

widely reprinted and were a tremendously influential source of revolutionary ideology in the American colonies.

3. *MONTESQUIEU*: Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* or *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) presented itself as a history of government. It argued that various national governments were best understood by taking into account 'natural' factors such as climate, geography, and history. American radicals often cited the *Spirit of the Laws* as evidence in support of the 'genius' of the British system of mixed government and or the separation of powers.
4. *BECCARIA*: Cesare Beccaria wrote the very influential *Dei Delitti e dei Pene* (*Of Crime and Punishment*) (1764). As Dorinda Outram notes, this text 'secularised the idea of punishment' and began a movement to remove torture from penal systems (D. Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 141).
5. *BLACKSTONE*: Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* published in England between 1765 and 1769 first saw an American edition in 1771–2. Despite the lateness of their publication relative to the events of the American Revolution, the *Commentaries* were an important addition to the ideological and legal discussions of this period.
6. Robertson's Charles Vth: The Scottish historian William Robertson published his *History of Charles V* in 1769. It was enormously popular and read widely by enthusiasts of Enlightenment thought.

Democratic Society of the City New York, *An Address of the
Democratic Society, of the City of New York, to the Republican Citizens
of the United States*

1. *In all nations ... despotism of kings*: The conspiratorial and paranoid tone of this text brings to mind G. Wood's essay, 'Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Causality and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 39:2 (Spring 1982), pp. 409–41.
2. *our and other societies ... thereto*: As discussed in the accompanying headnote, the Democratic Societies perceived themselves to be true heirs of the American Revolution.
3. *It has also been objected ... then be*: The Anti-Federalists opposed the passage of the Constitution, in the end giving way only when the self-styled Federalists compromised by agreeing to a Bill of Rights. Of course, there was a great deal of continuity in both people and ideas between the Democratic Societies and the Anti-Federalists. A large part of the Democratic Societies' logic in styling themselves for the constitution was that the Anti-Federalists supported the amended document, while the Federalists had in fact been against the constitution as it now stood with its Bill of Rights. See S. Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 195–200.
4. *Yes, Fellow-Citizens ... glorious struggle*: The Democratic Society of New York firmly came out for the French nation and thus the Revolution; they were also by implication condemning Britain. The same point is made again on p. 311: 'he who is an enemy to the French Revolution, cannot be a firm republican'.
5. *We have thus ... popular associations*: As Cornell argues, part of the Democratic Societies' logic was the recognition that in a republic the citizens hold a certain amount of responsibility in the vigilance of their freedoms. This can only be done within the new 'public sphere' of private clubs, the press, etc.

6. Public opinion ... *all our Rights*: Again, this is an affirmation of the role that the new 'public sphere' and a free press need to play in a republic.
7. *We shall only add ... that particular purpose*: The idea that the people should command the legislature – rather than be led by them was a key radical position in the first decades after the revolution. In Boston, Democratic-Republican Benjamin Austin railed against lawyers, the obfuscation of the law, and called for laws ensuring that representatives followed the strict instructions of the people. New England Federalists, of course, preferred a 'silent majority in the face of a vocal minority'.

The Proposed Plan or Frame of Government for the Commonwealth or State of Pennsylvania: Printed for your Consideration

1. *SECTION* the Second: This article established a unicameral legislature. On the radicalism of this idea and the 1776 Constitution overall, see G. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 226–47.
2. *SECTION* the Sixth: This article represented the easing of residency or citizenship requirements for the purpose of voting.
3. *SECTION* the Thirteenth: This article established an open-door policy in the House of Representatives
4. *SECTION* the Fifteenth: This was for all practical purposes a referendum clause.
5. *SECTION* the Eighteenth: This article established a weak executive with little legislative authority.
6. *SECTION* the Twenty-eighth: By this article, the debtor's prison was abolished.
7. *SECTION* the Forty-fourth: This article further eased the citizenship requirements.
8. *SECTION* the Forty-sixth: By this article, provision was made for public schools.
9. *SECTION* the Forty-ninth: The Council of Censors is established by this article. This is the first true process laid out for the purpose of amending a constitution.

Vermont Constitution of July 8, 1777

1. *And whereas, the territory ... herein before mentioned*: In 1741 the first Governor of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, claimed that New Hampshire, like Massachusetts and Connecticut, extended to a line twenty miles east of the Hudson River. Wentworth immediately began issuing land grants and creating township that enriched him and his patronage circle but which New York strenuously disputed into the American Revolution. In the midst of the Stamp Act crisis, tenant farmers on the large Hudson estates of families like the Livingstons attempted to secure greater security to their leased lands and lower rents. In this they were not satisfied and many left for the New Hampshire grants. During the Revolutionary War, a group of land speculators under Ethan Allen organized themselves into the Green Mountain Boys and effectively fought New York for legal authority over the New Hampshire grants. It was this group in part that pushed for a constitution in 1777 and eventual statehood in 1791. New York and Vermont settled their claims in 1790.
2. *I. That all men ...costs, or the like*: This is the justly famous article banning slavery in Vermont. Vermont of course did not become a state until 1791; however, its progressive stance on slavery was followed in the northern states. Pennsylvania passed an abolition