'An account of a Cucumber'
The Nelsons and the Botanical Kitchen Garden

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On September 1, 1738, the *Virginia Gazette* reported an astounding 40-inch "Cucumber of the *Turkey* or *Morocco* Kind" growing in Thomas 'Scotch Tom' Nelson's garden in Yorktown.[1] This fascinating occurrence was no extraordinary phenomenon, however. In fact, this small episode speaks volumes on the nature of colonial gardening. The exotic cucumber was imported via England, from Peter Collinson of London to his friend and business correspondent, John Custis of Williamsburg. Collinson, a wealthy English merchant and botanist, had many such trade partnerships expressly to share plant seeds. In England, American plants became the backbone of new landscape designs for wealthy landowners and part of a garden obsession that crossed social barriers. Custis distributed his seeds to others in the colony, including Thomas Nelson, a gentleman who served with him on the Governor's Council. Nelson was a well-connected and prominent Virginia merchant who resided in the port city of Yorktown. Despite his wealth and affluence, his garden served practical purposes: it supplied vegetables and herbs for kitchen and medicinal use. A case study of the Nelson family of Yorktown, an affluent and trans-Atlantic people, demonstrated that the role and derivation of the colonial garden was quite similar to that of an English garden. These influences, however, were implemented in a different garden style for the Nelsons than they were for citizens of England.

Scholars have documented the role of gardening in Virginia as secondary to the landscape changes that were simultaneously occurring in England. Both these movements were inextricably tied to the cultural and environmental histories of their respective locations. Previous historians have acknowledged the English landscape movement as rational, practical, and linked to imperial expansion as a means of 'improvement.'[2] In the most recent treatise on the subject, *The Brother Gardeners*, Andrea Wulf explores the exchange networks between American colonists and their British counterparts in the context of the changing landscape of eighteenth century England. She effectively incorporates the American settlers' influence on these changes but fails to look at landscape in America itself. Richard Drayton similarly evades discussing American landscape in *Nature's Government.* He instead focuses on the intertwining themes of imperial expansion and scientific discovery as a means of 'improvement' to the British Empire, as demonstrated at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew. As a part of the British Empire, Virginia experienced changes for similar reasons as those described by Drayton and Wulf, but the Virginians' medium differed from that in the mother country. The Virginians were well-connected to England and to imperial expansion, and their gardens told an analogous story to that

[1] William Parks, ed, *Virginia Gazette*, September 1, 1738, 4.

[2] 'Improvement,' an idea originally attributed to landscape designer Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783), refers to an eighteenth-century design practice focused on enhancing the monetary, physical, and emotional value of a property. Smooth grading and design frame-by-frame sense similar to moving through a painting were used to convey an idyllic natural scene. See Humphrey Repton, "Observations on the Theory and Practice of Modern Gardening", *The Art of Landscape Gardening* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1907), 65-69.

in England. Instead of informal "landscaping" and botanical gardens, however, Virginians like the Nelson family used practical kitchen gardens as a means of enjoyment and 'improvement.'

The Nelson family of Yorktown was arguably the most prosperous and acculturated family in Yorktown in the eighteenth century. Thomas 'Scotch Tom' Nelson (1677-1745) settled in Yorktown in 1705 as an import merchant. [3] The ideal placement of his business encouraged his prosperity, and within less than a decade, he became one of the wealthiest members of Virginia society. He purchased property lots 46, 48 and 52 of "Yorke's port town" between 1705 and 1707.[4] His eldest son, William, was born in 1711 of 'Scotch Tom' Nelson's first wife, Mary Reade. William was educated in England with the intent of taking over the family business, while his younger brother, Thomas the Secretary (1715-1782), was educated in law. William married Elizabeth Burwell in 1738, and the couple gave birth to a son, whom they named Thomas Nelson Jr., later that year. Thomas Jr. (1738-1789) was likewise educated in England, at Christ College and then Cambridge. Both William and Thomas Nelson Jr. were heavily involved in politics. William served on the Governor's council and served as Virginia's interim governor in 1771. Thomas Nelson, Jr. was an intense patriot; he served as a general during the Revolutionary war, was elected as one of the first governor's of Virginia, and signed the Declaration of Independence in 1775. His epitaph at Grace Episcopal Church reads,

> In the Virginia Convention, Instructing her Delegates in Congress, To move that Body to declare the colonies, Free and Independent States, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, War Governor of Virginia, Commander of Virginia's Forces, He gave all for liberty [5]

The Nelson House has far more disputed origins than its residents. The house is located on lot 52 in Yorktown, which was purchased by 'Scotch Tom' in August 1706.[6] According to

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[3] Borrowing from Evans, "In all fairness, the reader deserves forewarning that the Nelson family subscribed to a very confusing practice: successive generations used the same given name over and over again" (1). Because of this fact, I will distinguish between our three Nelsons accordingly: the eldest will be referred to by his nickname 'Scotch Tom'; the youngest of our subjects will be Thomas Nelson, Jr.; Nelson Jr.'s uncle will be noted by the name he is often designated, "Thomas Nelson the Secretary."
For a full biography of the Nelson family, see: Evans, Emory G., *Thomas Nelson of Yorktown: Revolutionary Virginian* (Charlottesville: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1975), 6.

[4] "Building Yorke's Port Town," *York County History* (York County Historical Committee, York History Series #A-7, 1992), 1-3. Though in 1663, Yorke Village, located on Wormley Creek, was the designated Yorke River port, business moved to the shore of the river where there were deeper waters. The Cohabitation Act of 1680 provided the establishment of a new town in this location. This new town, known as Yorktown, prospered in a short time. For a complete history of the beginnings of the town, see Charles E. Hatch, *Colonial Yorktown's Main Street* (Eastern Acorn Research Series, 1980).

[5] "Who Was Thomas Nelson?" *Thomas Nelson Community College*, http://www.tncc.edu/about/who_thomas_nelson.php. Thomas Nelson, Jr. died on January 4, 1789, extremely in debt, and "was buried in an unmarked grave at Yorktown's Grace Church so that his creditors could not hold his body as collateral." The current epitaph was added in the mid-twentieth century. See "Brigadier General Thomas Nelson Jr." *National Park Service*. http://www.nps.gov/york/historyculture/nelsonjrbio.htm.

[6] According to York County Land Records, Nelson was sold lot 48 (next door to lot 52) in 1709, after the former owner, William Cary forfeited the lot according to the details of his deed, because he did build a home on the plot within a year of purchase. Nelson was required under a similar deed to build a home within 12 months of purchase. Nelson was never forced to forfeit the property. See Mary Marshall Brewer, ed, *York County, Virginia Land Record: 1694-1713* (Delaware: Colonial Roots, 2006), 129.

architectural historian Clyde Trudell, the Nelson House's architectural details indicate it was built in the mid-eighteenth century, no sooner than 1745.[7] Dendrochronologist Herman Heikkenen, however, estimates that 'Scotch Tom' erected the house in 1729.[8] Alternatively, the York County Historical Society dates the building date at or before 1711.[9] Regardless, these sources agree that William Nelson and his son Thomas Nelson Jr. were assuredly residents of the stately mansion. The house was one of the largest in town and occupied a prominent location overlooking the water.[10] The Nelson residence is representative of Georgian architecture and was clearly meant to convey the power and wealth of its inhabitants. Despite this fact, the land surrounding the Nelson House did not evoke such a clear response.

The Nelsons' affluence as a leading family of Virginia and their clear connections with England provided them with a knowledge of contemporary English social trends that other settlers did not have. Before moving to Virginia, 'Scotch Tom' Nelson resided in Westmoreland, Scotland. Both William and Thomas Jr. received formal education in England, a rarity in their time, which provided them with knowledge of the proper social customs of the day. In addition, the Nelson family business, an export company, required constant contact with English residents. If colonists were aware of and imitating the landscape changes in England, these men would have demonstrated such techniques. Though it was rooted in the same political and social motives, their garden exemplified a completely different trend. The plant content of their garden represented British imperial expansion and new scientific discoveries. Rather than being manifestos of power and their new wealth, their garden was simple; it was based on sustaining more than beautifying. Even frivolities were limited to interesting food items and medicinal ingredients. Thus, while the new "landscaping" was accompanying architecture as a show for power in England, the garden of the most prosperous family in York remained modest.

The modest kitchen garden was common in the colonial port, Yorktown. A simple sketch from 1755 offers the only contemporary view of the town, and provides a wealth of information about the town and the Nelson's place in it, including their garden (Appendix A). An unknown artist sketched this view of colonial Yorktown from aboard an English naval vessel stationed on the York River. His rendering illustrates the natural landscape of the town, details of residencies, and even fencing and trees in distinct places around the town. This sketch has been compared to the contemporary Bodleian plate of Williamsburg as a meaningful tool in understanding the landscape of the township.[11] While in no way does the sketch of Yorktown show the same details as the Williamsburg plate, it does indicate the horticultural makeup of the town in broad

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[7] Trudell asserts the house was built by William Nelson upon inheriting the property after his father's death in 1745. See Clyde F. Trudell, Colonial *Yorktown: Being a brief History of the Place; together with Something of its Houses and Publick Building (*Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1938), 137.

[8] Heikkenen uses tree-ring techniques to date historical properties. See Carl Lounsbury, ed, "Nelson House," Early *American Architecture in New England, the Delaware Valley, and the Chesapeake* (Colonial Williamsburg Vernacular Architecture Group, 2004), 72.

[9] This estimation appears to be based off county land records. See note 6 and "Building Yorke's Port Town," *York County History* (York County Historical Committee, York History Series #A-7, 1992), 3.

[10] Edward M. Riley, "Suburban Development of Yorktown, Virginia, during the Colonial Period," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. 60, No. 4, October 1952), 522-536.

[11] The 1929 discovery of a mid-eighteenth century copperplate illustrating architecture details and gardens of several important buildings in Williamsburg, including the Wren Building, the Governor's Palace, and the Capitol, was the foundation for major restorations of the town in the early twentieth century. See *A Handbook for the Exhibition Buildings of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1941) and Lillian K. Stevens, "The Bodleian Plate," *College of William & Mary* (September 1, 2007), http://www.wm.edu/news/ideation/fall2007/fall-2007-sidebars/the-bodleian-plate.php.

strokes.[12] The settlement was situated on bluffs overlooking the York River, its source of trade and connection. Land was cleared to make room for the buildings, though a few prominent trees remain in the center of town. The Nelson House, a two-story brick house, stands prominently in the center of town against a backdrop of 1½ story dormers. A simple wooden rail fence encloses the yard, indicating the presence of a vegetable garden. The simplicity of the grounds juxtaposes the splendor of the house. Whereas the house stands out, similar 'well pailed in' gardens are numerous in the prospering town; the Lightfoot house, the Sessions House, the Archer House, and several properties under the hill all have small gardens in their yards.[13] While these simplistic developments were taking place in Yorktown, far larger projects were underway in England.

Design historian Andrea Wulf explores landscape changes occurring in eighteenth century England as a bi-product of rationalization and a reliance on contacts in America. She describes a growing "obsession with American plants" in eighteenth century England that was voraciously reciprocated in time.[14] Noting the differences of American gardening and classifying, Wulf shows how important American contacts mutually aided Peter Collinson of London and his clients, influencing the course of landscape design in England. Trees supplied by colonists allowed wealthy English landlords to paint their property in the new landscaping fashion made available by the likes of William Kent, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown and Humphrey Repton, and first demonstrated by Lord Petre at his home in Essex.[15] Landscaping as a term and as an art form was closely connected to the fine art of landscape painting. Landscape theorists suggested that property be designed in the idyllic manner represented in landscape paintings by Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) and Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665).[16] The new plant varieties provided by Americans allowed landscapers to implement their designs with more diversity in their palettes.

These appealing landscapes were rooted in and the result of rational thinking. A new cogent naming system, developed by the Swedish scientist Carl Linnaeus, was slowly adopted in England in the eighteenth century. As Wulf describes, the new binomial nomenclature "gave every plant a two-word name": the first word indicated the genus and the second the species.[17] As horticulturalists and scientists explored and better understood the workings of plant life, new possibilities arose for English plant-lovers. Richard Bradley, an early eighteenth century horticultural writer, predicted that new plants could then be made according to the fancy of men.[18]

As these scientific movements were occurring, landscape theorists and practitioners were abandoning the cold reason of French-inspired baroque gardens in England. Charles Bridgeman, William Kent, and Lancelot Brown extinguished the *parterres* of the previous century, replacing

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[12] E.G. Swem, ed, Views *of Yorktown and Gloucester Town, 1755* (Newport News: The Mariners' Museum, 1946), inserts. See Appendix A for "A View of Yorktown, Virginia"

[13] In the colonial era, the term 'well pailed in' was often used in *Virginia Gazette* advertisements for houses for sale. It refers to fencing in the yard to protect against animals that could destroy the crops. See William Hunter, ed, *Virginia Gazette*, November 7, 1754, 2.

[14] Wulf, 134-136.

[15] See Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 234- 251 and Wulf, 99-102, 108-111.

[16] For landscape paintings see "Claude Lorraine" *Web Gallery of Art.* http://www.wga.hu/index1.html; and "Nicolas Poussin" *Web Gallery of Art"* http://www.wga.hu/index1.html.

[17] Wulf, 117.

[18] Such thoughts were also soundly based in the recent sexual theory of reproduction in plants. Thomas Fairchild first formally experimented with this idea in England in the early 1700s. See Wulf, 6-33.

them with open landscapes. As contemporary Horace Walpole described, these designers "leaped the garden fence," exponentially increasing expanse into the form of a park.[19] These new landscapes took on political connotations and were propagated as great Whig triumphs by landscape theorists like Horace Walpole and Thomas Whately. Tyranny and topiary, the products of absolutist France and supposedly encouraged by Tories were contrasted with the liberty expressed by the new Brownian landscapes.[20]

Besides a new way of thinking, the colonization of America provided Britons with a new palette of plant materials with which to work. English landscapes were founded in new reforestation practices propagated by John Eveyln a century before. The parks of wealthy landlords were locales for renewed tree growth. When explorers and colonists discovered the New World was plentiful in trees and seed, new plants helped fill the void in English scenery. At the time, according to Andrea Wulf, Britain only possessed "four native evergreens: the Scots pine, the holly, the box and the yew."[21] By the end of the eighteenth century, however, thousands of new species graced the landscape of the country. Britain was using her power as an empire to improve her appearance. Not only were American plants integrated into the basic horticultural makeup of Britain, new botanical gardens served as showcases of power and empire for the nation. The Royal Botanical Gardens, the subject of Richard Drayton's treatise, particularly served such an interest as the largest state-sponsored botanical garden.

Using trade relationships, a number of American colonists asserted a place in the changing English landscape. As Wulf describes, Peter Collinson of London worked closely with John Bartram, John Custis, and other settlers in order to supply himself and his clients with exquisite new plants for their landscapes and gardens:

> Cedars, pines and other evergreens provided winter interest, while rhododendrons paraded showy blossoms in late spring. In early summer magnolias and tulip trees flowered and in autumn the russet foliage of American deciduous trees set the landscape alight.[22]

As Palladian architecture was revived in the 1700s, landscapers utilized the *Juniperus Virginiana* (a native Virginian conifer) to enhance the effect of column use.[23] Colonists provided the

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[19] Horace Walpole, "The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening," (1771) from I.W.U. Chase, ed, *Horace Walpole, Gardenist* (Princeton: Princeton Universtiy Press, 1943), 25.

[20] The landscapes of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown were characterized by excavation and regrading of the land to produce a simple and sinuous view. The landscapes were often associated with the idea of 'improvement' of the landscape for betterment of its owners, or at times, the general public. For a contemporary political characterization of 'improvement' see Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Description* .(London: Printed for T. Payne, 1770); Horace Walpole, "The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening," (1771) from: I.W.U. Chase, ed, *Horace Walpole, Gardenist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943); and Humphrey Repton, "Observations on the Theory and Practice of Modern Gardening," *The Art of Landscape Gardening* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1907), 65-69. For modern interpretations and arguments against such associations, see John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1986), 180-222; and Richard Quaintance, "Walpole's Whig Interpretation of Landscaping History," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (1979).

[21] Wulf, 92.

[22] Wulf, 15.

[23] Palladian architecture derives its name from its creator, Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). During his career, he designed Italian villas which contained columned facades like Roman temples in spaces which would offer

English with plants, feeding the obsession for botanical and pleasure grounds. In exchange for their efforts, English plants collected either from the mother country or various other colonies in the British Empire were sent to American settlers. Trade relationships were open; Britons on both sides of the Atlantic valued their native and imported plants. The colonists' implementation of design with their plant material, however, was quite different.

Virginians valued English plants for their agricultural and medicinal uses. In the colonization of the New World, plants were valued for their life-sustaining abilities, rather than as means of artistic expression. Especially in the first generations after the settling of Jamestown, survival was the major factor, so plants were valued for their nutritive purposes. By the eighteenth century, however, the harsh realities of starvation had passed. Yorktown and Williamsburg were established and growing exponentially. Landed gentry arose, and they used architecture, fashion, and society as a means of confirming their place as British ladies and gentlemen. They were well-connected to the homeland, and like the Nelsons, some were even able to send their children to be properly educated in Britain. Nonetheless, landscape design did not develop in Virginia in the same way it did in England. Instead, a reversion to the simple fenced-in kitchen garden was the norm.

While horticulture maintained rational personal appeal, planting developed in the form of kitchen gardens rather than artfully designed landscapes. The Nelsons, in particular, expressed themselves according to the context in which they lived. This meant the family, though wealthy and well-connected, maintained a simple, functional kitchen garden. No physical representations of the garden remains, but a general view of the garden can be established through the Nelson's annual seed orders and contemporary artwork (Appendix B).[24]

Plant exchange provided Virginians with new plants for their kitchen gardens, just as it provided the English with new plants for their evolving landscape. Peter Collinson and John Custis developed an imperative trans-Atlantic relationship that provided the Virginian Custis with new plants. Custis furthered the exchange by then distributing seeds in the local community. The long cucumber seeds that he received from Collinson in 1737 were distributed across the local area, evidenced by 'Scotch Tom' Nelson's own cucumber a year later. Correspondence shows that by the 1770s, Turkey cucumbers seeds had become commonplace in Virginia planting. Numerous Virginians ordered the seeds from their various contacts in England. One of these Virginians, William Nelson, developed a friendship with John Norton, much as Williamsburg's John Custis had with Collinson. Unlike Custis, however, Nelson was far more concerned with the functionality of gardening than with flowers and cropped trees. There also does not appear to be any indication that Nelson would send seeds back to his friend. Instead, theirs was more of a business relationship than a mutual exchange.

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perspectival views by elevating the central block of the villa. He stressed the nature of the ground plane as a means to view the surrounding landscape. In the early eighteenth century, English architects revived Palladio's traditions when creating country homes for Whig landowners. See Wulf, 76 and Rogers 234-235.

[24] Mutual Assurance Society, *Mutual Assurance Society Declarations and Revaluations of Policies, 1796-1867* (Architectural Drawings and Plans collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia), accessed 6 Nov 2008, Policy 98.

See Appendix B for the Mutual Assurance Society plat. In much historical garden preservation, principally those in Williamsburg from a contemporary period, historians excavated and performed pollen analyses to discover where beds and structures were located. The Nelson House, however, was restored in the early twentieth century by the renowned landscape architect Charles Gillette. New gardens were made with "colonial revival" intent, though to all appearances, that referred only to generic colonial-era plant content. Revamping the property required earth-moving, so digging or pollen testing for the remains of beds would be fruitless.

Plant exchange and propagation were growing phenomena in Yorktown prior to the Revolutionary War and were not limited exclusively to the Nelsons. The Yorktown area offered appropriate conditions for certain plants to flourish. 'Scotch Tom' Nelson's cucumber was one of such plants. *Allium ampeloprasum,* also known as the Yorktown onion, flourished remarkably well in the area. After being introduced to England in the sixteenth century, it made its way to Yorktown during the Revolutionary War period.[25] By the 1950's, however, York County was the only place the plant had survived.[26] The soil, climate, and atmospheric conditions specific to this locale allowed the plant to thrive.

From the 1760s until his death in 1772, William Nelson maintained a lively correspondence with his friend John Norton, a London commodities trader. Their correspondence evidences the importance of kitchen gardening to the affluent family. Nelson's yearly garden seed orders provided important vegetable and herb crops to the family.[27] William specifically mentions carrots, parsnips, turnips, various types of peas, and cloves in his letters.[28] The garden at the Nelson House was practical in nature, and it demonstrated the importance of plant exchange for Virginians and Britons.

In a series of letters, Nelson's anxiety over receiving garden seeds and tools shows the realistic importance of the garden to him. He repeatedly expresses concern that he will receive garden seed from his London correspondent in a timely manner. In one instance, his care even extends to gardening tools. In a letter from mid-1766, William Nelson wrote anguished that he had not yet received "the Hose you mention, to water the Garden" and prayed he would receive one shortly.[29] Nelson's desires were rooted in realism; since he was purchasing particular vegetable and herb seeds, he would have to receive and sow them by February or August (depending on whether they were a summer or fall harvest) to obtain a good crop. He promised to be "daily looking for them," and rejoiced when they finally arrived.[30] Upon receiving a batch "come in good time . . . this being the season of the year for sowing them," he showed great relief.[31] When a faulty batch of seeds arrived in April 1771, he lamented their tardiness: "the Seeds are but of Little Use for this year's Crop." [32] In fear that his seeds would not arrive on a timely schedule in 1772, he requested that Norton send the seeds via the James River instead of the York.[33] Though it was more inconvenient for Nelson to travel across the peninsula to obtain his seeds, they were of such great importance to him that he was willing to make the trip.

Even in face of the Townsend Acts, when Nelson's political sympathies forced him to abandon all other trading, he continued to request garden seeds from his London friend.[34] The

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[25] William C. Snyder, *Wildlife Neighbors of the Williamsburg Area: Jamestown, Williamsburg, Yorktown,* http://www.baylink.org/wpc/3fr_wpc.html.
[26] The National Park Service, "Yorktown Battlefield," *National Park Service,* http://www.nps.gov/york/index.htm.
[27] Frances Norton Mason, ed, *John Norton & Sons: Merchants of London and Virginia, Being the Papers from the Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1937), 35.
[28] Nelson Family, *Papers, 1743-1880* (Personal Papers collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia), accessed 6 Nov 2008, and Nelson, William, *Papers, 1785-1790* (Accession 29474, Personal papers collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia), accessed 6 Nov 2008.
[29] Mason, 14.
[30] Mason, 18, 31, 38.
[31] Mason, 38.
[32] Mason, 156.
[33] Mason, 268.
[34] Mason, 113. The Townshend Acts were a series of acts passed in 1767, including the Revenue Act of 1767, the Indemnity Act, the Commissioners of Customs Act, the Vice Admiralty Court Act, and the New York Restraining Act. Taxes were placed on external goods in the Revenue Act, which is what Nelson was protesting against when

seeds were not one of the taxable items under the law, but neither were other things, like clothing, that William typically ordered from Norton. However, Nelson opted to purchase locally-made clothing, abandoning his typically English attire. In 1770, he wrote to Norton describing his nouveau attire: "I now wear a good suit of Cloth of my Son's wool, manufactured, as well as my shirts in Albemarl[e] & Augusta Counties, my Shoes, Horse Buckles, Wig, & Hat etca of our own Country."[35] Despite this powerful show of non-importation, Nelson insisted on ordering seeds from England. They were considered so necessary that they remained the single matter of trade for the next year. Norton and Nelson remained in close contact until William Nelson's death in 1773. William's son and heir, Thomas Nelson, Jr. attempted to retain the correspondence for sometime, but the war and larger issues soon ended the correspondence.

The Nelsons expressed themselves according to the context in which they lived, including a town where gardens were both useful and profitable. By the mid-1700s, Yorktown was beyond the fear of starvation in a New World, but its citizens continued to use their gardens for the primary purpose of nourishment and supplement. According to the anonymous sketch of Yorktown, the homes of the Lightfoots, Digges, Nelsons, and other leading families in the town used their gardens as sensible additions to the kitchen, rather than elegant extensions of the main house. Fellow Virginia colonist Robert Carter Nicholas ordered good quantities of kitchen vegetables for the upcoming year from John Norton of London, including many celery, watercress, mustard, cauliflower, cabbage, and the "Turkey" cucumber 'Scotch Tom' Nelson had introduced to the town in 1738. Rather typically, he endorsed that "if these seeds are not quite fresh & good it will not be worth while to send them," as "many of those last sent faild to my great disappointment [sic]."[36]

There is only one record of a Yorktown estate that used landscaping as a means of conveying importance and beauty. The Ringfield house, built in the late seventeenth century by Joseph Ring, a wealthy planter and one of the two trustees in the founding of Yorktown in 1691, was situated "at the end of a long avenue of cedar trees."[37] Such a design was typical of fashions in England at the time and far more related to style than function.[38] The Ringfield house was a rare exception in Yorktown, however. According to Colonial Williamsburg officials, most gardens in colonial Virginia were "simple, functional, and even somewhat bare."[39]

Like the Nelsons, leading families across Virginia used their gardens as simple functionalities. In 1737, English merchant Peter Collinson warned his trade partner John Bartram to be fine company on a trip to Virginia, for those "wealthy Virginians had a reputation for snobbish affectation."[40] Their pretentiousness, however true in other social arenas, did not

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he refused to buy products from Norton during the period. This policy of boycotting was referred to as 'non-importation' and was adopted by a number of patriotic colonists. See British Parliament, 1767, "The Townshend Act" America's Homepage, http://ahp.gatech.edu/townshend_act_1767.html (Accessed 8 March 2009).

[35] Mason, 122.

[36] Mason, 185.

[37] The Ringfield House burnt down in 1920 and little more is known of the original state of the grounds. See "Historic Echoes at King's Creek," *York County History* (York County Historical Committee, York History Series #A 3.2, July 2003), 1.

[38] Note the tree-lined central axis and approach road at Castle Howard: Barlow, 241, 244.

[39] M. Kent Brinkley and Gordon W. Chapell, "A Williamsburg Perspective on Colonial Gardens," *Colonial Williamsburg*, http://www.history.org/almanack/life/garden/garintro.cfm.

[40] Wulf, 67 in reference to John Clayton, John Bartram, Peter Collinson, William Byrd, and Isham Randolph, "Letters of John Clayton, John Bartram, Peter Collinson, William Byrd, and Isham Randolph" *The William and Mary Quarterly* (Second Series, Vol. 6, No. 4, October 1926), 304.

extend to the garden.[41] In fact, gentlemen across the state focused on the garden for its function over its form. Like William Nelson, lawyer and planter Mann Page was in correspondence with John Norton of London during the colonial period. In 1770, he placed an extensive order of garden seeds for the upcoming fall, consisting mainly of garden vegetables. He also tended to his plants carefully, requesting knives and spades for planting and upkeep. When ordering them, he insisted they be insured. They were obviously highly valued to the Virginia planter, though the quantities he ordered them in (between ¼ and 2 oz.) made it obvious they were only for private kitchen use, not to be planted for a selling harvest.[42] Dr. James Carter of Williamsburg also insisted that Norton insure his kitchen seeds of cabbage, cauliflower, and turnips for their spring shipment.[43] In addition to the usual cabbage, lettuce, and flowering vegetables, the Anglican minister Thomas Fields of Gloucester, Virginia ordered more exotic plants in 1772, including coriander, caraway seeds, cardamom, and those same green "Turkey" cucumbers that Custis had introduced to Virginia in 1737. Even the great plantation owner William Byrd, reputed to have one of the greatest collections of native plants and imperial imports in Virginia, focused on the practicalities of plant form and function. He particularly enjoyed pruning his own trees in the orchard.[44] The practicalities of gardening were of utmost importance to colonial gardeners, regardless of wealth.

Looking through the perspective of the Nelson family of Yorktown, it is demonstrated that the role and derivation of the colonial garden was quite similar to that of an English garden; these influences, however, were manifested in a far different manner in the colonies. Historians have noted the interaction between England and America in contributing to English gardens, but they have failed to recognize the reality of gardening in America. Remarkably, these simple gardens were derived from the same ideas as the elegant landscape designs dotting the countryside of contemporary England.

In the words of its author, Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government* "is an attempt to make sense of the origins of the modern world [through] the interactions of science and imperial expansion," by focusing on 'improvement' to the devastated English landscape and public health.[45] For Drayton, the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew testified to the imperialism and new scientific ideas to tell the story of the English empire. The gardens were a collection of plants from across the English empire and reflections of a time when the botanical discoveries of Linnaeus and Miller were changing ideas about the world.[46] Drayton emphasizes agricultural origins of English wealth and empire and astutely shows how religious assumptions and the history of science played an important role in shaping the British Empire. Unfortunately, by focusing on such a limited case study, Drayton is unable to grasp what gardening meant to the colonies themselves. He claims that "the same process was at work at the imperial centre as at

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[41] Wulf, 67.
[42] Mason, 126.
[43] Mason, 152.
[44] Wulf, 69.
[45] Drayton, Richard, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), xi. See note 20.
[46] Linnaeus (1707-1778), born Carl von Linné, created the scientific system of naming plants in his ground-breaking work *Systema Naturae* (Leyden, 1735). His method of classifying with a binomial nomenclature was based on subdividing into orders, families, genera and species. See Drayton, 18 and Wulf, 3. Philip Miller (1691-1771) was an English botanist whose *Garden Dictionary* (1731) was the first compendium of practical gardening, offering advice and scientific treatises on plant-related topics. His work at the Chelsea Physic Garden paved the way as one of the first botanical gardens of Great Britain. See Wulf, 34-47.

the frontier," but this is not true in even the broadest sense possible.[47] The experiences of those in England were completely different from contemporary experiences in the colonies. The Nelson family of Yorktown clearly demonstrated that, though Britons themselves, their colonial garden was far different from those developing in England contemporarily.

Interestingly enough, the reasons are basically the same as those Drayton delineates in his book. Colonial gardening exemplified the idea of 'improvement' to one's property and lifestyle. It reflected the scientific discoveries accompanying imperial expansion in the eighteenth century, and it was strongly rooted in agriculture. All of these ideas are highlighted by Drayton as central to the development of the botanical gardens at Kew, the royal gardens of Great Britain.

Drayton emphasizes that these botanical gardens were a form of ornamental display, testifying to the political and social implications of colonization. New places provided new plant life with the ability, in Drayton's words, "to cure disease" or, at the very least, "to glorify the nation."[48] Eighteenth century European medicinal practices were premised on the theory that diseases were specific to certain regions and the cure for a particular disease could be found in native plant life. Thus, the cure to new diseases supposedly contracted through contact with new regions lie in the plants of those regions. Exotic plants could, therefore, be the antidote to exotic disease. When there was no medicinal practicality, plants were at least ornamental demonstrations of the power of the British Empire. Botanical gardens boasted the flora of regions newly explored with imperial expansion, and the British monarch used them as a show of authority. The British used botanical gardens and landscape design as a means of political and social expression. In a more reduced manner, the Nelsons demonstrated this same reasoning for their simple kitchen garden.

The Nelson garden was a physical improvement to the house through its plant content and its affect on property value in Virginia. The Nelsons grew primarily vegetables and herbs in the garden, providing nourishment and medicine to the family. During the eighteenth century, medicinal practice was based on the use of different herbs for healing. When someone fell ill, herbs from their own garden could be prescribed to help, rather than having to go to the apothecary. The Nelsons obviously used their garden as an extension of the kitchen; their plants produced food to be used in day-to-day meal preparation. Individual herbs could provide exotic seasonings, but most of the plant content consisted of standard vegetable crop like carrots, peas, and turnips greens. In addition to medicinal and nutritional value, gardens enhanced property value. This was particularly true when the garden was fenced in (to keep vermin out and ensure a rewarding harvest). Between 1752 and 1773, The *Virginia Gazette* listed numerous houses for sale, which promoted their advertisements with the addition of kitchen gardens alongside outbuildings like wash-houses, storehouses, stables, dairies, wells, and the kitchen itself.[49] Prominent Yorktown citizens including Dudley Digges, George Riddell, and Jacquelin Ambler all advertised properties in the Gazette under such terms. The garden was an important addition to any property. A plot could be described in terms of being 'well pailed in' or well-cultivated, but even just having a garden on the property made it an important selling point.[50] In Yorktown, a garden like the Nelson's affected the monetary value of the home, but the improvement of the owners was also witnessed.

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[47] Drayton, xvi-xviii.
[48] Drayton, 41.
[49] See William Hunter, ed, *Virginia Gazette*, July 3, 1752, 3; William Rind, ed. *Virginia Gazette*, March 29, 1770, 3; Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, eds, *Virginia Gazette*, December 9, 1773, 2.
[50] See notes 13 and 46.

The Nelson garden provided a means of psychological convalescence for the family. Though not intended to be a pleasure garden, it became a place of healing for the Nelsons. In a personal letter, William Nelson described "an ugly Fall from her Horse" his wife Elizabeth had when riding one day, after which she was confined to bed for a month.[51] Once she became able, she and her husband experienced great joy in her ability to walk around the house and garden. Nature as a healing force has been a common theme throughout world history, and in this case, even a simple kitchen garden gave Mrs. Nelson a feeling of accomplishment and happiness.[52] Thus, though the garden was not intended as a means of social 'improvement,' it became a place of psychological and physical development.

In eighteenth century Europe, landscape theorist Abbé Vallemont proposed that nature, as humans had interaction with, existed in three parts: agricultural land, formal gardens, and idyllic wilderness.[53] Beginning in Vallemont's time, England became renowned for creating landscapes that mimicked this third nature: wilderness. Wealthy landowners used new plants from the colonies to create this image. In America, on the other hand, settlers continued to focus on the first: agriculture. Colonists used new plants from other British colonies to enhance production in this arena. Though they differed in result, both American colonists and English residents used their gardens as a space for discovering interesting new species. The Nelsons became a part of the larger picture of a British empire of exchange and development in mid-1738.

The 'account of a cucumber' provides a depth of insight into the Nelsons' fascination with and integration into this system.[54] During the summer of 1737, John Custis of Williamsburg received some seeds of a "long Cucumber" from his friend and correspondent Peter Collinson of London.[55] Custis failed to grow the seed himself, but gave some to his son, who was successful in growing three cucumber plants. In observing his son's accomplishment, Custis realized that the plants were able to grow despite excessive drought that season. These long cucumbers of the "Morocco" or "Turkey" type grew well under desert-like conditions. The cucumbers grew as large three feet long. As word spread with an article in the *Virginia Gazette*, people came from miles around to see the astonishing vegetable. The Nelsons were among those who took an interest in the unique gourd. 'Scotch Tom' secured some seed for himself, and the following year, *The Virginia Gazette* reported giant cucumbers, measuring up to 40 inches in length, growing in 'Scotch Tom' Nelson's garden.[56] Undoubtedly, the large creatures created a stir in the town and caused more visitors to flock to the Nelson's garden to see the unique plants. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, there were two species of cucumbers, one green and one white, and "both of 'em eat well."[57]

In displaying this plant in their garden, the Nelsons were demonstrating the discovery of a new species. The exotic plant they grew was the byproduct of English exploration and

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[51] Mason, 77.

[52] Various interactions have been linked to causal effects in healing after physical or mental injury. See Susan S. Scott, *Healing with Nature* (Allworth Communications, 2003); Oliver Sacks, *A Leg to Stand On* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998); Bill Moyers, *Healing and the Mind* (New York: Broadway Books: 1995); and Jane Maitland, "Review of The Healing Fields; Working with Psychotherapy and Nature to Rebuild Shattered Lives," *Psychodynamic Practice: Individuals, Groups and Organisations* (Vol. 9, Issue 3).

[53] Abbé Vallemont, *Curiositez de la nature et de l'art* (Paris, 1705). See Appendix C for Vallemont's frontispiece.

[54] William Parks, ed, *Virginia Gazette*, September 1, 1738, 4.

[55] Zuppan, Josephine Little, ed, The *Letterbook of John Custis IV of Williamsburg, 1717-1742* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc), 28 August 1737.

[56] William Parks, ed, *Virginia Gazette*, September 1, 1738, 4.

[57] William Parks, ed, *Virginia Gazette*, September 1, 1738, 4.

colonization. As English soldiers were sent to various locations around the world, new botanical scientists, akin to Sir Joseph Banks, instructed them to bring back examples of exotic plants. Nelson's large cucumbers were the product of such an endeavor. They were first taken to England, where Collinson turned them out to the New World via his associations with men like John Custis. Custis, in turn, distributed the seeds within his local community. A distribution from the periphery to the center and back to the periphery was possible through the economic trade relationships established by various British citizens.

The cucumbers growing in the Nelson garden, furthermore, became ornamental displays, quite like those of botanical gardens in England. The *Virginia Gazette* advertisement of their plants undoubtedly brought interested folk to their house, provided them with new contacts, and served as an advertisement for their imports business. The great many people who came to Custis' house to view his seeds showed the interest of the Virginia community in new agricultural finds that were a part of English expansion. The result was the creation of a small-scale botanical garden, right in the colonists' backyards.

After William Nelson's death in 1773, the garden of the Nelson House quite literally plunged downhill. Following his father's death, Thomas Nelson, Jr. did not maintain the garden seed correspondence with John Norton in London. He was thereby either no longer concerned with the seeds or he was purchasing the seeds from a local source. Being an adamant patriot, Thomas Jr. was far more likely to pursue such measures than to continue correspondence over garden seeds in the midst of broader political conflict. Regardless of the specifics, the letters drop off just previous to the beginnings of the Revolutionary War. Nothing else is known of the garden for the next five years, until a visit from Nicholas Cresswell, recorded in his April 29, 1777 journal.[58] Cresswell describes the beautiful houses and gardens which once dominated the landscape at Yorktown, but had lately been destroyed. According to Cresswell, these gardens, "laid out with the greatest taste of any . . . seen in America," were now being overrun with soldiers, who were using them as means of defense and supply.[59] At the time, however, Cresswell found these gardens "thrown into the street, everything in disorder and confusion."[60] Indeed, upon the siege of Yorktown some four years later, Thomas Nelson, Jr. himself ordered the destruction of his own home. He even proposed a monetary reward for the first soldier to strike (as Cornwallis was attempting to set up his headquarters in the Nelson House). Though the house only suffered minor abrasions, the Nelsons' economics fared quite worse. By the end of the war, Nelson found himself severely in debt. The family name dwindled over time, but the house remained in the family.[61] The home was finally sold in 1914 to George P. Blow, who in collaboration with the great Virginia landscape architect Charles Gillette, created a condensed "colonial revival" interpretation of the gardens at the Blow house in England.[62]

The garden of the Nelson family was relatively short-lived, but as such it appropriately represents only the era and locale in which it was conceived: colonial Virginia. The historian M. Kent Brinkley has pointed out that in terms of colonial gardens, "then, as today, gardens were as

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[58] Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777* (New York: L. MacVeagh, 1924), quoted in William B. O'Neale, *Architecture in Virginia: An Official Guide to Four Centuries of Building in the Old Dominion* (New York: The Virginia Museum, 1968).
[59] O'Neale, 61.
[60] O'Neale, 63.
[61] Mary Marshall Brewer, ed, *York County, Virginia Land Records: 1729-1763* (Delaware: Colonial Roots, 2005).
[62] See Charles F. Gillette, *Papers, ca. 1880-1985* (Accession 34472 , Business records collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia), accessed 21 Nov 2008; and Longest, George C, *Genius in the Garden: Charles F. Gillette and Landscape Architecture in Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1992), 61-65 .

varied as the people who created and tended them."[63] Indeed, in order to fully understand the importance of these gardens, one must first understand the people who created them. The Nelsons were an affluent family: wealthy, socially accepted, and well-connected to England. In their education, dress, and art, they represented the typical English gentlemen and ladies. But their garden told a wholly different story. The Nelson's had but a simple kitchen garden, meant to nourish and supplement their diets. There was nothing ostentatious or commanding about it, as there was in Europe at the time among citizens of comparable status to the Nelsons. Despite all these facts, the Nelson garden was derived from the same reasons as the new landscapes dotting the countryside in England and the botanical gardens of the royal family. All spoke of rationality, improvement, scientific discovery, and imperial expansion. The Nelson garden tells a complicated story of rational simplicity and practical improvement, resulting from British exploration and conquest in the eighteenth century.

[63] M. Kent Brinkley and Gordon W. Chapell, "A Williamsburg Perspective on Colonial Gardens," Colonial *Williamsburg*, http://www.history.org/almanack/life/garden/garintro.cfm.

Appendix A.

"A View of Yorktown, Virginia"

The Nelson House is the largest house in the left half of this sketch. The buildings under the bluffs served as warehouses and houses for the working-class who toiled in them. On the hill, a prominent flag and battery is evident. Other prominent houses include Secretary Nelson's on the far left, the Lightfoot's two blocks down from the Nelson House, and William Buckner's property near Windmill Point (in the far left of the sketch).

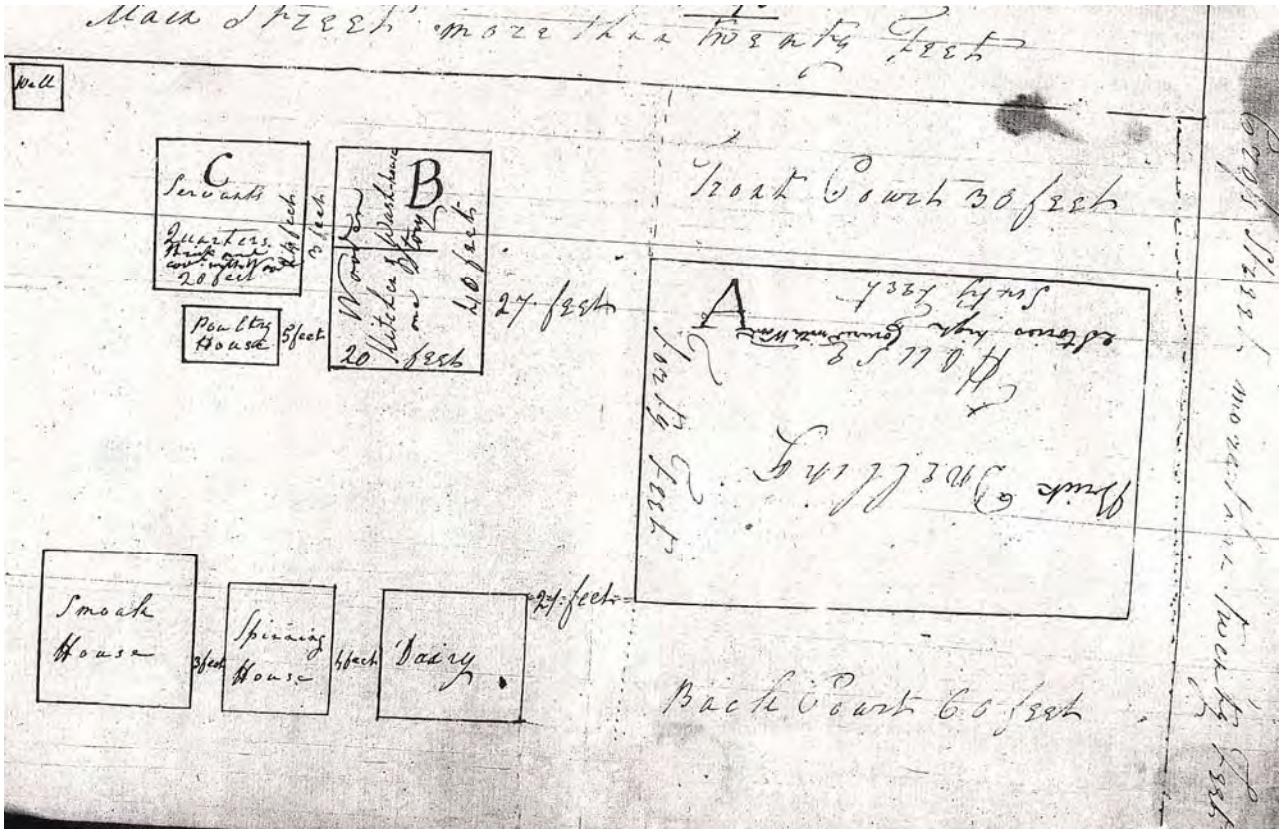
Unknown, "A View of York, Virginia from the River" from [1] E.G. Swem, ed, Views *of Yorktown and Gloucester Town, 1755* (Newport News: The Mariners' Museum, 1946), insert.

The Nelson house is located in the center of the sketch. Note the trees in the front yard and the simple rail fence surrounding the lots.

Appendix B.

Mutual Assurance Policy #98

The first policies for the Mutual Assurance Society were written in 1796. William Nelson purchased a policy in April of that same year to insure his property on lots 48 and 52 of Yorktown for $4600. The policy, shown below, does not indicate where the garden was located, but does illustrate their large kitchen, the structure labeled B, which measured 800 square feet. The garden provided vegetables and herbs as an extension of this dependency.



Mutual Assurance Society, *Mutual Assurance Society Declarations and Revaluations of Policies, 1796-1867* (Architectural Drawings and Plans collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia), accessed 6 Nov 2008, Policy 98.

Appendix C.

Three Natures

During the Renaissance, landscape theorists emphasized the idea of "three natures," consisting of wilderness, agriculture, and the formal garden. In the eighteenth century, Abbé Vallemont's *Curiositez de la nature et de l'art* further explored this topic, and his frontispiece provides the classic depiction of the three natures theory. Note that in his contemporary depiction, the idyllic wilderness is brought to the foreground, indicating its growing importance.

Abbé Vallemont, *Curiositez de la nature et de l'art* (Paris, 1705).

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From African Man to Brazilian Beast:
The Destruction of Black Gender in
Eighteen and Nineteenth Century Rural, Brazilian Slavery

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Brazilian slavery, as it existed in rural settings upon *engenhos* (sugar mills) and coffee plantations, was an institution that held various implications for the enslaved men and women of African descent. In various regards, the gender constructs of the larger Brazilian society were upheld by masters, predominantly white Brazilians, even within the institution of black slavery on plantations. Likewise, slaves attempted in multiple ways to maintain a culture predicated on preexisting gender norms of both African and Brazilian society. These notions are especially evident in the labor assigned to slaves based upon sex, in certain assumptions held regarding male and female slaves, and in various aspects of the slave's limited social life. However, these same slaves also had their gender identities destroyed, especially when compared to the ideals of gender employed by white Brazilian society. Epitomizing this fact are the punishments assigned to slaves, the legal view of slaves as individuals without rights, the sexual exploitation of female slaves, and the facts and notions inherent in the very institution of slavery. Thus, while African and Brazilian gender norms were often upheld by masters and slaves alike, compulsory emasculation and defeminization remained an inescapable and debilitating reality for the rural slave in eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazil.

Historian Mary Karasch asserts that within the institution of slavery, specifically in the frontier and rural parts of Brazil, most women participated in occupations deemed to be feminine by the broader Brazilian culture.[1] Furthermore, she claims that these female-dominated jobs included child care, food and clothing production, and domestic service.[2] For instance, in early nineteenth century Goiás, slave women, in addition to being agricultural laborers in the *engenhos*, commonly functioned as *cozinheras* (cooks), charged with feeding entire plantations.[3] Karasch refers to the labor forced upon black slave women by their masters, work deemed to be culturally appropriate and physically manageable for enslaved females. The presence of Brazilian gender norms within the context of rural slavery is further supported by sources from eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazil.

In a document written in the late nineteenth century by the French wife of a Brazilian man, the author, commenting on the life of slaves on a *fazenda* (plantation) in the province of Rio de Janeiro, noted the domestic duties of female slaves. She observed that, upon entering the "darkies'" kitchen, she "saw two negresses having before them

[1] David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington, In: Indiana University Press, 1996), 85.
[2] Ibid., 85.
[3] Ibid., 87.

two immense caldrons."[4] The author emphasized these female domestic duties in a patronizing and positive manner indicative of a liberal view of slavery within a post-independence Brazilian society, which was moving closer toward abolition. While the author's prejudice, also possibly influenced by post-Enlightenment French ideals, was apparent, her observations were accurate, insightful, and reinforced by other descriptions of the gendered labor of female slaves. Henry Koster, a British resident of Pernambuco, wrote in 1815 about the cultural enforcement of gender roles upon slaves in their adolescence, specifically on a Benedictine plantation.[5] He asserted that "when they arrive at the age of ten and twelve years, the girls spin thread for making the coarse cotton cloth of the country."[6] Koster, employed by a British religious organization, favorably noted this gendered practice of slavery. Similarly, the impact of Brazilian concepts of gender within the institution of slavery, evidenced in this paternalistic account of a nurturing slave system, can be seen in accounts pertaining to older slave women as well.

British consul H. Augustus Cowper wrote several accounts, addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen, concerning slavery in Pernambuco in the mid-nineteenth century. In a dispatch dated August 4, 1843, Cowper wrote that on the *engenho* of Colonel Gaspar de Menezes Vasconcellos Drummond, all of the domestic slaves were females. Likewise, in accordance with the benevolence of this master, Cowper stated that female slaves who work in the fields were not allowed to work "after the fifth month of pregnancy" and then were given "light domestic occupations for twelve months after her child is born."[7] However, this notion was contradicted by statements given in an 1871 speech by Senator Cristiano Benedito Ottoni of Minas Gerais. In this speech, Senator Ottoni attributed the high mortality rate among rural slave children to the fact that pregnant and nursing black women were not relieved from their work duties, thus resulting in abnormal fetal development and a reduced flow of milk in nursing mothers.[8]

At the time of Ottoni's speech the Free Birth Law of 1871, which liberated newborn children of slave women, was still under debate. This fact shows the potential for bias in an account written by a senator with abolitionist ideals and thus, a potential exaggeration of certain claims. However, neither Ottoni's personal observance of slave conditions nor the high mortality rate of slave children can be denied. While his speech showed a destruction of traditional Brazilian gender constructs within slavery, an idea that will be discussed later in this paper, it also had ramifications concerning the maintenance of female gender norms in rural Brazilian slavery. Similarly, as an official for a British government that had long since abolished slavery, Cowper's description of a comparatively lenient treatment of female slaves based on gender seems to carry certain

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[4] Adèle Toussaint-Samson, *A Parisian in Brazil* (Boston: James H. Earle, 1891) quoted in Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 84.

[5] The Benedictine Order is a Roman Catholic monastic order that traces its spiritual founding to St. Benedict. Benedictine monks first arrived in Brazil, from Portugal, in the sixteenth century.

[6] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil in the years from 1809, to 1815* (Philadelphia: M. Carey & Son, 1817), 2:218.

[7] *Class B. Correspondences with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, etc. Relative to the Slave Trade, 1843* (London, 1844) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 73.

[8] C.B. Ottoni, *A emancipação dos escravos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1871) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 100.

validity and informative qualities. Cowper actively sought out sinister examples of slavery in order to condemn the institution and thus perhaps had less incentive to falsify a report that, especially in the view of Brazilian society in the 1840s, gave evidence of a supposedly benign slavery in line with liberal ideas. Regardless of which account is most credible and indicative of the general state of rural Brazilian slavery, the idea of treating women slaves based on sexual norms and commonly held Brazilian beliefs clearly existed. These reports, either reluctantly or enthusiastically, showed that black slave women oftentimes performed tasks, received treatment, or were perceived by their masters based upon their sex and the concepts of gender prevalent in a patriarchal Brazilian society.

Similarly, male slaves also were assigned labor deemed, according to Brazilian gender constructs, to be appropriate for the male sex. For instance, plantation work specific to male slaves was described in an account written by an Italian Jesuit in 1711. Father João Antônio Andreoni attested that while both men and women engaged in some form of agricultural work, "only the male slaves make use of the axe to cut down the forests."[9] Andreoni emphasized the physical strength of slaves, which he related to their masculinity. There is little question that a perceived frailty of females, and notions of the brute strength of African males, influenced the nature of duties assigned to slaves.[10] Rural slave labor was described by a native of the northern province of Maranhão in a book on Brazilian slavery from the mid-nineteenth century. While based upon childhood recollections of a reform-minded individual, these accounts of arduous work, lasting approximately twelve hours a day, indicated a form of work that would have been deemed only fit for males.[11] A similar gender influenced division of labor is shown in a Bahian sugar planter's registry of slaves written in 1872.

Dr. Francisco Moreira de Carvalho, the Bahian planter, listed his male slaves in various male oriented occupations, including butcher, mason, shepherd, stableman, carpenter, and herdsmen.[12] Most indicative of the maintenance of Brazilian gender norms, within the context of slavery, was the role of a male slave as overseer, as evidenced in this registry.[13] Charged with the responsibility of maintaining order amongst fellow slaves, the male overseer essentially had the most masculine power afforded to a slave. This occupation was only assigned to male slaves, presumably those who displayed the most masculine characteristics, essentially due to ideas concerning gender, prevalent within the patriarchal Brazilian culture of the nineteenth century. Through assigned labor, masters enforced certain gender roles upon their slaves.

Likewise, to a large degree, slaves also attempted to maintain a semblance of gender normality, according to both the African and Brazilian cultural contexts, within the limited social practices they were permitted to enjoy. In the previously mentioned account written by a Frenchwoman in Rio de Janeiro, there was a description of a *batuco*, a dance and musical celebration of African origins. During this dance, an appointed king,

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[9] André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (São Paulo: Compañía Melhoramentos, 1922) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 56.
[10] Ibid., 56.
[11] F.A. Brandão, Júnior, *A escravatura no Brasil precedida d'um artigo sobre a agricultura e colonisação no Maranhão* (Brussels: H. Thiry-Vern Buggenhoudt, 1865) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 97.
[12] Coleção Subaé. Lata 551, Document 29, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 102-107
[13] Ibid., 103.

"a negro of high stature," commanded the various actions of the celebration and did so while being "armed with a long white wand," a clear symbol of masculine power and authority.[14] Along with this traditional male position, there were distinct roles for women to play in the dance. The Frenchwoman attested that "the negresses walked harmoniously, keeping time in waving their handkerchiefs and in giving themselves up to a most accentuated movement of the hips."[15] Author Katia M. De Queirós Mattoso also noted retention of traditional Brazilian and African gender norms within slave's religious festivals, including the appointment of a king and queen during these celebrations.[16]

Oftentimes, slaves reasserted gender norms prevalent in their own African culture using the Catholic faith imposed on them by their masters and white, Brazilian society. In Henry Koster's account from 1817, the author interestingly noted that slaves practicing Catholicism sometimes painted depictions of Our Lady of the Rosary, Mary, "with a black face and hands."[17] The connotation is striking; in a context of slavery where familial bonds were either non-existent or tenuous, black slaves attempted to symbolically recreate the role of the black woman as mother within the Virgin Mary, the Christian epitome of motherhood and feminine virtue. While written with Christian bias, this source demonstrated a crucial aspect of the construction of gender in Brazilian slave communities. Considering the composition of the traditional African family and the familial structures and demographics of slavery, especially an overall shortage of women until later in the nineteenth century, this apparent desire to reify the notion of black motherhood was entirely understandable. Evidence shows that many West African nations, those predominantly affected by the slave trade, had polygynous and matrifocal structures, essentially meaning that there was a strong maternal influence on children and a prominent "mother-child unit."[18] In these societies, the mother was the center of her household, as the father, responsible for many different wives and children, was largely marginal to the daily functions of individual households. Thus, black slaves attempted to maintain traditional gender conceptions in accordance to Brazilian and Catholic notions of womanhood and motherhood, West African matrifocal family structures, and the demographics of the enslaved population.

Examples of the labor and social lives of slaves show a tendency on the part of white masters and black slaves to maintain gender constructs prevalent in both Brazilian and African life. However, within rural Brazilian slavery, the preservation of traditional gender roles was not as prominent, or powerfully demonstrated, as the destruction of male and female gender identity. This is evident in the legal status of slaves, which was described in an essay from 1866 by Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, a prominent Brazilian legal historian. Significantly, this essay demonstrated how masters could legally and physically punish slaves. While not being able to "excessively" punish slaves in accordance with liberal laws imposed in the 1824 Constitution of Brazil, Malheiro

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[14] Adéle Toussaint-Samson, *A Parisian in Brazil* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 85.
[15] Ibid., 85.
[16] Katia M. De Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil 1550-1888*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Bruswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 101.
[17] Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 2:200.
[18] Gasper, *More Than Chattel*, 11.

asserted that masters could "punish them moderately, as fathers may punish their children and teachers their students."[19]

What seemingly escaped Malheiro, even though he recognized the fact that slaves were legally reduced to objects, was the infantilizing and emasculating nature of slavery embedded in the very language of these laws. In the majority of cases, especially up until the latter part of the nineteenth century, slaves were predominantly adult men. Granting masters the paternalistic right to punish and treat mature men as children showed the utter destruction of ideals of masculinity, and accompanying notions of power, within the male, black slave. Alfred Russel Wallace, a colleague of Charles Darwin, noted on his travel to an *engenho* that the master "attends to his slaves just as he would to a large family of children."[20] Furthermore, Wallace seemed to have grasped the implications of this treatment, asking if it can "be right to keep a number of our fellow-creatures in a state of adult infancy,--of unthinking childhood?"[21] To the master, the answer was a definitive affirmative because gendered subjugation, especially the emasculation of males, was a key component of Brazilian slavery.

Similarly, punishments were not always moderate, and instances of brutal castigation often confirmed a desire on the part of slave masters to destroy the gender identities of their property. In 1843, British Consul H. Augustus Cowper wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen about Colonel Antonio Francisco de Rego Barros, a master who allegedly punished female slaves with "the injection of pepper vinegar into the vagina" or, if it was a wayward male slave, "emasculation."[22] Likewise, Cowper related an instance where a male slave had his genitalia cut away with a razor and another where the inability of two male slaves to follow orders from their master "caused the poor fellows to be castrated."[23] While these reports came from an individual who made no attempt to hide his disdain for slavery, his allegations were substantiated by other reports.

In a book from 1758, Father Manoel Ribeiro Rocha, a resident of Bahia, spoke of punishment being excessive "if the slave is beaten . . . about the private parts."[24] Likewise, he admonished slave owners who would beat their slaves "on the irregular parts of the body."[25] It can be assumed that this Catholic priest would not have gone out of his way to decry a practice unless it was evidently in existence, a fact that can especially be assumed considering sparse legislation barring cruel punishment in colonial Brazilian society existed. The intent of punishment involving mutilation of the slave's genitalia is clear: in physically destroying or marring the organ specific to the slave's sex, the master sought to mentally, physically, and emotionally obliterate the slave's individual identity by removing a key element of personhood, sexual identity. Likewise,

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[19] Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *Escravidão no Brasil: Ensaio histórico-jurídico-social*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Edições Cultura, 1944) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*., 238.
[20] Alfred Russel Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, with an Account of the Native Tribes, and Observations on the Climate, Geology, and Natural History of the Amazon Valley*, ed. G.T.B (New York: Greenwood Publishers, 1969), 83.
[21] Ibid., 83.
[22] *Class B. Correspondence with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, etc* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 74.
[23] Ibid., 74.
[24] Manoel Ribeiro Rocha, *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corregido, instruido, e liberado* (Lisbon: Na Oficina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1758) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 296.
[25] Ibid., 296.

by mutilating the sex organ of the male or female slave, the master also eliminated a crucial aspect of the sexual identity of the slave, the ability to reproduce and fulfill the traditional gender role of mother or father.

Similar notions of a denial of traditional African and Brazilian gender constructs within rural Brazilian slavery were evidenced in the sexual exploitation of female slaves. A court case occurring from 1882-1884, involving a twelve year old slave girl, Honorata, and her master, Henriques Ferreira Pontes, showed how females had the characteristics associated with their sex taken from them within the context of slavery. Essentially, in this case, Pontes did not deny having deflowered Honorata and formed his defense on the claim that the court had no power in a case involving a master taking the virginity of his slave.[26] Interestingly, Judge Vasconcelos initially ruled in favor of Honorata because he believed "slaves possess so much personal honor" and "honor or virginity is of interest to the peace of the community . . . the family, of society, and of public morality."[27] Just as elite white women in the broader Brazilian society possessed honor and a virginity to protect and uphold, the Court of Recife initially ruled that Honorata, and presumably all female black slaves, did also. However, this decision would not be upheld, and the final verdict of the court shows an immense denial of slave womanhood and virtue.

On May 11, 1883, a court headed by Freitas Henriques ruled against Honorata, thus supporting the appeal of her master, Pontes. Henriques based his ruling on the fact that legally, slaves could not instigate allegations or testify against their master, and he also did not feel that there was sufficient proof that Honorata was a minor. Likewise, slaves could not provide witness testimony against their master, and the primary witness in the case was a male slave who corroborated Honorata's story.[28] Essentially, Pontes was acquitted because slaves had no legal rights and, even though the final ruling was by an apparently pro-abolition judge, the power dynamic between master and slave fundamentally made "the rape or molestation of slave women . . . legal behavior."[29]

The female slave, depending on the whims of her master, could very easily have her womanhood stripped away. The case powerfully showed this as Honorata had her virginity, and apparently honor, forcibly taken from her, thus robbing her of the very qualities which defined the ideal woman within Brazilian society. She had no control over her womanhood; instead, the master decided when, where, and how often, through rape and domination, she would become property, instead of a woman. Likewise, this case also had implications for Tiburcio, the male slave who corroborated Honorata's testimony. As a slave, Tiburcio was unable to aid Honorata through any means, especially legally. The result of this was emasculation of the male slave, an utter inability to protect female slaves, even mothers, wives, or daughters. These enslaved blacks of African origin came from polygynous societies, where patriarchal authority and male privilege were essential and defining characteristics."[30] Likewise, these slaves lived in a Brazilian society where the husband was the legal *cabeça de casal* (head of household), therefore possessing his household and its members literally and

[26] *O Direito* (Rio de Janeiro) 35 (1884) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 275.
[27] Ibid., 276-277.
[28] Ibid., 279.
[29] Ibid., 274, 280.
[30] Gaspar, *More Than Chattel*, 12.

metaphorically.[31] However, the male slave, while being both culturally African and living physically in the Brazilian nation, could not fully function as a man in either sense.

Oftentimes, the inherent nature of the Brazilian slave system, regardless of intent or will of a specific master, resulted in emasculation or defeminization. In general, male slaves vastly outnumbered female slaves throughout much of Brazilian history, specifically in frontier and rural regions. Figures of slaves in the state of Goiás from the nineteenth century show a lack of female slaves until the latter part of the century. Likewise, these statistics are supported by a medical report from the province of Rio de Janeiro showing a ratio of approximately 1.6 male slaves for every enslaved female. This disproportion, which was alleviated by the halting of the Brazilian international slave trade in 1851 and overall resettlement of the white population to rural areas, had emasculating implications.[32] Historian James Sweet asserts that the sex imbalance obviously hindered the reproductive prospects of African slaves in Brazil and undoubtedly strengthened their feeling of being socially dead.[33] As shown by demographics, and further evidenced by the social realities of slavery such as intense labor, males had fewer opportunities for marriage or other sustained, masculine relations with females. Similarly, an inordinately high rate of child mortality occurred, due in large part to the intense labor suffered by pregnant female slaves, as attested to by Senator Ottoni in 1871, and conditions of squalor conducive to disease.[34] The report compiled by German doctor Reinhold Teuscher in 1853, showed that on the five coffee plantations under his medical control, there was a mortality rate of five percent over a five year period. Over sixty-five percent of these mortalities were children.[35]

To the female slave, the fact that there was an overwhelming chance her child would die in infancy represented a distinct lack of womanhood, both within a Catholic Brazilian society emphasizing motherhood and a matrifocal African culture. Furthermore, in 1711, the Italian Jesuit advising sugar planters on the appropriate treatment of slaves lamented, "slave women deliberately attempt to abort themselves so that the children inside their bodies will not be made to suffer what they have suffered."[36] Likewise, infanticide was not uncommon, as noted by Archduke Maximilian on an 1860 visit to Bahia. Maximilian claimed that these "child-murders" occurred "in order to revenge themselves on their cruel masters, and to rob him of valuable capital."[37] Historian Robert Conrad agrees with the Austrian Archduke's assertion but also claimed that these children's lives were taken so that they could forever leave the misery of slavery.[38] All three men have specific biases and Jesuit priest João Antônio Andreoni's perhaps is one most considerate of slaves. However, both his and Conrad's hypothesis

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[31] Muriel Nazzari, *Dissapperance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 25.
[32] Gaspar, *More Than Chattel*, 81.
[33] James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World*, 1441-1770 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 38-39.
[34] Ottoni, *A emancipação dos escravos* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 100.
[35] Reinhold Teuscher, *Algumas observações sobre a estadistica sanitaria dos escravos em fazendas de café. These apresentada á faculdade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro e públicamente sustentada aos 22 de Julio de 1853* (Rio de Janeiro: Villenueve e Comp., 1853) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 88.
[36] Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brasil* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 60.
[37] Maximilian I, *Recollections of My Life, 3 vols*. (London: Richard Bentley, 1868) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 198.
[38] Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 360.

that women aborted or murdered their children out of compassion and unwillingness to subject them to slavery seems most accurate considering the mental toll of slavery upon its victims. This female response to slavery shows the further seizure of their womanhood: if the physical conditions of slavery, work and disease, did not rob the female slave of her child, the mental anguish and suffering often did. In either respect, it is clear that in slavery, the woman, to a large degree, could not fulfill the Brazilian and African cultural female role of motherhood.

Upon arrival from Africa, before Brazilian independence, black slaves were branded with the Portuguese royal seal in the same manner that cattle would have been.[39] The implication here is clear: slaves were property, things with no legal personality. As such, they no longer existed as people and certainly not as men or women. Even while masters employed slaves in certain gender related roles, jobs such as cook, nurse, or nanny for the female, and overseer, cattle herder, or forester for the male, the view of the slave as without personhood was clear. At every possible instance, through law, whippings, rape, castration, or vaginal mutilation, the slave was shown that their gender was not something over which they had possession. In small instances, such as the celebration of religious festivals, these traditional gender norms were maintained by slaves. However, the majority of attempts to regain control of gender and sexual identity, such as legal allegations, escape, rebellion, or even *banzo*, the slow suicide of starvation, ended in the slave receiving further rebukes of emasculation, defeminization, or even death.[40] Essentially, within the context of rural slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Brazilian law, slave demographics, the inherent mental and physical condition accompanying enslavement, and the malicious inclinations of the master served to transform "the African man into the American beast."[41]

[39] Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 2:198.
[40] Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil*, 135
[41] *Class B. Correspondence with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, etc* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 76

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From Legacy to Lethargy:
The Course and Cause of American Military Neutrality in 1940

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Wednesday, December 18, 1940 dawned clear and cool in New York City, but these calm conditions belied the turbulent political atmosphere that enshrouded the city and, in fact, the entire United States. The day before, President Franklin Roosevelt outlined a plan that had the potential to provoke an outright war with Nazi Germany because it proposed the expansion of United States military aid to the British government. Sometime after Roosevelt's announcement, German *Führer* Adolf Hitler issued his confidential Directive 21 from Berlin, which ordered preparations for the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the spring of 1941.[1] U.S. citizens had been fed a sanitized version of the conflict and were exceptionally naïve about the vast dimensions the war would take on in the coming months. Walking about the bustling streets or suburban neighborhoods of the American homeland, they were blissfully unaware that Hitler was prepared to further escalate the largest conflict in the history of humankind. American popular opinion favored some support to the beleaguered British, but Roosevelt's proposal on December 17 brought dissenters out in droves. Adding to American hesitancy was the grim specter of World War I, which still loomed large in the public consciousness as a reminder of what could occur if the U.S. meddled in European affairs. The negative legacy of World War I served as a major rallying cry for those who opposed U.S. military intervention in 1940.

Americans today generally accept that the United States' involvement in World War II had the broad support of the citizenry from the outset, but the outraged reaction of a significant minority to the President's aid proposal tells a very different story. A majority of Americans were willing to risk a chance of war by aiding the British, but very few favored an outright declaration of war against Germany and Italy. Moreover, strictly anti-interventionist Americans were relatively few in number, but those who supported an immediate declaration of war were even fewer. The vast majority of the population was somewhere in the middle, but contemporary polling data reveals that for America in 1940, only two decades removed from the "War to End All Wars," that old cry rang all too hollow. Americans were not prepared for another war.

American caution was due in large part to international military developments, which did not favor the Allies. By autumn, small gains had been made against the Italian armies in Greece and Libya by Greek and British forces, but the *Wehrmacht* had a stranglehold on continental Europe and the *Luftwaffe* was in the midst of a massive bombing campaign directed against London and the surrounding countryside. Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of British Aircraft Production, claimed that the Royal Air Force had "wrested daylight superiority in the air from

[1] *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 16 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 350-365**;** Adolf Hitler, "Directive No. 21: Operation Barbarossa," *Analytical List of Documents*, http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/nsr/nsr-07.html#1. (accessed October 2, 2008)

Germany" over London, but he also warned of an impending aerial assault and invasion of the British mainland by the Germans.[2]

It requires a great deal of imagination for one to envision the situation in late 1940 without the assurance of an eventual Allied victory, given the accepted result. However, with France overrun and with Britain cowed on her island by the Nazi menace; with the mighty Soviet Union and United States governments taking a wait-and-see approach, the final outcome of the war was very much in doubt. Some in the United States took a dim view of the British ability to survive the winter, fully expecting them to capitulate before spring. An editorial in the *Atlanta Constitution* effectively captured the prevailing opinion in December 1940: "Nazi Germany is no force to be trifled with, no fire with which we can play as we are now gambling." In fact, in October 1940, nearly thirty percent of Americans were uncertain about which nation would triumph in Europe.[3] Early in 1940, the British government had begun a not-so-subtle search for aid by reminding all free democratic governments that they were under the threat of Nazi aggression. This message was especially powerful in light of the recent German invasions of Norway and Denmark.[4]

President Roosevelt also had doubts about the British ability to cope and proposed that the successful defense of American democracy was dependent on a British victory against Nazism. Therefore, said Roosevelt, "we should do everything to help the British Empire to defend itself."[5] Essentially, his new initiative called for the leasing of arms and munitions to Great Britain, without requiring immediate payment for the goods, with the knowledge that they would be returned or replaced as soon as the British were able. Toward the end of the Great Depression, with the U.S. markets in shambles, Roosevelt needed an economically palatable way to present his new plan to the nation. Folksy as always, the President offered the analogy of a man whose neighbor's house had caught fire. The sensible homeowner would not haggle over the price of the hose his neighbor required; he would simply give it to him and expect it to be replaced if it was damaged. By helping to extinguish the fire next door, the homeowner would protect his own property from potential destruction.[6]

Certain elements of American society felt that this proposal was a deliberate attempt by the President to remove the neutral status of the United States and thrust the country into war with Germany and Italy. The "America First" committee (AFC) existed prior to Roosevelt's new plan, which would become known as the "Lend-Lease Act" after congressional alterations. The AFC was joined by the "No Foreign War" committee (NFC), which was formed in direct response to Roosevelt's new proposal. Both committees strenuously opposed American involvement in World War II, saying that they would fight for "our peace—without infringement

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[2] "The International Situation," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times*, December 18, 1940, (accessed October 24, 2008).

[3] Mallon, Paul, "FDR's Words on Survival Discussed," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Hartford Courant*, December 18, 1940, (accessed October 25, 2008)**;** "Aid to Britain," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution*, December 18, 1940, (accessed October 24, 2008)**;** The Gallup Poll #221, Gallup Brain. "Decade 1940-1949".

[4] "The War and the Neutrals: Labour's Warning, Germany's List of Victims," *The Times Digital Archive, 1785-1985: The London Times,* April 24, 1940, (accessed November 26, 2008).

[5] *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 16, 350.

[6] Ibid., 354-355.

on the honor, security, and integrity of the United States."[7] Robert E. Wood of Chicago, Illinois served as chairman of both Sears, Roebuck & Co. and the AFC. The NFC was created and led by Verne Marshall of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Marshall, a former member of the ambulance corps, was the editor of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* when he founded the NFC in December 1940.[8]

At the time, these isolationist committees were often incorrectly labeled as pro-Nazi or anti-American movements. In fact, their prime purpose was to keep America out of the war, but they fiercely supported strong United States defenses and as much aid to Great Britain as was allowable under the congressional Neutrality Act of 1939. The legislation severely limited the extent to which the United States could lend aid to any government proscribed as a "belligerent" in a foreign conflict by the current U.S. President.[9] It is vital to note that not every American who opposed entering the war may be classified as an isolationist. In December of 1940, nearly eighty percent of Americans were opposed to an outright military intervention in the European conflict, but nearly seventy percent favored expanding foreign aid even at the risk of inaugurating war with Germany.[10] For the purposes of this study, isolationists are defined by their refusal to expand aid because of the growing risk of war.

In July of 1940, a member of the AFC, Kingman Brewster, wrote that his major fears were of further naval aid to Great Britain, and a "cloud of fatalism that would settle over the land if conscription would become a fact."[11] These fears are of vital importance because they underscore the fundamental isolationist position. Isolationists held that the United States' best defense was not propping up Great Britain, but investing in its own military technologies and defenses. Additionally, they foresaw that aiding Britain militarily was certain to provoke eventual retaliatory military measures against the United States by Germany.[12]

Despite widespread support for various tenets of the isolationist position, strict isolationists were a minority in American society. In September of 1940, slightly more than half of polled Americans favored aiding Great Britain even at the risk of a war with Germany. Dr. George Gallup, the director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, wrote:

> Month by month this Summer, while Great Britain has been warding off the blows of Nazi Germany, an increasing number of Americans have come to the conclusion that it is more important to help England win—even at considerable risk of war—than to concentrate entirely on 'keeping out.'[13]

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[7] "'No Foreign War' Drive Launched By Iowa Editor," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 18, 1940, (accessed October 20, 2008).

[8] Ibid.

[9] "New Group Fights War Involvement," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Times Wide World, The New York Times*, December 18, 1940, (accessed October 8, 2008)**;** U.S. Congress, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Report to Accompany the Neutrality Act of 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1939, July 17, 1939, Congressional Serial Set Database (accessed October 26, 2008).

[10] The Gallup Poll #227, Gallup Brain. "Decade 1940-1949."

[11] Kingman Brewster to R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. undated [c. July 1940], cited in: Justus D. Doenecke, ed. *In Danger Undaunted: The Anti-Interventionist Movement of 1940-41 as Revealed in the Papers of the America First Committee*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1990), 88-89.

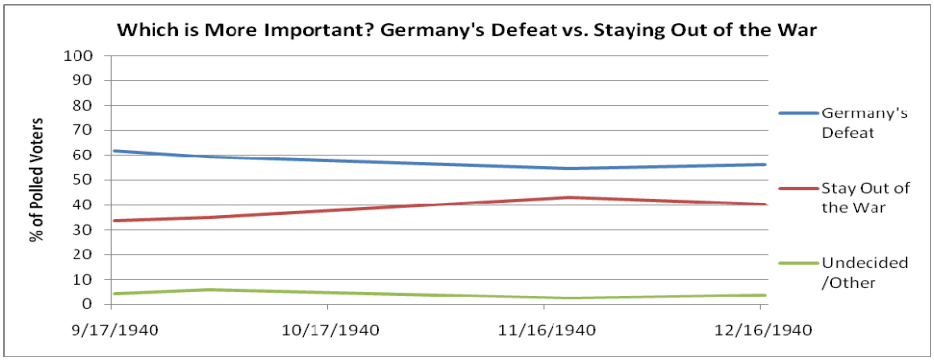
[12] Clay Judson to Robert E. Wood, September 24, 1940, cited in: Ibid. 92-93.

[13] "Sentiment to Aid Britain is Growing," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times*, September 22, 1940, (accessed October 25, 2008).

The same Gallup poll revealed that the country was divided on the issue of military involvement along geographical lines. In the South, East, and West, the interventionist movement rapidly gained momentum over the course of 1940, but in the Mid-Western regions, the majority pattern was decidedly isolationist. The national percentage of strictly isolationist voters dwindled from sixty-four percent in May, 1940 to forty-six percent in September as a result of German military victories.[14] AFC member Kingman Brewster confirmed this public shift away from isolationism when he wrote that the "eastern tide of participationist feeling is rising" in July of 1940.[15]

By late 1940, however, AFC member Douglas Stuart believed the pendulum had begun to swing back in favor of isolationism. He wrote to a colleague on December 4, 1940: "You have no idea how much support is suddenly appearing on the horizon. People are waking up to the fact that we have drifted terribly close to the brink of war. Britain is about at the end of her rope." Stuart's optimism was buoyed by the recent creation of three new chapters of the AFC (in Kansas City, Washington, and Cincinnati). In fact, with a hefty publicity campaign, the AFC might have grown dramatically. "The trouble is," said Stuart, "we just don't have the dough."[16] The truth of this statement is confirmed by Stuart's two letters to AFC Chairman Robert Wood on December 5 and December 8, 1940, imploring Wood to seek out several wealthy financiers who had shown interest in supporting the committee.[17]

Stuart's claim that isolationism was gaining rapid support late in 1940 was not necessarily borne by the available data, though it was not directly refuted either. The following data graphs from the fall of 1940 represented national responses to two questionnaires regarding the escalation of American involvement in the war. The first survey, asking whether Germany's defeat was more important than staying completely out of the war, found that between fifty-five and sixty-five percent of those surveyed consistently deemed Germany's defeat to be the priority issue. The second question raised the issue of aid to Britain versus total military isolation, and found similar results. Between fifty and sixty percent of those polled consistently supported some aid to Britain, though the data tended to fluctuate at a higher rate than for the previous question.



[14] Ibid.

[15] Kingman Brewster to R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. undated [c. July 1940], cited in: Doenecke, *In Danger Undaunted,* 91.

[16] R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. to Jay C. Hormel, December 4, 1940, cited in Ibid., 95.

[17] R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. to Robert E. Wood, December 5, 1940, cited in Ibid., 98-100**;** R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. to Robert E. Wood, December 8, 1940, cited in Ibid., 101-103.

Figure 1. This series of surveys suggests a gradual trend toward isolationism, but Germany's defeat was still viewed as the top priority through the end of 1940.[18]

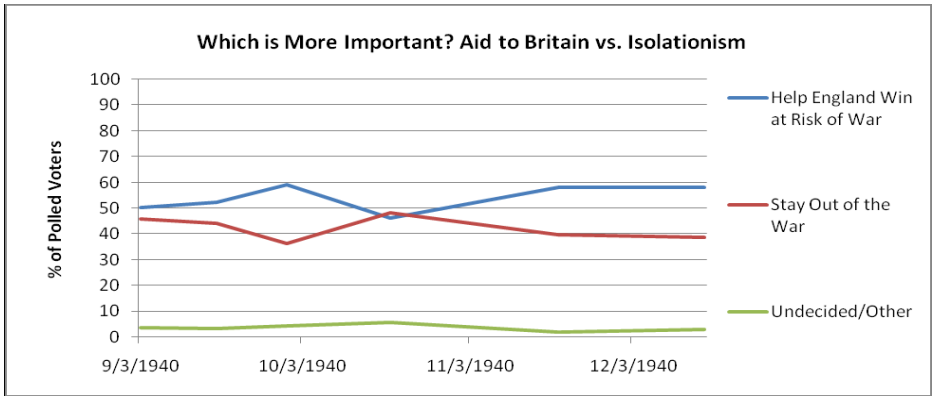


Figure 2. This graph of Gallup polls from autumn, 1940 shows slight growth in the campaign to aid Great Britain and a small retreat from isolationism.[19]

Due to a limited number of surveys that posed these specific questions, it is difficult to establish a positive correlation between public support for the war and significant military events or with political happenings in America. The data did provide sufficient results to establish the prevailing opinion of American white males, but non-Caucasians and females were underrepresented. In each and every poll that raised these questions, the percentage of male respondents exceeded sixty-six percent, and less than four percent of all respondents were persons of color.[20] Such biases do not necessarily disqualify the data, but a proportionally representative sample is obviously more useful in terms of establishing the national perspective on this issue.

The available data and correspondence with regard to American voters and several major isolationist committees revealed strong evidence that the anti-interventionists were significant as a minority in American society, but a minority nonetheless. Often, this leads to the obvious, simplistic conclusion that a majority of U.S. citizens were always prepared to involve the country in a European war should the need arise. The reality is far more complex than the simple dichotomy of war versus peace or aggression versus defense, and the contention that each American fell neatly on either side of the issue based on a decisive factor is illusory.

Philip Jacobs, an instructor of politics at Princeton University in the 1940s, proposed that there were five basic determining factors in the question of neutrality in March of 1940: personal, commercial, military, financial neutrality, and which branch of government controlled neutrality policy. In discussing the findings of his studies about the latter two factors, Jacobs wrote:

> A large and relatively constant majority has favored a policy of “financial neutrality” for the U.S., opposing the granting of loans and credits to countries at war, at least to those which still owe us money from the last

[18]Gallup Polls 209, 210, 213, 216, 224, 226, Gallup Brain. “Decade 1940-1949”.

[19] Ibid. Polls 210, 213, 224, 226.

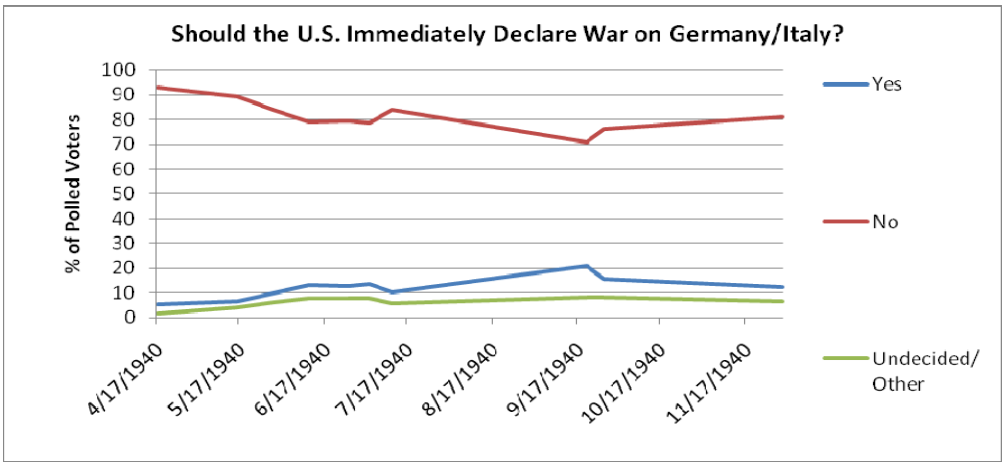
[20] Ibid. Polls 209, 210, 213, 216, 224, 226.

war. The American public, in the second place, has consistently preferred Congressional to Presidential control of U.S. neutrality policy.[21]

The issues of personal and commercial neutrality were intimately related, as the United States' lack of impartiality (personal neutrality) was clearly shown by its eschewal of commercial neutrality. The U.S. boycotts on German and Japanese goods and increased aid and trade with Great Britain eradicated any notions of economic impartiality by the United States government.[22]

In the two months before the German invasion of France on May 10, 1940, public sentiment in favor of extending credit to Britain and France for the purchase of American goods hovered at just over thirty percent. In a poll taken on May 14, after the invasion began, that number jumped to forty-eight percent.[23] Several surveys taken in September of 1940 are illuminating in terms of the American economic sentiment toward Japan. When asked whether they approved of President Roosevelt's ban on scrap iron shipments to Japan, over eighty-eight percent of those surveyed answered in support of the ban. The same survey queried whether the U.S. should forbid the "sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline and other war materials to Japan," and eighty-three percent of voters assented.[24] Such heavily weighted figures invalidated any ideas that the U.S. was neutral in a commercial, financial, or personal sense; clearly the majority of Americans supported the Allies.

The remaining issue is whether public opinion supported military neutrality. The American Institute of Public Opinion took eleven national polls over the course of 1940, which posed this question: "Do you think the United States should declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight?"[25] Unfortunately, a majority of the surveys were administered prior to the autumn of 1940; only four were directed between September 1 and December 31. The following graph tracks the responses to all eleven questionnaires.



[21] Philip E. Jacob, "Influences of World Events on U.S. 'Neutrality' Opinion," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Mar., 1940): 48-50.
[22] Ibid., 49.
[23] Gallup Polls 188, 191, 194, Gallup Brain. "Decade 1940-1949".
[24] Ibid. Poll 213.
[25] Ibid. Poll 191.

Figure 3. Graph depicting the U.S. public opinion trend toward intervention in 1940.[26]

As stated above, it is difficult to establish a definite correlation with significant events because of a lack of data, especially in the last half of the year. However, conservative speculation might suggest that public support for military intervention began to rise with the German invasion of France in May, and fell with the advent of the German bombing campaign in England, which began in September. Regardless of the reason for the fluctuations in public opinion, the data put forth the contention that Americans, even when Britain was on the precipice of annihilation, were terribly reluctant to commit the U.S. military to what was seen as a European problem.[27]

Americans viewed Europe as a continent in perpetual turmoil. Several members of the U.S. Congress expressed this perception through legislative debate during the war. In a chronological timeline, which contained over sixty individual military incidents, Republican Representative Frances Bolton outlined a brief history of warfare in Europe and Asia between only 1801 and 1941. Senator Sheridan Downey dug far deeper into European history, beginning in 1066 C.E. with the battle of Hastings and the subsequent British subjugation of Scotland and Ireland. Downey ended his speech with a lengthy discourse on the destructive nature of the Hundred Years' War that concluded dramatically: "yes…a war that persisted one full century."[28]

This perception of constant European strife was critical to the arguments of those opposed to America's entry into the war, but one war in particular was used as a justification for isolationism. As the most recent U.S. war, World War I (U.S. involvement in 1917-1918) left the American military and public feeling jaded because of the relatively light punitive steps taken toward the defeated Central Powers after the war. The general sense among the American citizenry was that little had been accomplished by World War I and, in fact, according to a national poll taken in November of 1940, nearly forty percent of Americans thought the U.S. should not have involved itself in "the Great War." During the same speech in which he explored and castigated Europe's history of warfare, Senator Downey spoke about the ill effects of America's most recent war. He said, "in the last war our American eagle endeavored to mother the British lion: we lost all our tail feathers and almost our wings... if we again become involved in the big-league conflict over in Europe we will lose not only our wings but, perhaps our head this time."[29]

Downey's analogy was an articulate expression of the fears of the U.S. public, and these fears had a great deal to do with American reticence toward entering what was widely viewed as a second, larger version of the original conflict. Despite being on the winning side of World War I, "we [the U.S.] left Europe in disillusionment when power politics reared its ugly head at Versailles."[30] In 1935, several years before the onset of World War II, this sentiment was echoed by the *Christian Century* magazine, based in Chicago:

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[26] Ibid. Polls 191, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 211, 212, 225, 227.

[27] See pp. 2-3, 5.

[28] Justus D. Doenecke, *The Battle Against Intervention, 1939-1941,* ed. Hans L. Trefousse (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1997) 9-10**;** U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record: proceedings and debates of the Congress,* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1874-Present) vol. 87, pp. A761-A762**;** Ibid, vol. 85, 187.

[29]The Gallup Poll #224, Gallup Brain. "Decade 1940-1949"**;** U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record,* vol. 85, 179.

[30] Ronald Steel, *Pax Americana,* (New York: The Viking Press, 1967), 4.

> The ultimate inevitability of war remains the obsession as well as the major premise of European thinking and political action. Ninety-nine Americans out of a hundred would today regard as an imbecile anyone who might suggest that, in the event of another European war, the United States should *again* participate in it.[31]

As previously revealed, the isolationist faction in U.S. society was somewhat less than ninety-nine percent of the population, but the inherent premise that war in Europe was considered an inevitability by Europeans is of critical importance to the American reaction to the war. Such a statement demonstrated what Americans believed about European nations: they sought out the wars in which they were constantly embroiled.

In October 1939, Congressional Representative Daniel Reed summarized the prevailing American view of Europe, using the words of Major George Eliot, a former U.S. military intelligence officer:

> The affairs of Europe can be settled only when the peoples of Europe have made up their minds that war is not worth while. But we cannot convince them of that. They will have to convince themselves. The only policy for the American people to adopt may be stated in these words: The affairs of Europe and Asia must be settled by the peoples who live there; the affairs of the Americas shall be settled by the people who live here, and by no one else.[32]

Reed's words were met with raucous applause in the chamber, which indicated the mood in Congress toward intervention. As in the *Christian Century* article above, Major Eliot made a key point when he intimated that the European powers thrived on the existence of war.

Historian Michael Adams argues that, in light of a massive recent immigration from Europe, "many Americans had a legitimate distrust of European political stability. Many had recently left Europe to find a new life in America, and they didn't want entanglements with the Old World."[33] When the French and British governments declared war on Germany in September 1939, following the German invasion of Poland, the looming political instability to which Adams refers became a tangible reality. In 1941, one anti-war pamphlet in particular raged against the European powers, saying that Britain and France provided war material to Germany (and vice-versa) in an effort to extend the war until America became involved. The same pamphlet also claimed that Britain had plans to return the United States to its empire by creating a united North American state: "AMERICANADA."[34] Perhaps neither claim was widely

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[31] **"**A Peace Policy for 1935." *The Christian Century.* January 9, 1935, 40. (Emphasis Added)

[32] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record,* vol. 85, 478.

[33] Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994), 25.

[34] "Great Britain, France, British Colonies Declare War on Hitler: Guns Roar In Europe As Answer To Germany Hitler Informs Nation He Is Headed for Eastern Front; Year 1914 Virtually Duplicated," *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Atlanta Daily World,* September 4, 1939 (accessed December 6, 2008)**;** Oscar Brumback, *A Manual of The Citizens No Foreign War Coalition, Inc.*, (Washington: The Citizens No Foreign War Coalition, 1941), 64-65.

believed, far-fetched as they were. However, the fact that the anti-war faction attempted to foment dissension by feeding on these fears demonstrated that the American people already distrusted the political leviathans of Europe.

This is not to say that the haunting memories of World War I or a European history fraught with conflict were the decisive factors in keeping America out of World War II until December of 1941. However, one or both of these justifications for a peaceful approach were found in virtually every written or verbal attempt to rationalize and support the United States' absence from the war before 1941. Whether America's memory played a larger role in the peace movement than nationalistic, economic, or security concerns in the public consciousness is a matter that requires more extensive study.

Beyond debate, however, was the fact that a decided majority of the population opposed direct military intervention throughout 1940. Nevertheless, Germany's defeat and a British victory were both considered a higher priority than total isolation. Americans were increasingly willing to become involved in various ways, short of a declaration of war, due to considerable German military triumphs in 1939 and 1940. Significantly, the percentage of Americans who encouraged immediate military intervention nearly tripled in 1940, but the final figure still barely exceeded fifteen percent of the population.[35] Hearkening back to Philip Jacob's theory about the nature of neutrality, one might speculate upon the reasons for the gradual shift toward intervention. Especially crucial was the lack of commercial impartiality shown by the U.S., which was openly demonstrated by President Roosevelt's Lend-Lease proposal on December 17, 1940. The U.S. spent the latter portion of the Great Depression constantly increasing its investment in a British victory. It is only logical that American support for that investment should have grown as the danger to British survival increased.

Modern scholarship and memory often overlook 1940 because it served as a lull between the inauguration of the war in 1939 and the 1941 entrance of the United States and Soviet Russia. The signal contribution of 1940 was that the U.S. campaign to intervene in Europe, though limited, found its base and experienced significant growth after France fell to the Germans. Despite this growth, the extant evidence refutes any contention that the United States was unified either in support or opposition to entering the war so early. The America First and No Foreign War committees, along with others, proved to be tenacious in pursuit of their mission. Heavily influenced by the well organized isolationist minority, America rode the fence until 1941.

[35] See Figure 3.

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Maryland's Alcohol Culture: Topographic and Economic Influences on the Social Drinking Culture of the Colonial Chesapeake

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Historian Sharon Salinger illustrated colonial attitudes towards drinking as she associated Maryland resident Justice Askham with the following poetic descriptive, "Not drunk is he who from the floor, Can rise again and still drink more, But drunk is he who prostrate lies, Without the power to drink or rise."[1] Askham issued this poetic statement to defend his own sobriety after a display of public drunkenness. His witty statement demonstrated a light and playful attitude towards alcohol consumption, but further analysis of alcohol patterns in Maryland revealed more complex societal customs and developments in the English colonies.

English drinking habits encouraged colonial American brewing and distillation—the origins of which can be traced to drinking attitudes in English society. Alcohol consumption and tavern life proved commonplace in the urban centers of England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as English artist and social critic William Hogarth presented alcohol within the daily life of Englishmen and women in his *Beer Street* print.[2] Low proof ales and other brews replaced water in many circumstances as urban water quality diminished. Housewives and medical practitioners had long believed in the medicinal and healing properties of alcohol.[3] English society served as the basis for British colonial societies in North America, where Englishmen labored to establish new settlements often based on traditional societal standards. As with most English cultural traditions, the desire for alcoholic beverages transferred to the New World where consumers willingly paid for or produced their own alcoholic beverages.

The nature of colonial alcohol consumption and production diverged from English customs, developing more localized methods that reflected colonial conditions. Consistent trade and contact with England allowed colonists to import drinks and other luxuries, but developing economic patterns and other pressing needs altered colonial production methods. For most Maryland colonists, daily alcohol consumption demands could be met neither fiscally nor temporally by transatlantic trade, thus domestic production and sales developed within the colony itself. Topography and economic conditions of the Maryland colony encouraged more localized production efforts and social developments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Colonial alcohol production and consumption practices demonstrated a slight divergence from English production practices, developed local economic patterns, and helped to form cultural attitudes towards health, gender roles, and leisure activity.

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[1] Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 86.
[2] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 52-53.
[3] Sarah Hand Meacham, "'They Will Be Adjudged by Their Drink, What Kinde of Housewives They Are': Gender, Technology, and Household Cidering in England and the Chesapeake, 1690 to 1760," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 111(2003): 121-122.

ALCOHOL PRODUCTION

Local topographic conditions strongly influenced alcohol production trends in Maryland. Beer and ales required grains, crops easily cultivated in rural Europe where agricultural practices had existed for centuries. Several factors discouraged this traditional barley production, thus limiting brewing processes in colonial Maryland. Heavily forested at the time of colonization, the Chesapeake region required intensive labor to develop field cultivation of any sort. Clear-cutting and rock-clearing rendered field preparation difficult and costly in Maryland, therefore Chesapeake colonists generally limited their grain production. [4] They initially resorted to trade with natives for food crops, although they gradually adopted native means of corn cultivation and other Indian crops. Grain production on the small farms and plantations of Maryland proved minimal, developing later with the rise of slavery in the eighteenth century.[5] Topography rendered Maryland colonists unwilling to produce high-yield barley crops for beer, thus they turned to other means of alcohol production. While beer existed in the colonies and remained a popular drink, ciders and other fruit-based products surpassed beer as the common drink of colonial Maryland.[6] Economics also played a key role in this aversion to beer production, as malting barley required the construction of malt houses.[7] Such extravagant labor and monetary expenditures likely deterred colonists from ale-making and promoted more fruit-based beverage production.

The costs and supply rates of European alcohol dissuaded colonists from importing their brews. English customs encouraged high beverage consumption, as English men, women, and children drank ales and wines at meals and throughout the day.[8] The traditional daily consumption of beer would have required a daily dependence upon transatlantic shipping rates. Although alcohol importation continued throughout the colonial period, Maryland colonists generally imported hard liquors and developed substitutions for ales. In an article on colonial alcohol production in the domestic sphere, historian Sarah Hand Meacham declared that only the upper class of Chesapeake colonists imported liquors at all, leaving most alcohol consumption dependent upon domestic production.[9] Colonial recipes containing rum or brandy often added fruit juices, which not only enhanced flavor but increased the beverage quantity so that more individuals could enjoy the drink. Shrub became a popular example of this mixed drink, which contained rum, citrus juices, and sugar.[10] The financial and physical difficulties of importing

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[4] Louis Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 36.

[5] Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 244.

[6] Anderson even attests colonists' aversion to goats because of the damages they created in apple orchards, thus limiting cider production. See Anderson, *Creatures of Empire,* 148; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World,* 35-36; Virginia funeral records revealed about equal amounts of beer, cider, and wine for the funeral party, indicative of the increased expenditures at funerals. See Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America,* 67.

[7] Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 35-36.

[8] Meacham, "'They Will Be Adjudged by Their Drink,'" 121-122; The Dutch also enjoyed beer with their breakfast prior to the rise of coffee in popularity. See Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America,* 11.

[9] Meacham, "'They Will Be Adjudged by Their Drink,'" 128.

[10] Debra Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Mothers: Free Will Chirstian Women in Colonial Maryland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), 196.

high quantities of alcohol led colonists to look toward independent forms of domestic alcoholic production.

Given the difficulties of grain production and the costs of alcohol imports, colonists increased fruit cultivation to produce alternative alcoholic beverages. With fruit propagation, a colonist could produce his own alcohol through orchard cultivation, free of transatlantic trade costs. Orchards required less care than barley fields, could provide fruits for food consumption, and could be easily converted into alcohol. One commentator reported that the peach, quince, and apple created the "most excellent and comfortable drinks."[11] Cider proved a common beverage among Chesapeake colonists, as well as one of the easiest to produce. Colonists picked the fruit, mashed it, and let it ferment in a tub or barrel, decanting the liquid until it was ready for consumption.[12] Pamphlets and advertisements for the Maryland colony encouraged future settlers to bring "kernels of Peares and Apples… for the making hereafter of Cider, and Perry [sic]."[13] The pamphlet continued to discuss fruit trees, vine development for wines, and trade with Indians for hominy, a corn-based product that could be used for brewing. Cider, perry, and mobby dominated the average colonist's alcohol stores, as each could be processed from locally grown apples, pears, and peaches respectively. Maryland residents also produced brandy, and small vineyards developed throughout Maryland. Lord Baltimore established 300 acres of vineyards in 1662 to promote domestic alcohol production.[14] Domestic-scale wine production existed within Chesapeake households as well, and included such wines as cherry, lemon, gooseberry, blackberry, and elderberry.[15] Maryland settlers replaced most of their ale consumption with locally-grown, fruit-based alcohols during the colonial period.

ALCOHOL AND THE ECONOMY

The increasing ability of farmers and tavern keepers to profit from alcohol production demonstrated its social and economic significance to colonial Maryland society. Colonial alcohol production primarily served the needs of the individual household but could also provide additional income or even support a family. Maryland families prized cider production, and fathers bequeathed orchards to their sons in wills.[16] Although cider production began at a household scale, surplus beverage supplies enabled farmers and plantation owners to sell cider to

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[11] John Hammond, Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Maryland, In *Narratives of Early Maryland*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall, 279-308 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, 1656), 291.

[12] George Gale placed cider casks in his estate inventory, while *Robert Cole's World* contained transcribed inventories and bookkeeping records of a mobby tub. See Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 72; and Carr, Lois Green, Diversification in the Colonial Chesapeake: Somerset County, Maryland, in Comparative Perspective. In *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, 342-388. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 178.

[13] William Peasle, A Relation of Maryland; Together with a Map of the Countrey, the Conditions of Plantation, with His Majesties Charter to the Lord Baltimore, Translated into English. In *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall, LL.B., 63-112 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, 1635), 98.

[14] G. Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws* (New York: The United States Brewers' Association, 1887), 73.

[15] Colonists often combined punches with wine for an added flavor at social gatherings. See Richard J. Hooker, ed., *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook: The Receipt Book of Harriott Pinckney Horry, 1770*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 97. Martha Washington's cookbook served as a collection of family recipes passed through the generations and listed five wine recipes that included various local fruits and berries. See Karen Hess, trans, *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery and Booke of Sweetmeats, a Manuscript Owned by Martha Washington* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 378-380.

[16] Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 49.

neighboring households. With a short shelf life, cider exportation proved infeasible, thus small local-scale production was the most profitable and comfortable means through which plantation owners and farmers developed their home beverage base.[17] Maryland colonist Robert Cole's plantation records revealed increasing surplus sales of cider, as Cole sold £300 of cider in 1666 and more than doubled this sale two years later.[18] As taverns developed in the Maryland colony, innkeepers and tavern owners began to process their own beverages for sale. This led to increased legislative regulations on prices and sales for the benefit of the consumer as well as the supplier in competition. Profit hunting occurred often enough within the Maryland colony to elicit a 500 pound tobacco fine for any tavern or ordinary keeper who cheated customers with heightened prices.[19] The colony used the tobacco fine against price gauging for internal improvements, thus a strong correlation existed between economics, leisure, and development.

Maryland leaders worked to reduce colonial dependence on Britain for alcohol imports but continued to import hard liquors throughout the eighteenth century. An advertisement for the Maryland colony encouraged men to bring wine, sugar, and prunes for colonial trade, demonstrating an expected dependence upon England.[20] From this pamphlet, proprietors and other proponents of the English colonies expected a continued dependence upon English trade for certain staple and luxury goods. Cole produced prodigious amounts of cider for domestic consumption and for sale, but his affluence also enabled him to purchase at least 2.5 gallons of rum through English trade.[21] While colonists produced their own berry wines and fruit drinks, European wine and rum remained in high demand among affluent members of colonial society.

Although local legislation discouraged liquor imports, taxes on these imports accrued revenue for the colony to support colonial infrastructure. Interstate and international trade dependence had worried colonial leaders, and a 1692 imposition placed a general import tax on liquors.[22] By 1704, the Maryland colony prohibited the import of malts and beers and added an import tax on rum, wine, and spirits from Pennsylvania.[23] Regardless of the legislation's intention, the alcohol tariffs encouraged cider and wine production within the colony in lieu of hard liquors.

Tavern life revealed several fiscal characteristics of Maryland. Slow to develop in the rural Maryland colony, entrepreneurs gradually established taverns in more frequented areas, such as well-traveled roads and areas of higher population concentrations. When Lord Baltimore issued his annual report in 1661, no ale-houses or taverns existed in Maryland, but by the end of the seventeenth century, established taverns produced their own beers for sale.[24] Individuals frequented taverns on credit, owing tavern keepers payment in tobacco according to standard, colony-wide rates.[25] These fixed prices revealed the integral role of tobacco in the local economy and the internal Maryland trade of tobacco and alcohol. Regulations and permits provided taverns with legitimacy but also supported the colonial administrations.

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[17] Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 95-96.
[18] According to his estate records, Cole sold 710 pounds of cider in 1668, evidencing an increasing quantity of cider and a continued market for sale. See Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 183-184.
[19] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws*, 74-75.
[20] Peasle, "A Relation of Maryland," 97.
[21] Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 190.
[22] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws*, 79.
[23] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws*, 80.
[24] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws*, 71-78.
[25] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws*, 74-75.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS ALCOHOL

While drinking attitudes reflected those of Europe, they also reflected concerns of human health in colonial Maryland. Brackish water conditions and bacterial contaminants contributed to poor water quality in many areas surrounding Maryland and Virginia. Although Maryland colonists considered straight water dangerous, several Chesapeake region recipes required water but mixed the liquid with other ingredients for taste and health benefits.[26] Wary of its ill effects, colonists clearly incorporated water into their diets but at a minimal rate. As colonists became aware of poor water conditions, they relied upon prepared beverages to supplement water consumption.[27] Richard Frethorne's letter to his parents in 1623 attested to the poor water quality and the cultural beliefs in the healthy affects of alcohol. He summarized the commonly held belief when we wrote, "As strong beer in England doth fatten and strengthen them so water here doth wash and weaken these here."[28] Though he lived in the Jamestown settlement, Frethorne's statement rang true to many Marylanders within the lower water table of the Chesapeake. The detrimental impacts of water use encouraged alcohol consumption in the Chesapeake region.

Chesapeake colonists used alcohol in remedies to promote physical and spiritual health. Catholics believed that wine was transformed into the blood of Jesus Christ, thus consuming the wine to receive God's grace. Jesuit letters from Maryland inventoried their wine stores for communion rites. [29] Most colonists, regardless of religious affiliation, believed in the healing properties of malts and liquors. Colonial cookbooks contained selections of alcohol-based medicines and home remedies. Many recipes called for aquavite or strong spirits, as the recipe "Aquimirabelis" or miracle water, listed white wine, aquavite, and juices as the three major components.[30] Colonists then added spices and herbs to the mixtures, creating a drink thought to improve health and energy. Individualized home remedies proved popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as housewives developed their own cures and methods to alleviate illness. The importance of wine and spirits in these remedies signified a high use of alcohol in cultural practices as well as a positive view of alcohol.

Attitudes towards water and the health impacts of alcohol often revealed class distinctions within the colonies, but Maryland may have experienced a more egalitarian alcohol distribution. Most English colonists considered water a poor man's drink fit for animals rather than human consumption. An analysis of South Carolina yielded similar sentiments and explained that "only slaves, the poorest of whites, and hard-pressed frontiersmen drank water."[31] Although wealthy colonists and planters could afford to import wines and liquors, most colonists enjoyed the same quality drinks of cider, perry, and ale. An advertisement for Maryland displayed less social discriminations, as a servant contract compelled employers to provide "him

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[26] Mead required one part honey to seven parts water, while cinnamon water required rose water mixed with white wine to soothe the stomach. See Hess, *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery*, 387, 418.
[27] Meacham, "'They Will Be Adjudged by Their Drink,'" 123-125.
[28] Richard Frethorne, "Letter to his Father and Mother," History 341 Class Handout, 1623.
[29] Provincials of the Society of Jesus to the General of the Society at Rome, A Narrative Derived from the Letters of Ours, out of Maryland. In *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall, LL.B., 134-140 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, 1642), 136.
[30] Smith's recipe calls for a wine, brandy, water, and spices, while the Washington cookbook mixes wine, spirit, and juices. See Smith, *The Compleat Housewife,* 258-259; and Hess, *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery,* 397-399.
[31] Hooker, *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook*, 17; Salinger's account labeled water as a "low and common" beverage. See Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 3.

[the servant] with Meat, Drinke, Apparell and Lodging [sic]."[32] Marylanders considered malts and ciders to be fit for individuals of all economic levels, and many specifically obligated themselves to providing servants with standard drinking and eating provisions.

Maryland alcohol production revealed developing gender roles and societal ideals within the colony. As the female population increased and colonists began to establish households, gender divisions developed in the Chesapeake region that mirrored the English private sphere.[33] Men generally frequented taverns, and respectable women rarely entered taverns unaccompanied.[34] While men worked the tobacco fields and negotiated trade agreements, women tended to food preparation. In fact, dairying, poultry-raising, and small-scale vegetable production fell under the woman's domain, while women, girls, boys, and household servants worked to harvest and preserve food stores and alcohol.[35] Even on plantations, where slaveholding began to satisfy the proprietor's labor needs, colonial women continued to maintain a steady hand in food preparation. Society expected women to prepare meals and tend to alcohol demands. One affluent colonial, John Hammond, traveled through Maryland and Virginia and critiqued that only "'sloathful and careless [sic]'" housewives failed to produce enough alcoholic drinks for guests.[36] When a hostess offered only water to Hammond, he chided the woman's domestic skills and declared, "they will be adjudged by their drink, what kinde of Housewives they are [sic]."[37] English and colonial cookbooks supported this sentiment in a more subtle manner and addressed a female readership. Many women authored recipe collections and domestic guides that included advice and direction for proper meal preparation and general domestic care.[38] A society steeped in regular alcohol consumption, English colonial society expected women to prepare victuals and drinks for daily use.

With Maryland colonists separated by distance, leisurely drinking began as a private affair. Cookbooks and home manufacture of light alcoholic beverages suggested more private drinking customs and standards than the urban areas of New England or London, where taverns quickly established themselves and became objects of social commentary. European artist William Hogarth's and colonial Dr. Alexander Hamilton's portraitures of British and New England drinking customs placed drunken revelry in urban environments.[39] The popularity of low proof alcohol and the spatial distances between neighbors helped to minimize drunken conflicts and social commentary in the Maryland colony.

Inns and taverns served a social purpose in the Maryland colony as well. Circuit court judges used taverns for travel around counties, and average colonials frequented taverns to share

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[32] Peasle, "A Relation of Maryland," 99.
[33] Hammond notes that women "occupie such domestique imployments and housewifery as in England." See Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," 290.
[34] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 222-223.
[35] Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World*, 72, 109.
[36] Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," 292; John C. Miller, 1966.*The First Frontier: Life in Colonial America* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc, 1996), 184.
[37] Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," 292.
[38] The following cookbooks contained recipes and forewords by women already engaged in the domestic processes of the eighteenth century. They contain recipes handed down from generations, thus include seventeenth-century recipes. Martha Washington and Harriott Horry's books reflect Chesapeake and southern cookery during the seventeenth- and eighteenth- centuries. Smith's book, though English, was used in the colonies, according to historian Sarah Hand Meacham. See Meacham, "'They Will Be Adjudged by Their Drink;'" E. Smith, 1753. *The Compleat Housewife; or, Accomplish'd gentlewoman's companion* (London: Literary Services and Production Limited, 1753); Hess, *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery*; and Hooker, *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook.*
[39] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 52-53; 77-78.

social and business news. Traveling colonists and visitors to the colonies stopped at taverns for food, lodging, and drink. Taverns served multiple purposes for all parties involved, as colonists socialized and received local political and economic news, grand juries convened in taverns, and taverns created revenue for the colonial government. Sharon Salinger cited a scene of political and economic discussions in an Annapolis tavern following the passage of the Stamp Acts.[40] As colonial business and judicial decisions occurred within taverns, the early stages of Maryland's public drinking sphere witnessed relaxed leisurely drinking like that of the private sphere.

Colonial legislation worked to limit disorderly conduct and promoted healthy social situations for colonists. The colony outlawed alcohol purchases on Sundays but passed no legislation concerning daily consumption limits.[41] The Maryland colony outlawed public drunkenness as early as 1638 and implemented a fine of thirty pounds of tobacco.[42] By 1642, this fine had more than tripled, and a third charge of drunkenness resulted in a three year loss of voting rights.[43] While these laws prohibited drunken behavior, Charles, Kent, and Talbot Counties only heard thirteen cases of drunkenness from 1658 to 1676, and most of these concerned property damages and debts rather than basic public disorder.[44] However, prosecutions for drunkenness rarely occurred in the Maryland legal system.

Regardless of colonial statutes, local accounts suggested that society encouraged drinking and accepted occasional drunkenness. Although Paul A. Shackel documented Charles Carroll's critique of a drunken disturbance in the governor's household, many colonial accounts promoted alcohol consumption.[45] Bodily function proved the deciding factor to determine drunken behavior. Judge Askham issued a second definition for drunkenness when he stated that "a man is never drunk if he can go out of the carts way when it is coming towards him."[46] As long as a man could control his actions in matters of safety and job performance, colonists deemed his intoxication levels acceptable. Destruction of property and other crimes associated with inebriation proved a different matter to colonists, as these Maryland courts processed cases dealing with such matters.

The colony not only accepted alcohol but integrated it as a staple item in the colonial diet. Colonists expected alcohol with meals, as Hammond critiqued his hostess' shy liquor supplies.[47] Cole's plantation household attested to alcohol's importance with its material inventories. With eight family members and four servants in the household, Cole inventoried only five chairs and four beds.[48] The plantation focused time and energy on food production and economy before luxuries. His surpluses of cider, described earlier, served to emphasize the integral role of cider as a necessity to Maryland colonists—more important than chairs and bed frames. Alcohol proved to be more important than luxury items to Maryland colonists. It ranked as a vital item to any civilized household.

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[40] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 219.
[41] Prosecuted colonists were expected to pay a 1,000 pound tobacco fine if involved in Sunday alcohol sales. See Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws,*), 78.
[42] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws,* 71.
[43] Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws,* -72.
[44] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 97.
[45] Paul A. Shackel, *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695-1870* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 75.
[46] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 86.
[47] Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," 292
[48] Carr, Menard, and Walsh, *Robert Cole's World,* 100-101.

More than a societal expectation, alcohol consumption proved an integral leisure activity in colonial Maryland. Anderson explained the importance of cider production to the Maryland colonists and declared that alcohol provided "one of the few pleasures in their lives."[49] Justice Askham's poetic definitions of drunkenness revealed a playful attitude towards inebriation and downplayed any somber messages that the public may have wanted to portray. Dinners and social parties incorporated alcoholic drinks in showy fashion, as fruit juices and spices added flavor and color to punch bowls. Such extravagant displays of beverages increased during the eighteenth century, as lower and upper class households contained increasing amounts of dinnerware and drinkware in the 1740s.[50] Colonists' attention to detail in preparing drinks revealed a societal emphasis as well as a private pride in beverage preparation. As in Maryland, alcohol preparation and presentation in Virginia served as a mark of hospitality among colonials to visiting travelers. Martha Washington's cookbook contained many Chesapeake recipes that would have correlated to Maryland cuisine compilations, and contained about twenty-five recipes for wines, ales, cider, and other drinks containing spirits.[51] Beverage preparation proved a detailed process revered by domestic women and expected by colonial men in the Chesapeake region.

The production processes in the colonies established a markedly regional industry. Costs and agricultural developments led to orchard-dependent alcohol production within Maryland households, while Maryland recipes, mixes, and customs reflected colonial innovation and tendencies towards self-sufficiency. Alcohol in the Chesapeake served as an egalitarian product among social classes, while manufacturing patterns established gendered roles in the public and private spheres. Legislative and judicial processes of the colonial period largely overlooked alcohol-related discrepancies, and the average colonist seemed to revere alcoholic beverages. The product developed an integral role in colonial society and remained a staple among colonists throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Maryland's drinking culture acted as a unique and localized extension of traditional English drinking practices, a phenomenon that has continued in modern American culture. Even today, American songwriters have continued to praise the consumption traditions of the Chesapeake colonies, as one West Virginia songwriter deftly defined alcohol: "I'm medicine and I am poison, I can help you up or make you fall, You had some of the best times, You'll never remember with me, Alcohol."[52] Such humorous sentiments reflected the basic attitudes expressed in colonial Maryland. To the colonists, alcohol served as a healing agent, a tool for social interaction, a surplus profit, and a means of quenching thirst. Socially accepted and promoted, alcohol provided colonists with a refreshing drink as well as a tool for socialization and communication in Maryland.

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[49] Anderson, *Creatures of Empire,* 111.
[50] Shackel, *Personal Discipline and Material Culture,* 101.
[51] Hess, *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery,* 378-432.
[52] Brad Paisley, *Time Well Wasted*, CD, Arista Nashville, CD, 2005.

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***Mutiny at Fort Jackson*. By Michael Pierson. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: UNC Press, 2009. Cloth cover, Pp. 246, $30.00)**

Michael Pierson's book, *Mutiny at Fort Jackson*, is truly the untold story of the fall of New Orleans. Pierson opens the work by describing the aftermath of the fall of the city. In doing so, he provides details regarding the temperament of the New Orleans residents when the Federal troops arrived and began occupying their city. He utilizes diary entries, written by New Orleanians and Union soldiers, to support his argument, which analyzes the events leading up to, during, and after the mutiny of Fort Jackson, in an attempt to explain the mutiny.

Michael Pierson offers compelling evidence to explain the reasons for the mutiny including the living conditions, treatment of soldiers in the Confederate army, and the lack of connection to the Confederate cause among the soldiers at the fort. As the book progresses, the argument presented by Pierson becomes stronger and more unique. Benjamin Butler, traditionally held in low esteem among Southerners for his cruel treatment of New Orleans citizens following the fall of New Orleans, is shown in new light by Pierson. This unique view, supported by diary entries and historical documents shows a leader, who enjoyed the support of many white New Orleanians. Pierson's view, while interesting, should be taken with a grain of salt as his current professorship is located in Lowell, Massachusetts – General Butler was a strong politician in Lowell.

Throughout the work, Pierson provides detail of New Orleans's sentiment toward the Northern occupation. It is interesting to note that while reading, it seems as though there is more focus placed on providing details of life in occupied New Orleans and Benjamin Butler's actions, and less about the mutiny itself. This approach helps to make a compelling, well organized argument, complete with sensory details and real life examples. Furthermore, it makes the work an enjoyable read which one can accomplish in a few evenings of casual reading. I highly recommend this book for anyone who wishes to expand their knowledge of the Civil War and has an open mind to new and somewhat unorthodox ideas about the state of New Orleans after its fall.

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***The Officers of the CSS Shenandoah.* by Angus Curry. (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2006. Cloth cover, Pp. 448, $59.95)**

The *C.S.S. Shenandoah* is often considered one of the most effective vessels in the Confederate Navy during the later years of the Civil War. Unfortunately, scholarship to date has been somewhat limited in its accuracy, due to the lack of available primary source materials. Agnus Cury's examination of the mission of the *Shenandoah* and her crew is a riveting account of the details of such an overwhelming mission. Curry's primary argument is the idea that experience changed the lives of her Southern officers.

Curry opens the book with a very detailed examination of what he considers to be the most disregarded portion of the story, explored by historians to date. His examination of the crew, and the condition in which they found themselves and their military careers before the war, provides wonderful insight to the struggles which they would face along the journey. First hand accounts come from the *Shenandoah's* executive officer Lieutenant William Whittle, the sea journal of Lieutenant Francis Chew, and the personal diaries of Surgeon Charles Lining and Midshipman John Mason, which, according the Curry, are previously unreferenced sources in past historical research. From these sources and other biographies, Curry tells the personal stories of each of the Southern officers. In the third and fourth chapters of the book, Curry explores the hardships of the crew at the beginning of the voyage. The *C.S.S. Shenandoah* was converted from the British merchant steam ship *Sea King*. Like many of the converted Confederate warships, she was not initially equipped for her mission of preying on Union merchant vessels. Curry explores the conversion of the ship in spite of the skeleton crew aboard and the lack of resources with which to prepare such a ship for the mission at hand. Additionally, the author inspects the nature of the crew's morale throughout much of the mission's first year, noting the changes in command structure, which seem to have influenced the officer's morale in particular. *The Officers of the CSS Shenandoah* notes the strained interpersonal relations of the officers and especially explores the tensions with their commanding officer, Lieutenant Waddell. In his final contribution to the early stages of the voyage, Curry explores the crew's stay in Melbourne and the somewhat hostile response from the Union sentimentalist public. Chapters seven through nine explore the crux of the mission, the Shenandoah's hunt for whalers in the northern Pacific, and the respective naval engagements to devastate the Union resources. It becomes evident, through Curry's research and the personal notes and diaries, that at this point in the voyage the general morale of the officers had collapsed under the failing leadership of their commander. Certainly the crew was not to the point of mutiny, but much of their writings seemed to expose the break down in communication of the Southern officers. In concluding his research, Curry examines the post-war mentality and how the officers handled the Confederate defeat.

Curry's exploration of the lives of the Southern officers aboard the *C.S.S. Shenandoah* during the last years of the Civil War is enlightening. To date no one historian has been able to paint a complete picture of the events surrounding the last Confederate unit to surrender. Throughout the monograph Curry takes an interest in the personal journeys of the men aboard. This attention to detail has provided some insight into the lives of the men and has shifted the view of the mission from a strictly historical event to a central moment in the lives of the officers. This is truly an insightful work, which has changed the way we will look at the mission of and events aboard the *Shenandoah* during the Civil War.

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***The making of St. Louis: kingship, sanctity, and crusade in the later Middle Ages.* By M. Cecilia Gaposchkin. (London: Cornel University Press, 2008. Cloth cover $45.00)**

M. Cecilia Gaposchkin explicitly states the purpose of her work is to trace "the process by which Louis was turned from a king into a saint" (4). Subsequently, in an engaging work that is neither a biography nor a chronological progression, she utilizes mainly the liturgical outcroppings of his canonization (hagiographies, sermons, and offices) in order to demonstrate the establishment of the most important dynastic cult of the Middle Ages. Furthermore, she supplements her already extensive research into liturgy through contextualization with other sources such as images, letters, and Joinville's biography of the king. While at the outset this ambitious project may appear daunting to the lay reader, it is remarkably accessible through a crisp, clear and constant delineation of the arguments that are to follow. Chapters are systematically arranged giving background and then delving into primary sources. Moreover, subheadings are found throughout in order to further signpost the work for the reader. Finally each chapter is beautifully summarized in a conclusion that also functions seamlessly to transition to the next topic.

The text itself begins with a historical context that outlines the work of the papacy, French nobility, and clerical orders in order to achieve King Louis IX's canonization in 1297. Gaposchkin does not assume that one is versed in the process of medieval canonization so she provides digressions in order to contextualize the proceedings. However, perhaps digression is too pejorative for even though it diverts from the intended goal, the explication it provides the reader unquestionably enhances the work. For instance, after discussing the coming together of factions to recognize a saint, she then refracts the work to mirror the separation of interests in how to utilize the newly minted saint based upon different ideological lenses on piety: the nobility focused on sacral kingship; the Cistercians on personal Christ-like affective piety; and the Franciscans on crusade utilizing an image of St. Francis as an exemplar. Yet these assertions create questions that through asides, the author skilfully anticipates. With respect to sacral kingship, she cites Kantorowicz's work on the king's two bodies in order to infuse significance with the nobility's actions. Moreover, in a section on St. Francis and a second on Christ-like kingship, she forestalls a claim that the friars just plagiarised previous texts through a section on the medieval concept of *imitatio*. In both cases, the author definitively demonstrates that rather than copying, medieval writers were melding the images by adapting the style. Thus one of the St. Louis hagiographies examined has not only the same framework of St. Francis but also the stigmata of the latter was to be paralleled through Louis being signed by the cross twice for his crusades. Finally, the author continues to make the work accessible to the reader through the organization by dividing the work in two with an insert on the structure of the liturgical offices. A wonderful concise summary that prepares any reader to be able to follow the sophisticated arguments that followed on liturgy of St. Louis. Therefore, in these instances as well as many others throughout the book, Gaposchkin weaves in extra material without losing the overall focus.

Overall, if one wants to read a biography of St. Louis, one should turn to the works of Jean Richard or Jacques Le Goff. However, if one is looking for a clear and engaging analysis of the formation of the cult of St. Louis that beyond the already sophisticated primary argument, encompasses and crystallizes many intellectual theories of middle ages, then I would gladly entreat the reader to find a copy of *The Making of St. Louis: kingship, sanctity and crusade in the later middle ages* by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin.

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***Who Chooses?: American Reproductive History since 1830*. By Simone M. Caron (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2008. Cloth cover, Pp. 384, $69.95)**

Though many might consider *Roe v. Wade* to be the beginning of modern reproductive policies, the United States has a long history of debate over how to allow access for women and men to control reproduction. In her book, Simone Caron sets out to comprehensively discuss matters of sterilization, contraception, and abortion in American history since 1830. She succeeds by seamlessly fusing these three topics to describe the national discussion of reproductive rights throughout different eras that are largely defined by changes in the economic climate of the country.

Since 1830, the discourse on reproduction has evolved due to economics, religion, and advances in the medical sciences. The motives of those who have sought to affect reproductive legislation, however, have largely remained the same. These are to preserve an educated, Anglo-Saxon upper class by encouraging the "fit" to reproduce while limiting the reproduction of the "unfit." This goal has been fueled by classism, racism, and nativism: forces which are less apparent but not completely absent from today's debate on reproductive rights.

Caron gives readers an in depth survey of all sides of the debate, as it changes along with the country. From the mid-nineteenth century when xenophobia entered the conversation due to an influx of large immigrant families to the supporters of eugenics at the turn of the twentieth century and on to *Roe v. Wade* and beyond, Caron shows how population controllers supported or opposed contraception, sterilization, and abortion, and not always equally. For instance, while abortion remained illegal into World War II, contraceptives were suddenly endorsed by the government as a means to protect the health of the workforce in the nation while at war.

Today's debate over reproductive rights is primarily centered on abortion and, since *Roe v. Wade*, includes a new concept of fetal rights. While the government shortly funded abortion as a means to save money (because a child on welfare costs taxpayers more than an abortion) the political climate has changed so that federal funding now goes largely toward the sterilization of women. Caron argues that this removes women's right to choose if and when to reproduce. Recent cuts to the welfare program along with the high price of abortion, Caron argues, has created the effect on the reproduction of the "unfit" desired by population controllers of the early twentieth century. (254-256)

Caron tirelessly lays out all evidence of each time period to show the reader the trends of this national discussion. Very dense, but never dry *Who Chooses?* is a fascinating read to anyone who wants to know how policies on reproduction in America have morphed into what they are today.

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