who had cooked up the Virginia Plan, and it would set the Convention on a track that would never be reversed. But not everything else that happened in the Philadelphia Convention was a foregone conclusion. Over the course of the summer the delegates would debate, disagree, and ultimately compromise on a host of important issues, such as the apportionment of representation in the national legislature, the powers and mode of election of the chief executive, and the place of the institution of slavery in the new continental body politic.

---

### APPORTIONING REPRESENTATION

---

The delegates haggled over the issue of apportioning representation in the legislature off and on



for the entire period between May 30 and July 16. Those from large, populous states such as Virginia and Pennsylvania argued that representation in both houses of the legislature should be based on population, while those from smaller states such as New Jersey and Maryland argued for equal representation for each state. The so-called New Jersey Plan, presented by William Paterson of that state, called for a “federal” rather than a “national” government. Its essential feature — a single-house legislature in which each state was to have only one vote — seemed a reincarnation of the Articles of Confederation, but in fact it stipulated that the “federal Legislature” would be superior to those of the states and specifically gave to the central government a coercive power “to enforce and compel obedience” from the states if a conflict were to arise between federal and state law.

The protracted debate over these alternatives was an unedifying, even unattractive, affair. The compromise that eventually emerged from that debate, championed most energetically by the delegates from Connecticut, was an obvious one — so obvious that it was proposed off and on by several delegates almost from the beginning of that difficult six-week period: representation in the lower house would be apportioned according to population, with each state receiving equal representation in the upper house. In the final vote on the “Connecticut Compromise,” occurring on July 16, five states supported the proposal with four, including Virginia and Pennsylvania, opposing, and one state divided. The next morning, a disconsolate James Madison and several other large-state delegates met to consider whether they should leave the Convention altogether.

## POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY

The debate among the delegates over the separation of powers and the nature of the American presidency, although more high-toned, was also more protracted and confusing. At one extreme, nationalists such as James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris favored a strong, independent executive capable of giving “energy, dispatch, and responsibility” to the government, and they even urged their fellow delegates to give the president an absolute veto over congressional legislation. At the other end of the spectrum, Roger Sherman of Connecticut declared that the “Executive Magistracy” was “nothing more than an institution for carrying the will of the Legislature into effect.” This led

Sherman to the conclusion that the president could be removed from office “at pleasure,” any time a majority in the legislature disagreed with him on an important issue.

Many, perhaps most, of the delegates thought that the executive should be elected by the national legislature; still others thought that the executive should be elected by the state legislatures or even by the governors of the states. James Wilson was virtually the only delegate who came out unequivocally for direct election of the President by the people. He did not possess an inherent faith in the wisdom of the electorate, but he accurately predicted that popular election could give the executive branch both energy and independence.

## SLAVERY

The most blatantly pragmatic compromises concerned the troubling issue of slavery. By 1787 slavery in America was in a state of decline. It

remained a significant part of the social and economic fabric in five of the states represented in the Convention, but only two states — South Carolina and Georgia — were inclined to argue for an expansion of America’s “peculiar institution.” Yet the delegates in Philadelphia failed to eradicate that great contradiction to the core values of liberty and equality, on which America had declared its independence. Instead, they enshrined the institution of slavery within their new Constitution.

Although neither the word “slave” nor “slavery” is mentioned anywhere in the Constitution, issues regarding the institution of slavery were interwoven throughout

the Convention debates from the very beginning. For example, the slave population of the South, whether conceived of as “residents” or as valuable property, affected the calculations on the apportionment of representation. The ultimate resolution of that issue — each slave would be counted as three-fifths of a person in apportioning both representation and taxation — was a purely mechanical and wholly amoral calculation designed to produce harmony among conflicting interests within the Convention.

The future of the international slave trade was discussed but never resolved. Although Northern and



**The delegates in Philadelphia failed to eradicate that great contradiction to the core values of liberty and equality, on which America had declared its independence. Instead, they enshrined the institution of slavery within their new Constitution.**



Upper Southern delegates were willing to compromise for the sake of harmony, and most of the delegates agreed that slavery was fundamentally immoral, delegates from South Carolina and Georgia insisted that the slave trade be allowed to continue for at least another twenty years, and others relented to their demand.

Finally, the delegates consented, virtually without debate, to a provision requiring that any “Person held to Service or Labour in one State. . . [and] escaping into another. . . shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.” That tortured language, going to such great lengths to avoid mentioning the word “slave,” became known as the “Fugitive Slave Clause,” a provision of the Constitution that prompted abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison subsequently to label the Constitution as a “covenant with death.” This one act of the Convention not only signaled the delegates’ grudging acceptance of slavery but also made those states that had abolished slavery in the aftermath of the Revolution actively complicit in the support of that institution.

The Convention sanctioned the institution of slavery only because delegates from South Carolina and Georgia threatened to refuse to sign the Constitution unless they got their way. While the founding fathers may be justifiably praised for their remarkable foresight on many issues, the moral fabric of the nation would have been stronger had delegates from the North and Upper South refused to bow to the threats of South Carolina and Georgia delegates. The federal union would have survived without South Carolina and Georgia, and, indeed, that union would have been significantly “more perfect” than that which emerged after the compromise over slavery.

---

### FRANKLIN’S LAST HURRAH

---

On the last day of the Convention, Benjamin Franklin “rose with a speech in his hand,” but, weakened by age and a painful attack of kidney stones, he asked his fellow Pennsylvania delegate James Wilson to read it for him. It would be the last major speech of his life. He began by admitting that “there are several parts of this constitution which I do not approve,” but he then noted that what was


most astonishing to him was “to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does.” Ever the pragmatist, Franklin asked those delegates who still had reservations about parts of the draft of the Constitution to “doubt a little of [their] own infallibility,” and to affix their names to the document. Thirty-nine of the forty-two delegates who were gathered that day, many still harboring doubts about aspects of the new framework of government and many still confused about what it portended, followed Franklin’s advice, signing the Constitution and sending it off to the people of the states for their approval.

There is an oft-told story — perhaps apocryphal — that upon leaving the Convention Franklin was confronted by a dignified lady who asked him what sort of government he and his fellow delegates had created. Franklin replied, so the story goes, “A republic madam, if you can keep it.” If there was one thing on which all of the delegates who signed the Constitution would have agreed, it was that they had created a “republican” form of government. But what the precise ingredients of that republic would be — in what ways principles of federalism, democracy, and equality would be embodied in their new republic — would become clear only as America’s experiment in federal union unfolded.







---

Richard R. Beeman is professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. He has written five books and several dozen articles on aspects of America’s political and constitutional history. His most recent book, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth Century America* (2004), is a wide-ranging, interpretive study of the uncertain and confused origins of democracy in America. He has served as a Fulbright Professor in the United Kingdom and as the Vyvian Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University. He is currently writing a history of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, to be published by Random House in 2007.



An  
“Excess of Democracy”  
— Or a Shortage?  
The Crisis that Led to  
the Constitution

Woody Holton



**M**ost high school history textbooks offer essentially the same explanation for how the United States Constitution came about, contending that the previous government, under the Articles of Confederation (1781–1789), had proved too weak. Yet if you delve into the speeches and writings of the men who gathered in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 to write the Constitution, you will discover another, far more pressing motive. The Framers said that they wrote the Constitution because the American Revolution had gone too far.

---

#### TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY?

---

The problem was not so much Congress as the state legislatures. Early in the Constitutional Convention, James Madison urged his colleagues to tackle “the evils . . . which prevail within the States individually as well as those which affect them collectively.” After all, he said, the states’ internal problems “had a full share in the motives which produced the present Convention.”

Madison was not alone in this opinion. Inside and outside the convention, expressions of concern about the weakness of Congress, admittedly numerous, were outnumbered by complaints against the state governments. “What led to the appointment of this Convention?” Maryland delegate John Francis Mercer asked his colleagues. Was it not “the corruption and mutability of the Legislative Councils of the States”?

Countless Americans who were not delegates to the federal convention also had the thirteen state legislatures in their sights. “The state governments should be deprived of the power of injur[ing] themselves or the nation,” Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller who had become Washington’s chief of artillery, declared in a July 1787 letter to a member of the convention. The only solution was to “Smite them in the name of God and the People.”

What was wrong with the states? Given the common perception of the Founding Fathers as enthusiasts for rule by the people, it is jarring to read their specific complaints. In September 1786, a Connecticut essayist who took the name “Publicus” grumbled that state assemblymen paid “too great an attention to popular notions.” Charles Lee of Virginia hoped that the federal convention delegates

would not pattern the new national government on the state constitutions but instead would create a government "more powerful and independent of the people."

"I was once as strong a republican as any man in America," declared Noah Webster — he of dictionary fame — in November 1786, "Now, a republican is among the last kinds of governments I should choose. I should infinitely prefer a limited monarchy, for I would sooner be subject to the caprice of one man, than to the ignorance and passions of a multitude."

Others identified the problem as "a headstrong democracy," "a mad democracy," a "prevailing rage of excessive democracy," a "republican frenzy," "democratical tyranny," and "democratic licentiousness."

The Philadelphia convention proposed — and thirteen state-ratifying conventions eventually accepted — a host of remedies for the disease of excessive democracy. As the acclaimed historian Douglass Adair pointed out in 1943, the Framers ensured that the one popularly elected branch of the new national government, the House of Representatives, would be "carefully checked and balanced by a quasi-aristocratic (or plutocratic) senate, the electoral college, the presidential veto, and by judicial review."

Perhaps the Framers' most powerful restraint on popular power was also the most subtle. The convention discovered that it could limit ordinary citizens' influence over the most crucial government functions, especially the levying of taxes (until then a state responsibility) and the regulation of debtor-creditor relations, simply by shifting them from the states, where the median population was 250,000 souls, to a new national government that encompassed all three and a half million Americans.

Because congressional districts would encompass about ten times as many voters as the constituencies from which state assemblymen were chosen, they would stand a much better chance of filling public offices with responsible men. If "the Election is made by the Peop. in large Districts there will be no Danger of Demagogues" being elected, Madison told the Philadelphia convention.

Nor was this all. After the Constitution shifted certain vital government duties to a polity that com-

bined the territory of all thirteen states, grassroots efforts to pressure elected officials would rarely acquire that essential ingredient of political power: unity. As Madison pointed out in *Federalist* Number 10, Americans would rarely be able "to discover their own strength," much less "act in concert."

A month earlier, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, Madison had made the same point in even starker terms. "*Divide et impera*, the reprobated axiom of tyranny," he wrote, "is under certain qualifications, the only policy, by which a republic can be administered on just principles."

Yet not all categories of citizens would find unity equally elusive. Some interest groups — those that the federal-convention delegates and like-minded men considered the most virtuous — would outdo others at the art of coalescing. Well-to-do city dwellers (especially merchants), veteran officers, and investors in government bonds were much likelier than ordinary farmers to achieve the level of internal cooperation that was needed to exert influence on a government that

embraced the combined territories of the thirteen states. Taking note of this disparity in organizing ability, the supporters of the Constitution affirmed that it would filter out unjust efforts to influence public officials while allowing salutary influences to pass through.

Madison's fellow Constitutional Convention delegate Gouverneur Morris, who had literally been to the manor born (at "Morrisania," on Long Island), understood that "the schemes of the Rich will be favored by the extent of the Country. The people in such distant parts can not communicate & act in concert" and would be at a disadvantage compared with "those who have more Knowledge & intercourse" with each other.



**Perhaps the Framers' most powerful restraint on popular power was also the most subtle. The convention discovered that it could limit ordinary citizens' influence over the most crucial government functions . . . simply by shifting them from the states, where the median population was 250,000 souls, to a new national government that encompassed all three and a half million Americans.**



---

**TOO LITTLE DEMOCRACY?**


---

Most modern historians endorse the Framers' claim that the states had become too democratic. For instance, Bernard Bailyn of Harvard affirms that by the mid-1780s, Madison "had observed the evil effects of legislative majorities within some of the states over the previous five years. Again and again minority property rights had been overwhelmed by populist majorities."

Maybe historians such as Bailyn are correct in describing the state governments created during the American Revolution as being too responsive to popular whims. What they sometimes forget, however, is that on the eve of the Constitutional Convention, thousands of pamphlets, newspaper essays, and petitions to the state legislatures put forward exactly the opposite claim: The problem the United States faced in the wake of the Revolutionary War was not too much democracy, but too little.

According to this alternative viewpoint, the clearest indication that the state legislatures were not really in the hands of the people was the massive tax burden that they imposed. Voters complained of having rebelled against British tax collectors only to face even more voracious ones at home.

In most states, taxes were two or three times higher after the revolution than before. And everyone knew why: the state assemblies were determined to pay interest on the government securities that had financed the war effort. What made these taxes so galling for returning soldiers was that financial necessity had compelled most of them to sell their bonds to speculators at a fraction of their face value. Tax collectors seized livestock and sometimes even land from former soldiers to produce windfall profits for the speculators who had scooped up their bonds.

A group of petitioners in Brunswick County, Virginia, spoke for thousands of other Americans when they declared in 1786 that "The honest labourer who tills the ground by the sweat of his brow seems hitherto to be the only sufferers by a revolution which ought to be glorious but which the undeserving only reap the benefit off."

Recall that Madison's remedy for what he perceived as an excess of democracy was to shift certain key governmental powers from the state to the federal level, which had the effect of enlarging representatives' legislative districts. Americans whose diagnosis of the country's plight was the reverse of Madison's — in their view, the country was not democratic enough — proposed a remedy that was also the opposite of his. They wanted to make assemblymen's districts smaller.

---

**HERMAN HUSBAND**


---

A little-known advocate for shrinking legislative districts was Herman Husband, a farmer and religious seeker who lived in Bedford County on the Pennsylvania frontier.

The sheer size of the Pennsylvania legislative constituencies, which spanned entire counties and were thus among the most populous in the nation, kept farmers and artisans out of the assembly, Husband declared in a 1782 pamphlet. A "County is too large a Bound," he wrote, and there are only "a few Men in a County who are generally known throughout the whole of it." These prominent men who had the best chance of getting elected were "generally the most unsuitable, they being chiefly Tavern-keepers, Merchants, &c. in the County Towns, with the Officers, Lawyers, &c."

Husband thought that state representatives should be chosen by new county legislatures comprising one member from each town. Farmers and artisans would easily win election to the county legislatures, and once there they could send one of their own to the state assembly.

County legislatures not only would increase the percentage of less-wealthy candidates who won their races but also would help farmers and artisans acquire the confidence that they needed to seek higher office in the first place. As long as their representatives were chosen countywide, Husband argued, ordinary men would be "apt to conceive of ourselves [as] too insignificant to represent the County." The county legislature would "prove as a School to train up and learn Men of the best Sense and Principles the Nature of all publick Business, and give them Utterance to speak to the same."

Husband's proposal was based on the concept of gradation. The dimensions of the parts of the human body build gradually from the smallest measurement — the distance between two knuckles — all the way up to the largest, the person's height. In the same way, society should not consist simply of the rulers and the ruled but of several intermediate layers as well.

"Our Want [lack] of the proper Use of those lesser Joints in the Body-politick," Husband wrote, "is as though we wanted our Finger-joints in our Bodies natural; without which we could not carry on the finer Parts of mechanick Work." (See Figures 1 and 2 on page 42.)

Like James Madison and the men with whom he would collaborate in securing the adoption of the Constitution, Herman Husband recognized that enlarging legislative districts tended to thwart some

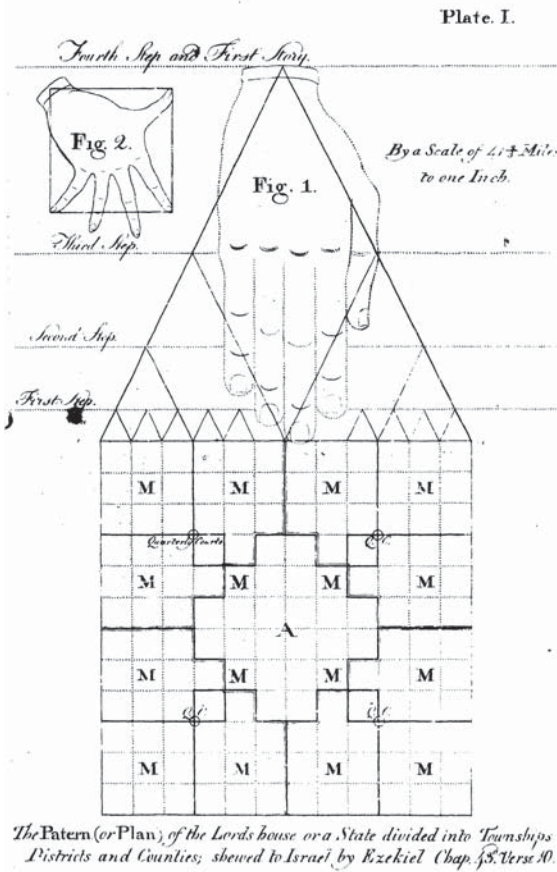


Figure 1. Herman Husband believed truly representative government requires several layers of representation between the individual and the national government. He insisted that there be no variation in the increment by which the size of each element of the government surpassed the size of the next-smallest element. He found inspiration for this proportionality in Ezekiel 43, verse 10 (which reads, in the King James version, "Thou son of man, shew the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities: and let them measure the pattern") and in the proportions in the human body. Here Husband compares a state to a human hand. *A Dialogue between an Assembly-Man and a Convention-Man on the Subject of the State Constitution of Pennsylvania* ([Philadelphia], [1790]), between pages 8 and 9, attributed to Husband in Mark H. Jones, "Herman Husband: Millenarian, Carolina Regulator, and Whiskey Rebel" (PhD diss., Northern Illinois University, 1982), 331-337. Used by permission of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

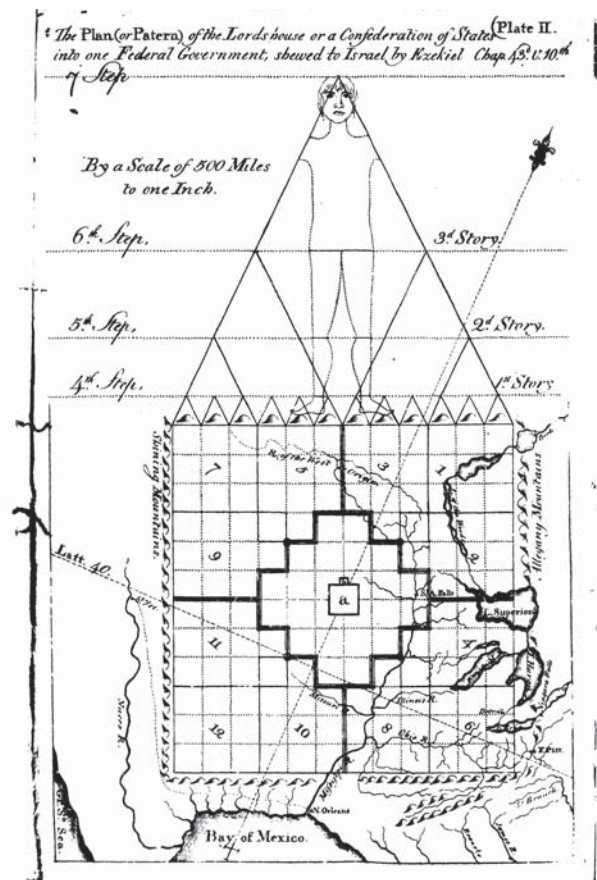


Figure 2. Husband used a map of North America and a diagram of a human body to demonstrate his belief that the various layers of representative government in the United States should exhibit the same proportionality as the human body. (For Ezekiel 43, verse 10, see caption to Figure 1.) Used by permission of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

pressure groups more successfully than others. In his 1782 pamphlet, he contended that the framers of the state constitutions had deliberately established large legislative districts with no intermediaries between legislators and their constituents because they knew that in this system, "the Body of the Governors" would be able to "combine," whereas "the Body of the Governed" was "cut off from the Benefit of the Circulation of Life and Knowledge, and so become dead and ignorant."

During the debate over whether to ratify the Constitution, New Yorker Melancton Smith, like Husband an Antifederalist, echoed his claim that enlarging legislative districts tended to increase the relative strength of the well-to-do. "The great easily form associations," Smith told the New York ratifying convention on June 21, 1788, but "the poor and middling class form them with difficulty."

After the Constitution was ratified and Americans began electing congressmen in districts that were ten times larger than state legislative districts — and in some cases even larger than that — Husband declared that the government "might as well have empowered the officers and wealthy men to have held those elections without mocking the public and the body of freemen."

Men such as Husband and Smith agreed with Madison and his fellow Federalists that shifting certain core governmental duties to national legislators had thwarted some grassroots organizing efforts more effectively than others. All they denied was that the pernicious influences were the ones that had been filtered out.

Although one of Husband's tax-reduction proposals is mentioned in a letter that Madison received early in 1790, there is no evidence that the two ever met. Husband showed up in President Washington's correspondence, too, four years later, when he was arrested and taken to Philadelphia for playing a leading, albeit nonviolent, role in the so-called Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. He was released, but as he made his way home, Husband took sick and died. He was fifty years old.

For a new generation of historians to endorse the analysis of the outcome of the American Revolution offered by obscure thinkers such as Herman Husband would be as rash as it was for scholars such as Bailyn to sanction the diagnoses and remedies of men such as James Madison. Yet I am one historian who is excited to learn that I had underestimated the range of political ideas that were available to Americans during the immediate aftermath of the Revolutionary War.

Indeed, in many ways, the range of possibilities was greater then than it is today.




---

Woody Holton teaches at the University of Richmond. He is the author of *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1999), which received the Merle Curti Social History Award, and of the forthcoming *Reining in the Revolution: Angry Farmers and the Origins of the Constitution*. His essay, "Divide et Impera: Federalist 10 in a Wider Sphere," appears in the Organization of American Historians' *Best American History Essays 2006* (New York, 2006).



---

## PAINTINGS

Her paintings are confluent with bleak streets  
sharp cornered, cluttered with tenements, dingy sheets  
dangling from back lines, lines strung out  
from all three floors to a telephone pole  
in a far corner of the yard. In winter  
the lines squeal in short bursts as the women  
snap inside the frozen sheets, the stiffened tee shirts.

One night her brothers return from ice fishing  
with a rigid, injured, oil-slicked gull —  
throughout the night they bathe it over and over  
heating water from the cold tap, warming towels  
over the single heater, but by morning it is dead.  
Six or eight children see to its funeral  
with Latin hymns and stick crosses,  
they lay it in a shallow grave  
hacked from the frozen ground.

At Christmas

she paints orange candles in a grandmother's third floor windows.  
In the second floor, a hint of tree lights.  
In the first, all the windows are blank and staring.

In April

she covers a canvas with gesso but it stays stark  
and empty as the first floor, untouched  
till June, when the morning sun bounces off  
the bone-bright canvas, beckoning. Soon the fire escapes  
crisscross the houses and women hang out there,  
chatting on the iron steps. Some folks put out plants,  
so she paints a red azalea, bright and alive  
against the backdrop of black iron and dark brick.  
Gulls skirl above amid the steeples  
the green patina of the Portuguese, the granite of the Irish,  
the dark slate of the French — they chime the hour  
and the black stacks of the factories fill the corner  
of the canvas: between the mills and the churches  
the tenements multiply  
the fire escapes  
the children.

CATHERINE MCLAUGHLIN

---

Catherine McLaughlin is a professor of English at Framingham State College in Massachusetts. She lives in the unlikely sounding town of Plainville with her two children and ninety-two-year-old mother. Her poetry has appeared in *Southern Review*, *Connecticut River Review*, *Cream City Review*, *Wisconsin Review*, *Commonweal*, and many other literary magazines. She has a memoir forthcoming in *Confrontation*, the Long Island University literary journal.

---





# “Take This or Nothing”

Pauline Maier



Americans remember the men who designed the Constitution and fought for its ratification, the “Federalists,” as founders of the nation. Those who were labeled as “Antifederalists” do not qualify because they “opposed the Constitution.” They also apparently lost, and Americans love winners. In fact, the divisions over the Constitution were more complicated than those descriptions suggest, and the Antifederalists have a strong claim to be included among the founders.

The ratification controversy began, in retrospect, during the five days before the convention adjourned on September 17, 1787, as the delegates went over a polished version of the Constitution for one last time. Because they had been in session with only one short break since May and were eager to go home, they hastily threw out one proposal after another that might have made ratification a lot easier. Twice, for example, they rejected proposals to increase the size of the first House of Representatives, which was to consist of only sixty-five members, far too few,

the Constitution’s critics would say, to represent the people adequately. The delegates also refused to add a bill of rights. Such a document, Virginia’s George Mason argued, “would give great quiet to the people; and with the aid of the State declarations, a bill might be prepared in a few hours.” But not one state delegation voted in favor.

My title, however, comes from an exchange on September 15, two days before the convention adjourned. Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia moved “that amendments to the plan [the Constitution] might be offered by the State Conventions, which should be submitted to and finally decided on by another general Convention.” Randolph said that he was anxious to find a way to avoid differing with the “body of the Convention” after their “great and awful” labors together, but without this provision he could not “put his name to the instrument.” Mason supported the motion. The convention had written the Constitution “without the knowledge or idea of the people,” and only after a broad public debate could the “sense of the people” be known and the Constitution adjusted so that it fit

the people’s preferences. “It was improper,” Mason said, “to say to the people, take this or nothing.” Again, not one state delegation voted in favor of Randolph’s motion for a second convention.

Randolph and Mason, along with Massachusetts’s Elbridge Gerry, did not sign the Constitution, and so apparently lost their place among the founders. Yet few delegates had done more to bring the convention together than Randolph or contributed more constructively to its discussions than Mason. Their proposal for a second convention, moreover, was firmly grounded on constitutional theory and precedent.

---

### THE MASSACHUSETTS EXAMPLE

---

The Constitution begins “We the people... do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.” Those words were taken from the 1780 Massachusetts constitution, the first to be drafted by a specially elected constitutional convention and then submitted to the people for ratification. In that way — which had been proposed by ordinary citizens in places such as Concord or Pittsfield, Massachusetts — the constitution became a direct act of legislation by the sovereign people, distinct and superior to the ordinary laws passed by legislatures. By 1787, constitutional scholars such as James Madison saw ratification by the people as essential to any constitution.

The people of Massachusetts, however, had not been told in 1780 to “take this or nothing.” The state constitutional convention asked town meetings to review the draft constitution part by part, recording votes as they went along. Later the convention would reconvene, modify any unpopular provisions so that they satisfied two-thirds of the people, and then declare the constitution ratified. The process did not work out as planned: returns from the towns were so confusing that the reconvened convention simply declared the entire constitution ratified. If used again, the procedure would need a better way of determining how many people opposed certain provisions and why.

Instead, the Philadelphia convention prescribed an entirely different procedure for ratifying the federal Constitution. A set of special resolutions stipulated that the Constitution should be sent to the Continental Congress and afterwards

“submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the Recommendation of its Legislature, for their Assent and Ratification.” But could the people only assent and ratify the Constitution or, by inference, reject it altogether? Were they precluded from proposing changes? By what right could the convention tell the sovereign people to “take this or nothing”?

---

### FINDING FAULT WITH THE CONSTITUTION


---

George Mason scribbled a list of “objections” to the Constitution on the back of a committee report before the convention ended. Elbridge Gerry copied the list and showed it to like-minded people in New York on his way home to Massachusetts. Mason also showed his list to the Pennsylvania Antifederalist Robert Whitehill, who made a copy. And the day after the convention adjourned, Mason sent another copy to Richard Henry Lee, a Virginia delegate in the Continental Congress who

in late September proposed that Congress amend the Constitution before sending it to the states.

These men were not alone in finding fault with the proposed Constitution. In the early fall of 1787, virtually every leading Federalist considered it imperfect. George Washington, Henry Knox, James Wilson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton — all thought some parts of the Constitution were mistakes. If certain provisions of the Constitution caused problems when put into effect, the Federalists said, they could be amended through the process described in Article V of the Constitution. But first the Constitution had to be ratified. Their position was like that of a shopkeeper who lets customers alter a suit of clothes only after they pay for it. But was a procedure that makes some sense in selling a suit of clothes appropriate for ratifying a document that would affect the freedom and welfare of the American people far into the future?

To insist that the Constitution go to the people as it was, without amendments, Lee told the Continental Congress, was “like presenting a hungry man 50



**To insist that the Constitution go to the people as it was, without amendments, Lee told the Continental Congress, was “like presenting a hungry man 50 dishes and insisting he should eat all or none.” Amendments, moreover, would make ratification more likely “as capital objections will probably be removed.”**

dishes and insisting he should eat all or none.” Amendments, moreover, would make ratification *more* likely “as capital objections will probably be removed.” The idea that the Constitution had to be agreed to “or nothing else” supposed that “all wisdom centers in the Convention” and that nobody outside of the convention had anything to contribute but a nod of approval. He got nowhere in the Continental Congress, which refused even to debate his amendments — and then excised them from its journal.

In the fall of 1787, then, both sides in the ratification controversy agreed on the need for strengthening the federal government. Moreover, many who found serious fault with parts of the Constitution nonetheless saw it as a step in the right direction. Mason, for example, wrote Washington that his “objections” were “not numerous” and easily could have been removed by “a little Moderation & Temper, in the latter End of the Convention.” Lee also acknowledged that the Constitution was better than the Confederation, or it would be once its worst flaws were repaired. To that extent, the Antifederalists were not antifederalists, a term that the Federalists had invented for persons who opposed strengthening the Confederation long before the Philadelphia convention met. The Antifederalists never liked the name but gradually fell into accepting it because they could not come up with a better one — in part because the Federalists had co-opted the one that best fit their views.

To be sure, not all Antifederalists were the same. Some suggested that amendments to the Confederation could have solved the nation’s problems. At the other extreme, the Antifederalist writer “Centinel” favored a second convention, not to amend the Constitution, which he described as a “first try,” but to start over, building on public discussion to improve the previous design. Most Antifederalists, however, were prepared to support an amended Constitution. Only when the Federalists continued to insist that the people “take this or nothing” did the Antifederalists oppose ratification — in the hope of getting something better.

---

### THE POPULAR DEBATE

---

Federalists at first tried with considerable success to prevent criticisms of the Constitution from circulating. They had some doubt, it seems, that “the people” would judge wisely in an open contest and so preferred to pretend that nobody was doing anything but shouting “huzzah!” Federalists cut the amendments that Antifederalists proposed from the official records of both Congress and the Pennsylvania ratifying convention and cancelled subscriptions to

coerce newspaper editors who printed Antifederalist writings. The published debates of the Pennsylvania convention include only Federalist speeches, as if nobody else were there. Nonetheless, within months an explosion of newspaper essays criticizing parts of the Constitution, some in series such as those of “Centinel,” others one-shot letters of local origin, swept “the people” into a boisterous debate played out not just in the press but also in public meetings and taverns, in the streets, and across dinner tables. On one side stood those who wanted the Constitution ratified as proposed by the convention. On the other side were people unwilling to “take this or nothing.”

In Massachusetts, for example, town meetings often read and discussed the Constitution before electing delegates to the state ratifying convention, then debated whether they should instruct those delegates on how to vote. Most decided not to adopt instructions, perhaps because they already had chosen delegates who shared their views. Of those towns that instructed their delegates, the majority told them to vote against ratification. If “we the people” were to decide, why shouldn’t they register the results of their deliberations in that fashion? Other towns found ways to express themselves without compromising the deliberative character of the convention. Take the statesman-like position of Southborough in Worcester County, which decided “that the Federal Constitution, as it now Stands ought not to be Ratified, but that under Certain Limitations and Amendments it may be a Salutory form of Government.” It left the subject of amendments “to the wise Deliberations of the Convention,” confident that it would both “Guard the Liberties of the people” and grant Congress “all those powers which are necessary to Secure and maintain the federal Union.”

---

### LIMITATIONS AND AMENDMENTS

---

What limitations and amendments did the Antifederalists favor? The Massachusetts ratifying convention recommended several, as did the conventions of South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York. None insisted on a major rewriting of the Constitution, as had Richard Henry Lee in September 1787. Lee wanted to take the task of giving the president “advice and consent” away from the Senate and entrust it to a council in the executive branch to make the separation of powers more exact, to eliminate the “useless” job of vice president, and to make representation in both houses of Congress proportional to population. Although some states made proposals comparable to Lee’s, they agreed on certain core amendments that were decidedly more modest.

The states asked for an explicit provision that all powers not granted to Congress be reserved to the states. They also demanded — as had Lee — Constitutional protection for trial by jury, particularly in civil cases, and a series of other rights, many of which are now protected by the first ten amendments to the Constitution ("the bill of rights"), which the First Federal Congress proposed in an effort to avoid more severe restrictions on its powers. Even the phrase "due process of law" in the Fifth (and later also the Fourteenth) Amendment, which has been of immense importance in the history of American freedom, came from the amendments proposed by Antifederalist New York.

For Antifederalists, however, the most important "rights issue" involved the old revolutionary principle of "no taxation without (adequate) representation." One state after another proposed that Congress impose direct taxes (essentially poll taxes and real-estate taxes) only when funds from import duties, excise taxes, and other sources were insufficient, and then let the states raise their proportions of the general levy. If a state failed to act, the federal government could then collect the taxes — plus six percent interest *per annum* for the time since the state requisition fell due. Because representation in Congress was insufficient, the Antifederalists argued, direct taxes — which were potentially ruinous because unavoidable — should be raised only by the state legislatures, which represented the people more fully and knew better what burdens their people could bear. The proposal horrified Federalists, but how much difference would it have made? Until passage of the Sixteenth Amendment in 1913, the federal government imposed direct taxes only rarely and in grave circumstances, such as during the Civil War, and Antifederalists might well have accepted a wartime exception to their rule.

Once the new government began, Congress alleviated anxiety over inadequate representation by increasing the size of the House of Representatives. By giving state courts original jurisdiction in most civil cases under federal law, the Judiciary Act of 1789 answered Antifederalist fears for the survival of state courts, which, they said, kept access to justice from becoming a prerogative of the rich. Other Antifederalist proposals eventually were enacted as the Eleventh Amendment (precluding suits against a state by citizens of other states or foreigners, 1798), the Twenty-Second (presidents can be elected to only two terms, 1951), and the Twenty-Seventh (precluding Congress from raising its members' pay before an election intervenes, 1992).

In short, the Antifederalists did not "oppose the Constitution." They wanted to improve it, above all by adding those protections of rights that remain for Americans the most beloved parts of the (amended) Constitution. They also proposed to increase representation of the people, avoid oppressive taxes, ensure ready access to justice for everyone, and put further limits on power while reducing the likelihood of its corrupt misuse. Those constructive proposals emerged not from the "demigods" at Philadelphia (except for a few dissenters among them), but instead from a debate on American government that stretched back to 1776 and in which "the people" took their authority seriously. The Antifederalists never got their second convention, but they did not "lose." In time they got almost everything else that they wanted in one way or another and so left an enduring mark on the American national government and its exercise of power. They, too, were founders.



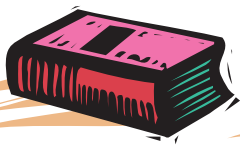
Pauline Maier is the William Rand Kenan, Jr., Professor of American History at MIT. She is the author of several books and articles on the American Revolution, including *From Resistance to Revolution* (1972) and *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (1997), and she contributed chapters on American history through early 1800 for *Inventing America: A History of the United States* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2006), which gives particular attention to innovation as a theme in American history. She is currently writing a book on the ratification of the federal Constitution.

### Magnum Opus Awards

The *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* received a  
SILVER AWARD  
for Best Series of Articles  
for the Winter/Spring 2005 issue,  
"The Human Brain"

The *Publications Management* Magnum Opus Awards are designed to honor publications that deliver—strategically, editorially, and visually—with a quality consistency of the highest order.

Go to [www.mcmurry.com](http://www.mcmurry.com) and click on "Awards" for more information.



# Book Reviews

**LOIS ROMA-DEELEY. *northSight*. Scottsdale, AZ: Singularity Press, 2006. \$24.95.**

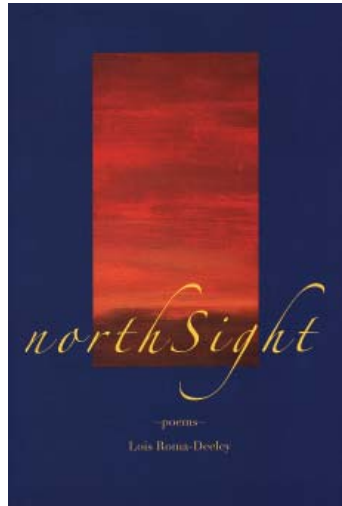
Arranged in four sections, *northSight*, Lois Roma-Deeley's second book of poems, presents a cast of characters worthy of Dante: dealers, bikers, prostitutes, rapists, and tattoo girls on the one hand, and war heroes, waitresses, monks, laborers, firemen, and immigrants on the other. Doors and doorways figure prominently in these poems, but the poems with "transcendental" in the title link all of these characters and the sections of the book.

While Part I does not include a transcendental poem as such, that omission strikes me as an oddly appropriate way to begin, like the teapot in "This" that the young girl drops on the stone floor, cutting herself. No matter — the monk making boxes, the monk for whom the tea is intended, sees in this tiny disaster "a star burst he can copy/something he can use." So, too, are the speaker in "Women and Contemporary Society" who owns the lecture hall and the grocery clerk ogling her breasts.

"Getting on the Transcendental Train" in Part II seems absolutely crucial for understanding *northSight*. The speaker and her son watch "nonstop reruns of *East of Eden*." They are marked with the smells of "fresh pine and stale popcorn." They hope, "somewhere in the middle of each show," that "this time there has to be/a better ending." This hope for a "better ending" provides a theme around which the poems in this volume turn, even in the face of physical decay as in "Explicit," whose speaker asks "should-I-be-allowed-to-live?"

This same question resonates and echoes in Part III's "To Be the Transcendental Infinite" and "Underneath the Transcendental Green Sweater." The speaker in "Transcendental Infinite" puns on to be or not and alternatively imagines herself as "the glint/in chrome around the window of a car/burning down the highway. Or the bead of sweat/falling from ear to jaw." She wants "To be this/nothing more." And then there are those "charms on a string made of cat gut/and conch shells," underneath the green sweater, of course, that whisper of answered prayers and hope even in "the dead of winter."

Hope resides in moments and poems such as "Tuning the Transcendental Radio" in which the "I" of the poem sees her old age in "weeping/for words which do not exist." Yet she memorizes one moment so perfectly as to obliterate that weeping: "two small faces pressed against the [Ford's] back



window./Morning light filling a water glass./A note taped to the front door./Two oboes crackling on the broken radio." Such moments are worth singing about ("Standing on the Transcendental Sidewalk") or perhaps folding into the quotidian as in "Melting into the Wind at the Transcendental Five and Dime." Most important of all is this poet's ability to mend the broken things, herself included, even as she is "Exit-ing." In such manner, the girl and the woman whom the girl becomes can, in fact, find "How the Future Feels." They can find how it feels, yes, and they can, knowing its dangers, nevertheless revel in it, as Lois Roma-Deeley does in her fine second book, *northSight*.

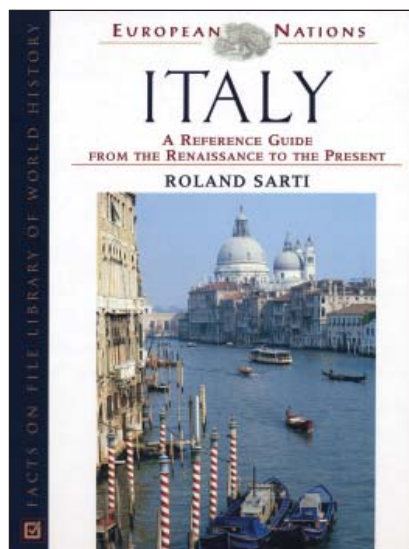


Peter Huggins teaches in the English Department at Auburn University. He is author of three collections of poetry, *Hard Facts* (1998), *Blue Angels* (2001), and *Necessary Acts* (2004) as well as a novel for middle grade readers, *In the Company of Owls* (2007), and a picture book, *Trosclair and the Alligator* (2006).

**Roland Sarti. *Italy: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present*. Facts On File, Inc., 2004. 712 pages. \$85.00.**

Roland Sarti's *Italy: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present* is one of a number of projected volumes on European nations, including Spain, Portugal, Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, and Russia. Geared toward the top-level high school and college student, each guide includes a short history of the country from the Renaissance to the present; a concise encyclopedia of important events, places, and personages; a very useful chronology of significant historical events in the country's evolution in the past five hundred years; and, finally, a set of maps, appendices, an index, and a solid bibliography for further reading.

Sarti traces the etymology of "Italia" to the Latin word for "calf," "vitilus." The etymological transformation of this word from vitilus to Vitelia, which later became the current *Italia*, reflects the perennial vision of the Italian peninsula as a land of plenty. However, as Sarti notes, the idea that Italy continues to be a cornucopia of natural riches is more myth than reality, because this beautiful peninsula



has, for more than two millennia, been successively pillaged of its natural resources by invaders and settlers from the north, the south, and the east. In more-distant epochs, invited and uninvited guests included Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Arabs, Normans, Franks, Longobards, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Muslims, Vikings, and Magyars; in the modern era, which this book covers, the invaders were the French, the Spanish, and the Austrians. Even today Italy continues to be the destination of both legal and illegal immigrants who arrive on its fabled shores from Africa and the nations across the Adriatic Sea.

According to Sarti, modern Italy suffers from a national identity crisis, precisely because Italians have been “unaccustomed to working together” (vi) since the decline of the Roman Empire. If this assertion is true, then Italy still faces a monumental challenge, one that would appear not to have been met during the *Risorgimento*, the period in the nineteenth century when political unification occurred. As the name of the period of national unification suggests, the *Risorgimento*, which means “resurgence,” was inspired by the nation’s past glories, beginning with those of ancient Rome and proceeding through those associated with the Roman Catholic Church, the medieval city states, and the powerful Renaissance families.

For citizens to support the idea of a nation, the majority of them must subscribe to an identity based on a common value system that goes beyond region, political, class, or family allegiances. According to this view, the inherent “internal diversity” (vii) that characterizes the Italian people has frustrated the development of the essential sense of national identity that fuels the engine of national development. The notion of *italianità* is thus a top-down abstraction formulated by intellectuals seeking “a principle of unity” for a group of divided peoples: “What was missing for most [Italian] people was the intermediate link of *italianità* that connected the particular to the universal” (vii-viii).

Sarti’s ninety-one-page history of Italy succinctly describes earlier periods, such as the Renaissance, the Age of Enlightenment, the Napoleonic era, the Restoration, and the movements that culminated in political unity in the second half of the nineteenth century. But the author devotes a greater number of pages to the tumultuous twentieth century, the first half of which witnessed such momentous events as Giovanni Giolitti’s liberalism, the devastating First World War, and the equally crippling Fascist decades of militarism abroad and dictatorship at home. At the conclusion of the Second World War, a battered Italy rebuilt itself with massive aid from the United States and rejected a monarchical form of government. During the subsequent republican period, Italians witnessed the evolution of a plethora of political parties on the political right and left. In more recent decades, they have confronted the difficult challenges of environmental depletion, political scandals, feminist and other social movements, and internal and external terrorist threats.

The largest section of this volume (538 pages) is devoted to a Historical Dictionary A to Z. The first entry is “abor-

tion,” which, against the strong opposition of the Catholic Church in Italy, was legalized in 1978 and which has contributed to Italy’s precipitously declining birthrate. The last entry is “Zoli, Adone,” a Christian Democrat Prime Minister in the 1950s who, among other things, kept secret for decades the site of Il Duce’s remains, now conserved in the Mussolini family vault in Predappio and still the destination of admirers and the merely curious alike. These “book-end” entries vividly demonstrate the controversy and the drama that continue to swirl around Italian social phenomena even today.

All aspects of Italy’s cultural and intellectual contributions are covered in the central portion of the volume. In the visual arts, for example, we find not only the predictable Raffaello Sanzio and Giovanni Tiepolo, but also the recently celebrated Artemisia Gentileschi. In music, we find classical composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Boccherini and Giuseppe Verdi, but also modern contributors to the art such as Nino Rota and Luciano Berio. Architectural entries include not only enshrined figures such as Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Andrea Palladio, but also important innovators such as Pier Luigi Nervi, whose design of the George Washington Bridge Bus Terminal in New York embodies both the practical and the aesthetic aspects of construction, and Renzo Piano, whose thoughtful additions to the High Museum in Atlanta, Georgia, complement Richard Meier’s distinctive original design.

In literature, pride of place is devoted to Dante Alighieri, the “father of the Italian language” and author of the “*Divine Comedy*,” but coverage is also given to current authors such as semiologist and political commentator Umberto Eco, whose novels address significant intellectual concerns, and Matilde Serao, whose works explore feminine psychology, political corruption, and the deplorable living conditions of her native Naples. Italian cinema gained international fame at the end of the Second World War when a group of innovative directors and screenwriters, including Roberto Rossellini, Cesare Zavattini, and Vittorio De Sica invented the Neorealist style of filmmaking, which employed a gritty, documentary style to tell heartrending stories about ordinary Italians in post-war Italy. Neorealism gave way to other influential cinematic styles, including Federico Fellini’s surrealistic depiction of Italian life in the 1950s, *the commedia all’italiana*, Michelangelo Antonioni’s cynical portrayal of upper middle-class *emmi*, Sergio Leone’s spaghetti Western films, and Lina Wertmüller’s parodies of gender politics.

Italy’s contributions to the sciences are, of course, legendary — for example, the “natural philosopher” Galileo Galilei, whose confirmation of the Copernican view that the earth revolved around the sun, and not vice versa, led to the scientist’s trial in 1633 by the Roman Inquisition. Only in 2001 did Pope John Paul II officially rescind the church’s condemnation of Galileo’s research. The Nobel Prize-winner Enrico Fermi conducted experiments with uranium that led to what later was identified as the new element barium. Another expatriate, Rita Levi-Montalcino, who shared

the Nobel Prize in medicine for her research in neurology, specifically in growth factors, was appointed senator for life in 2001.

Important movements and ideas also are detailed, including entries for futurism, fascism, and feminism. Futurism, a cultural-political movement of the early twentieth century related to cubism, rejected bourgeois and traditional values and advocated bold, industrial innovations, but ultimately succumbed to its own glorification of violence. Futurism's love of anarchic individualism persisted, however, in the subsequent movement of Fascism, which called for the suppression of individual fulfillment in favor of the advancement of the collective good. Taking as their inspiration the imperialistic model of the ancient Romans, the Fascists sought to make Italy a global military power and, on the domestic front, won support with their programs of health care and welfare, land reclamation, and mass entertainment. Feminism in Italy encountered vigorous opposition from the Catholic Church and its political arm. But after the student revolts of 1968 and the rise of the New Left, Italian feminism made impressive gains on the specific issues of birth control, divorce, and other family concerns and on broader cultural trends such as sexual identity, gender equality, and "the special needs of women as women" (275).

Not surprisingly in a reference book aimed at an American readership, major coverage is given to Italy's relations with the United States. A photograph of then Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, looking highly pleased to be shaking hands with George W. Bush, underscores not only Italy's support of the Iraq war but also indicates her strong and sustained cultural and political engagement with America. Perhaps not enough coverage is allotted to recent social developments such as gay rights and youth culture, although both of these topics are discussed. This reviewer is surprised by the omission of entries on certain famous contemporary Italians. Where is Ennio Morricone, whose haunting film scores enrich numerous films, both Italian and foreign? Where is Elena Ferrante, the mysterious Neapolitan, whose intriguing novels (for example, *Days of Abandonment*) have brought international attention to the question of the female condition in Italy? And how can a reference book omit an entry for the delightful comedian Totò?

But it hardly bears mentioning that in a reference text of this nature, it is impossible to include everything, so we must admit that what Sarti has included is impressive, indeed. The author's clear and succinct prose style renders the book eminently readable. This volume, the latest in a series of recently published excellent reference texts on Italy, provides accurate, detailed information to readers seeking to learn more about this fascinating nation.

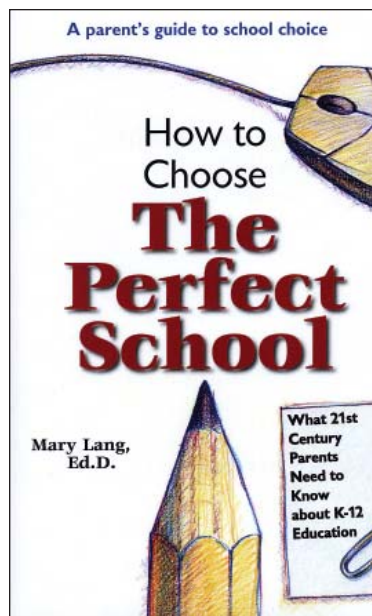


V. Louise Katainen is an associate professor emerita at Auburn University.

**Mary Lang, Ed. D. *How to Choose The Perfect School*. Trafford Publishing, 2005. 105 pages. \$15.50.**

*Perfect* 1. Expert, proficient; 2. Being entirely without fault; flawless; satisfying all requirements; accurate; corresponding to an ideal standard; faithfully reproducing the original; legally valid  
3. Pure, total; lacking in no essential detail; 4. Implies the soundness and the excellence of every part, element, or quality of a thing frequently as an unattainable or theoretical state.

—From Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary*



Parents seeking a quality education for their twenty-first-century children will find valuable material in Mary Lang's ambitiously titled publication, *How to Choose The Perfect School*. Dr. Lang is the founder of the K-6 Moscow Charter School in Idaho. She writes as an educator and a parent, expressing her wish to assist parents who find themselves with options that only recently have become available, options they may not be prepared

to assess, options that can and will affect their children's formal education and eventual life paths. School choice is a serious undertaking requiring careful reflection, thought, and assessment, and purposeful, long-range decision-making. Dr. Lang's book offers a comprehensive consideration of the facets and the process of choice.

Dr. Lang addresses the history of educational theory and the complexities of school choice, providing a brief, accessible summary of brain-based learning, learning styles, and definitions of intelligence and success. She describes a quality curriculum as one including early intervention, basic skills, technology, the arts, service learning, and school-to-work programs. She points out alternatives that include distance learning and multiple- and partial-day enrollments. She provides an overview of the physical variables of education, commenting on school size, calendars, flexible placement options, and individualization for talents and special needs. The appendix of her book summarizes each discussion with a list of suggested questions that parents might ask of administrators. The questions are designed to open an honest, comprehensive dialogue.

Parents and public school teachers will appreciate Dr. Lang's acknowledgment of the challenges, both financial and

temporal, that federally mandated testing places on public school classrooms. But those teachers will want the parents to know that, like their private school counterparts, they, too, create and use thematic units, understand and consider learning styles, study and follow models of cognitive theory, and reach out to students as individuals. Many public school teachers are members of such organizations as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, organizations that long ago moved the public school curriculum beyond the early-twentieth-century “factory model” cited by Dr. Lang. Contrary to her belief, teachers are not the reason that children’s school days are limited. Many teachers hold second jobs and would far rather spend those hours in classrooms with their students. It is now estimated that to address the full complement of learning standards prescribed by many states, schools would need fifteen years or more of public education; yet communities and state and federal governments continue to provide for only twelve years of 180 days each. Public schools have experienced serious cuts in the arts, physical education, and enrichment programs; public school teachers and their unions continue to be the strongest voices advocating the restoration of budgets for these areas and for the technology that students will need in their new century.

While Dr. Lang offers a wide array of educational theories and new choices to consider, the suggestion that finding the perfect school for each child will become the new century’s parental expectation seems unsettling. Dr. Lang stresses that parents need to approach such decisions with a clear, defined view of the long-range plan of education for

each child. The questions in *How to Choose The Perfect School* certainly invite a comprehensive look at existing models of education; more importantly, they can invite a careful assessment of the new, emerging models of nontraditional education. Parents can approach this discussion optimistically with both public and private school administrators. Such interviews will consume time and energy, but investment of that time and energy can lead to developing the budget and resources necessary for the restoration and extension of that most accessible of options: the public school curriculum.

Referring back to Webster’s definition and looking at education in the twenty-first century, readers will find elements of perfection in dedicated, supported classrooms of both public and private schools: *experts, proficient in education, satisfying in all requirements, lacking no essential detail . . .* Perfection is also defined as *unattainable or theoretical*. While not perfect, education today is more comprehensive and meets more individual needs than ever in its past. Dr. Lang’s book facilitates this introspective view of education, a view that parents, teachers, and administrators can use to continue working toward providing quality education and maximum growth for all students.



Terry Palardy is celebrating her twenty-fifth year as a public school teacher in Massachusetts, having taught in elementary school, special education, middle school, and graduate school classrooms. Mrs. Palardy is also a former “*Forum on Education and Academics*” columnist for the *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*.

## Make Your Plans Now to Attend the 2007 Phi Kappa Phi Triennial Convention in Orlando, Florida, August 9-11.

### Featuring:

- Keynote speaker Cathy Small, author of *My Freshman Year: What a Professor Learned by Becoming a Student*
- Presentations by past and present Phi Kappa Phi award recipients
- Roundtable breakfast discussions
- Chapter officer workshops

Watch for additional information about the 2007 Convention as it becomes available at

[PhiKappaPhi.org](http://PhiKappaPhi.org).

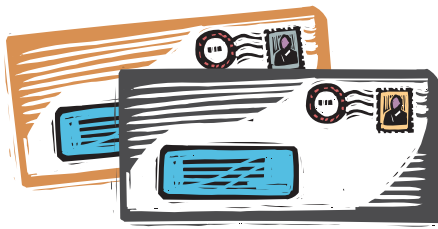
### 2007 Phi Kappa Phi Convention Keynote Speaker

Dr. Cathy Small, Phi Kappa Phi member and author of *My Freshman Year: What a Professor Learned by Becoming a Student* [Reviewed in the Winter/Spring issue of *Forum*, p. 39], will be the keynote speaker at the Society’s 2007 Triennial Convention. Dr. Small will discuss her experiences as an “undercover college freshman” with convention delegates on August 9, 2007.

After more than fifteen years of teaching, Dr. Small, a professor of anthropology at Northern Arizona University, realized that she no longer understood the behavior and attitudes of her students. Dr. Small decided to put her wealth of experience in overseas ethnographic fieldwork to use closer to home and applied for admission to her own university. Accepted on the strength of her high school transcript, she took a sabbatical and enrolled as a freshman for the academic year. She chronicled her observations (under the pseudonym Rebekah Nathan) in *My Freshman Year*, a first-person account of student culture today. What she learned about the contemporary university — as an anthropologist, a freshman, and a teacher — will be the subject of her keynote address.







# Letters to the Editor

## COLLEGE ATHLETICS



As a Phi Kappa Phi member, Academic All-American, and NCAA Goalkeeper of the year as a student-athlete, as well as a current Division I college coach, I

have extensive experience in both academics and athletics as well as a unique knowledge of how the two coexist.

The narrow-minded perspective of a couple of the articles [in “College Athletics,” Fall 2005] was painfully frustrating to read. These academic individuals seemed to miss the big picture and failed to convey that the majority of student-athletes in most sports are as focused on their academics as they are on athletic endeavors. The 40/60/80 rule has hurt more of my top students than it has helped the lower-level ones, as they risk losing their eligibility if they change their majors after their sophomore year. High achieving student-athletes also have great difficulty pursuing double majors or minors because of this rule. The APR rule will result in lower numbers on my roster, thereby reducing participation, because I will not give a small scholarship to a player who would normally earn this scholarship, for fear that she might quit the team after a few years and lower my APR.

Most of the new academic restrictions are made because of the minute percentage of student-athletes who are just competing in the NCAA to prepare for a chance at the pros. However, a large majority (my estimate is at least 95 percent) of student-athletes are in college to earn a degree. Further, no one in the *Forum* discussed the educational benefits of participating in college athletics, benefits such as learning to work as a team, discipline, time management,

and so on. Neither did anyone mention that college coaches, through their academic counselors, receive constant feedback and updated grade reports on their student-athletes to keep up with their academic progress. Last, most college coaches do receive academic bonuses as well as competitive bonuses. Just a few thoughts from a different point of view after reading the *Forum*.

Karen Hoppa  
Auburn, Alabama



## IS THE SKY FALLING?

Congratulations on what

I believe is one of your premier issues of the past several years. This will be a “keeper” for many readers — and scholars. I can imagine it will become assigned reading throughout the country.

I have to admit is not very often that I read a scholarly journal cover-to-cover. The Winter/Spring 2006 issue [Is The Sky Falling?] is an exception, however.

I commend you, your editorial staff, and the others involved for publishing such a fine journal. The content is exceptionally well-written, the illustrations appropriate and clear, and most important, the overall theme — natural disasters — most timely.

Further, the overall appearance of the journal is appealing and visually attractive — a good example of functional magazine design. Thanks for representing the Society so positively.

Ray Newton  
Prescott, Arizona

## FORUM ON SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

I was pleased to happen upon Devlin Gualtieri’s article “The Free Software Alternative” in *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*’s Winter/Spring 2006 issue [“Is the Sky Falling?”], primarily because I didn’t expect to find a defense of free and open-source software development (a rather niche topic) in a general-interest academic publication. As Gualtieri suggests, open source is a critical paradigm for the future of computing, for a host of reasons that go beyond simple matters of economics (which is, I grant, important enough in its own right).

Open source also can create opportunities for access to technology for those social groups who have been previously barred from entry. It is often a great alternative to implement in computer labs from an administrative standpoint, and from a political perspective, it sends the message to software corporations that regular civilians have a legitimate claim to the inner workings of software applications that are often hidden behind the opaque curtain of its interface. Monopolies do not just hoard capital, they often create exclusive knowledge regimes as well, and open source helps overturn one such regime.

Finally, I would like to refer curious readers to a couple of sources in addition to Gualtieri’s capable introduction to the topic. Those interested in the free and open source software movement should read Eric Raymond’s seminal rationale “The Cathedral and the Bazaar” (Google it), and those interested in the cultural aspects of this community would be well served by watching the entertaining documentary *Revolution OS*.

Ben McCorkle  
Marion, Ohio



## Phi Kappa Phi Launches New Web Site

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi has gone live with its revamped Web site with major revisions to the site's appearance, navigation, and functionality.

Created by Baton Rouge-based marketing, public relations, and creative services firm Object 9, the new site features a streamlined navigation structure and incorporates new online member benefits. The modular design allows Phi Kappa Phi staff to easily update the site and deliver fresh content. Enhanced graphics highlight key messages and feature outstanding members and volunteers.

“More and more members, potential members, chapter officers, and parents are looking to our Web site as their primary source of information about Phi Kappa Phi, so it is essential that it be a robust and highly functional site,” says Perry Snyder, Phi Kappa Phi executive director. “It has become a ‘virtual’ Society Headquarters.”

The new site is divided into three main categories to better target specific audiences. The main or public site contains general information about the Society, including its awards programs, membership standards, and chapter-petitioning process. It also includes an area for employers and recruiters to view Phi Kappa Phi members' résumés.

The members-only site is a password-protected area where members can access numerous online benefits, network on the message board, submit member news, pay dues, and order merchandise. The members-only site also houses archived issues of the Society's printed and electronic publications, as well as recordings of Web-based seminars and teleseminars.

An internal site for chapter officers and Society volunteers is also password-protected and serves as an online hub for information on administering a chapter. Accessed via a unique URL, this portion of the site allows chapter officers to register for events and download forms, templates, and publicity materials.

“By segmenting information for our various audiences, we hope to deliver relevant content quickly and effectively,” remarks Snyder. “Fast, fluid, interactive, and informative, the new site reflects the values and integrity of Phi Kappa Phi.”

The Web site address is [PhiKappaPhi.org](http://PhiKappaPhi.org).

- Page 54  
*Phi Kappa Phi Launches  
New Web Site*
- Page 55  
*Phi Kappa Phi Chapter News*
- Page 58  
*Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf*
- Page 59  
*Financial Front*
- Page 60  
*Member News*
- Page 63  
*In Memoriam*
- Page 64  
*Phi Kappa Phi Merchandise*

## VCU CHAPTER AWARDS RECORD AMOUNT IN SCHOLARSHIPS

The Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) chapter of Phi Kappa Phi awarded a chapter-record \$64,000 in scholarships this spring. A total of thirty-three students received the money, which is awarded in cooperation with the office of the Provost, the Graduate School, and the various academic units on campus.

VCU's remarkable cooperation with and support of the chapter result from a true institutional commitment to the ideals of Phi Kappa Phi. As Robert G. Davis, Executive Director of the chapter and also in charge of the Academic Unit contribution process, puts it, "The University's President is a member; the Provost is a past chapter president, and most of the deans are now or have been past presidents or members of the Executive Committee; currently, three deans serve on the seven-member Committee."

Of the contributions to the scholarships for the current round of awards, the money from

the Provost's office totals \$7,000 and is awarded as three chapter scholarships. One goes to a rising senior, one to the chapter's candidate for the Society Fellowship program, and one to an individual who has promoted women in higher education. The Graduate School contributes up to twenty \$2,500 scholarships in the name of Phi Kappa Phi, and most of the academic units give at least one \$1,000 scholarship. The academic unit scholarships originally began as a matching fund arrangement, with the scholarship (originally \$500 total) from each unit being funded half by the chapter. Eventually, the chapter's contribution was reduced until each unit was fully funding the scholarships.

In addition, the VCU chapter has a separate scholarship fund of nearly \$30,000, an amount raised through a yearly campaign. The chapter hopes to grow that amount by \$5,000 per year.

To read more about the program, visit the chapter Web site at [www.vcu.edu/phikappaphi](http://www.vcu.edu/phikappaphi).

## NATIONAL SCHOLAR LECTURES AT NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY

Phi Kappa Phi National Scholar Dr. Randolph Chitwood delivered the Spring 2006 Phi Kappa Phi Lecture at North Carolina State University (NCSU), hosted by the local chapter, on February 9, 2006. While at NCSU, Dr. Chitwood shared lunch with several Park Scholars (NCSU's most prestigious undergraduate scholarship program) and visited with key cardiac faculty at the College of Veterinary Medicine. The event was held at the newly completed Friday Institute on Centennial Campus, which is named for William Friday, President Emeritus of the sixteen-campus University of North Carolina System. Dr. Chitwood, Chief of Cardiothoracic Surgery at East Carolina University, is the founder of robotic cardiac surgery in the United States. Internationally recognized for his pioneering work in minimally invasive heart surgery, his investigations and innovations allow surgery to be done inside the heart through small incisions rather than through large traditional cuts that split the breastbone or the ribs.



Dr. Randolph Chitwood





Phi Kappa Phi Southeast Region Vice President Dr. Sandra Holt and Dr. C. Leary Bell, Vice President of External Affairs.

### ARMSTRONG ATLANTIC STATE HOLDS FIRST CHAPTER INITIATION

The Armstrong Atlantic State University chapter of Phi Kappa Phi held its first initiation ceremony on April 9, 2006. The chapter, which initiated 118 new members, was approved at the October 2005 Board of Directors meeting. Dr. Sandra Holt, Southeast Region vice president for Phi Kappa Phi, represented the Society at the ceremony. As Dr. Mark Finlay, Assistant Dean of Arts and Sciences reflected when the chapter was established, "Our ability to offer national recognition to our students with outstanding academic credentials reinforces our commitment to develop leaders for this new century."



Dr. Jim Brawner (Mathematics; chapter treasurer), Prof. Mary Ann Brock (Academic Advisement Office, chapter public relations officer), Dr. Camille P. Stern (Nursing, chapter president), and Dr. Sandra Holt.



Dr. Camille P. Stern (Nursing, president of the AASU chapter) and Dr. Sandra Holt.



Ms. Phillipa Kandel Paddison, alumni member, class of 1948 and Dr. Stern.



Dr. Janet Stone (History), Dr. Dennis Murphy (associate VP of Academic Affairs), Prof. Donna Mullenax (Physics), Dr. Kam Fui Lau (Information Technology), and Dr. Bob DiBella (Director, Professional and Continuing Education).

## UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

March 2, 2006 was recently designated as “Read Across America” Day (<http://www.nea.org/readacross/index.html>). Given the literacy focus of The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Jacqueline (Jackie) Congedo, student chapter president of the College Park division of Chapter 22, led the effort to expand its after-school tutoring efforts with Parkdale High School students by inviting them to campus for a presentation on reading.

The University of Maryland is proud to host the International Children’s Digital Library (ICDL—<http://www.icdlbooks.org/>). Developed by Dr. Allison Druin, an associate professor in the College of Information Studies, ICDL “is a research project funded primarily by the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Institute for Museum and Library Services (IMLS),

and Microsoft Research to create a digital library of outstanding children’s books from all over the world.” Parkdale students learned about it and how they might use it with younger students or siblings, or how they might assist Dr. Druin in her research.

In addition, on Friday, February 24, 2006, the chapter cosponsored the University of Maryland’s Honors Inaugural Formal, again under the leadership of student president Jackie Congedo and with cooperation and assistance from other campus honors organizations. The proceeds from this dance, totaling close to \$1,000, will go toward the Division of Student Affairs Crisis Fund. The success of this inaugural event bodes well for its future.



Parkdale High students attend a presentation on the International Children’s Digital library.

### Partnering for Success Workshop

For Phi Kappa Phi Chapter Officers

Don’t miss your chance to help your chapter be more successful by attending the Partnering for Success Workshop in October 2006.

Baton Rouge, Louisiana  
October 7–8, 2006  
Cook Conference Center

For more information,  
go to  
[PhiKappaPhi.org](http://PhiKappaPhi.org)

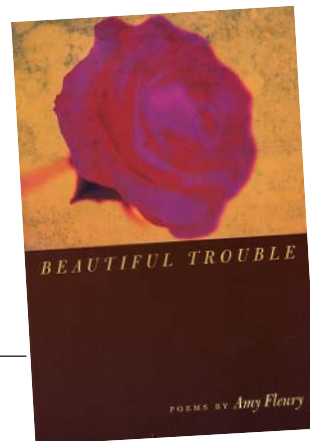
# Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf



## ***Beautiful Trouble*** Amy Fleury

Kansas native Amy Fleury's debut collection of poetry delves into landscape, family, girlhood, womanhood, and everyday existence on the prairie. Capturing images of dragging clotheslines, baked

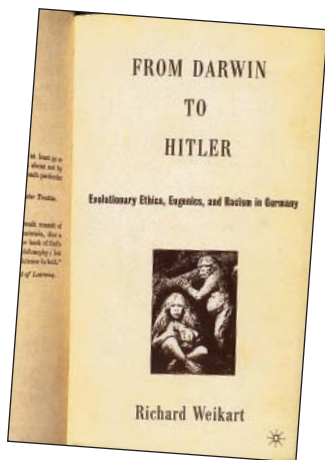
lawns, and sweet potato babies, *Beautiful Trouble* invokes an earnest and dignified portrait of Midwestern life.



Amy Fleury was inducted into the Washburn University chapter of Phi Kappa Phi in 2003.

## ***From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany*** Richard Weikart

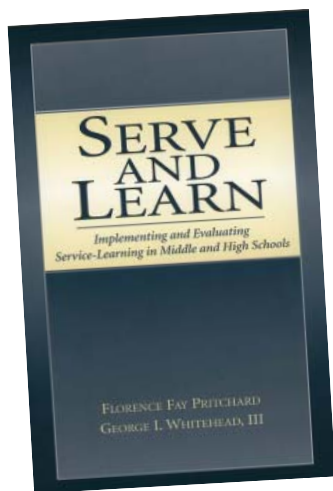
Richard Weikart explains the revolutionary impact that Darwinism had on ethics and morality in Germany. He demonstrates that many leading Darwinian biologists and social thinkers in Germany believed that Darwin overturned traditional Judeo-Christian and Enlightenment ethics, especially the view that human life is sacred, exalting evolutionary "fitness" to the highest arbiter of morality. He makes the disturbing argument that Hitler built his view of ethics on Darwinian principles rather than on nihilistic ones.



Richard Weikart was inducted into the California State University-Stanislaus chapter of Phi Kappa Phi in 2000.

## ***Serve and Learn: Implementing and Evaluating Service-Learning in Middle and High Schools*** Florence Fay Pritchard and George I. Whitehead, III

*Serve and Learn* provides a framework that middle and high school teachers, their students, and community partners can use to design, implement, and evaluate service-learning projects that address authentic community needs. It also demonstrates ways that collaborative service learning can enhance students' intellectual development, promote their academic achievement, strengthen their citizenship skills, and accelerate educational accountability.

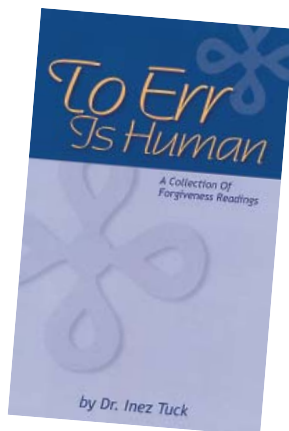


George I. Whitehead was inducted into the Salisbury State University chapter of Phi Kappa Phi in 1977.

## ***To Err Is Human: A Collection of Forgiveness Readings*** Inez Tuck

In *To Err Is Human*, Dr. Inez Tuck offers a collection of readings that introduces forgiveness as it is related to everyday experiences. The author connects forgiveness with a multitude of topics, discussing how it relates to fear, despair, racism, violence, and war, and emphasizing its importance for love, reconciliation, humility, honesty, trust, and serenity. The ideas of forgiveness are offered in lessons that allow the reader to practice the ideas and to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to becoming a forgiving person.

Inez Tuck was inducted into the University of Tennessee-Knoxville chapter of Phi Kappa Phi in 1995.



The Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf is published as a service to its members. The views expressed in the publications featured are not necessarily those of staff or Board members of The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi.

## Summary of the Society's Finances as of March 31, 2006

The Society's finances improved significantly in the third quarter of Fiscal Year 2006. Two of the three main membership categories showed increases over figures reported for last year; new members increased by 12 percent while the number of life members was up by 27 percent. The number of renewals, on the other hand, had a slight 1.6 percent drop. Total membership fees increased by approximately \$48,000 or 2.7 percent.

Improved marketing techniques helped boost third quarter sales. In addition, a discount on recognition items (stoles, honor cords, and medallions) was once again offered to chapters. Not only did the discount help increase Society sales revenue, it also gave chapters the opportunity to raise needed funds. Newly designed t-shirts, sweatshirts, and caps carrying the new Phi Kappa Phi logo will have a positive effect on this revenue line for the current fiscal year.

March 31, 2006, marked the end of one of the most successful quarters in years for the financial markets. Quarterly returns for the Society's portfolios were as follows: 4.30 percent for the Foundation, 4.32 percent for the Life Membership, and 1.05 percent for the Operating Investment Fund. All portfolio returns exceeded their respective benchmarks. Net realized and unrealized gains for the period ending March 31 totaled \$1.6 million. This compares to approximately \$500,000 for the prior year. Investment income also exceeded last year's total by almost \$30,000.

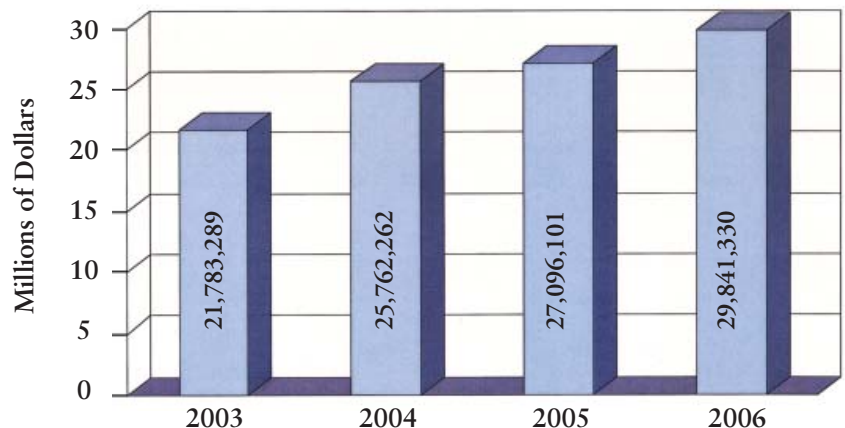
Unlike the revenue lines described above, membership contributions showed a decline over the amount received through March 31, 2005. This decrease can be attributed mostly to the fact that, unlike last year, no Fellowship endowments have been received in 2005–2006. In addition, billing and fundraising contributions were down by 10 percent.

Total revenues as of March 31, 2006, were \$4,519,577. This amount compares to \$3,422,354 received as of March 31, 2005. Approximately 75 percent of this money is related to market gains. Year-to-date revenues have already exceeded projections by approximately \$1.1 million.

On the expense side, two areas showed significant increases during the third quarter. The Information Technology section reflected the programming expenses associated with the new Phi Kappa Phi Web site. Similarly, Communications expenses were affected by the printing of the new invitation-to-membership mailers offered to chapters at no charge. Total expenses as of March 31, 2006, totaled \$2,341,114. This amount represents 65 percent of projected expenses.

Net income earned as of March 31, 2006, amounted to \$2,178,463. This amount is approximately \$1.1 million higher than the \$1,101,474 reported for March 31, 2005. Net Assets as of March 31, 2006, totaled \$29,841,330.

### Third Quarter Net Assets



## USA Today Academic All-Stars

Phi Kappa Phi members who were named to the 2006 USA Today Academic All-Stars include: First Team — **Paul Angelo**, U.S. Naval Academy; **Xuan-Trang Ho**, Nebraska Wesleyan University; **Jessamyn Liu**, U.S. Military Academy.

Third Team — **Robert Buscaglia**, Northern Arizona University; **Catherine Carter**, University of Mississippi; **Sohang Gandhi**, University of Central Florida; **Fahran Robb**, Southern Illinois University; **Kelly Smith**, West Virginia University.

## Phi Kappa Phi Members Recognized by Tau Beta Pi

The following members have been awarded undergraduate scholarships or graduate fellowships by the national engineering honor society Tau Beta Pi. Undergraduate scholarships are for \$2,000 each, while graduate fellows receive awards of \$10,000 if they have financial need.

Undergraduate Scholars: **Lauren C. Culver** (University of Florida), **Jonathan C. Hill** (Auburn University), **Alexander R. Boeglin** (University of Rhode Island), **Samuel M. Gorton** (Clarkson University), **Hartley R. Grimes** (North Carolina State University), **James C. Gwilliam** (University of Utah), **David J. Herman** (Cornell University), **Alexandros D. Kanelakos** (Wichita State University), **Roman Lenner** (The Citadel), **Justin M. Mercer** (Youngstown State University), **Vivek Saxena** (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), **Dusan D. Stefanovic** (Youngstown State University), **Laura L. Wallace** (University of Minnesota, Duluth).

Graduate Fellows: **Cressel D. Anderson** (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), **Michelle L. Bash** (Ohio Northern University), **Tondra De** (University of Nevada, Las Vegas), **Amit Y. Desai** (North Carolina State University), **Hoda M. Eydgahi** (Virginia Commonwealth University), **Kyle A. Frazier** (Mississippi State University), **Jasmine R. Galjour** (University of Louisiana at Lafayette), **Justin L. R. Langlois** (United States Naval Academy), **Lisa J. Lindquist** (Ohio Northern University), **Evan R. Neal** (University of Utah), **Geoffrey M. Oxberry** (University of Delaware), **Michael D. Sadowitz** (University of Nevada, Las Vegas).

## National Teacher of the Year

Louisiana State University journalism professor **Louis A. Day** (University of Georgia) has been named as the National Teacher of the Year by the Scripps Howard Foundation. The foundation stated, "Day has a passion for teaching, selfless mentoring, and helping students think and analyze ethical dilemmas. A dedicated faculty member at LSU for 25 years, he is the author of a 'gold standard' ethics textbook. He receives high marks from students and from the junior faculty who look to him as a mentor." Day receives \$10,000 and the Charles E. Scripps award.

## Phi Kappa Phi Author Wins National Award

**Charles W. Henderson's** (Cameron University) book, *Goodnight Saigon*, has won the American Society of Journalists and Authors Outstanding Book Award, General Nonfiction, for the year 2006. The award was presented to Mr. Henderson in New York on April 28, 2006, at the American Society of Journalists and Authors National Awards Luncheon.



**William Andersen** (The Citadel) has been awarded a Citadel Scholars Summer Scholarship to study health-care facilities and issues in Spain, France, and Germany.

**William J. Bonner III**, **Patrick W. Kicker**, and **Michael A. Noble** (University of West Alabama) each received the Ralph M. Lyon Award for the highest GPA among all graduates at the recent University of West Alabama commencement ceremonies. Bonner is an English major, Kicker a major in biology, and Noble a double major in English and psychology.

**Jim Brau**, PhD, CFA (Brigham Young University), was recently awarded the Brigham Young University (BYU) University Young Scholar Award, one of only four professors university-wide to receive it. The award recognizes excellence in research, teaching, and citizenship, acknowledging outstanding promise and contributions by junior faculty. Dr. Brau is in his eighth year at BYU and

recently served a one-year sabbatical at the University of Puerto Rico.

**Robert Buscaglia** (Northern Arizona University) was awarded a 2007 Arnold Beckman Scholarship. The Beckman Foundation Scholarship is given to approximately seventy students around the United States. It pays undergraduate research students for working in research laboratories throughout the country.

**Susan P. Conner**, PhD (Florida State University), was recently interviewed for a National Geographic film on Napoleon's last days that will air in 2007. Professor Conner is the Vice President for Academic Affairs at Florida Southern College.

**Rebecca Edwards** (Northern Illinois University) was named as one of twenty-three summer interns for U.S. Senator Barack Obama's Washington, D.C., office. Ms. Edwards, a rising senior at Northern Illinois University, is a political science

major with an emphasis in public law and philosophy.

**Janice R. Ellis**, PhD (University of Texas at Austin), professor emeritus at Shoreline Community College, is currently working as a Nursing Education consultant on matters of curriculum and accreditation. She has just completed the seventh edition of her text *Modules for Basic Nursing Skills*, written in collaboration with Patricia M. Bentz and published by Lippincott, Williams, and Wilkins.

**Albert L. Etheridge**, PhD (Nicholls State University), is retiring as president of University of Pittsburgh-Johnstown (UPJ). While at UPJ, Dr. Etheridge established the school's \$10 million capital campaign, directed more than \$20 million in improvements, created the UPJ Excellence in Teaching and Service Awards, and helped establish the university's Phi Kappa Phi chapter.



**David G. Fisher**, PhD (Pennsylvania State University), was promoted to full professor of physics and astronomy at Lycoming College in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. *USA In Space*, 3rd Ed., a three-volume set of articles on the history of American space programs for which he was co-editor, is now in print from Salem Press. In Fall 2006, Dr. Fisher will begin his second term as president of the Lycoming College chapter of Phi Kappa Phi.



**Maria E. Henderson** (American University), an insurance consultant for Akerman Senterfitt, has been reappointed by the Joint Bar/Foundation Nominating

Committee to the board of directors of The Florida Bar Foundation. Her two-year term began on July 1, 2006.



**Patricia Hrebik Goulding** (Duquesne University), was presented the Preservation of Our Heritage in American Dance Award on March 11, 2006, by the Ann

Lacy School of American Dance and Arts Management at Oklahoma City University. Goulding, executive director of National Dance Week, is an active-for-life member of Phi Kappa Phi and earned both her bachelor's and master's degrees at Duquesne University. She owned and directed her own dance studio for thirty-five years before taking on her present career.

**Brian C. Johnson** (Brigham Young University) was named commercial litigation practice group leader for the law firm of Strong and Hanni in Salt Lake City, Utah. Johnson's areas of practice include commercial litigation, antitrust, and labor employment.

**Robert B. Johnston** (Cameron University), city manager of Frederick, Oklahoma, was elected by members of the International City/County Management Association (ICMA) as Mountain Plains Regional Vice President on February 24, 2006. Mr. Johnston will serve a three-year term beginning in September 2006 at the ninety-second ICMA Annual Conference in San Antonio/Bexar County, Texas. ICMA's mission is to create excellence in local government by promoting professional management and increasing the proficiency of its more than 8,200 members, who include appointed chief administrative officers and assistant administrators serving local governments and regional entities around the world.



**Haig Khachatoorian** (North Carolina State University) received an Outstanding Extension Service Award at the Fourth Annual Extension, Engagement,

and Economic Development "Celebrating an Engaged University" Awards Dinner held Tuesday, April 18, 2006, at the McKimmon Center for Extension and Continuing Education, North Carolina State University. These awards recognize outstanding faculty and EPA employees of NC State University who are engaged in meaningful and beneficial collaboration between the University and external partners and communities.



**Claudia L. Kickery** (Millersville University) was promoted to Assistant Educational Outreach Director of Recording

for the Blind & Dyslexic (RFB&D) in Florida. She works to bring the printed word in audio format to students who have print disabilities. Ms. Kickery travels and trains Educational Coordinators working for RFB&D in other parts of Florida, as well as meeting with administrators, teachers, parents, and students.

**Sidney Larken Ware** (University of Mississippi) received the University of Mississippi's (UM) highest academic honor, the Taylor Medal. The Marcus Elvis Taylor Memorial was established in 1904 and is awarded to no more than 1 percent of the student body each year. Ware is a chemistry major at UM.

**Dr. Robert Lima**, OIC (Duquesne University), President of the Central Pennsylvania Chapter of the Fulbright Association, was invited by Ambassador Daniel Ayalon of Israel to attend the fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the U.S.-Israel Fulbright Exchange Program. The event, hosted by the United States-Israel Educational Foundation, was held at the Embassy of Israel in Washington, D.C., on February 14, 2006. A program of speakers, featuring Thomas A. Farrell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Academic Programs, and former Fulbrighters to and from Israel, included music and a film on the Fulbright experience in Israel. A reception in Jerusalem Hall of the Embassy followed the presentations.

**Jorge Majfud-Abernaz** (University of Georgia), a doctoral student in Latin American literature, was awarded a Graduate Student Excellence in Research

Award for 2006 by the University of Georgia Graduate School. Majfud-Abernaz has written essays, books, articles, short stories, and poetry focused on globalization, human rights, Latin American democracy, and women's issues. His works have been published in French, Spanish, and English.



**Jamie L. Malone** (University of Southern California) has joined private wealth-management firm Michael Joyce & Associates, P.C., as a Financial Planning Analyst.

Before joining the firm, Mr. Malone worked for KPMG LLP in the Private Client Advisory Service group.

**Ben McCorkle**, PhD (Augusta State University), was awarded a PhD in Rhetoric and Composition from The Ohio State University in the fall of 2005. Additionally, he has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of English at The Ohio State University, Marion Campus.

**Professor James L. Moore III** (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University) was selected as one of the Ohana Award recipients for 2006 by the Counselors for Social Justice Awards Committee. The Ohana Awards are given annually at the American Counseling Association conference to honor individuals in counseling who affirm diversity and advocate for social justice. In addition, Moore has been selected to participate in the twenty-year anniversary celebration of Johns Hopkins University's Summer Seminar Series. He will teach "Urban School Students and Their Parents: The Role of School Counselors," at the Johns Hopkins Washington, D.C., campus.

**Robin Renee Moore** (East Carolina University) was awarded a David W. Hardee scholarship by the Pitt County chapter of the Mental Health Association of North Carolina for her work and

## SUBMISSIONS

### Member News

To submit a recent honor/achievement or career news, e-mail (kaetzjp@auburn.edu) or mail a brief write-up and picture (if available) to:

Member News  
*Phi Kappa Phi Forum*  
108 M. White Smith Hall, Mell Street  
Auburn University, AL 36849-5306

Please include your name, member number, chapter in which you were initiated, and your e-mail address and/or telephone number. Any items submitted cannot be returned, and all submissions may not be included.

### Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf

If you are an author and would like your work to be considered for inclusion in the "Bookshelf" segment of *Member Focus*, please send a copy of the book along with a one-page synopsis to:

Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf  
*Phi Kappa Phi Forum*  
108 M. White Smith Hall, Mell Street  
Auburn University, AL 36849-5306

All submitted books will be added to the Phi Kappa Phi Library, housed at the Society Headquarters, and will be included on the Online Phi Kappa Phi Bookshelf at [www.phikappaphi.org/bookshelf.php](http://www.phikappaphi.org/bookshelf.php).

studies in the field of mental health. Moore, who plans to complete a master's in social work, was also awarded the Robert H. Wright Alumni Leadership award and the Miriam B. Moore Scholarship this spring.

**Jodie Parker** (University of Nevada-Reno) received the University of Nevada-Reno's Herz Gold Medal during spring commencement ceremonies. The medal, the University's oldest and most prestigious student award, has been presented to the graduating senior with the highest grade-point average since 1910. Parker, a nutrition major and member of the campus' Honors Program, also won the University's Phi Kappa Phi Award in 2005 as the leading junior scholar on campus.

**Lanminh Pham** (University of Louisiana at Lafayette) has been named the Spring 2006 Outstanding Graduate by the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. A

biology major, Ms. Pham graduated with a 4.0 GPA in the Honors Program.

**Sridhar P. Reddy** (University of Kansas) has won the Philip W. Whitcomb Memorial Essay Prize for an essay on genocide in Sudan, presented by the University of Kansas. The prize includes a \$500 cash award.

**Kenneth Robertson** (Austin Peay State University) was awarded the William McClure Drane award at the spring commencement ceremony at Austin Peay. Criteria for the award include character, scholarship, leadership, and service to the community.



**Diane Rudebock, EdD, RN** (Oklahoma State University), was selected as the University of Central Oklahoma (UCO) Herbert S. Dordic 2005 Outstanding

Faculty Mentor; she was honored with the award and \$500 from the UCO Foundation. Dr. Rudebock is an assistant professor in the Kinesiology and Health Studies Department and is the coordinator for the Community Health Program.



**Loren J. Rullman, PhD** (University of Missouri-St. Louis), was awarded a PhD in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, with an emphasis in Higher

Education, from the University of Missouri-St. Louis in August 2005. His dissertation was titled "Sources of College Student Political Cynicism." He serves Indiana University as Executive Director of the Indiana Memorial Union and the Indiana University Auditorium.



**Otis Scott, PhD** (Sacramento State University), was named dean of the College of Social Science and Interdisciplinary Studies at Sacramento State. Before being named dean,

Scott served as acting dean for one year and as associate dean for three years. Before that, he chaired the Ethnic Studies department for twenty-one years and was the coordinator of the social science program.

**Zachary Schlader** (Austin Peay State University) was awarded the 2006 Steve Hamilton Sportsmanship Trophy by the Ohio Valley Conference. Schlader also was named to the *ESPN The Magazine* Academic All-American third team.

**Melissa Siebke** (Minnesota State University-Mankato) has been awarded a Fulbright scholarship to teach in Spain in 2006–2007. She will be teaching in a bilingual elementary school in Madrid as an English teaching assistant. Ms. Siebke has a master's degree in English as a Second Language and a master's in Spanish.

**John J. Smith, PhD** (Texas A&M University), Academy Professor of English at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, has been promoted to the rank of Colonel. Colonel Smith, with more than twenty-four years of service in the Army, teaches advanced composition, American literature, and the Arts of War.

**Kevin Smith** (Lamar University) was awarded one of six Plummer awards in the May 2006 graduating class at Lamar University. Smith, a three-year letterman on the basketball team, maintained a 4.0 grade point average while majoring in chemical engineering. He plans to work as a gas-market analyst for ExxonMobile in Houston.

**Bart Smoot** (University of Maryland Eastern Shore) of Delmar School District earned his profession's top honor by achieving National Board Certification in 2004, according to the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS). Mr. Smoot teaches Technology Education at Delmar Middle and High Schools. He has been a teacher for twelve years and holds a Bachelor's Degree in Technology Education from the University of Maryland Eastern Shore and a Master's Degree in Public School Administration from Salisbury University.

**Wenmouth Williams, Jr., PhD** (Ithaca College), was presented with the Excellence in Service Award by Ithaca College. Williams chairs the Department of Television-Radio and is the past president of the Phi Kappa Phi chapter at Ithaca. The award recognizes continued and exceptional contributions to the College, the larger community, and the discipline.



**Major Ernest Y. Wong** (United States Military Academy) has been named a NASA Faculty Fellow for the 2006 Exploration Systems Summer Research

Opportunities at the Marshall Space Flight Center.

## In Memoriam

**Valeen Tippetts Avery**, PhD (Northern Arizona University), passed away on April 7, 2006, at age sixty-nine. Avery, a retired professor of history at Northern Arizona University, was the author of two books: *Mormon Enigma: Emma Smith Hale, Prophet's Wife, Elect Lady, Polygamy's Foe* (with Linda King Newell), and *From Mission to Madness: The Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*. Both biographies won the Evans prize for best biography in Western history.

**Kelli Chapman** (California State University at San Bernardino) passed away on June 24, 2004, at age thirty-five, of undiagnosed coronary artery disease. Ms. Chapman was a cardiac critical care nurse who had planned to attend medical school beginning this year. Her mother reports that "Kelli's affiliation with Phi Kappa Phi meant so much to her [that] her membership is immortalized on her grave marker."

**David R. Cheney**, PhD (University of Toledo), passed away on June 18, 2006, at age eighty-four. Dr. Cheney was professor of literature and linguistics at the University of Toledo from 1965 to his retirement in 1990, and before that at Southwest Missouri State University and Lewis and Clark College. He published many articles on the Romantic poet and essayist Leigh Hunt.

**James Vernon Lewis**, PhD (University of New Mexico), passed away on November 25, 2005, at ninety years of age. He received his PhD in mathematics at the University of

California at Berkeley and worked on the Manhattan Project to end World War II. Dr. Lewis taught at and retired from the University of New Mexico and spent his retirement years teaching Organic and Zero-Scape Gardening in his home community of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

**Bernhardt L. Pederson**, MD (University of Michigan), passed away on June 1, 2006. A three-year letterman in football at the University of Michigan (UM), Dr. Pederson graduated with a B.S. in Civil Engineering and then graduated cum laude from the UM Medical School. He was in private practice in Bay City, Michigan, for thirty-three years, retiring in 2000.

**Thomas D. Petitjean, Jr.**, PhD (University of Louisiana-Lafayette), passed away on May 5, 2006, in Natchitoches, Louisiana, at forty-nine years of age. During his varied career, Dr. Petitjean worked as an assistant professor of English at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches, as a teacher at Rayne High School, as promotions director for *New York Magazine*, and as a script writer for both *Another World* and *As the World Turns*.

**James L. Sanderson** (Oklahoma State University) passed away on May 8, 2006, at the age of ninety-eight. A long-time member of the Oklahoma State University chapter of Phi Kappa Phi, Sanderson served as the university's comptroller for many years and finally as Business

### Please Note:

If you know of a Phi Kappa Phi member who is recently deceased, please notify us at 800.804.9880 or info@phikappaphi.org so that we may update our records.

Manager and Assistant Vice President for Business and Finance.

**Warren Earl Stewart**, ScD (University of Wisconsin-Madison), passed away on March 27, 2006, at eighty-one years of age. Professor Stewart, a World War II veteran, taught in the Department of Chemical Engineering at the University of Wisconsin for forty years. He published more than one hundred papers on a wide variety of topics and is perhaps best known for his contributions to the development of new mathematical and computational methods for modeling chemical phenomena and processes.



After the "2006 Awards Issue" had gone to press, changes occurred with the recipients of the awards. The corrections follow.

Two Fellowship recipients were unable to accept their award. They have been replaced by Angela M. Kwallek (Youngstown State University) and Daniel Leigh Huff (Southeast Missouri State University). Courtney Louise Everson (Western Washington University) and Kristine Allison Miele (Westfield College) are now Awards of Excellence recipients.

## 2006 Fellowship Recipients

### Wolfe Fellowship



**Mary Catherine Gordon**  
Old Dominion University



**Daniel Huff**  
Southeast Missouri State University



**Angela Kwallek**  
Youngstown State University



**Courtney Louise Everson**  
Western Washington University



**Kristine Allison Miele**  
Westfield College

Mary Catherine Gordon, an English major with a minor in political science who recently graduated from Old Dominion University, has been named the Wolfe Fellow. She will pursue, in the fall, a degree in law at Temple University, James E. Beasley School of Law.

## 2006 Awards of Excellence Recipients

Show your pride of affiliation with

THE HONOR  SOCIETY OF

# PHI KAPPA PHI

## APPAREL

### A. BASEBALL CAP

Made of durable, khaki or olive canvas and embroidered with the Phi Kappa Phi logo, this baseball cap makes an ideal present for any Phi Kappa Phi member. (.5 lb.)

(olive) Item #ACC08 . . . \$15  
(khaki) Item #ACC09 . . . \$15



### B. WOMEN'S CUT T-SHIRT

Pre-shrunk 100% cotton women's cut t-shirt features the embroidered Phi Kappa Phi logo in the upper left corner. Offered in pale blue or gray and available in women's sizes S-XL. (1 lb.)

(gray) Item #APP07 . . . \$17  
(lt. blue) Item #APP08 . . . \$17



### C. LONG-SLEEVE T-SHIRT

99% lightweight cotton t-shirt in ash gray or navy features the embroidery of the Society's logo in medium gray and the Greek letters in blue and gold. Available in unisex sizes S-XL. (1 lb.)

(navy) Item #APP12 . . . \$22  
(lt gray) Item #APP13 . . . \$22

### D. ANORAK

Perfect for those cool days when a light jacket is just what you need! Pullover zips from chest to chin and features the Greek letters in white embroidery against a navy background. Shell is 100% nylon and lining is 100% cotton. Offered in unisex sizes S-XL.

Item #APP74 . . . \$49



### G. PHI KAPPA PHI TIE

Men's dress tie adorned with the gold Phi Kappa Phi key. Offered in navy blue and burgundy.

(navy) Item #ACC27 . . . \$29.50  
(burgundy) Item #ACC26 . . . \$29.50



### H. COFFEE MUG

Navy blue and white 12 oz. ceramic coffee mug is perfect for everyday use. (1 lb.)

Item #ACC20 . . . \$7



## ACCESSORIES

### \*I. HONOR CORD

Braided navy and gold cords, ending in fringed tassels. (1 lb.)

Item #REC10 . . . \$10

### \*J. STOLE

Gold satin stole with the Greek letters and Society key embroidered in a striking navy blue. (1 lb.)

Item #REC20 . . . \$24

### K. MEDALLION

Two inch cloisonné medallion hanging from a royal blue ribbon, features a detailed rendering of the Society seal. (1 lb.)

Item #S-5 . . . \$9  
Item #S-5a (orders of 50 or more) . . . \$8



### M. PEN

Show your pride of affiliation in business meetings or in the classroom with this elegant pen and case. Brushed with a pearl satin finish, the Phi Kappa Phi logo is handsomely engraved on the base of the pen. (.5 lb.)

Item #ACC72 . . . \$10



### P. LICENSE PLATE FRAME

Die-cast metal license-plate holder features a chrome frame and the Greek letter monogram on a blue background. 12"x6". (2 lbs.)

Item #ACC21 . . . \$15



### Q. BRONZE-PLATED PAPERWEIGHT

Handsome and functional, the Phi Kappa Phi handcrafted paperweight features an antique gold finish and is embossed with the Society seal. Backed with velvet. 3" diameter. (1 lb.)

Item #ACC22 . . . \$10

### GREEK LETTER CHARMS

Vertical Greek letter charms are crafted in sterling silver and 10K gold. (1 lb.)

S. Sterling Silver Charm — Item #JE24 . . . \$16  
T. 10K Gold Charm — Item #JE25 . . . \$32



ORDER BY PHONE 1.800.804.9880

HOURS: M-F 8 A.M. – 4:30 P.M. Central Time

ORDER ONLINE [www.PhiKappaPhi.org](http://www.PhiKappaPhi.org)

Check out the complete catalog of merchandise items online at [PhiKappaPhi.org](http://PhiKappaPhi.org)