Structural Avenues for Mobilization – The Case of British Abolition

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis builds the micro foundations of the first modern social movement: the movement for the abolition of the slave trade in the early 19th century British context. I derive theories of action from the historical literature, and use work from historical sociology and movement theory to understand the decision to petition for abolition. Two major empirical undertakings are employed to adjudicate between different theories of action accounting for abolitionist petitioning.

First, zooming in on Manchester, I deploy the signatures of an abolitionist petition to find the social-structural drivers of abolitionist mobilization. Through a careful reconstruction of the city's historic geography, I place over 10000 residents in physical space along with important buildings, such as churches, inns and taverns: focal points that provided the basis of associational life and early civil society, places where politics was done at the time. I delineate the limits of the impact of the Quaker congregation, and demonstrate that in fact these focal points induced the spatial-clustering of abolitionist petitioners. Furthermore, I reveal that economic interests are not among key drivers of abolitionist petitioning, as no clear occupational-gradient is found among petitioners. Besides the theoretical contributions, I use innovative ways to test which social relationships were crucial for petitioning.

Second, zooming out on the national petitioning campaign I use self-collected data on petitions form the Journals of the British Parliament to study the movement at the macro level. The analysis shows that contact with the London-based central movement-organization was key for the success of the first campaign, but it also reveals that the second campaign relied more on "horizontal" connections rather than hierarchical ones tying provincial towns to London. Second, I confirm that non-conformist religious organizations were pivotal for the inception, and scaling of the national campaign, but the Quaker church seem to exert more important and continuous influence compared to the Wesleyan Methodist organization.

Last but not least, I show that industrialization plays a key, and increasingly important role in the campaign for abolition.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgements

Actively constructing an identity means the active engagement in relationships that allow identities to emerge. Looking back to the years when my dissertation project unfolded, I feel that chance, so much more than agency was the leading feature in shaping my relationships, hence, my identity which is tied to this thesis in meaningful ways. Waves of excitement and anxiety punctuated the process of pulling this project together, and many people helped me ride those waves, and shaped chance occurrences.

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Christopher Winship has not allowed me to get away with hand-waving arguments that

For my Parents

Chapter 1

British Abolition – Historical Context and Explanations

1.1   The Puzzle of British Abolition

The problem of popular, collectively organized political action has long had a grip on the attention of historians, sociologists and political scientists. The British campaign for the abolition of the slave trade (1788-1807) is perhaps the first of such cases that reached the national scale and took the form of a modern social movement. The campaign for abolition came in an unexpected moment, at a surprising scale, and became a sweeping success over time. It drew in Britons from all walks of life (Drescher, 1994) when the franchise only extended to about 30% of adult males (Wright, [1988] 2013, p.32).

How could we understand these interlocking puzzles? Underneath these specific questions lie a more general one: how was public consensus forged in the question regarding slavery? To cast this in a more dramatic light: how could one account for the shift between the 1713 peace treaty of Utrecht, when the acquisition of the asciento – the privilege to import black slaves into the Spanish colonies of America – was widely celebrated, and the 1815 Vienna treaty ending the war with France, of which the noblest article was considered the one denouncing the African slave trade (referring Klingberg, d'Anjou, 1996, p.69)? It is impossible to trace the inception of anti-slavery thought in each and every Englishman's mind who ever considered this question and arrived to the conclusion that the slave trade was indeed "a great evil." What might, however, be possible is to trace how the movement for the abolition of the slave trade got off the ground, and to pin down the socio-structural conditions that enabled its spread. In this dissertation I show how to probe sporadic data to

unveil some of the mechanisms that operated drawing ordinary men in mobilization within communities, identify which social ties were important for this specific movement, as well as the institutions that provided the locii for discussions and debates about questions regarding the slave trade. Moreover, I reveal the organizational basis on which the movement relied that allowed for coordination among communities.

The British Parliament abolished the slave trade in 1807, less than a generation after the debut of the campaign in 1787 that moved British subjects beyond members of Parliament, and the economic, religious and political elite (Drescher, 1994). Great Britain became a pioneer in ending the trade and in sustained political action both at the national and international levels. British abolition had overarching consequences that eventually lead to the abolition of the trade conducted by other nations, and the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies. It is hard to overstate the significance of the movement and that of its spin-offs. It has not only shaped how we conceive of the boundaries of moral responsibility, and of the role of the state in striking a balance between encouraging business acumen and social welfare, but the popular movement used techniques that were immediately co-opted by other reform movements advancing the cause of Catholic emancipation and voting rights (Royle and Walvin, 1982). In other words, abolitionism facilitated social and political change in the confines of the legal-regulatory framework of the British government, and contributed to the formation of British national identity (Colley, 1992). These stories have been told by many. The one being told here highlights a set of scope conditions for powerful cultural materials to spread and become widely shared. It also documents the emergence of practice in political participation through the mass petition, which shaped British political culture for the decades to come.

In this chapter, I provide a quick summary for the unfolding of the movement to situate it in the historical context, and then present its historiography: the various explanations brought to bear to account for its success. Then I highlight in what capacity these accounts fail to impute meaning for individual-level action, and ground the empirical chapters in

literature in social networks and social movements.

1.2   The Chronology of British Abolition

A detailed chronological summary of the relevant events for British abolition can be found, for instance, in Drescher ([1977] 2010), which I briefly reproduce here and complement it with information on the popular campaign to contextualize the empirical chapters[1]. The first attempt to put abolition on the political agenda was a petition that asked Parliament to legislate on the question of the slave trade coming from Quakers in 1783. It was swiftly dismissed on the grounds that the practice of the slave trade and slavery was so integrated into the customs of the colonies, and ingrained in the relationship between the motherland and the new territories that members of Parliament saw no reason for change in the foreseeable future. At this time the governing elite, regrettably, agreed that these practices were a necessary evil without bringing a bill or any resolution on the subject.

The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade (or *Society* here on) was founded in 1787, and pledged that it would pursue the cause of the abolition within and outside of Parliament. This central body of the movement had an overwhelming majority of Quakers in its membership, and its activities are the most widely studied in connection with abolition. The *Society* fostered close ties to William Wilberforce, an MP, who together with William Pitt, prime minister from 1783–1801 ans 1804–1806 led the abolitionist debates in Parliament (Hague, 2007). Unrelated to the activities of the central committee, John Wesley who had been touring the nation and preaching to Methodist congregations (and any townsfolk who came to listen) visited Manchester and preached on the issue of slavery (Axon, 1886). This visit was probably related to the mass petition that eventually reached

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[1]Many texts on the immediate precursors to the abolition movement start with the Somerset decision in 1772. Although this event is of major historical importance, the argument for freeing Somerset remained strictly in the confines of the interpretation of the law, and did not speak to the popular, humanitarian arguments, which were used by campaigners inside and outside of Parliament for abolition.

Parliament from Manchester, accompanied by about a hundred others, in the 1788 cycle when the question was discussed the second time.

The 1788 petitioning campaign set the ground for the first debate in Parliament in May 1789 considering the issue of total abolition, starting to carve out the foundations of a new domestic, and later on, worldwide policy (for a summary, see Quirk and Richardson, 2010). The Manchester petition emblematic of this campaign bearing 11000 signatures, a fifth of the city's population[2]. On the occasion of the second campaign in 1792, Manchester sent about 20000 signatures to Parliament, and the people of England outside of Manchester backed that with about another 380000 (Anstey, 1976, p.274; Oldfield, 1995, p.114). Not only was the order of magnitude of public support expressed in petitioning greater than for any other issue in these years, it also exceeded all other concerns of British subjects combined in 1788 and 1814 (Drescher, 1986, p.59, Table 3.2[3]). The first slave carrying act was passed in 1789 which became known as the Dolben act that regulated the trade to improve the conditions of the African slaves during the middle passage, more specifically, it imposed a limit on the number of slaves that a ship could carry depending on its tonnage. From this time onward the Dolben act was yearly renewed[4].

The Dolben act was a compromise over the resolution introduced by William Wilberforce – independent MP of Yorkshire, and champion of abolition within the House of Commons – for total abolition, but the Commons agreed to hear evidence on the state of the trade and arguments for its effects on the national economy. The Privy Council Committee for the Trade and Plantations was set up to this effect, and both pro- and antiabolitionists were on the quest for favorable evidence to their case (Porter, 1970). The collection of evidence turned out to be a rather slow process, as it involved waiting for correspondence

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[2]The *Manchester Mercury* reported 10639 signatures on the 19th of February, 1788, and from the *Annals of Manchester* one can learn that "*[f]rom an enumeration made at Christmas it appeared that Manchester had [...] 48821 persons*" in 1788, (1886, p.110).

[3]Most likely in 1792 as well, but Drescher's data does not concern this campaign directly.

[4]Except in 1796 because of oversight.

from planters and locating witnesses. In the meantime the macro-political landscape has changed: the French Revolution turned into terror, and news arrived about the St. Domingue slave uprising, which altered the dynamics of the debate. The central committee continued to organize petitions throughout the nation which kept on flooding Parliament in 1792. This year Wilberforce launched for another attack on the slave trade and the Commons resolved on gradual abolition by 1796, but the Lords stalled legislation to wait for the preliminary hearing of evidence.

Slow progress characterized the years 1793–1794, when the Commons finally passed a foreign abolition bill that banned the British slave trade to foreign colonies, which the Lords tabled in favor of continued hearings on general abolition. Due to the war with France the colonial territory kept being in flux of reorganization, which brought the question of the slave trade to the fore through decisions on the development of the new territories. Although Parliament did not pass the abolition bill, it did decide to refrain from the vigorous development of the newly acquired territories in 1802, which was a partial success. In 1804 the Commons passed a general abolition bill the first time that the Lords tabled on grounds of late arrival. The central organization resumed its activities that had come to a stall around 1793, but they did not invigorate a mass petitioning campaign at that time. In 1805 an order-in-council ended the African trade to conquered slave areas and maximized imports in 3% of the existing slave population of each territory. The foreign and general abolition bills were passed by the Commons in May and June of 1806, respectively, and went through the Lords by 1807. Past this act the campaign against the slave trade opened a new chapter, that of international pressure and diplomacy to coerce other nations: the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Swedish and the French to abolish their slave trade. Mass petitioning resumed again in 1814 to incite Parliament to shape the terms of the peace with France such that the French would abolish their trade altogether instead of regulating it and aiming for gradual abolition.

1.3 The Historiography of British Abolition

Historians who focused on British abolition overwhelmingly used top-down lenses while paying modest attention to the popular campaign (notable exceptions are Oldfield, 1995; d'Anjou, 1996). One reason for this is the dubious link between petitioning and the passing of legislation (Miller, 2017), remarkably, the most vigorous petitioning campaigns in 1789 and 1792 resulted in compromises, and in 1806 when legislation did pass there was no mass campaign. Another unifying element of the historical explanations in-vogue is that the causes of abolitionism are attributed to factors that characterize individual actors – be it religious zeal or economic interest. It is important to situate the popular movement in these frameworks to show where they might fail, and to give way to an alternative in which the causes of abolitionism are sought in the patterning of relations instead of individual-level factors.

The abolition campaign is usually explicated through the biographies of the London based abolitionist committee and the struggle in Parliament (Davis, 1975; Anstey, 1976; Cotter, 1994; Jennings, 1997; Hochschild, 2005; Brown, 2006; Hague, 2007). This approach reveals the complexities of the movement and the interests involved. The specific pathway to organized political action that the movement leaders took, or the debate that unfolded in Parliament is only partially informative for understanding popular agitation. The development of a general antislavery sentiment, however, could be thought of as a possible explanation, but as it turns out, antislavery sentiment can be traced back to the late 1600s (on the history of antislavery thought before the movement see Clarkson 1836, Vol I., Chapters II.-V.; Davis 1966) and was widely held by the 1780s. Furthermore, antislavery sentiment by no means accounts for the "*appearance of organized efforts to rid the world of slavery*" by themselves (Bender, 1992, p.25). The upsurge of evangelicalism and the emergence and dissemination of secular social philosophy provided the political entrepreneurs with ample material to draw upon when drafting propaganda and preparing the terrain for Parliamentary debates (Davis, 1966). But these developments alone are insufficient to account for the unequal geographic

and social breakdown of abolitionism, which is why the explanations for popular anti-slavery action should probably be sought elsewhere.

The philosophical reflections, poems, and sermons were first turned into action by Quakers. They picked up the issue of slavery and the slave trade on both sides of the Atlantic and made a commitment to actively rid themselves from these practices through resolutions brought at their yearly meetings (Clarkson 1836, Vol I., Chapters IV.; Brown 2006, Chapter 7). From this perspective, it is not at all surprising that Quakers were in overwhelming majority among the founding members of the central organization. Popular mobilization could then possibly be deduced from a developing central organizational structure, and somewhat tautologically explained by the fact that a central committee was set up in London and was staffed by dissenters. Quakers, however, were not particularly well-positioned to incite and sustain mobilization nation-wide if one takes their sheer numbers and relationship to traditional sources of political influence into account[5]. Yet, the historiography of abolition, which first and foremost focused on highly visible political, or moral entrepreneurs as Jennings calls them (1997), was first written from the perspective of leaders who located the movement's origins in the religious sphere, and described abolition as the necessary consequence of moral progress (Clarkson, 1836; Coupland, 1923; Klingberg, [1926] 1968; Anstey, 1976).

This understanding remained unchallenged up to the 1940s when Eric Williams advanced an argument that we currently refer to as the decline thesis (Williams, [1944] 1994). The decline thesis states that the slave trade's abolition was a direct consequence of shifting economic interests. Williams argues that the British West Indies were on an irreversible economic decline at the time of abolition, both as tropical producers and importers of British goods. He paints a picture of "*inefficient slave labor, white population loss, chronic indebtedness, soil exhaustion, and plantation bankruptcies*" (Drescher, [1977] 2010, p.xiv). In

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[5]"*English Quakers had always been outsiders. As Dissenters they were excluded from public office and from the universities. The professions were virtually closed to them, and they were barred by religious scruples from many other employments that could have been sources of influence and power*" (Davis, 1992, p.36).

other words, the slave colonies were on the decline, their maintenance was no longer economically beneficial for the British nation, and more specifically, Williams claimed that the leaders of the abolition movement directly profited from the trade's eradication (Williams, [1944] 1994). Although the specific claims of the decline thesis have all been refuted using painstakingly collected data on profits (both of the plantation economy, and of the trade), the condition of the plantation system, and import-export figures[6] (Thomas, 1997, p.541; Jennings, 1997, p.vii – referring to David Eltis' and Seymour Drescher's work, Pope, 2007), Williams brought the concept of interest to the fore and advanced an understanding of the movement that was highly skeptical of the "moral progress" logic and shifted the focus to economic interests. Williams' scholarship sensitized historians to the unlikely coincidence that the industrial revolution and the abolition movement was coterminous. The causes for abolition were started to be sought in its consequences by focusing on groups that benefited from economic changes that abolitionism directly or indirectly brought about.

The most influential treatment of the abolition movement in modern historiography in this perspective was written by Davis who focused on the interests of the emerging middle class (Davis, 1975). Davis argues that the movement sat the morally accepted boundaries for the relationship between employer and laborer, regulated by nothing but the wage that forms as an equilibrium between supply and demand. He suggests that the movement "*reflected the ideological needs of various groups and classes*" (Davis, 1992, p.19) and may have served as a tool for legitimating the labor market without regulations as it was forming in contemporary England. At the same time, Davis walks the fine line between naive idealism and reductive materialism, and stresses that open hostility to human bondage could not be reduced to the interests of the emerging middle class. He argues that the mechanism that connects class interest and antislavery as an outcome can be found in the emerging elite's power in shaping

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[6]Drescher seminal piece, Econocide is a book-long argument against the decline thesis (Drescher, [1977] 2010). But see also Anstey's work (Anstey, 1972a,b), and Davis on the issue of Quaker involvement who claims that "*Quaker merchants actually stood to loose by any weakening of the Atlantic slave-trade system*" (Davis, 1992, p.61).

the "*society's receptivity to new ideas*" (Davis, 1992, p.25).

The picture Davis paints of actors with "unconscious intentions" was one that contemporaries used to characterize leading abolitionists with high levels of skepticism. British manufactures produced in the factories took raw materials, such as cotton produced by the slave colonies. The factory system also provided finished products to the African market that were exchanged for slaves. Given that the slave population was not self-sustaining on the islands, ending the trade was hypothesized to rise the price of raw materials, slow down the development of undeveloped land in the colonies, and shrink the African market, which in turn would negatively impact production in the colonies. Based on these seemingly obvious and immediate consequences, the industrializing towns, most particularly Manchester and Birmingham, were accused of "cutting the tree right underneath themselves," and acting contrary to their economic interests and those of the nation (Hunt, 1977; Morgan, 2007). These communities were accused of behaving irrationally, and abolitionist organizers of cheating when producing petitions by contemporaries.

Raw materials, however, were only one ingredient that the factory system needed. Most importantly, it needed a disciplined workforce to render production regular and calculable. Some of the rhetoric for abolition may have helped stall factory reform and advanced the idea that a free labor market (as in one without regulation) is the most efficient arrangement that also yields "the happiest modern labor force." The factory owners were accused of concocting wage slavery and of purposefully redirecting attention from suffering much closer to home by focusing national attention on the suffering of slaves[7]. Davis argues that indeed, the abolition movement had the unintended consequence of the middle class' ascendance to a hegemonic position, but stresses that this process was not engineered by the new economic

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[7]The philanthropic ventures pursued by leading abolitionist outside of the scope of this specific movement had two broad aims: to protect the urban population from disease and disorder, thereby to ensure "*the smooth functioning of the social and economic system; and to inculcate the lower classes with various moral and economic virtues, so that workers would want to do what the emerging economy required*" (Davis, 1992, p.53)).

elite, nor was it possible to foresee by contemporaries[8]. He states that there is no evidence that specific politicians, like William Pitt supported abolition in order to evade domestic reform, or dampen radical discontent (Davis, 1992, p.68).

Davis' argument that was in a way articulated by contemporaries as highlighted above, found opponents among modern day historians. Haskell might be the most prominent contestant, who focuses on "*a change in the perception of causal connection and consequently a shift in the conventions of moral responsibility – that underlay the new constellation of attitudes and activities that we call humanitarianism*" (Haskell, 1992, p.111) brought about by the market. He introduces the concept of conventions, or habitual modes of understanding causation and responsibility. Davis' and Haskell's debate is mainly about questions to what extent interest implies intention (motive), and the degree to which nineteenth century abolitionists had the ability to foresee the long-term consequences of their actions that benefited the emerging middle-class, but disadvantaged the workers. Davis employs the concept of self-deception or unconscious intention to advance his argument. Haskell's criticism is both theoretical: the concept of interest can be extended and stretched so that any action can be viewed as self-interested; and methodological: empirically demonstrating conscious interest, let alone an unconscious one is an uphill battle. To find a better fitting explanation, Haskell argues, one should shift attention to the cultural cognitive style associated with market capitalism that emerges contemporaneously with humanitarianism. With the growth of the capitalist market "*a new consciousness of power to relieve suffering*" emerges that fuels "*unprecedented feelings of guilt and responsibility for evils that had previously seemed remote and irremediable*" (Bender, 1992, p.7). One of the biggest holes in this argument is that it does not explain how specific instances of suffering are selected, and others rejected, and if the market propels these beneficial effects how can one explain that the American South

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[8]Davis argues that antislavery simply helped "*crystallize an awareness* [of the interests of the middle class], *and identify them with those of the nation. [...] The question of middle-class ideology does not involve individual motives but rather the ways in which antislavery precedents were actually used. Antislavery was a transitional social movement that served to mediate values and prepare the way for the largely unforeseen things to come*" (Davis, 1992, p.81).

or the Dutch had no sustained mobilization against the slave trade and the institution of slavery despite being very firmly connected with the international market.

Asworth joins the debate about interests and the role of the market, and proposes an interpretation for the link between market capitalism and antislavery turned on its head, going against both Davis and Haskell in terms of the directionality of the causal process. He derives antislavery (an effect) from the problem of wage labor and commodification that is close to home (the cause), which is highly visible and ever-present in an industrializing society (Ashworth, 1992). He argues that the rise of the factory system produced social problems that threw individuals in a state of crisis about morality. Asworth finds that the rhetoric of abolitionism supplies the basis of capitalist morality, a morality that "*depended on a set of family values and free agency denied by slavery*" (Bender, 1992, p.9). It is hard to decipher why family values took such an important role, and how these values changed as a result of market capitalism, and if they have, why has antislavery sentiment not galvanized into a social movement earlier.

Sidelining a bit the above debate, most recently, Brown argues that the American Revolution "*transformed the political and cultural significance of antislavery organizing*" (Brown, 2006, p.456) and enabled this movement to flourish and expand. Brown acknowledges all the shortcomings of the movement, "*its limited ambitions, its self-aggrandizing character, its narrow definition of "slavery," its selective philanthropy, its paternalism in guise of humanitarianism, its insufficiency as a strategy for social reform, its complicity with new forms of imperial supremacy and domination*" (*ibid*, p.460). But he also stresses that the movement after the loss of the North American colonies allowed its leaders to emerge as those who recapitulated the nation after this "shameful" loss and elevate Britishness (see also Colley, 1992). The personal gains that stemmed from succeeding allowed its supporters to translate this moral capital into other domains in a relatively safe way, without much opposition. Davis points out that "*abolitionist societies were* [...] *part of an interlocking network of public and private organizations designed to give order and direction to municipal life*" (Davis,

1992, p.52) as some leading abolitionists were also involved in companies promoting canals and improved inland navigation, sat up savings banks, libraries, hospitals, Sunday Schools, almshouses, and were involved in prison reform[9]. According to Brown, this moral currency was generated through abolitionist agitation and used in other reform projects (often limited in scope) to carve out a new economic and political elite.

What is somewhat unclear in these arguments is the identification of the mechanism through which ordinary men got involved, and the considerable geographical heterogeneity in antislavery sentiment expressed through petitioning. The available empirical evidence suggests that the movement reached well-beyond the elite (be it "old" or "new") men who were involved in petitioning did not have voting rights, and did not have much to personally gain from the movement's success. It is unclear which networks (e.g., religious, business, kinship, patronage), if any, were implicated in drawing petitioners, a much larger group of participants compared to the membership of abolitionist committees, into expressing their political views. Furthermore, it is unclear how the movement was coordinated nation-wide, and if much of the organization of petitions was led by the central body sat up in London, the networks of nonconformist religious denominations, or other, secular organizations that were connected to one another through actual individuals (e.g., traveling merchants), or through subscribing to the same newspapers channeling the arguments by the central body.

As previously mentioned, when one considers the penetration of dissenters, and the number of people who reportedly signed petitions, simply the Dissenting religious communities seem to be incapable of sustaining the movement at the scale that it achieved. Haskell's argument seem to imply that exposure to "the market" would increase the willingness at which one would mobilize, but has little explanation as to why individuals in certain trades would be more or less willing to act. Asworth's thesis has similar problems. Finally, Brown's argument, apart from the fact that he identifies a possible consequence of abolitionism (the

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[9]Davis basis this claim on the case of New York and Philadelphia, where. There is some impressionistic evidence for this relationship in England, especially in London where Evangelicals played a similar role in the life and progress of the city as abolitionists across the Atlantic.

immediate trigger that threatened national identity followed by its redemption through moral action), does not have much empirical support. More specifically Brown's argument does not seem to surface in propaganda materials, in scope of the Parliamentary debates, or even private correspondence of movement leaders; nor would it specify who beyond the elite would be more or less susceptible of political action to redeem the British national identity.

All the historical arguments presented above have a strangely individualistic view of moral action, rather than one that is formed in interaction, and one that could make sense of these decisions within an individual's immediate social context. None focuses on how the social networks of movement leaders, and their followers may have changed due to the emergence of market capitalism, the developing civil society, and recent religious revivals. Hence, I turn to mobilization theory next which conceptualizes mobilization events as a joint-product of the process of influence and the social network on which this process unfolds. I also revisit the social movements literature from an organizational perspective, and argue that the popular abolition movement should be evaluated in these theoretical frameworks within and among communities.

Chapter 2

Abolitionist Petitioning in Manchester

2.1   Introduction

In this chapter I unpack abolitionist mobilization in a single community, Manchester, one of the hot beds of British abolitionism. The motivating questions will be the following: Who petitioned for abolition? And most importantly, how did petitioners differ from non-petitioners? Answering these questions I make the following claims. Abolitionist mobilization has been facilitated by religious organizations, but the impact of belonging to an active congregation manifested through kinship ties. I also show that the clustering of petitioners in families can not be fully accounted for through congregational belonging. Besides families, I reveal that petitioners clustered in physical space as well, and demonstrate that this clustering is not driven by families or certain occupational groups active in petitioning. Instead, much of it is produced by gathering places, such as inns and taverns that were overwhelmingly the home of traders coming to Manchester from other communities, and that were historically involved in the movement. Finally, I show that the expected status-gradient towards the middling sort is weak at best, which problematizes explaining popular support from the perspective of class formation (Davis, 1975, 1992; Haskell, 1992).

These findings highlight the institutions that were necessary to scale mobilization within communities: the family, the church, and other secular institutions which gave home to voluntary associations, circulating newspapers, and political debate (Clark, 2000). Arguably, the abolition movement would have taken a different form without the network effects of proto-industrialization and the rise of capitalism that fundamentally changed and expanded

the exchange of information and ideas within and across communities through avenues of internal trade, and the expansion of associational life. Zooming in on the popular campaign gives these factors a different role to play in explanation, one that forged cohesion within communities, and across the nation, rather than creating new boundaries and divides through processes of class formation.

I focus on abolitionist support at the *level of individuals*, and ask what may have been the structural foundations of supporting the abolitionist cause through *taking action* in petitioning Parliament. Compared to most historians, focusing on petitioners, versus movement leaders, and a form of abolitionist action in contrast to tracing beliefs, values and attitudes are important shifts in studying the movement. It is crucial to note the disconnect between action and attitudes or beliefs here, and highlight that the historical arguments aim to explain the petitioning campaign largely by demonstrating how common beliefs about the slave trade have shifted, drawing on the cultural materials produced by elite actors. This approach easily pushes the question of "how exactly abolitionist petitions were organized?" in the background, which in turn, oevershadow the roles that social networks and organizations played.

Becoming sympathetic to a cause, or entertaining a certain opinion, and actually acting on those dispositions, or behaving according to one's attitudes, are different. Social ties are important for both idea-transmission and drawing people into action (Snow et al., 1980; McAdam, 1986; Fernandez and McAdam, 1988; McAdam and Paulsen, 1993; Tilly, 2005). The processes of ideational convergence and collective mobilization have been theorized to be the function of social structure. Person-to-person relationships propagate information (Granovetter, 1978; Macy, 1991a,b; Bikhchandani et al., 1992; Friedkin and Johnsen, 1999; Watts and Dodds, 2009), and exert peer-influence (Salganik et al., 2006; Christakis and Fowler, 2007; Bond et al., 2012; Banerjee et al., 2013; Aral et al., 2013; Aral and Walker, 2014; Bond et al., 2012). In the case of abolition I invoke these informational and influence processes, rather than social roles or identities, which both were formulated in structural

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terms as well (White et al., 1976; Gould, 1995)[1]. This is not because of a pre-conceived notion of the role that identity plays in abolition, rather, it is driven by the sporadic data available that reveals the immediate social context, versus the complete network of Mancunians.

2.2 Data

Petitioners

Abolitionist mobilization could be measured by applying different thresholds for abolitionist action ranging from dedicating a substantial amount of time and resources to the abolitionist cause, to expressing abolitionist sentiments and sharing propaganda materials with one's confidants. Measures on a rich set of behaviors placing individuals on a continuous scale based on their involvement would be ideal, however, this fine grained data is not available in contemporary, let alone in historical settings. I capture abolitionist mobilization with the act of signing a petition, that asked Parliament to abolish the slave trade, which signals commitment to the cause.

Signing an abolitionist petition in this historical period was a public act, as one needed to walk to the place where the petition was displayed to sign it. As Oldfield describes (1995), the petitions of the two major abolitionist campaigns were displayed at various locations in the settlements where they were initiated, in other words, signatures were not gathered by door-to-door canvasing that was characteristic of North American petitions pleading for emancipation (Carpenter, 2014). It was much costlier than discussing abolition with friends and family, given that the act of appearing at the places where the petition was displayed could be witnessed and scrutinized by others. Furthermore, multiple petitions at the time

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[1]Taking acts at face value and equating them with motives to achieve a purpose is complicated by the desire for balance in one's relations: seeking for harmony in convictions/actions between ego and her alters (Gould, 1993a). These ideas are supported in social psychology, showing that the closure of the attitude-behavior gap depends on the ability of individuals to identify with a group, giving meaning to their action (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Terry and Hogg, 1996), which is echoed in the sociology of movements and identity (Allen, 1984; Gould, 1993b, 1995; Polletta and Jasper, 2001)

were printed by the local newspaper that explicitly mentioned (some of) the individuals by name who signed the petition (Hunt, 1977).

I use data from a petition signed by Mancunians and Salford residents in 1806, which is the only surviving primary source document that captures the signatures of individuals from the abolitionist era. This document was sent to the House of Lords in 1806 and survived the 1834 London fire that destroyed a wealth of primary source documents, including all other petitions for, and against abolition. It provides a unique opportunity to study the drivers of abolitionist mobilization at the level of individuals. The petition, which was signed by 2348 residents, about 3% of the population, has been digitized and is publicly available through the British Parliamentary Archive[2]. Not only the list of names is known but their exact placement on the petition is recorded as well[3].

Of the 2348 petitioners 52 (2%) did not have a legible/complete last name. These were dropped from the analyses as the identity of these petitioners could not be ascertained with any degree of confidence. The remaining 2296 signatures break down in 2269 individuals and 27 companies[4]. Of the 2269 individuals only 5 are female, and here only the data on the 2264 individual male petitioners are used. The petition in and of itself has been an important source for historians to descriptively assess who signed their names for the cause (Drescher, 1994), but the facts that members of illustrious Quaker families figure on the petition, or that some occupational groups appear prominently on it do not warrant conclusions that "abolition was a religious movement," or that "the middling classes were using the abolitionist campaign to ascend to power." In order to weight in on these arguments, and generate new insights, petitioners have to be located in the social fabric of Manchester to see

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[2]At the 200th anniversary of outlawing the slave trade by British subjects the Parliamentary Archive unrolled an exhibit that the original of this petition was part of, see: http://www.museumsandtheweb.com/mw2008/papers/prior/prior.html, accessed 04/04/2017.

[3]I am indebted to David Prior, an archivist who worked on the petition and shared this data with me. The transcript of names in alphabetical order can be accessed from the Archives of the British Parliament online.

[4]These are identifiable by multiple last names (10), or the designation "and co" (13), or "and son" (4), frequencies are in parenthesis.

how their interests and structural positions may have differed from those who did petition for abolition (Kitts, 2000; Siegel, 2009).

Non-petitioners

Dean's Directory (from here onward, Directory) was compiled in 1807 (Dean, 1807), conveniently close in timing to the date when the petition was sent to Parliament. It contains data on more than 10000 residents of Manchester and Salford, listing their occupation and address. Directories have been used in the study of urban systems and changes in commercial structure. When other sources, i.e., census data are available, comparisons have shown that the directories are biased towards manufacturers and traders (Shaw, 1984), which is consistent with the way in which contemporaries described the directories as the listings of "persons of consequence" (see Corfield for a recent summary on nineteenth century urban British directories (2012)). Directories have also been used to estimate settlement-level occupational structure (Brunt and Meidell, 2013) quite accurately, as the estimates arising from these sources are similar to those generated by other methods that were previously employed. In other words, the Directory, at least as far as the upper echelon of inhabitants is concerned, could be regarded as an accurate source of information with no systematic omissions documented.

The data gleaned from the Directory[5], required some further pre-processing. First, the occupational categories listed in the Directory are incredibly diverse: more than 1000 unique occupations are listed in it. To reduce this large number to a conceptually salient, smaller set of occupational categories, I adopted the system that was developed while assembling the London Electoral History Database[6]. Second, the addresses listed in the Directory,

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[5]The entire list of individuals from the Directory was reentered to enhance accuracy over the performance of optical character recognition software.

[6]I am indebted to Penelope Corfield, Edmund Green and Charles Havery, the lead researchers of this project for sharing the codebook for the occupational data with me that made my work as consistent with theirs as possible, and matching to this database very efficient. The description of their data set and the documentation for the occupational categories are available here: http://http://leh.ncl.ac.uk; last accessed

obviously, does not supply the physical location of individuals on a map. I used C. Laurent's map[7] from 1794 as a starting point. I turned this map into a geographic information system (GIS) to use it as a spatial database (for more information on the procedures I used while creating this GIS see the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources*).

Matching

I matched the names of the petitioners to the names in the Directory, and assume that these names uniquely identify individuals. This assumption is clearly flawed, but is useful to make for the following reasons. I view the Directory's upward bias in featuring the more prominent citizens of Manchester and Salford as a strategic advantage. Those who signed the petition were definitely literate[8], and the individuals in the Directory were more likely to be literate than the average Manchester resident, simply due to the kind of professions they were engaged in that made it likely for them to be included in the Directory. In other words, William Townend, whose name is in the Directory was more likely to be literate than William Townend who shared the same name, but did not appear in the Directory. Therefore, the petitioner William Townend is more likely to match the (very narrow) identity of William Townend, a fustian and dimity manufacturer who operated a business on Pell-street than that of a possible other William Townend who does not appear in the Directory. The same assumption was made by others, tacitly, who analyzed this petition in conjunction with trade directories for descriptive purposes (Drescher, 1994).

04/04/2017. This system of occupational categories was developed based on occupational data gleaned from records covering all London elections in the 1700-1850 period, and is more flexible than the Booth-Armstrong system, which has been widely used by historians to categorize nineteenth century occupations. The occupations that were not found in the London Electoral History Database were hand-coded.

[7]Held by the Harvard University Map Collection.

[8]Here, by literacy I invoke the definition used by historians which really is "signature literacy," and means that the individual who is "literate" is able to sign his/her name for administrative/bureaucratic purposes instead of using a simple X. The measures of signature literacy from this era come from church registries that recorded marriages and other life events where parents and witnesses had to sign their name as part of the proceedings. The signatures on the petition are full names, clearly written by separate individuals, which suggests that in order to sign this particular petition in question one had to be at least signature literate.

19

The procedures I used in matching are summarized in the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources.* In the analyses presented here I only use exact matches (approximately half of the petitioners), i.e., I only link names on the petition to individuals in the Directory if the exact same name was found there, and often break down the analysis by the degree of certainty in making this link to identify petitioners: some of the petitioners were matched to a single individual in the Directory, others were matched to multiple individuals sharing the same name[9].

Focal Points Connecting Individuals

Besides collecting data on individuals, I also compiled a data set of organizations that structured the daily life of Mancunians in important ways, giving me the locations of churches and chapels, inns and taverns, and institutions that were historically involved with the movement. Given that I don't have data on congregational membership, membership lists from voluntary organizations, or data which tavern each resident frequented, I assume that spatial proximity to these institutions increased the likelihood of those near by to meet at these places, engage in conversations and debate, as well as gain access to materials, like newspapers and pamphlets, that supplied information about the campaign (Liu and Bearman, 2015).

The pulpit has been one of the locii that propagated an explicit message about abolition through sermons and local organizing (Axon, 1886; King and Haveman, 2008). Quaker Meetinghouses were also used for "*public meetings in which* [. . .] *social concerns were aired and debated*" (Collins, 2009, p.57). The list and location of churches and chapels were gleaned from the historic map. This includes 24 establishments, including the Quaker Meetinghouse and multiple other churches outside of the Anglican establishment. The map was created

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[9]For instance, the petitioner George Barlow could have been George Barlow, the salesmen, operating a business on Aldred-street, Salford, or George Barlow, whose occupation is not specified by the Directory, but whose residence was 4 Ravald-street in Salford.

before the signatures were collected, and as a consequence some religious institutions may be missing from my data, but the most prominent ones were likely included.

Inns and taverns provided locations for public meetings and meetings of voluntary organizations (Money, 1971; Clark, 1983, 2000). They were also locations where the local as well as national newspapers were likely to be found (Aspinall, 1946). In a recent in-depth exploration into provincial inns of Leeds and York, Green describes the various social and economic function of inns, adding to the already-mentioned ones: they facilitated access to credit, gave room for auctions and sales, they were crucial for aiding the development of transport networks and the mail coach system (2015). She concludes that "*inns and not coffeehouses* [were] *venues for societal integration, rational debate and for clubs and societies*" in provincial England, and that "*inns seem to have played a major part in the "transformation of the public sphere"*" (2015, p.70; see also Everitt (1973) and Jennings (2011)). The Directory, besides listing principal inhabitants, lists all merchants who regularly came to sell their merchandise in the city, their trade, the cities or towns they came from, and the inn or tavern where they lodged and usually put out their merchandise. These 58 were the major inns in Manchester and Salford where traveling merchants lodged, likely dined, made deals, and conversed with locals[10]. About 400 traders cycled through these inns on a regular basis, some only housing one, and five of them housing more than twenty travelers at a time.

Finally, the locations of the specific petition is unknown, but the *Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser* published the locations where the 1788 petition was displayed, see Figure 2.1. The institutions in this list persisted in the 30 year period between the two petitions, and their precise addresses were recovered from the Directory through finding the keepers of inns in-residence, as well as tracing the family and street names listed. As it is obvius from this list the petition in 1788 was displayed in inns among other institutions, adding to the list of the ones that housed traveling merchants. Furthermore, given

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[10]There were many more gathering places where drinking and debating also took place, but had no residences on their own. Some were more or less ephemeral, and these are not included in this data.

21

Copies of the PETITION from the Town and
Neighbourhood of *Manchester*,
On the SUBJECT of the
A F R I C A N   S L A V E   T R A D E,
Will be left to receive the Signatures of the Public, at
Mr. HARROP's Printer, in the Market-Place.
Mr. FALKNER's, Stationer, in the Market-Place;
Mr. SHAW's the Bull's-Head, in the Market-Place.
Mr. JOHN SHAW's Punch-House, in the Shambles.
Mr. SHAW's Hotel, Exchange-Street.
Mr. COWGILL's Spead-Eagle, Hanging-Ditch.
Mr. SPENCER's Tavern, Market-Place.
Mrs. SMITH's Sun, in the New-Market.
Mr. FALKNER's Cock, Market-ftreet-lane.
Mr. DIXON's Swan, Market-ftreet-lane.
Mrs. GREGSON's Coach and Horfes, Deans-Gate.
Mr. KENWORTHY's Royal-Oak, Market-ftreet-lane.
Mrs. TRAVIS's White-Bear, oppofite the Infirmay.

Figure 2.1: The locations of the petition for the abolition of the slave trade, as published in the *Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser* on the January 8th, 1788. Last accessed at Harvard University's Newspaper Microfilm Reading Room, 01/10/2014.

the continuity in the leadership of the central organization (Clarkson, 1836), it is probable that the families and institutions involved early in the movement in local communities stayed sympathetic to abolition, and were able to use organizational knowledge in drafting the petition and collecting signatures at a later time point[11], and share information about signature gathering.

2.3   Analytical Strategy

The petition from Manchester shall provide insights into the social ties that drew people into signing it. In the analyses presented next I use multiple strategies to investigate if kinship ties, occupational category, or physical location were accountable for individual decisions to petition for abolition, and explore the meaning of these relationships. The logic behind the

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[11]When the first petition for abolition was assembled in Manchester in 1788, the *Manchester Mercury* publicized the names of individuals who sent contributions to the central organization in London. As it turns out, 55% of the last names that show up among these subscribers, also appear on the petition, and in fact, 18% of petitioners share a last name with at least one individual from that list, which suggests a remarkable continuity. Also note that only 26% of the individuals among subscribers have a last name that shows up in the Quaker death records (see *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources* for detail on this data), which is certainly larger than Quakers' population share, but it also means that 75% of early supporters of abolition whose last names are known were unlikely to have been Quakers.

critical tests presented here is comparing a counterfacual data generating process producing a petition in which these variables do not influence petitioning, and contrasting the generated data with empirical observations.

The lever used in some of the analyses is the comparison of (many) samples of individuals from the Directory to those who petitioned. As previously argued, the Directory is a suitable starting-point for constructing a comparison group for petitioners, as it likely contained the upper-echelon of the literate population[12]. I construct a comparison group, or counterfactuals for the petitioners and ask what would the distribution of certain characteristics look like based on these samples, and in what ways do the empirical data differ. Analytically, the question asked is the following: how would the petition look like, if individuals decided to sign it if certain aspects of the local social context did not matter?

The lever used in another set of analyses is the ordering of names on the petition, providing an even more rigorous test of the structural processes of petitioning. Since door-to-door canvassing was not the way in which signatures were gathered, individuals had to walk to the place where the petition was displayed to sign it. Some walked together to do so, consequently, their names would appear right next to one another, or close by on the petition. Consequently, the distance between the names on the petition measured by the number of other names in between them could be the function of the way in which "neighbors on the petition" signed it. The key behavioral assumption is that those who signed their names close on the petition may have previously discussed the question of the slave trade and decided on signing the petition together, while those whose names appear further apart were

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[12]The literacy rate in the early 1800s England was around 50% (for a summary and comparison see: https://ourworldindata.org/literacy/#note-4, last accessed 04/04/2017). Clark reports gender-specific estimates, around 60% for men in the North of England in the early 1800s (2008). The Directory contains data on more than 10000 individuals, roughly 90% of them men, which was about a quarter of the male population at the time. In other words, there was a considerable male population that was also literate, but does not figure into the Directory, which should also be evidenced by the matching rates of petitioners to those in the Directory. Therefore, the analyses that rely explicitly on the Directory presented here should be thought of as "within strata" analyses, describing the mobilization dynamics of the literate population of the middling-sort. Inferences to the lower strata should be made with caution.

less likely to have done so[13]. Although the invoked mechanism points to informational processes, and peer influence, it also invokes identity: the meaning of a social tie for purposes of mobilization emerges from joint participation (Gould, 1993b, 1995).

Note that no direct measure of network ties exist in the data, the ties are only inferred from the location of names on the petition. The motivating idea, though is straightforward: if interactions were decisive for mobilization one should be able to trace the "signature" of these interactions in the data, increasing the probability of co-occurrence of the kinds of individuals who likely had that interaction – for instance family members, individuals who were members of the same occupational groups or congregations, or lived in the same neighborhood. One can imagine actors seriously considering the question of the slave trade, and going with purpose to sign the petition with like-minded others, or, a more spontaneous scenario, individuals conversing at a tavern or inn, and out of that interaction emerges the desire to weight in on the question of the slave trade. In either scenario, these interactions were non-random (Blau, 1977; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987; McPherson et al., 1992, 2001), nor was the process that led to convergence in behavior. Lending further confidence to these assertions, the abolition campaign has been shown to influence investment behavior in the slave trade, which is a more indirect way to capture the impact of the movement on behavior then petitioning (Ingram and Silverman, 2016), and was a less of a public act than signing a petition.

The critical tests I set up are designed to show which aspects of social structure, if any, was of key importance for abolitionist mobilization. These would remain hidden when focusing on movement leaders and prominent figures in Parliament arguing for and against abolition. They would also remain invisible when tracing the content of print media and literary sources. Abolitionist materials in the aggregate convey that abolitionist sentiment was well formed by the 1780s (d'Anjou and Male, 1998), but remain far removed from the

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[13]The inspiration for these analyses comes from a paper by Bearman (1991) who captures a neighborhood by using the ordering of names on the manuscript census list. More recently this probe helped construe historical racial segregation patterns (Grigoryeva and Ruef, 2015).

actions of individuals, i.e., do not describe the mechanisms through which ordinary men took action for abolition. The analyses will reveal how the rich cultural materials, sermons and poetry were consumed and discussed.

In various other contexts, the biggest challenge to demonstrate the role of social influence or coordination are a set of alternative explanations that are often abbreviated as "environmental effects" or "common exposure" (An, 2011). If brothers signed the petition together, did they do so as a result of debate and discussion, or did they do so because they both were exposed to the same set of abolitionist paraphernalia? If the latter, could one identify the social institutions that induced correlation between brothers' exposure to antislavery propaganda, e.g., similarity in occupation and shared work-related social associations, or the inn they spent time at socializing? Note that these difficulties of identification are not pure methodological nuisances: the answers to these questions illuminate the structural avenues for mobilization and give credence to some theories, but not others.

2.4 Relationships and Focal Points for Mobilization

Activist Families

First, I examine if kinship ties could be held accountable for individual decisions to petition for the abolition of the slave trade. Prominent leaders of the movement became engaged through their "bloodline," for instance, James and Richard Phillips who were both founding members of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade were cousins (Clarkson, 1836). Furthermore, family members also frequented the same congregations, and Quakers and Methodists were particularly involved in the movement (d'Anjou, 1996; Stamatov, 2010, 2013, 2014). If kinship ties drew people into mobilization, one would expect petitioners to be distributed over fewer families than what chance could bring about, in case "belonging to the same family" did play any significant role in petitioning. On a similar account, one might expect family members to go together and sign the petition, i.e., names of people from
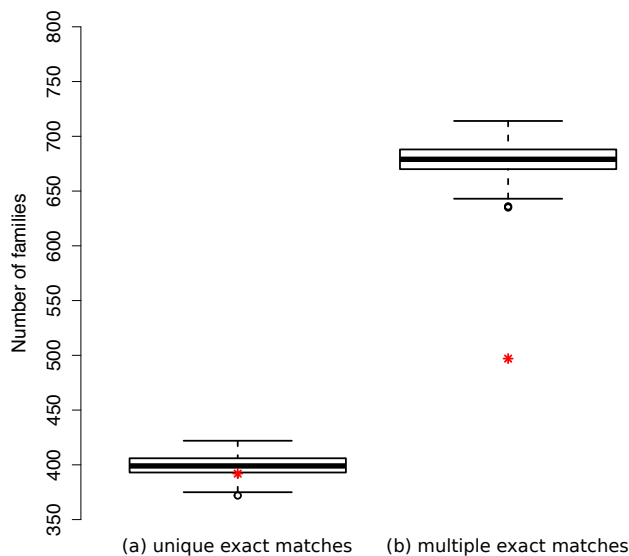
Figure 2.2: (a) The number of families who signed the petition based on the individuals that had unique exact matches in the Directory – red star –, compared to the number of families distributed over the same number of signatures arising from the Directory – black box plot. (b) The number of families who signed the petition based on the individuals that had multiple exact matches in the Directory – red star –, compared to the number of families distributed over the same number of signatures arising from the Directory – black box plot.

the same family should follow one another. Note, that the way in which signatures were collected is of particular importance here: if door-to-door canvassing was broadly used for acquiring signatures, family members signing one after another would simply be the function of the data generating process, which is not the case here.

Kin here are defined on the basis of last name[14]. For ease of presentation, I will refer to individuals sharing the same last name as a "family." First, I compare the number of different families petitioning to the number expected by chance, given the number of people who signed the petition and using the Directory as a sampling frame. In Figure 2.2 I report the statistic for only those individuals who have a unique exact match in the Directory, and for those who have multiple exact matches side-by-side – note, that the latter would not change the number of families involved, no matter which particular assignment were considered. I find that the individuals who had multiple exact matches belonged to 497

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[14]Of course, this would result in false positive linkages between non-kin, and can not reveal linkages for instance, between maternal cousins. I will evaluate the impact of this assumption for the analyses to follow.

families, almost 200 fewer than the 679 (SD = 12) if individuals decided at random at the same rate to sign the petition, in other words, the difference is meaningful and highly statistically significant. As for the sample of petitioners whose names matched exactly to a single individual, I find that 392 different families are represented on the petition compared to the 400 arising from the Directory. The direction of the difference is as expected, but it is not statistically significant at conventional levels, likely because this strategy arbitrarily compares smaller families to families of all sizes – large and small – in the Directory.

As previously mentioned, individuals are assigned to families based on their last name, resulting in false positive linkages, as well as missing links between actual family members. If another data source allowed me to exclude false positives, that would move both the red stars, and the box plots downwards. The results would only weaken if those families who in fact signed close to one another were mostly false positives, and whose members signed far apart were not. It is hard to think of a plausible mechanism that would produce this pattern. Missed linkages would move both the stars, and box plots upward. Again, the result would only weaken if relationships of information transmission and influence on the maternal line followed a completely different dynamic.

Of the circa 400 families whose multiple members figure on the petition, I measured the within-family distance on the petition for each family. Distance here is simply the number of petitioners in between two family members, and within-family distance is the shortest of these within the family[15]. For instance, there are three individuals named Asworth on the petition – Richard, Robert and James –, and each pair can be characterized by a distance: the number of individuals in between the names Richard and Robert, between Richard and James, and between Robert and James, respectively. I compute each distance and take the

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[15]The ordering of the pages of the petition, except the first one that bore a brief description of the purpose of the petition, might be arbitrary. The pages were likely to have been placed in different locations and were eventually assembled. Here, as well as in other analyses, the focus is on close distances on the petition and none of the substantive conclusions would change if one assumed an "infinitely large" distance between those whose names are present on different pages.

minimum[16] of these. If the shortest distance between family members is zero, it means that there are at least two individuals sharing a last name who signed the petition one after the other; if it is one, it means that there are at least two individuals sharing a last name who signed the petition with only a single individual in between etc. Each family is assigned only one number, so for instance, the fact that multiple family members sign the petition in a row does not inflate this statistic[17].

I count the number of families for whom this minimum within-family distance stays at or below a threshold using thresholds from 0 to 9. Then, I reshuffle the names on the petition a 1000 times, and compute the same set of statistics. The empirically observed statistics are displayed as red stars, and are compared to the simulated ones displayed as black box-pots in Figure 2.3. The Figure shows that 58 families have family members signing the petition one after each other, compared to on average of 4, which would be expected by chance ordering. The difference seen in this figure is highly statistically significant, and probably an underestimate of the difference, given that I am unable to capture links between maternal cousins or relationships between fathers and son-in-laws[18].

Note that this strategy does not rely on the Directory in any way, in other words, it only involves the individuals who committed themselves to the abolitionist cause with the act of petitioning. It reveals that about 15% of the families whose multiple members show up among the petitioners seem to have been influenced by a family member to sign the petition. One important threat to this interpretation is the impact of religious congregations which could be thought of as a version of common exposure to abolitionist ideology, as well as

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[16]I am grateful for careful readers of previous versions of this material who suggested that other statistics, such as the mean or lower quantile of the empirical and simulated distributions should also be contrasted. Family members on average, indeed are closer to one another than chance ordering would predict, but focusing on the tail of this distribution is what the theoretical mechanism, i.e., signing the petition together implicates. This analysis also shows that the effect is driven by the circa 60, 15% of all families, which would remain hidden in a simple mean-comparison.

[17]This, indeed, happens on multiple different occasions, for instance, James, Joshua, John, Samuel, Charles and W Taylor signed the petition all one after the other.

[18]Note that if this was possible not only the empirical statistic would change, but also the simulated one, as the size of the family randomly assigned would also change.
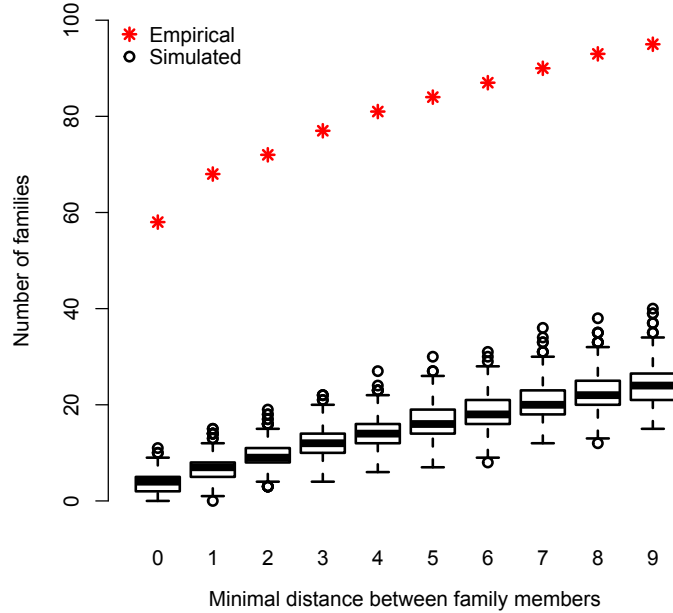
Figure 2.3: Comparing within-family distances on the petition, and a counterfactual petition assuming a random ordering of names. Red stars: the number of families that have a within-family distance at or below a threshold that is empirically observed; black box-plot: the expected number of families that have a within-family distance at or below a threshold using a random ordering of names.

information about the local campaign.

To address these concerns, I turned to Quaker burial records available for this time period[19], and collected all registered burials between 1770 and 1830, amounting to 456 listed burials (for more details, see the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources*). I identified the more prominent Quaker families in Manchester from the burial records[20]. Petitioners whose last names matched one of these last names I call Quakers from hear on for ease of presentation.

I conduct a very similar set of analysis, now focusing on petitioners whose last name also shows up in the Quaker burial registers. I measure the number of Quakers who signed

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[19]Ideally, data on the Wesleyan Methodist congregation would also be used, but for this period these data are not available.

[20]Prominent here means that a last name appeared at lest twice in my data. Note that these last names do not identify Quaker families with complete certainty. The family names that occur with a high frequency in this data show up in Anglican registers in Manchester in the same time-period. In other words, having a last name that also shows up in the Quaker burial records is not a perfect signal for belonging to the Society of Friends.
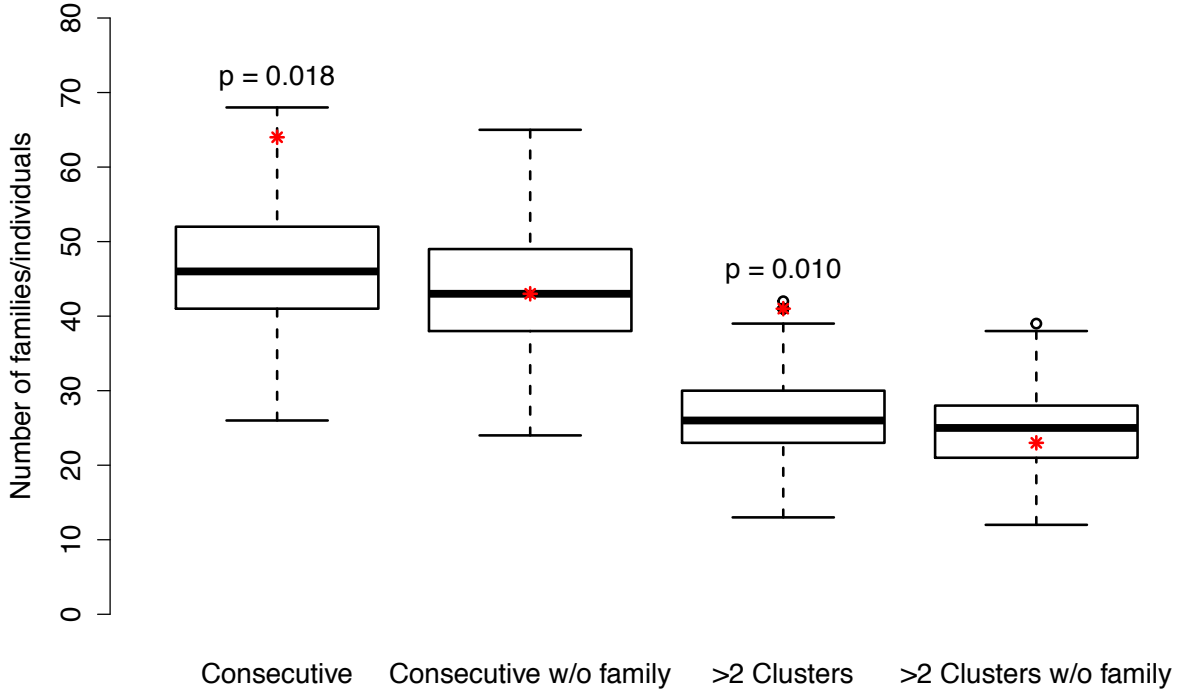
Figure 2.4: Comparing (1) the number of Quakers signing the petition consecutively (red star on the first bar); (2) the number of Quakers from *different families* signing the petition consecutively (red star on the second bar); (3) the number of Quakers in cluster of at least 3 (red star on the third bar); (4) the number of Quakers in cluster of at least 3, that involve at least two Quaker families (red star on the fourth bar) – to the same statistics arising from a random ordering of petitioners.

their names consecutively, as well as the number of Quakers who signed consecutively with someone in a different Quaker family, and compare these statistics arising from the random ordering of petitioners. The clustering of Quakers is pronounced on the petition (compare the first box plot and the empirically observed statistic, the red star, in Figure 2.4), but it arises from individuals signing their name from the same family consecutively, rather than different Quaker families signing the petition together. Note that the number of empirically observed Quaker families signing consecutively does not differ from what would be expected by chance (see the second bar in Figure 2.4, and compare it to the empirically observed statistic). Note also that only about a third of families whose members signed consecutively on the petition were Quakers (compare the first bar on Figure 2.3, and the difference between the red stars on the first and second bars of Figure 2.4). Finally, I explore if Quakers have

larger clusters on the petition, i.e., not only two, but more than two Quakers signing their name consecutively. This is indeed the case, as evidenced by the third bar in Figure 2.4, but again, it is not driven by multiple different Quaker families' clustering on the petition, see the last bar in Figure 2.4.

The take-away of these analyses is that "belonging to the same family" played a role in drawing individuals in to petition, and that some families were particularly active in contributing signatures compared to others. The analysis also shows that only about a third of these families were likely to have been Quakers. In other words, the bulk of clustering of petitioning within family can not be attributed to the most active religious sect in the movement. Furthermore, the Quaker congregation, though certainly important, did not petition together. Kinship, however is only the first layer of social structure I unpeel here. Families clustered in geographic space, as well as fathers and sons often pursued the same occupation. It is possible that these analysis only reveals these other aspects of identity and social networks, and forms of common exposure to which I am turning next.

The Drivers of Spatial Clustering of Petitioners

There is ample evidence that social networks are very much a product of physical space that allows individuals to connect (Feld, 1981; Kossinets and Watts, 2009; Liu and Bearman, 2015). Behavioral convergence and social influence processes are crucially dependent on opportunity structures allowing to share and exchange ideas (Blau, 1977; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987; McPherson et al., 1992; Centola, 2015). In other words, the places where Mancunians spent their time living and working shaped their every-day encounters in important ways. There is some impressionistic evidence that petitioners signed with their neighbors, as a signatory of the 1788 petition, Samuel Bradburn, recalled that "*in Manchester we signed the petition in common with our neighbours, deeming it a less pompous way, than sending a distinct petition of our own*" (Walvin, 1982, p.25). Besides this example vaguely invoking social influence and coordination at the local level, churches and gathering
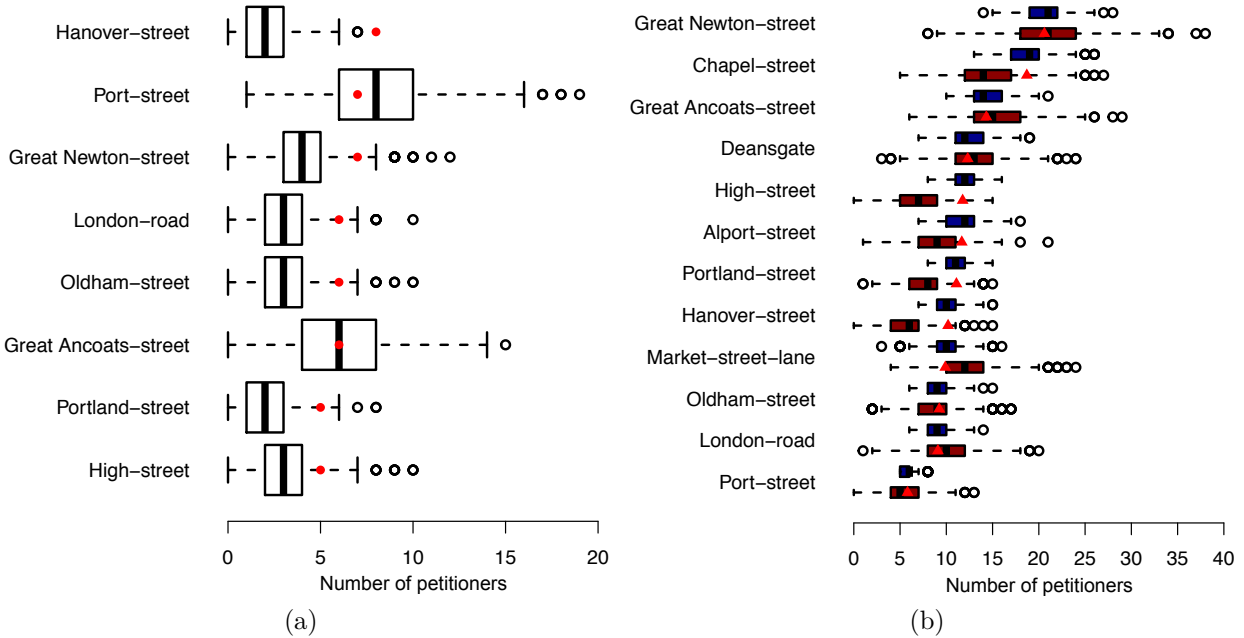
Figure 2.5: Streets with the most number of petitioners: (a) for petitioners that had a unique exact match in the Directory – red dots show the empirical data, and the black box-plots show the distribution of the number of petitioners expected by chance from the Directory; (b) for petitioners that had a unique exact match in the Directory – the blue box plots show the empirical data along with the red triangles showing the median overlaid the red box-plots that show what would be expected by chance arising from the Directory.

places were likely hot spots for the spreading of information, as well as abolitionist ideology (Oldfield, 1995; d'Anjou, 1996). Furthermore, inns and taverns provided locals for venues of socializing and doing politics, as well as being places where information from the capital and the neighboring towns arrived, both in the forms of circulating newspapers and actual individuals: travelers and merchants (Everitt, 1973; Clark, 1983; Jennings, 2011; Green, 2015).

To see if petitioners who clustered on the petition also clustered in geographic space, and to interrogate which neighbors ended up signing together, I mapped petitioners and non-petitioners in Manchester and Salford. As a first cut, I ask if certain streets contributed considerably more signatures than their population-share. I consider both the sample of petitioners with unique exact matches, and the sample of multiple exact matches in the Directory in turn. In Figure 2.5 I only display the streets with the most number of signatures,
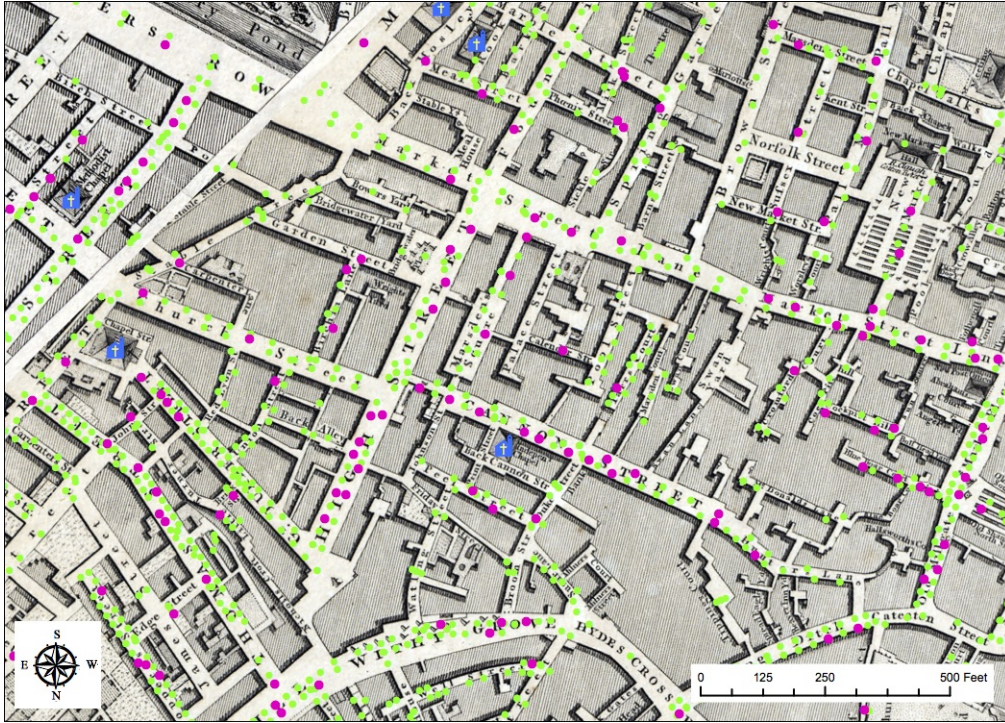
Figure 2.6: Map of Manchester centered on High-street. The green are residents who did not petition, the pink are petitioners, and the little blue icons symbolize churches and chapels.

side-by-side for these samples starting from the highest number of signatures on top, and moving to fewer and fewer towards the bottom[21]. I find suggestive differences with more than expected petitioners on Hanover-street, High-street, and Portland-street, which is consistent across samples. Two of these streets (High-street and Portland-street) were in the immediate vicinity of multiple churches in Manchester. Figure 2.6 displays the historic map of Manchester centered on High-street. The blue buildings mark the Methodist Chapel, the Independent Chapel, St. Patrick's Chapel, the Unitarian Chapel and the Catholic Chapel that surround this area, all are within 200 meters (roughly 700 feet) from these streets. The green dots mark residents who did not petition, the pink ones mark petitioners. This alone could be suggestive of the narrative that abolitionist mobilization was facilitated by the dissenting churches, but the churches and chapels are located so close to one another that it is not possible to pin down which one of them induces the clustering of petitioners.

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[21] I make sure that none of the individuals who are assigned to a petitioner from the Directory are used more than once.
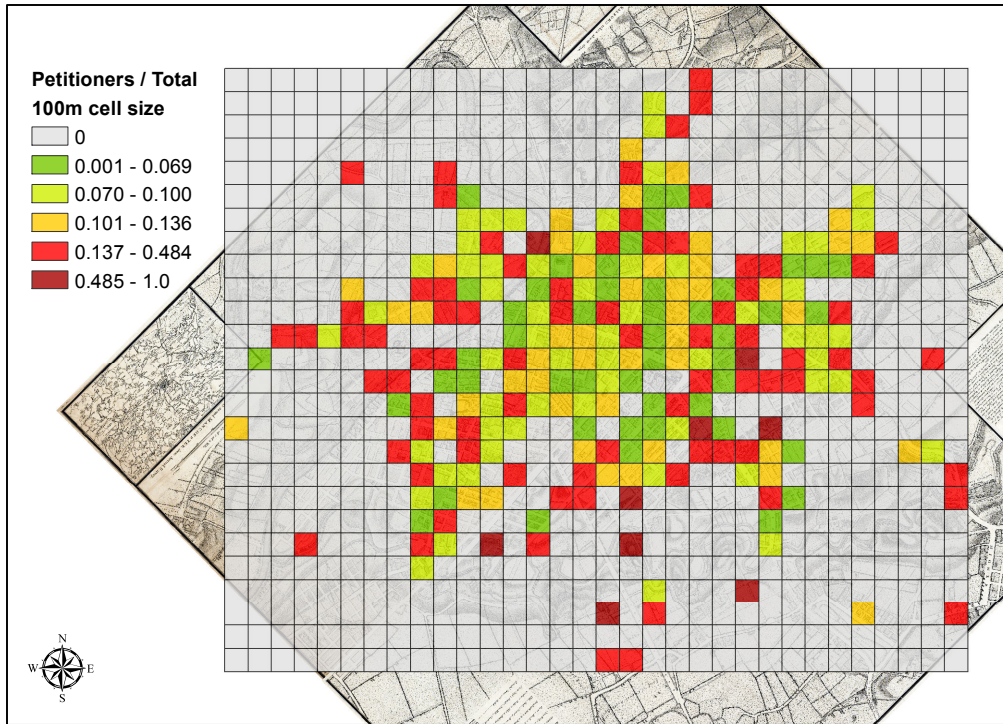
Figure 2.7: Map of Manchester represented as a grid (100m), where the color of the cells is the function of the ratio of residents who petitioned. Grey means that nobody petitioned, dark red means that roughly half of those listed in the Directory petitioned.

To investigate this further, I turn to more conventional techniques. Here is a descriptive look at Manchester and Salford residents and petitioners. The map in Figure 2.7 shows the concentration of petitioners in a grid of about 300 feet (100 meters). The coloring of the cells is a function of the proportion of the individuals who signed the petition in that cell – moving from grey that is zero, through green to red[22]. Visually, a highly clustered map would look like pockets of red separated by pockets of green, but the pattern in this figure suggests low levels of clustering, if any, on the map. In other words, based on this analysis it does not seem that any mechanisms relating to spatial proximity was in operation for mobilization.

To reconcile the findings that some streets sent more petitioners than others, and that

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[22]The figure could be slightly misleading in presenting Manchester as a city with a high concentration of petitioners on the periphery. It is the result of small numbers on the outskirts, and most importantly these "pockets" of petitioners are not a result of residential segregation patterns of the middle class moving to the exclusive outer suburbs, which only occurred in the 1850s (Gunn, 1999, p.114)

a conventional heat-map approach does not reveal a strong clustering pattern, I turn to clustering the petitioners themselves using their distance in physical space, and identifying the clusters that remain significant if population density is taken into account. Given that clustering depends on choices of cut-off points that delineate the clusters, I consider multiple different solutions, and triangulate them. From this approach a robust grouping of petitioners emerges, and a sense of the size of neighborhood communities in this period. To anticipate the findings, I show that the clusters of petitioners that remain meaningful over and above the concentration of the population around the center of the city can be accounted for either by the presence of inns and taverns housing traveling merchants from other communities around Manchester that had petitioned for abolition at an earlier date; or the inns and taverns and other gathering places that housed the first abolitionist petition from Manchester three decades before. In these analyses I rely on the sample of petitioners with unique exact matches from the Directory, but robustness checks on a sample of petitioners with multiple exact matches show a pattern that is in concordance with the one reported here.

I use hierarchical clustering methods on the petitioner-to-petitioner distance matrix, where distances are measures "as the crow flies", i.e., simple distances between geographic coordinates of petitioners[23]. I identify two sets of clusters with different "cut-off" points to delineate clusters – a more, and a less conservative approach for groupings yielding clusters of different sizes and radii. To distinguish the clusters of petitioners that are driven by simple concentration of the population from clusters that remain meaningful over and above the processes that drove the concentration of businesses (as well as residences) in the city, I calculated the density of individuals, and that of the petitioners around each petitioner using various different radii ranging from 50 meters (roughly 165 feet) to 400 meters (1300 feet). When focusing on the comparison of these statistics among petitioners, it appears

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[23]I use the Ward method and one of its variation in the package hclust in R with the options "ward" and "ward.D2" as well, (see Ward, 1963; Murtagh and Legendre, 2014).
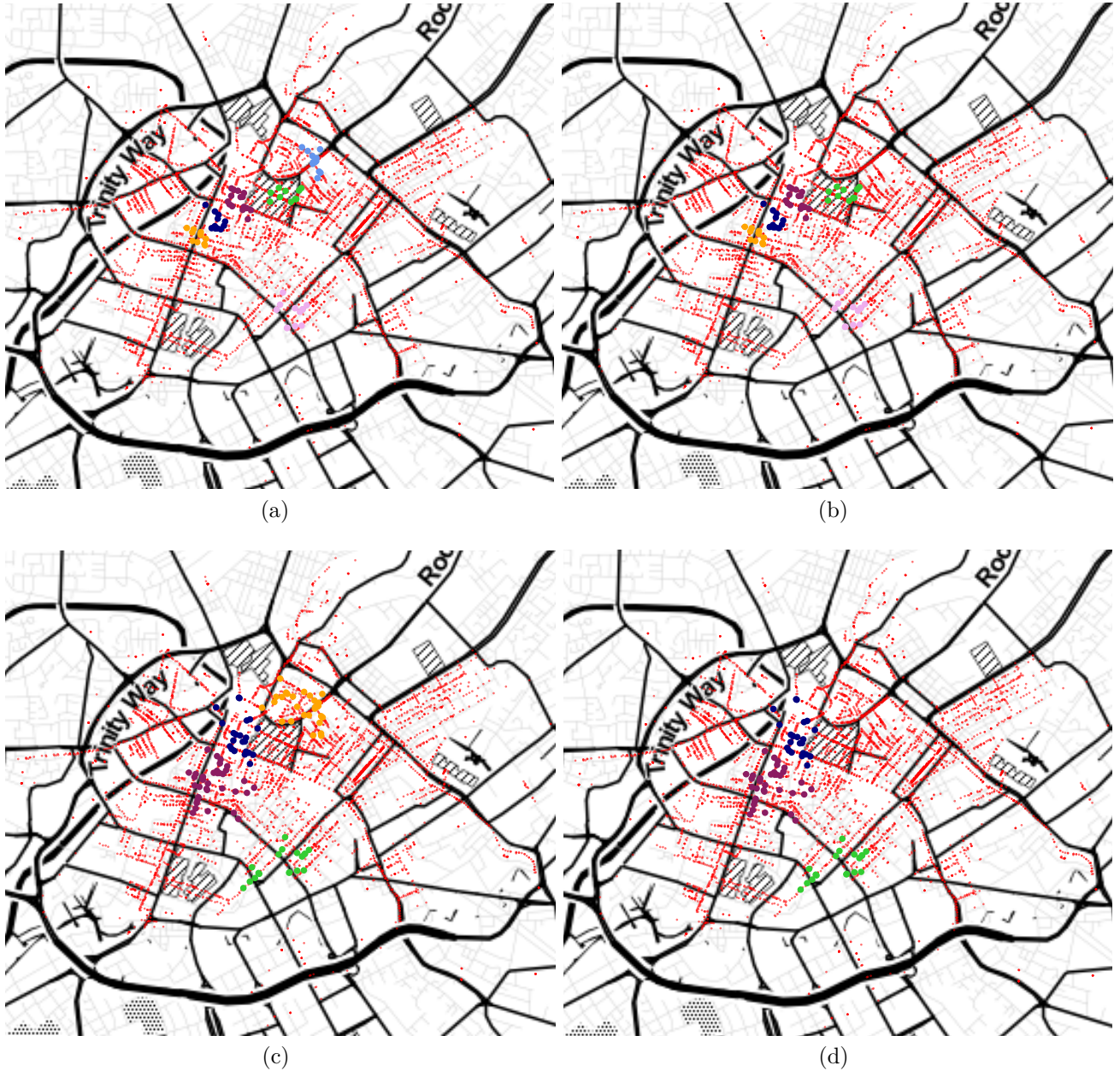
Figure 2.8: Clusters of petitioners using different cut-offs to select clusters, as well as to select the meaningful clusters over and above population density. The small red dots on each map represent individuals listed in the Directory, the larger dots of varying colors represent petitioners and their color indicates which cluster they belong to. (a) displays small-radius clusters where 75% of high-density petitioners; (b) displays small-radius clusters where 80% of high-density petitioners; (c) displays large-radius clusters where 75% of high-density petitioners; (d) displays large-radius clusters where 80% of high-density petitioners, respectively.

that that petitioner density exceeds population density in the 350 meter radius circles in 68% of the cases, after which it climaxes and then starts to decline. Consequently, I use this radius to identify petitioners whose surroundings had more petitioners than what the population share of individuals in their vicinity would suggest, and from here on, I call them "high-density petitioners," as a short-hand.

First, I identify "small-radius" clusters, i.e., taking a more conservative approach of picking clusters, or, in other words, setting a lower distance as a cut-off for groupings, and I start out considering the largest of these small radius-clusters: those that contained at least 9 petitioners. Then, I identify "large-radius" clusters, i.e., taking a more liberal approach of picking clusters, or, in other words setting a higher distance as a cut-off for groupings, considering, again the largest of these small radius-clusters, those that contained at least 15 petitioners. In both of these cases I only focus on clusters that are meaningful above population density, and pick only those clusters where at least 75% or 80% of petitioners are high-density petitioners (exceeding 10 and 15 %. the base rate, respectively). This approach yields four different ways of picking clusters of petitioners, modifying the radius of clusters as well as the cut-off for the share of high-density petitioners.

The different results can be seen in Figure 2.8, and not surprisingly, there is considerable overlap between the petitioners identified employing these separate strategies. The difference between them should also be apparent: when the proportion of high-density petitioners is higher (the selection criteria is stricter), a cluster is dropped in both the small, and large radius cases (these clusters are cornflower blue in the small radius case, see Figure 2.8a, and orange in the large radius case, see Figure 2.8c).

Two sets of institutions distinguish the significant clusters from other areas of the city where spatial clustering of petitioners was not apparent: the location of institutions that were historically involved in abolitionist petitioning, as well as inns and taverns housing merchants who came to Manchester on a weekly basis from communities that had previously petitioned for abolition. Visually, see Figure 2.9a for the location of the petition that was sent to the

Figure 2.9: Both figures display clusters of petitioners that were selected based on the stricter criteria, i.e., contain at least 80% high-density petitioners. The small radius clusters are color-coded, and the hollow cornflower blue dots mark petitioners who belong to one of these clusters using the "large-radius" approach. The red triangles in (a) mark the inns and gathering places where the 1788 petition was displayed; in (a), they mark the inns in these hubs, respectively.

House of Commons 30 years before the one being considered here, and see Figure 2.9b for the inns that had more than expected number of petitioners around them.

To identify the inns that were in the hubs of petitioners, I considered petitioner-density around the inns using various radii (50m, 100m, 200m, 300m), and only including petitioners who belonged to the significant clusters, otherwise, the inns with the highest population densities (and highest number of petitioners on that token) would have been identified. The inns in the hubs were identified based on how extreme the density of petitioners around them was: at least a standard deviation away from the mean based on two or three of the four radii considered. As it turns out, 40% of the traveling merchants housed in these inns came from communities that had sent a petition to the House of Commons in one of the two major petitioning campaigns that took place earlier, compared to the expected 22% or 23%. These differences are clearly substantive, and statistically significant. Construct-
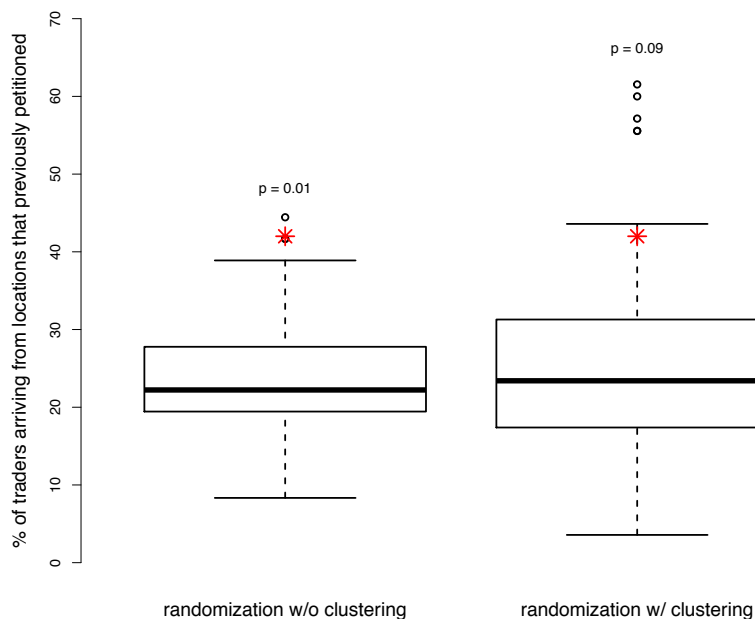
Figure 2.10: Comparing the percentage of traders from locations that previously petitioned for abolition at the inns empirically observed in the hubs of petitioner clusters (red stars), to chance expectations, first keeping inn-population fixed (box-plot to the left), then, randomizing the entire populations across locations (box-plot to the right). The first strategy does not respect that merchants clustered in inns based on their home-town, the second strategy does not respect inns varying carrying capacity.

ing confidence intervals and p-values around the expected share of merchants coming from towns that previously petitioned was carried out using Monte-Carlo experiments. First, the merchants were randomized across inns, keeping the number of merchants per inn constant, see Figure 2.10, respecting the architecture and the way in which space was organized in Manchester, but ignoring the obvious clustering of individuals in inns coming from the same location. Second, the entire population of inns was randomized across inns, respecting the clustering of merchants in inns, but compromising architecture, and possible carrying capacity of buildings. This reveals the difficulty of constructing counterfactuals, but it also helps clarify the meaning of this finding. Notably, petitioners seem to cluster around institutions that brought merchants to the city coming from communities that were actively organized for abolition in the form of petitioning.

Note that this analysis depends on the way in which both clusters, i.e., petitioners, and

inns are picked, so I repeated the same procedures using the different clustering results, which each include and exclude separate sets of petitioners, as well as inns. The direction of the difference is as these results in Figure 2.10 suggest in almost all the scenarios, but their statistical significance varies. Importantly, the results weaken when the inclusion of inns is the most lax, and many inns are included, which obviously drives the percentage of traders coming from locations that had previously petitioned to the mean.

So far, these geographic dimensions were not combined with the temporal dimension of gathering signatures, which could be taken into account by leveraging the ordering of names as was carried out previously. This proves to be an even stricter test of the implied mechanism that abolitionist petitioning arose from interpersonal discussion and debate, complementing, what was suggested by the previous set of analysis that certain institutions were more likely to be homes for these interactions. I turn to these stricter set of tests next, and ask if petitioners whose signatures followed one another, also lived and worked near each other. To anticipate the findings, this is indeed the case. Most importantly, I show that the geographic clustering on the petition is not driven by kin living under the same roof or near-by. I also show, that it is not a product of occupational groups clustering in the city, either.

In this case, as well, I had to pick a threshold for the distance on the petition that I call petitioners to be "close" to one another. I picked two thresholds: five and ten signatures before and after the focal petitioner, and call these a "neighborhood" on the petition. Though these thresholds seem arbitrary, recall that some families represented themselves with multiple members, in fact, with more than five signing consecutively, but never more than 10. Using the threshold of five would not capture all family-member pairs, but using the second certainly would. I proceeded to measure the physical distance of each focal petitioner to others around him on the petition who fall into these neighborhoods on the petition. I considered all the distances, and only a minimum of them in-turn, and compared the empirically observed data to what would be expected by chance, sampling "would-be petitioners" from the Directory. This strategy could be thought-of as a matched-pair analysis. I repeated the

matching based on occupational category[24], as well as the performed the calculations leaving family members out from contributing distances, i.e., including distances between those only who do not have the same family name.

The results can be seen in Figure 2.11. In this Figure, the first column contains distances calculated between petitioners in the 5-individual radius neighborhoods, using the sample of petitioners with unique exact matches in the Directory. On all subfigures, red shows the empirical data and pink the confidence interval around it – note, that of two petitioners who share the same name with a unique exact match only one would be included, and each such sample gives rise to a slightly different set of petitioners from the Directory. Similarly, on all subfigures the blue shows distances among "would-be petitioners," along with confidence intervals, who are sampled from the Directory, and are assigned to a position on the petition. The subfigures in the rows differ as the assignment-strategy, as well as the distances displayed change. In the first row, "would-be petitioners" are randomly assigned from the Directory, and all distances are displayed for each focal petitioner, i.e., the same petitioner contributes with multiple observations of distances between themselves and other petitioners in their neighborhood on the petition. In the second row I restricted the assignment-procedure to those with the same occupational categories. The third and fourth rows differ in including only the minimum distance for each petitioner, i.e., each petitioner contributes only a single distance here.

The main take-away from this analysis are the following: on all subfigures the red dots that represent the empirical data stay below the blue dots, as well as the respective confidence intervals – regardless of the strategy used for assignment of "would-be petitioners," as well as the distances included in the calculation. The same pattern is revealed when changing the radius of the neighborhood on the petition (not shown). The second main point is that the gap between the empirical distances and the distances arising from the matched samples noticeably close, i.e., some of the spatial clustering of petitioners in space is driven by family

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[24]See: http://leh.ncl.ac.uk/PDF's/LEH-Classification/LEH-CLASSIFICATION7.11OCCUPATIONS.pdf
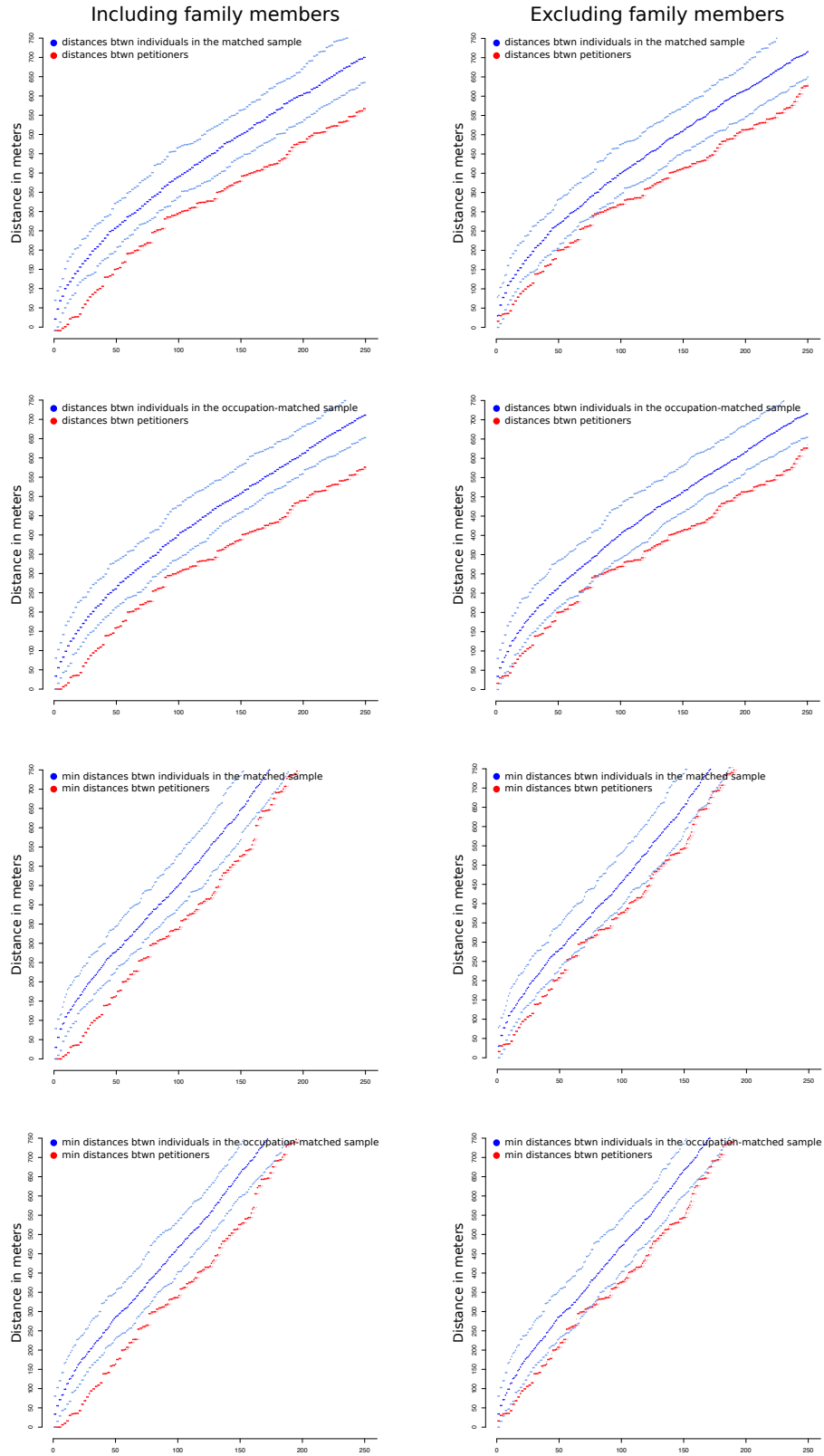
Figure 2.11: Comparing the distances between petitioners, and "would-be petitioners" in physical space.

members living under the same roof or near-by. In other words, when family members are excluded from the calculation of distances, petitioners and the matched samples of "would-be petitioners" are more similar to one another in the way they distribute in physical space. But, the difference is not accounted for entirely, petitioners from different families are still closer to one another than what chance could have brought about. Finally, the results are not driven by occupational clustering of individuals in the city, which seems to be relatively minimal of in Manchester at this time.

The Impact of Occupational Affiliation on Petitioning

The remaining unpeeled layer of social life is the occupations that Mancunians pursued. Occupational categories have been theorized from the perspective of interests and values, as well as the concrete organizations, like guilds, that bound individuals with the same occupations in tangible social networks. Comparing the occupational breakdown of petitioners and the population show almost no systematic differences. Table 2.1 details the comparison by occupational category, and highlights with blue those that had lower than expected number of petitioners, and red that had higher than expected number of petitioners, respectively.

It is possible, of course, that some of these categories encompass more heterogeneity than it is theoretically desirable. For instance, the status or social standing of individuals is hard to assess from the occupational labels themselves. Furthermore, even in cases when differences seem to be emerging, the two samples of petitioners (unique or multiple exact matches) sometimes warrant different conclusions (for instance, flax and hemp manufacturers seem to be more numerous among petitioners with unique exact matches, but no different with multiple exact matches from samples drawn from the Directory). It it possible that the lack of geographic clustering due to occupations, as the previous analysis indicates when matches were constructed based on occupational category, is due to these shortcomings of the occupational data. Even if this is the case, and there is clustering of individuals of the same occupation in physical space, this impact is likely to be weak (see Gunn (1999)).

Year	% Directory	% Unique match	% All matches
Agriculture	**0.41**	**0.20**	**0.11–0.42**
Farming, land services, breeding	0.41	0.20	0.11–0.42
Building	**7.79**	**6.19**	**7.12–8.81**
Operative	7.53	5.99	6.91–8.39
Other building	0.26	0.20	0.21–0.42
Dealing	**32.59**	**32.13**	**27.69–36.71**
Unspecified dealers	7.55	8.98	7.14–9.03
General dealers	6.56	6.59	4.90–6.17
Wines, spirits and hotels	4.62	1.40	2.31–3.75
Food	3.99	2.99	2.42–3.49
Clothing materials	4.01	5.59	3.89–5.07
Raw materials	2.10	2.59	2.10–3.12
Dress	1.86	2.79	2.42–3.48
Other dealers	1.90	1.20	1.00–1.79
Domestic service	**1.34**	**1.00**	**0.74–1.58**
All domestic service	1.34	1.00	0.74–1.58
Manufacturing	**48.25**	**48.53**	**41.27–55.17**
Dress	10.40	8.98	8.68–10.34
Cottons and silk	7.19	6.99	5.90–7.66
Flax and hemp	5.67	7.19	5.38–6.74
Woollens	5.49	5.59	5.12–6.71
Dyeing	3.78	2.40	2.73–3.80
Unspecified	2.52	5.19	3.75–5.08
Wood workers	1.43	2.20	1.46–2.32
Printing	1.42	0.40	0.53–1.06
Machinery	1.32	0.80	0.84–1.79
Furniture	1.22	1.60	1.37–2.11
Iron and steel	1.19	2.00	1.48–2.33
Baking	1.10	1.60	1.26–1.80
Copper, tin and lead	1.01	0.80	0.63–1.06
Other manufacturing	4.51	2.79	2.69–4.17
Transport	**1.19**	**1.00**	**0.94– 1.69**
Roads	1.02	0.80	0.84–1.58
Other transport	0.17	0.20	0.10–0.11
Industrial service	**2.55**	**4.99**	**2.89–3.74**
Accountants and clerks	2.55	4.99	2.86–3.85
Public services/Professional	**4.72**	**4.40**	**3.71–6.01**
Education	1.42	1.20	0.90–1.42
Medicine	1.07	0.80	0.63–1.16
Other public service/professional	2.23	2.40	1.79–2.85
Rentier	**0.53**	**1.20**	**0.62–1.18**
Gentry	0.53	1.20	0.79–1.58
Unlcassified	**0.64**	**0.40**	**0.21–0.53**
Unclassified	0.64	0.40	0.21–0.53

Table 2.1: Occupational structure of Manchester-Salford residents and petitioners.

It is safe to say, however, that those dealing in clothing materials, or pursuing cotton manufacturing who should have been participated in petitioning in much smaller numbers as per their economic interests did not refrain from signing the petition. This is significant given the context of Manchester (Hunt, 1977; Morgan, 2007). Moreover, there is no obvious status-gradient emerging from this analysis, which would be suggested by explanations of abolitionism from the perspective of the formation of the middle class (Davis, 1975, 1992; Haskell, 1992). Occupational affiliation – regardless of the way in which it is theorized – does not seem to be an important driver of petitioning for abolition in Manchester.

2.5   Limitations

There are a number of limitations to the analyses presented here. Some concern the data, others the assumptions made. First, the data might seem particularly weak. The cornerstones of the analyses are simple lists of name, and sets of geographic coordinates with minimal information on specific individuals[25]. For lack of a better alternative, families and Quakers were identified based on their last name. At the same time, these data are the most relevant source of individual-level action to penetrate the drivers of petitioning behavior for abolition.

Petitioning for abolition was only one tactic used in the movement. Given this, the analysis ignores other forms of abolitionist action, like the sugar boycott, and can not incorporate women in the analysis (Midgley, 1996; Clapp and Jeffrey, 2011). Therefore, the analytical lenses are restricted to finding spill-overs of the behavior "petitioning" to others' similar behavior, and can not incorporate more complex processes in which participation in the sugar boycott would impact petitioning within, and across households, neighborhoods, and voluntary associations. Moreover, some analyses only pertain to those who were matched to entries in the Directory. In other words, those who were at the lower end of Manchester's

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[25]*Armies of the Poor* is an excellent example how far one could get with bare lists of names (Traugott, 1985).

socio-economic ladder are missing from these analyses, but clearly were participating in abolitionist petitioning in great numbers. The drivers of their participation may or may not be different from those uncovered here.

Finally, Manchester is a single community, albeit a very important one in the abolition movement. Its role in industrialization, and special geographic location with access to the port of Liverpool makes it a unique case. Quakerism and Methodism, and the rise of the associational world, though were largely similar in provincial England. Eventually, the character of petitioning driven by local institutions can not be assessed without a comparative case that is unlikely to surface, given the loss of primary source materials.

In sporadic observational data the signal to noise ratio is small, and detecting a signal in these situations requires a strong signal, and the triangulation of evidence to see how the various assumptions and design choices impact the results. Despite all of these shortcomings, with a particularly active orientation to data (Leifer, 1992), through thought experiments, or the deployment of *chance* (Bearman and Rule, 2013), social structures for mobilization were successfully revealed.

2.6 Discussion

The abolitionist campaign was preceded and accompanied by various important shifts in intellectual though and political arrangements. The War of Independence ended in 1785, a few years before the first large-scale popular campaign leaving a scar on British identity (Colley, 1992; Brown, 2006). The French Revolution was contemporary with the movement, and certainly there is evidence that ideas about "freedom" circulated among the movement leaders that were relevant for both causes. The Second Great Awakening gained momentum in the 1790s, and undoubtedly crossed geographic boundaries. Abolitionism was "in the air" in the late 1780s, but the scale of the popular movement can not be understood without a closer look at social structure, and mobilization dynamics within and across local

communities.

Bases on the evidence presented here, abolitionist petitioning has been facilitated by religious organizations. But the impact of belonging to an active congregation manifested through kinship ties, and the clustering of petitioners in families could not be fully accounted for through congregational belonging. This gives some credit to explanations that implicated religious zeal (Jennings, 1997). However, it reveals that the act of petitioning was likely conceived in discussions and debate, as versus from individual level characteristics. It shows that Quakers alone could not have sustained the levels of mobilizations in Manchester at its observed scale, nor was there evidence of "block recruitment" (Oberschall, 1973).

The analysis also reveals a new set of structural factors driving petitioning. There is clear evidence that petitioners were more likely to sign with their neighbors. There is also some compelling evidence that the proximity of churches mattered, but other sets of institutions: gathering places, inns and taverns seem to emerge as points of information exchange, debate and discussion around which petitioners clustered. Furthermore, petitioning can't be comprehended from the perspective of interests – at least not proxied by occupation – that has previously been suggested (Davis, 1975, 1992; Haskell, 1992). These findings invite us to complement the understanding arising from the historical literature, that abolitionist ideology arose out of individual moral convictions (Stamatov, 2013, 2014). The cultural frames, and abolitionist discourse available to individual actors took effect in interactions, that is, these analyses uncover a missing bead on the necklace of a causal chain (d'Anjou, 1996), and exposes a trace of institutions besides the family and church structuring informal interactions among individuals.

The findings contextualize the importance of the organizational infrastructure on which the movement must have relied, and draws attention to the institutions, both religious and secular, that provided venues for social interactions that could be traced in the data. Calhoun points out in the context of mass movements that swept the British nation in the 1830s that local-level organizing often relied on "*preexisting organizations* [that] *need not be formally*

constituted or created for the purpose of pursuing [a specific] *collective good at hand. Rather, the informal bonds of community relationships may provide powerful selective incentives and a form of preexisting organization ready to mobilize in a variety of actions*" (2012, p.98). The micro-processes of mobilization in form of petitioning are inferred from the data (Gould, 1993a,b, 1995), and in these general patterns give the particularities of the historical context importance. Not any institution, but specific ones that were the carriers of both information and ideology turned out to channel local action on the margins. Not any inn or tavern, but those historically involved with the movement, as well as housing traveling merchants from communities that already mobilized for abolition in previous years were found to matter. Given this snapshot in time, it is not possible to nail to what extent this is the result of the institutions (inns and taverns) with a developing orientation to reform (of various kinds), or, simply the flow of people who were more likely to bring certain kinds of ideas with them gave their character. Deciding this, rather important historical question, in the intersection of culture, structure, and history falls outside of the scope of this work.

Methodological note

Ginzburg's *Cheese and The Worms* ([1980] 1992) is an unusual exploration into sixteenth century peasant culture through the lenses of the Inquisition trying to trace the roots of Menocchio's, a miller's heresy. Bearman and Rule in an essay argue that "*chance provides*" [. . .] "*a strategy for observing the linkages between institutions, structures, practices and everyday activities and outcomes*" (2013, p.2) in Ginzburg's piece. They identify the key design element: happenstance, and articulate why it succeeds: "*A research methodology that uses chance to generate observations, ideas, texts, experiences, and so on, and which follows the connections between those objects is able, or Ginzburg would like to argue, to identify the grammar that organizes their relationships. This grammar is the culture or structure that is*

unknown to the researcher" (2013, p.3)[26]. I employed *chance* to illuminate how the sporadic data that survived on individuals defy chance, which makes this work similar to Ginzburg's exploration.

Another key observation made by Bearman and Rule is to draw attention to Mennochio's structural position, that allowed the chance occurrence of passing books and oral tradition to collide and coalesce: "*that path* [of high culture] *was really through the chance books that passed through his hands as they circulated amongst Millers, Innkeepers, and others able to read and share resources* (2013, p.9). Ginzburg in his book was after an individual-level outcome: beliefs and cultural representations in a sixteenth century peasant's head. This work, in turn, pried open the sources of collective action expressed in petitioning, and revealed the structures and institutions necessary to bring about a macro-outcome of historical importance: a mobilization event for abolition in Manchester in the early 1800s.

2.7   Supplementary Materials on Data Sources

Dean's Trade Directory

Dean's Trade Directory had to be completely reentered for the purposes of matching, not only to the petition data, but to the self-built GIS as well (Dean, 1807). Optical character recognition yields many, unreliable matches that require a substantial amount of manual review, which is why this data needed to be keyed in[27]. The re-entry was designed so that the data is organized in a data base amenable to future analysis, and was conducted by using the electronic reproduction by Thomson Gale, 2005. A partial image of a page in the primary source can be found in Figure 2.12.

For each record in the Directory the following variables were created:

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[26]See also: "*Chance as a research method is a strategy for prying open a social structure – or culture – when its organizing principles are otherwise inaccessible*" (Bearman and Rule, 2013, p.3).

[27]I would like to thank my undergraduate RAs, Steven Jaycox, Armando Jose Leon, William Roberts, and Nidale Zouhir, for their excellent work.

1. a unique identifier for each entry;

2. the image number where the record is;

3. the entry number on the image (the image number and the entry number links each record to the original source, so that potential mistakes could be easily corrected by tracing them back to the primary source);

4. a variable "female" which is 1 if a prefix such as "Miss," "Mrs" was present, or if the name of the individual is clearly that of a female, or if the "suff" (see below) is "widow," NA otherwise;

5. "pref": a prefix, which takes the value of "Miss," "Mrs," "Mr," or "reverend" (which later was moved to the "occupation" variable as well);

6. "last" containing the last name of the individual (or the first individual if multiple individuals are listed within the same entry which happens in case of companies);

7. "first" containing the first name of the individual (or the first individual if multiple individuals are listed within the same entry which happens in case of companies);

8. "suff": a suffix (captain, D D, Dr, esquire, junior, M D, senior, widow);

9. "occupation" which is the description of the occupation for each individual or firm (sometimes the occupation would have qualifiers, e.g., would specify a specific firm the person worked at, like in the case of Birley, manufacturer and spinner, at a factory on Oxford-street, which detail is than captured in "qualifier_on_occupation");

10. "nr," which is the house number;

11. "st_lane" which is the name of the street, lane etc. (the overwhelming majority of addresses are reported in the house number, street name structure);

12. "cross_st" which is the name of another street, lane etc. that would help the person consulting the Directory to adjudicate between multiple streets that have the same name; the name of this variable is slightly misleading as these streets are usually no cross-streets, but the name of a main road in the vicinity (e.g., the address of Ainscough John is recorded as 7 Butler-lane, Great Newton-street, where Butler-lane

50

is the "st_lane," and Great Newton-street is the "cross_st");

13. "settlement" stands for a settlement outside of Manchester (such as Salford, see the fourth entry in Figure 2.12) or for a quarter of Manchester proper (such as Ardwick, see the second entry in Figure 2.12);

14. "h_nr" in about 10% of the entries not only the business address of the individual, but also (or only) their home address was given; the data for these addresses are in the exact same structure explained above;

15. "h_st_lane" see "h_nr" and 'st_lane";

16. "h_cross_st" see "h_nr" and 'cross_st";

17. "h_settlement" see "h_nr" and "settlement";

18. "qualifier_on_occupation" see "occupation";

19. "alternate_address" in very few cases an alternate address was also give that did not have the designation "house"

20. "building" especially in the case of victuallers (innkeepers), the name of an inn is preserved as part of the address, which is not a street name, nor is it the name of a settlement, for instance in the case of Arrowsmith Samuel, who was a victualler in Brown Bull, the fourth entry in Figure 2.12;

21. "other_last_name", the Directory carried information on individuals and small companies, the latter were designated by entries where multiple last names were listed, which are recorded in this variable;

22. "other_first_name" see "other_last_name";

23. "and_co" sometimes companies were designated by noting "and co", or "and brother" (or some other relative), this variable captures this;

24. "comment" any comment added about the entry by the coder;

25. "coder" which is the first name of the person who entered the record helping the correction of systematic mistakes at the matching/analysis stage.

The Directory contains 10059 entries (14% of the population). 775 of these entries (8% of

51

the entries) are records of companies designated by the variables "other_last_name" and/or "other_last_name" and/or "'and_co" not being an empty character string. 1079 (11% of the entries) belong to females. 535 (5% of the entries) of the entries do not have a first name, and 277 of these (52%) are companies. The entries in the Directory do not provide a one-to-one match to unique names, because there are only 385 unique first names present for males, and 62 for females. This means that 65% of males are either Samuel (347), Joseph (397), James (912), Thomas (977), William (1129) or John (1833), frequencies are in parenthesis. Of the women in the Directory 48% are Sarah (78), Ann (109), Elizabeth (163) or Mary (167), and 17% of them are not identified by their first name. As explained below, this creates an obstacle when matching to the petition data. Finally, 697 records (7% of the entries) do not have an associated business address, only 1024 records (10% of the entries) contain a home street address, and 475 records (5% of the entries) contains both a business and a home address.

Matching of the Directory and the Petition Data

An image of the petition, can be seen in Figure 2.13. The original is housed in the Archives of the British Parliament and was signed by thousands of residents of Manchester and Salford.

Of the 2348 petitioners 52 (2%) did not have a legible/complete last name. These were dropped from the analysis as it can not be ascertained with any degree of confidence who to match them to in the Directory. The remaining 2296 signatures break down in 2269

Figure 2.12: A partial image from Dean's Directory, image 10 in the Gale electronic reproduction.
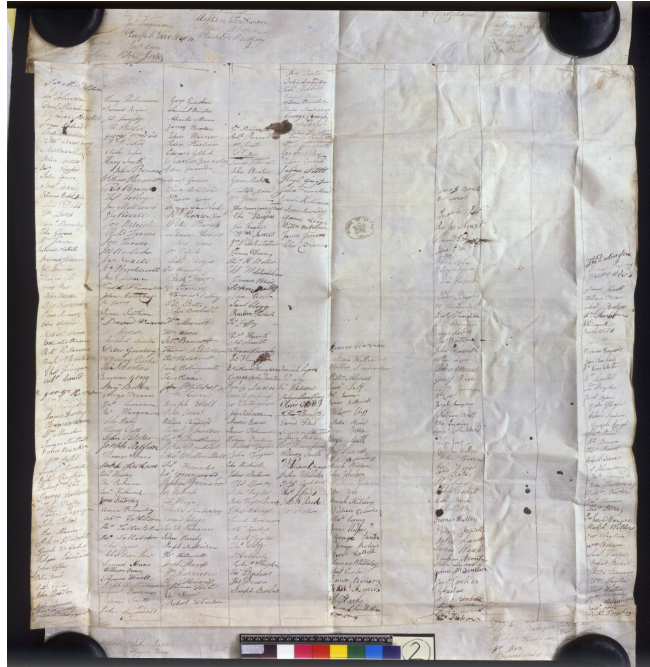
Figure 2.13: Petition for abolition by the people of Manchester and Salford, 1806, Archives of the British Parliament (courtesy of David Prior).

individuals and 27 firms, the latter are identifiable by multiple last names (10), or the designation "and co" (13), or "and son" (4), frequencies are in parenthesis. The description of the outcome of the matching procedure that first exact matches on last name, then, on first name, and finally removes companies from the matches of individuals is summarized in Figures 2.14a and 2.14b[28] (for a similar attempt see Drescher (1994)).

In sum, 1110 (49%) of petitioners can be exactly matched to an entry in the trade Directory, among these 564 (25%) uniquely. Another 692 (30%) signator's family could probably be identified by last name.

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[28]Note that some entries in the Directory are matched to multiple petitioners that share the same name. The 2269 signatures belong to 1988 unique names of which 1796 (90%) only occur once, but some of the rest appear as many as 11 times. This means that in the end of the day it is not possible to know which e.g., Joseph Robinson belongs to which one in the Directory. Some of the analyses presented here are not affected by this issue, some are, in which case it is explicitly addressed. Note also that it is possible that some of the petitioners did not feature in the trade Directory, but others did with the same name. For simplicity, I will assume that this is negligible, and random, i.e., not systematically more likely in any trade or neighborhood.
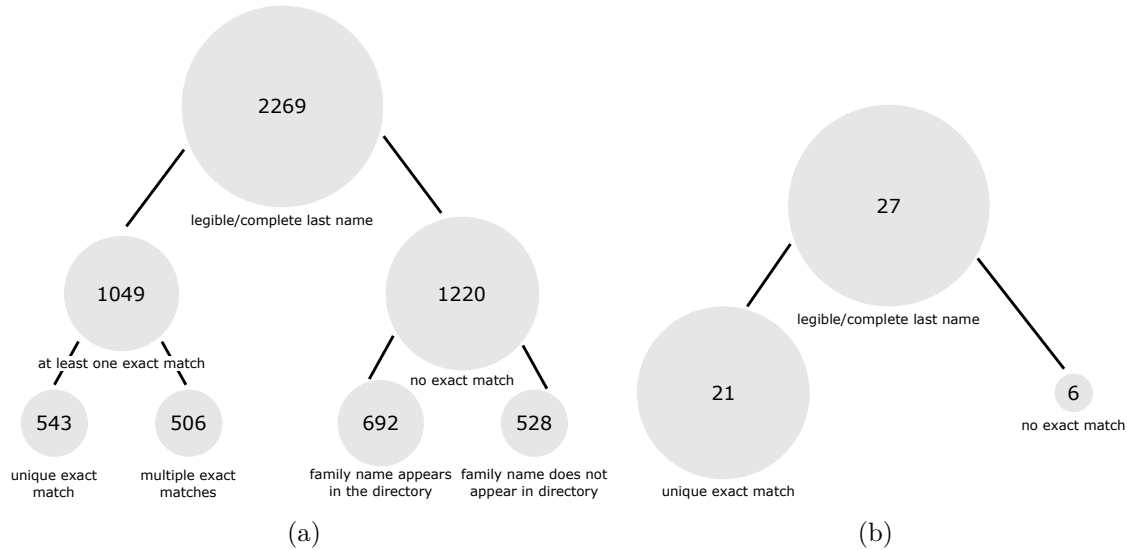
Figure 2.14: The description of the matching results: (a) for individual petitioners to the trade Directory; (b) for firms that petitioned to the trade Directory.

Constructing the GIS of Manchester

The construction of the street-level contemporary GIS of Manchester was a lengthy procedure. I started with the image scanned from the Harvard Map Collections (call number: MAP-LC G5754.M3 1793 .L3) in very high resolution. A small snippet of this image can be seen in Figure to convey the level of detail of the map. First, I overlaid a contemporary map of Manchester from 2014 with the old map, and digitized each feature on the map including streets, lanes, building and landmarks that are labeled on the map. In this procedure I gave the starting and ending points of every line feature (streets, alleys, lanes etc.), which implies that the direction of streets had to be determined. Furthermore, I recorded the location of the buildings and landmarks. These data are preserved in two shape files: a poly-line file, and a point file.

Thankfully, the street names changed relatively little, so did the layout of the city center over the past two centuries which allowed me to position the historic map over the contemporary map relatively easily[29]. I used the following reference points: the intersection of

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[29]I extend my deepest gratitude to Jeffrey Blossom at Harvard who helped me with all my GIS related problems.

Greengate and Gravel Lane (53° 29'14.536''N, 2° 14'55.349''W), the intersection of Shudehill and Hanover Street (53° 29'8.142''N, 2° 14'13.834''W), and the intersection of Quay Street and Byrom Street (53° 28'43.385''N, 2° 15'6.545''W).

I digitized each feature of the historic map using the name indicated by Laurent, ascertained the directions of the streets by checking them against today's map and using the rule of thumb that side-streets radiated out from the main streets. I assigned the range of addresses by using the range found in the Directory for that street as a proxy, and cross checked that range with other streets of similar length. Having digitized the features from the historic map, I conducted searches using today's map for the features listed in the Directory, but not found on the historic map. Note that street names could have changed between 1794 when the map was created and 1808 when the Directory was compiled, and that new streets were added in between these years. I digitized all other features that I found on today's map which were listed in the Directory and were located around the center of Manchester or Salford, i.e., would link to the assembly of features already digitized from the image. Finally, I assigned street numbers to the streets by starting on one side up and down on the other. Street numbering generally followed this rule before the modern numbering system, with odd numbers on one side of a street, and even on the opposite which was introduced in the 1830s[30] (Shaw, 1982).

When the above mentioned procedures have been completed, I ended up with a poly-line file containing the following information for each entry:

1. a name of the feature (e.g., Boond);
2. a type of the feature (e.g., alley, bank, fold, lane street, etc., 45 different types in total) so that the name and type together uniquely identifies each feature;
3. the number where street numbers start which is always 1 in case the range could be ascertained, 0 otherwise;

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[30]I am indebted to Henry Miller from the University of Manchester who helped me sorting this out.

4. the number where street numbers end which is always around the last entry rounded up to the next 5 or 0 from the Directory, cross-checked with streets of similar length and the contemporary map in case he range could be ascertained, 0 otherwise;

5. information where the entry was generated from (old or contemporary map);

6. a map name in case the feature had to be called differently to preserve unique names (e.g., there is a Boond Street in Manchester, and a Boond Street in Salford, the latter called Boon_S, and its map name set to Boon Street).

There are 584 unique features in the poly-line file. Exactly 50 (9%) were digitized from the contemporary map. Note that the exact location of these streets vis-a-vis the others that are digitized from the image of the old map is less certain. These features, and the individuals matched to the addresses on these streets could be easily removed from any analysis as a robustness check. The point-file contains 106 unique features: 35 Buildings, the abode of 29 individuals, 25 Churches, 13 Neighborhoods, 4 Natural features.

Geolocating Individuals and Firms on the Map of Manchester

I geolocated individuals and firms from the Directory using their business addresses. Recall that of the 10059 entries 697 do not have an affiliated business address, which means that these individuals or firms were impossible to locate in Manchester or its surroundings. Of the remaining 9,362 entries 7356 (79%) can be geolocated using the GIS described above. 721 (8%) were linked to features found on the contemporary map, and the rest were matched to features on the historic map. For 1066 (11%) of the addresses in the Directory which lacked house numbers I could only determine the range of addresses they were associated with, but not their exact location.

Quaker Burial Records

The data to identify Quaker families come from Ancestry.com, Manchester, England, Non-Conformist Deaths and Burials, 1758–1987 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014. More specifically, from The Society of Friends, Manchester, 1763–1819, and The Society of Friends, Manchester, 1763–1832, and were accessed during the month of March of 2017. These databases contain death and burial records in the Manchester area, possibly double counting some. The records vary over time, but they provide some the following details: name, age, residence or abode, parent or spouse's name, death and/or burial date, place of burial, and officiant. From these information only the last name and year of burial was used, including only records between 1770 and 1830.

Chapter 3

The National Petitioning Campaigns for British Abolition

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter gives insights into one aspect of the puzzle of British abolitionism, namely, how mobilization scaled within communities, and achieved wide-spread support, but provides no insights into how towns, large and small, all over the United Kingdom acted in concert – see Figure 3.1. A few clues, however, emerged: spatial clustering of petitioners around churches, as well as other, secular institutions suggests that certain characteristics of communities may play important roles in petitioning. Furthermore, the focal points of connecting locals with traveling merchants, coming from communities that petitioned for abolition previously, point to spill-over effects. These together are suggestive of the roles that early phases of industrialization may have played in abolitionism. In this chapter I argue that organizational density as a driver of mobilization may have been previously overlooked (McCarthy, 1996; Osa, 1997; Zhao, 1998; Sampson et al., 2005), which provides us with a new interpretation of the role that structural changes in the economy played in the movement: one that focuses on the ways in which information and ideology spread and circulated, rather than the emergence of the middling classes, i.e., the shifting interests. This echoes Somers who argues that "*institutional relationships and relational networks consistently "outrun" social categories*" (1993, p.595). It also resonates with Calhoun who asserts that *the public sphere necessarily depended on social foundations – notably in the late eighteenth century on clubs, coffeehouses, and newspapers* (2012, p.122).

To get a handle on these processes, I step out of the confines of a single community, and
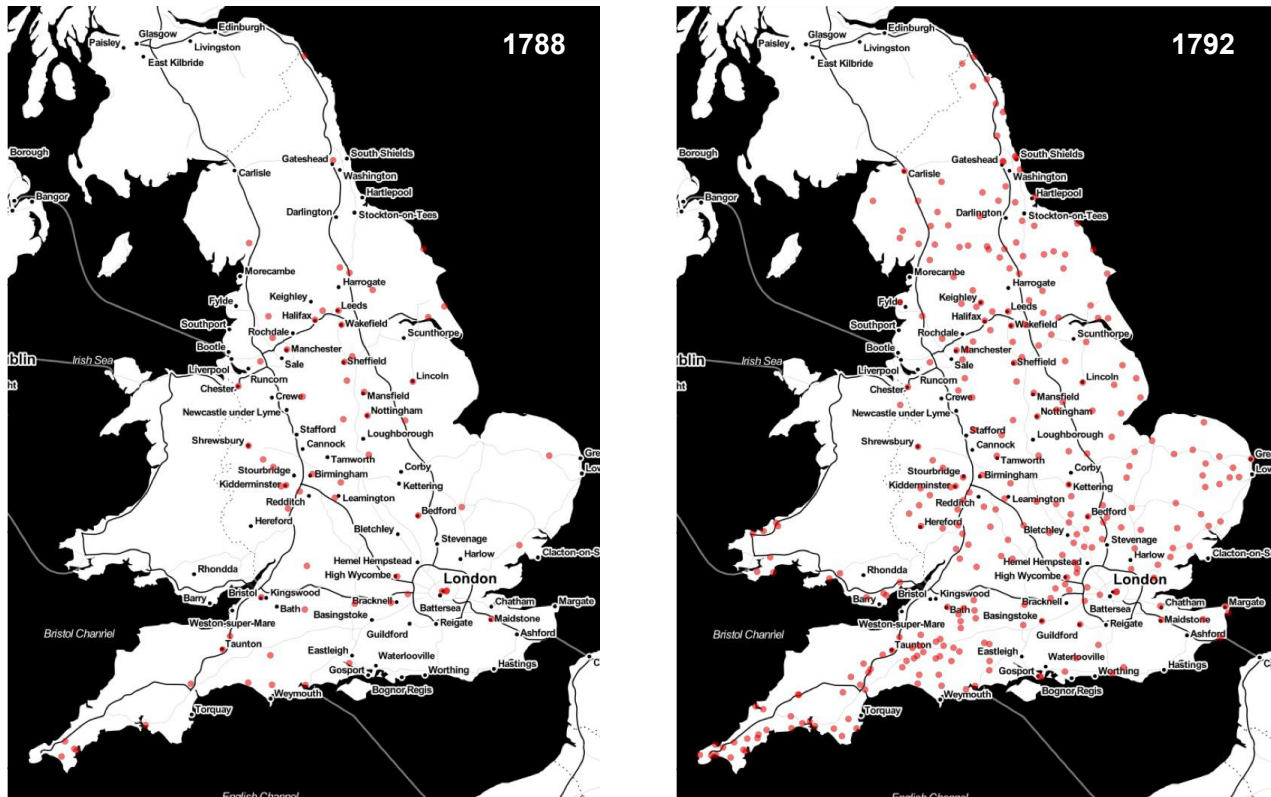
Figure 3.1: Geographic spread of the abolition movement in the two consecutive national campaigns. Red dots indicate the settlements in England and Wales that petitioned the House of Commons.

turn to unpack the way in which settlements were related to one another in geographic and social space. I build upon literature that focuses on the ideological role that the nonconformist churches played (Hochschild, 2005; Stamatov, 2010, 2013), and examine their role from an organizational perspective. I also contrast the impact of religious organizations on the movement's evolution to that of secular ones.

To anticipate the findings, I show that organizational density goes hand in hand with the successful organization of mass petitions. In the case of abolition there are no previous templates to rely on, and the local anti-abolitionist societies being an ephemeral phenomena (Oldfield, 1995), suggests that local organizing had to lean on already existing institutions in order to produce the popular movement at the temporal and geographic scales it unfolded (Calhoun, 2012). Along with nonconformist religious organizations, venues of gathering and integration, as well as debating clubs and other inclusive secular associations gave the

59

structural opportunities and fertile ground for the cultural materials generated by the central organization to be put to use in organizing petitions.

3.2 Data

I compiled a data set of settlements in the early 1800s to study which ones petitioned the House of Commons for abolition, and in which petitioning cycle did they join the campaign. In other words, in the analyses I develop in this chapter the unit of analysis is the local community. I started from commonly used lists of populated places of this period that I obtained from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP), and collected various key variables that capture the existence of nonconformist religious organizations, and a proxy measure for the density of secular organizations. For extra detail on the data sources, see the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources*, here I only discuss the main variables and the most relevant design choices for the analysis and interpretation.

Petitioning Communities

The key dependent variable is whether or not a settlement petitioned the House of Commons for abolition[1]. These data were collected from the *Journals of the House of Commons* (or *Journals*), which reports on all the petitions arriving to Parliament, relying on its *Index* to locate the petitions. These brief descriptions of the petitions include the settlement where the petition arrived from, the date when it was read[2], the list of groups who were involved in

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[1]Petitions for abolition were also sent to the House of Lords, as well as the King. For instance, the petition analyzed in the previous chapter was sent to the Lords. Although it would be interesting to see which audiences did local communities address and how that is influenced by the characteristics of communities, such data is not available systematically.

[2]Given that the exact dates for reading the petition is know, theoretically, the ordering of petitions could potentially be used to impute the ordering in which the petitions were created, making the assumption that it is the same that the ordering of petitions in the *Journals*. This assumption would be tempting to make, but is likely to be flawed for two reasons. First, petitions took a long time – weeks – to arrive to the Commons with considerable variance. Second, many petitions were read for the same purpose on the same day –

60

producing the petition, and a statement of purpose. There is no systematic information on the number of signatures, which were sometimes reported by newspapers from this period, but as it will be revealed, these petitions for abolition garnered mass support and were not devices exclusively of the elite.

As the text of the petitions were clearly diffusing either through the organizations involved in petitioning sharing templates, or the press, there is almost no variation in what the petitions asked for (Oldfield, 1995). The most common claims made were calling attention to the fact that the "*present state of the African slave trade* [was] *contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, good policy, and religion*" in 1788, and the "*abolition of the slave trade*" in 1792. It is possible, especially during the second campaign, that the record did not preserve existing variation in claims making as the goal of the petitions was agreed upon and commonly understood in Parliament, but there is no way to decisively assess, as the petitions have not survived.

In terms of the categories of petitioners who were explicitly mentioned, though, there is considerable variation across petitions. Table 3.1 reports these distributions in both of the two major campaigns[3]. Percentages do not add to 100% in the first and third columns: in these columns they should be understood as a share of the total petitions in that year mentioning the category in the respective row (e.g., gentlemen were explicitly mentioned in 7% and 15% of the petitions in 1788 and 1792, respectively). The second and fourth columns add to 100%, and they report the share of petitions that mention the category in the respective row first (e.g., gentlemen are the category first mentioned in 3% and 13% of the petitions in 1788 and 1792, respectively).

The category "Administration" contains local or regional administrative functions, such

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one after another – in bulk, which suggests that they might have been collected together for presentation purposes and completely out of order.

[3]The strictly correct way to describe these calculations is to say "petition-location combination" instead of petition. A few petitions contribute more than once to these statistics, as some petitions were sent to Parliament as a joint effort of multiple settlements, but since the unit of analysis is the settlement, they show up "as if" separate petitions were sent. See the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources* for more detail. For ease of presentation, I will use "petition," rather than petition-location combination.

Category of petitioners	1788	1788 first category	1792	1792 first category
Administration	48%	48%	24%	22%
Gentlemen	7%	3%	15%	13%
Clergy	15%	8%	18%	3%
Trade	13%	6%	6%	1%
Freeholders	10%	1%	12%	2%
Inhabitants	80%	34%	95%	59%
N		71		328

Table 3.1: The distribution of petitions over the different categories of petitioners.

as major, bailiff, alderman, burgess, etc. Dissenters were specifically mentioned only on two separate occasions, and are collapsed with the category "Clergy" which otherwise contains cases mentioning clergy or ministers. The category "Trade" is a catch-all for merchants, manufacturers, and individuals who were specifically mentioned as members of certain professions, for instance, the "corporation of cutlers" that shows up on a petition sent from Hallamshire during the first campaign. On two occasions scholars were explicitly mentioned which I collapsed with Trade. Freeholders supposed to refer to individuals with voting rights, but it is also possible that this category was used to describe a wider engagement of the populous with abolition that still conveyed status to the petition. Citizens were also mentioned on a few occasions, which I collapsed with his category. Inhabitants were referred to as inhabitants, commonality or others.

Two aspects of these data are particularly noteworthy. First, the presented involvement – by petitioners themselves – of clergy is much less than one would expect when taking the perspective from which the history of abolition has been overwhelmingly told (Jennings, 1997; Hochschild, 2005; Brown, 2006). Focusing on movement leaders and those who produced and disseminated materials used in the campaigns "oversamples" those who kept more systematic records of themselves and their activities. This, of course, does not mean that clergy did not sign abolitionist petitions as inhabitants in great numbers, nor does it mean that clergy were not involved in drafting and circulating petitions only in case they are explicitly mentioned. But it does signal that the claims made in the petitions were deployed

to include a much more diverse set of actors. Most importantly, an overwhelming majority of petitioners mentioned commoners (without voting rights), and increasingly so in 1792 compared to 1788. The prevalence of mentioning inhabitants rose from 80% to 95%, and this is the first mentioned category of almost 60% of petitions in 1792, surpassing gentlemen, freeholders, and some members of the local administration. Comparing the first column to the second, and the third one to the fourth, one can easily construct a status ranking on these categories by ranking the ratio of the percentage of petitions that included a category to the share of petitions that mentioned it first. Clergy was the second most important category in 1788, but it gives way to inhabitants in 1792.

The abolition movement was termed the first modern social movement when focusing on protest tactics that were developed and successfully put to use during the abolition campaign, like the mass petition or the boycott (Tilly and Tarrow, 2016, Chapter 1). Others emphasize a different aspect of the movement, like the historian Colley who links abolitionism to creating British citizens to "replace" British subjects (1992). Both arguments resonate with the statistics in Table 3.1, which is the first, systematic empirical look at popular abolitionist petitioning nationwide. It also underscores that petitions for abolition likely moved individuals from a much wider social strata then other petitions that were received by the House of Commons for enclosures (a "private" business, usually naming a few specific individuals), for infrastructure development (naming a set of companies and local town leadership), or for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (naming a narrower set of actors falling under specific religious denominations). For these reasons, I treat the petitions as evidence of organizing masses with diverse backgrounds in their local communities. I model the likelihood of sending a petition to Parliament for abolition, rather than the number of petitions sent from the same community, as the latter likely depended on local dynamics, unrelated to the campaign[4]. I conceptualize petitioning as evidence of an organizational structure to move individuals beyond the electorate to express abolitionist sentiments, and

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[4]In both campaigns more than 90% of settlements that petitioned Parliament sent a single petition.

ask lawmakers for a change, rather than a manifestation of abolitionist sentiment.

The key independent variables are (1) measures of the most important non-conformist religious organizations, and (2) measures of organizational density in the secular domain. I focus on Quakers and the Wesleyan Methodist church, the two most prominent organizations involved in the campaign (Quirk and Richardson, 2010)[5]. As for the density of secular organizations, I will use a proxy for industrialization.

Religious Bodies as Organizational Hubs

The first petition ever recorded for abolition arrived to Parliament in 1783, drafted by "the people who call themselves Quakers." There is ample evidence for Quakers' participation in the movement using various tactics, but here, my major concern is with the organizational basis to sustain mobilization at the local level, rather then contributions through the generation of poetry, pamphlets and other paraphernalia that campaigners used. The Quaker church was based on the system of monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, which took place in London. At these meetings all affairs of Quakers were discussed, including causes that were worthy to fight for, and behaviors they decided to sanction among themselves, like slave holding in 1776. According to the Society of Friends' own statistics, there were 413 meeting-houses in 1800 (Barclay, 1887, p.683), with some towns having multiple. Gilbert reports on only 23 in the 1791–1800 period and 32 in the 1801–1810 period as Quaker meeting houses that were "certified as places of worship" (Gilbert, 1976, p.34). None of these sources list the meeting houses or communities where meetings took place. For this reason, I turned to a periodically appearing publication which listed all Quaker meetings in England

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[5]This is not to suggest that members of the Anglican church, or its organization, were inactive in abolition, but note that there is no variation in having an Anglican congregation at the settlement-level in these data. Moreover, at the time of the campaigns for abolition, a consensus seem to have emerged that the slave trade should be banned, or minimally, regulated across the religious divide between the established church and various forms of Dissent, despite the fact that some still used arguments against abolitionists basing their arguments on scripture (Thompson, 1772), which survived well into the 1830s across the Atlantic.

and Wales. There were 148 and 171 settlements that had at least one monthly meeting[6], and 71 and 73 settlements that had quarterly meetings, in 1791 and 1793, respectively, that were successfully matched with the settlement data. I assume that all of these settlements had a sustained Quaker community in this period. Although these data is unlikely to be complete, it is likely to capture the most permanent and established Quaker communities.

To identify the Wesleyan Methodist communities, I turned to the *Arminiam Magazine* that reports the names and locations of all stationing Methodist preachers in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. It likely captures all of the major congregations. Summary statistics on the Wesleyan Methodist church can be found in Barclay (1887, p.xvii), which are reported in columns 1–2 of Table 3.2 for the purposes of comparing it to my own data in columns 3–4. Since Barclay refers to the *Arminian Magazine* as the source as well, the discrepancy likely arises from the inclusion of Scotland and Ireland in these summary statistics, as well as the number of itinerant preachers. The ratio of the preachers listed by Barclay (1887) and the data I use is remarkably stable throughout remaining in the 47%-52% range, consequently, I assume that these data capture the most permanent and established Wesleyan Methodist communities.

Although itinerant preaching, which started with the Wesley brothers was an important feature of the church, and is certainly linked to abolitionism[7], it is unlikely to have influenced the sustained organization of petitions locally over and above spreading information and raising awareness, which all sorts of other materials, such as newspapers also accomplished. The indicator variable I used in the analyses takes the value 1, if the settlement had a sitting Methodist preacher any time between 1786–1789 for the first campaign, and if the settlement had a sitting Methodist preacher between 1786–1792 in the second campaign[8].

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[6]Monthly meetings often rotated among settlements near by when the size of the community was not substantial enough to sustain a monthly meeting on its own.

[7]For instance, The Annals of Manchester explicitly mentions the sensational sermon of John Wesley that touched upon the issue of the slave trade in Manchester the summer before the first petitioning campaign (Axon, 1886).

[8]Note that the settlements that once had a preacher, almost never lost it.

| | Barclay, (1887), p.xvii | | Arminiam Magazine | |
Year	# of circuits	# of preachers	# of settlements	# of preachers
1787	163	327	54	154
1788	105	345	56	160
1789	99	362	56	166
1790	119	382	63	184
1791	131	380	71	195
1792	135	405	74	213
1793	135	405	83	223

Table 3.2: Descriptive statistics on Methodist preachers, and the communities they were settled in. Columns one and two contain data reproduced from Barclay (1887). Columns three and four report data collected from the Arminian Magazine directly.

Secular Organizations as Venues for Activism

Organizations can become sites of activism, and local movement centers and other "meso-mobilization" structures have the capacity to coordinate movement campaigns (Morris, 1984; Gerhards and Rucht, 1992; McCarthy, 1996; Osa, 1997; Zhao, 1998; Olzak and Ryo, 2007). Minkoff and Clemens (2004) draw out the use of "organizational habitats" in Eliasoph's work (1998) who shows that long-established religious orders were the ones to create a space for women inclined to challenging the Church hierarchy. This highlights how already existing organizations and institutions became the vehicle of getting a movement off the ground to effect change, which way organizations "*rather than being homogenized as a "resource,""* [. . .] "*sustained distinctive cultures of interaction and shaped trajectories of mobilization*" (Clemens and Minkoff, 2004). McAdam goes so far to assert that "*Absent any such 'mobilizing structure,' incipient movements* [are] *thought to lack the capacity to act even if afforded the opportunity to do so*" (McAdam, 2003, p.289). More recently, Sampson and colleagues showed that "*the capacity for sustained collective action is conditioned mainly by the presence of established institutions and organizations that may be appropriated in the service of emergent action* 2005, p.679. Besides the catalysts that organizations turned out to be for cultural frames and practices "imported" from without, in very simple terms institutions provided "moral entrepreneurs" with venues for block recruitment (Oberschall, 1973), as

well as potential organizers and sympathizers with sites for information exchange.

Somers argues that there was considerable local variation in the development of citizenship rights in England and Wales, besides the fact that the franchise applied to only a tiny fraction of the population at the time (1993). She shows how this variation mapped onto the development of public spheres: voluntary organizations, civil society and associational life in this very historical period, and traces these developments back to as early as almost a century before the abolition movement to land holding patterns and practices of inheritance. A similar set of arguments linked land holding practices to economic development (Acemoglu et al., 2005), and gained new momentum in sociology recently, linking early forms of collective action to intensified collective action in different domains later on (Greve and Rao, 2012). In these various lines of work the outcomes produced come about through pre-existing institutions that aid the development of others in different domains over time.

"*During the 1760s the social movement was a rare or non-existent way of doing political business*" [in England], "*while during the 1830s many different interests seized on its use*" (Tilly, 1995, p.371), the turning point being around the time of the abolition movement. Unlike previous, more episodic protests, these movements were coordinated on a large scale (Calhoun, 2012, p.43). That is, this is the historical moment of the conception of "modern" local and national movement organizations, without organizational templates to use, but certainly not in an institutional vacuum. Besides religious organizations that structured the daily lives of people in important ways, the 18th century was the time when England's associational life took an unprecedented scale, and saw a boom without example.

Clark documents that in the in the 1770s there were 1500 new clubs and associations first mentioned (a proxy for founded) in the British Isles, the Colonies and the USA, compared to the 1780s when this number jumped to 2500 (2000, p.128, Fig. 4.1)[9]. Clubs and societies brought together men around similar interests, or shared practices were proliferating in the

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[9]Based on personal correspondence with Professor Clark, the raw data for the seminal book (Clark, 2000), as well as a series of other work have been lost.

provinces (Olsen, 1999, pp.159–160). Inns, taverns and coffeehouses were the venues for discussion, debate and doing politics through housing associational meetings. Associations' function and benefits were much less about the purposes they served then about the way in which they integrated diverse individuals in urban environments. For instance, associations channeled in visiting landowners into urban society, they enabled urban residents to construct the networks essential to establishing their trade, as well as assimilated newcomers (Clark, 2000). This way all associations impacted political development through the organizational experience that they provided to their members. As their members belonged to all strata of urban society except the lowest, they must have had a marked influence on the interaction of urban English men (Clark, 2000).

Unfortunately, there are no systematic ways to measure the vitality of associational life at the local level in the 1780s and 1790s England and Wales, which would be conceptually appropriate. Measures of early industrialization, which correlated with these developments, are equally hard to come by. Recent work, however, provides a proxy for it through measuring occupational structure. In concert with important control variables, such as population size capturing urbanization, I use the percentage of the work-force in textiles to encapsulate organizational density in the secular domain (Brunt and Meidell, 2013). Based on Somers' argument, it is an ideal measure, as she argues that rural industrialization took root almost exclusively in pastoral regions, with distinctive patterns of developing an associational life that was more inclusive of the local population, and had higher levels of community solidarity (Somers, 1993, p.601). "*Pastoral associational life was autonomous and solidaristic*" [which supported] *fledgling popular civil societies and practices of participatory empowerment* (*ibid*, p.595). The "*greater solidarity and autonomy of villages in the pastoral areas were institutional preconditions for their greater capacity for association and participation*" (*ibid*, p.603).

The measure of participation in the textile economy is much more fine-grained then the dichotomy between "arable" and "pastoral" lands and maps perfectly on the implied mech-

anism of (secular) organizational density and remains clearly distinct from urbanization or sheer population growth. The image that "*Britons were challenging slavery in London debating societies, in provincial pubs and across dinner tables throughout the country*" (Hochschild, 2005, p.213) draws out an important feature of the movement, and the locii where it took place, but masks the considerable heterogeneity in the communities where these debates took place, and in the kinds of individuals who were allowed seats. The proposed measure aims to capture exactly this heterogeneity.

Forms of Diffusion

Petitioning, besides the aforementioned characteristics of communities, could have been a result of the diffusion of ideology, and organizational practices, specifically related to the movement. Antislavery sentiment, and arguments against the slave trade and slavery have been present for a long time before the 1780s (d'Anjou and Male, 1998). But attention to those arguments by specific organizations, like nonconformist churches, as well as the print media, was certainly heightened during the times of the petitioning campaigns.

The spatial diffusion of various forms of protest and collective organizing has been documented in diverse other contexts. For instance, in the case of the Swedish Social Democratic Party traveling agitators carried ideology and organizational knowledge with them that influenced profoundly the way in which the Party grew over time (Hedstrom et al., 2000). Similar spatial spill-overs have been documented in the diffusion of the trade union movement 1994, or in the spatial dynamics of prohibition politics (Andrews and Seguin, 2015). Moreover, Kim and Pfaff show that the institution of reform could be partially explained by the varying degree of exposure that cities had to Evangelical activist and Catholic loyalist university students (2012). In the context of the U.S. antislavery movement King and Haveman demonstrate that the development of the media was a causal driver of founding local antislavery societies (2008). Given the rapid expansion of the movement, it is highly improbable that national level coordination arose as a coincidence.

Previous scholarship described the movement as overwhelmingly coordinated from the center (d'Anjou, 1996) by circulating propaganda materials, and sharing advice with local organization. To measure this top-down dissemination of information and ideology, I identified the settlements that were in direct contact with the infamous, London-based Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (*Society*). The data for this comes from the society's Minute Books, which were summarized and narrated by Thomas Clarkson, a founding member, and the first historian of the abolition movement (Clarkson, 1836). The *Society* logged all correspondence, i.e., all the letters that came to the *Society*, and kept records of who sent them, from where, and the day they arrived. Although there is no systematic data for local abolitionist societies, it is likely that those that were the largest and most permanent were in touch with the central body. There were 34 settlements with recorded correspondence with London in 1787–1788, with a total of 54 letters exchanged, and an additional 19 (exchanging 22 letters) that were captured to have at least a single exchange between 1789 and 1792. I used an indicator variable for each settlement, taking the value 1, if they corresponded with the *Society.*

When focusing on the second campaign, I use a number of additional control variables. First, in some of the models I control for petitioning in the first campaign. Although abolitionist societies were largely ephemeral, the fact that one existed in the previous campaign means that some form of leadership structure developed around the cause, and a number of people signed the petition, raising the general awareness for issues about the slave trade[10].

Second, I control for (a) the share of places that petitioned in the first campaign in the immediate vicinity of the focal settlement (within 10 kms), or, (b) if there was a petition in the immediate vicinity in the previous of the focal settlement (within 10 kms). These

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[10]One can think about this as including a lagged dependent variable on the right hand side, which many have cautioned against (Keele and Kelly, 2006). See also the recent comment by Paul Allison: http://statisticalhorizons.com/lagged-dependent-variables. This choice can induce bias in the estimate of the coefficient of the lagged dependent variable, and downward bias on the others. Theoretically, however, I think of this variable as a direct measure on the organizational environment, rather than a lagged dependent variable. Furthermore, the qualitative conclusions do not differ from the different models, nor would one arrive to a different set of conclusions leaving out the settlements that have already petitioned.

variables intend to capture constraints. Petitions that were drafted near-by could have given opportunity for those who wanted to sign it, and spared local abolitionist societies to stretch their resources thin, and avoid maintaining an organizational structure at multiple places in close proximity. This suggested dynamics describes the Manchester-Salford petition that was signed by multiple residents from the surrounding towns and populated places.

Third, I also control for the share of places that petitioned near-by, but not in the immediate vicinity of the focal settlement (25-50km radius[11]). This variable intends to capture spill-over effects: proximity to sources of information about the campaign, as well as organizational knowledge in drafting petitions and collecting signatures en mass.

In all the analyses that follows I control for population at the settlement level, logged. Measures of population come from various different sources, most of which were the courtesy of CAMPOP (see the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources* for detail). Larger, more urban places were more likely to petition for abolition, but there is considerable variation among the urbanizing towns in joining the campaign. Population data in the pre-census era is far from without uncertainty, consequently, I use different population estimates and compare models across them. For more detail, see *Robustness Checks* as well.

From the analytic sample used in the analyses, some counties had to be dropped because the data on Methodist preachers was reported at the county-level, rather than the level of the settlement. Namely, Worcestershire (with 21 settlements), Glamorganshire (with 27 settlements), Gloucestershire (with 42 settlements), Sussex (with 39 settlements), and

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[11]These distances are not "ad hoc" and slight differences produce similar results. They capture the range in which meaningful and regular connections of trade were likely or possible at this historical period. Consider, for instance, the cities and towns that traders who regularly put out in Manchester were coming from. 15% of these were in the immediate surroundings (10 kms) of Manchester, and 75% of the settlements were closer than 50 kms. Of course, traveling times differed importantly with infrastructure, and these radii have differential ability to capture regular social and economic connections between places across England and Wales, but they seem to be reasonable given the time period. To contextualize these choices further, according to Pawson's estimates, travel time between Manchester and London (260 kms/160 miles) in 1784 was about a day and a half (Pawson, 1977). The merchants referred to here put out on a weekly basis, which meant making the journey each week, both ways. For further detail on the development of the turnpike system, which was the main mode of transportation along with navigable waterways before the 1830s see Chartres and Turnbull (1983) and Bogart (2013).

Oxfordshire (with 16 settlements). In these cases no reasonable guesses could be made based on the *Arminian Magazine* on the Methodist preachers' permanent location, which lead to the dropping of 145 settlements from the analyses, leaving 1527 settlements to be analyzed. There is no reason to believe that petitioning-dynamics worked fundamentally differently in these counties compared to those where complete data is available.

3.3 Results

I focus on the two massive petitioning campaigns of 1788 and 1792 (Figure 3.1), analyzing the most comprehensive data set of populated places of the pre-census era in England and Wales, using data on more than 1500 settlements. I model the likelihood of petitioning in the consecutive campaigns separately, using a logistic regression with county-level fixed-effects[12]. *Robustness Checks* include the following series of analysis: first, I show that the results are robust to alternative functional forms (probit specification) as well as qualitatively the same in random effects models. Second, I also show that the results are robust to different population-estimates, and they are not driven by the inclusion of settlements with small populations[13]. Third, I also show that the same results obtain if Wales is dropped entirely from the analysis where data on population is the weakest and data quality on all other variables is likely to be the poorest.

Table 3.3 includes results of a logistic regression using county-level fixed effects modeling the likelihood of sending a petition to Parliament in the first campaign. The effects are positive, and highly statistically significant, but it is hard to get a qualitative feel of effect sizes, and the variables' relative importance from the coefficients themselves. Figure 3.2

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[12]Counties were the major administrative units that differed in land holding patterns, the implementation of common law, infrastructural development and their role in the national economy. These various differences were likely to influence petitioning, as well as correlated with virtually all the independent variables included in the models, which makes this choice warranted.

[13]One can argue that some settlements simply don't belong in the analysis as they were so under-developed that their likelihood of petitioning for any cause was practically zero. To mitigate these concerns, I drop them from the analysis, and show that the same results obtain, and they don't artificially deflate standard errors by increasing the number of cases included in the analyses.

is a visual representation of the contrast between predicted probabilities calculated from the model (on the y-axis), and the predicted probabilities where I manipulate one variable at a time (on the x-axis). This is to imagine a counterfactual propensity to petition for each town under each counterfactual scenario, given that the model here describes well the data generating process well. I plot all settlements in my data to have a sense of the size of these effects and the effect's nonlinear nature. The plot is also to show the volume of settlements that would be impacted. Note that on the diagonal would be settlements where no change occurs, but for clarity I oppress these. For a series of categorical variables, I "switch off" each in turn, which will impact the predicted probabilities of settlements where the variable in question was operating. For the measure on organizational density in the secular domain I compare predicted probabilities against a standard deviation downward shift in the percentage of individuals working in textiles.

The London-based central organization had the most dramatic effect on the likelihood of petitioning in the first campaign (Figure 3.2, in blue). But Methodist, as well as Quakers were equally important (Figure 3.2, in red and green). Finally, more industrialized settlements also had higher chances of petitioning (Figure 3.2, in black), over and above controlling for urbanization, i.e., population size. For instance, the central movement organization received correspondence from esquire Samuel Milford, from the town of Exeter, Devonshire in the spring of 1788. If this was not the case, the probability for this town to amass a petition would have been only 28% based on its other characteristics, but in fact its predicted probability for petitioning based on the model was 85%, and indeed it sent a petition to Parliament in March.

In sum, contact with the central organization had a crucially important positive effect on the ability to develop the necessary local infrastructure for producing a petition in the first campaign. But the nonconformist churches, both Quakers and Methodists made a huge contribution, influencing a breadth of communities. Finally, other institutions, like corresponding and philosophical societies, which mushroomed in the industrializing provincial

Variable	Coeff	p-value
Methodist Church	1.320	0.022
	(0.590)	
Quaker Meeting	1.295	0.003
	(0.435)	
Tie to London	2.656	<0.001
	(0.788)	
Organizational Density (Secular)	6.083	<0.001
	(1.754)	
Population	1.652	<0.001
	(0.261)	

Table 3.3: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the first campaign. Logistic regression with county-level fixed effects; DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1788. N = 1527 settlements.

towns – here, proxied by the development of the textile industry – also had a lasting positive impact. This analysis reveals the institutional structure that was necessary for individuals to mount a petition – especially given the nature of public support that involved individuals of all walks of life.

Turning to the second mass campaign in 1792, Table 3.4 includes a model that takes into account the effects of geographic proximity to towns that previously petitioned, as well as variables that drove the first campaign. Model 1 and Model 2 differ in the way in which constraint on petitioning by settlements that also petitioned in the immediate vicinity is operationalized. Model 1 includes the density of settlements, Model 2 includes if there was even a single petition nearby. As a reminder, the results for the 1788 campaign are also displayed.

There are some important qualitative differences between the two consecutive waves of petitioning. The impact of the Methodist church and that of the central organization are no longer statistically significant in the second campaign, and the impact of the Methodist church seems substantively small[14]. The effect of the Quaker church, and that of industrialization remain, even after controlling for petitioning in 1788, which likely already captures

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[14]In other words, in this situation, it is not a potentially important effect that one can't nail precisely, rather, it is a null-effect.

Figure 3.2: Assessing the relative importance of variables on the likelihood of petitioning in 1788. Predicted probabilities based on the model are on the y-axis; counterfactual propensities are on the x-axis.

the effects of an organizational structure for this specific cause in place. The impact of geographic distance to places that petitioned in the previous campaign is a nonlinear function of distance. The models in Table 3.4 are suggestive of the resource-allocation choices that the local organizations must have made. The density of towns in the close vicinity (here, within 10 kilometers) that already petitioned in the first campaign, thus, likely had a formal/informal campaign organizations present, suppressed the likelihood of a focal town in petitioning. Most likely this was because the surrounding towns provided local residents with ample opportunity to voice discontent with the slave trade, and they were likely to organize a petition in the second campaign as well. However, net of this effect, if the density of towns that had previously produced petitions was high in the 25-50km radius, the chances that the focal town would produce a petition increased.

Figure 3.3 is a similar visual to Figure 3.2 detailing these effects, using the estimates arising from Model 2. Blue here shows the impact of having had petitioned in 1788, which

Variable	1792 – Model 1		1792 – Model 2		1788	
	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value
Methodist Church	0.455	0.259	0.414	0.306	1.320	0.022
	(0.403)		(0.405)		(0.590)	
Quaker Meeting	2.176	<0.001	2.123	<0.001	1.295	0.003
	(0.267)		(0.268)		(0.435)	
Tie to London	0.949	0.107	0.936	0.120	2.656	<0.001
	(0.588)		(0.601)		(0.788)	
Organizational Density (Secular)	5.831	<0.001	5.604	<0.001	6.083	<0.001
	(1.115)		(1.122)		(1.754)	
Population	1.037	<0.001	1.096	<0.001	1.652	<0.001
	(0.146)		(0.149)		(0.261)	
Petitioned in 1788	3.307	<0.001	3.538	<0.001		
	(0.676)		(0.635)			
% Petitioned in 10km	-1.977	0.096				
	(1.190)					
Any petition in 10km			-1.003	0.002		
			(0.330)			
% Petitioned in 25-50km	10.229	0.021	10.081	0.023		
	(4.421)		(4.443)			

Table 3.4: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the second campaign. DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1792. N = 1527 settlements.

had the most dramatic effect on the likelihood of petitioning. The effect of the Quaker church is shown in red and signals Quaker communities' impact on a breath of communities. The effect of industrialization can be seen in black, operationalized the same way as in the previous analysis. I used the same procedure and shifted petition-density in the previous campaign in the 25-50km radius a standard deviation downward (in green). Finally, pink shows what would have the focal town's probability of petitioning be in 1792, if there had been another town in the immediate vicinity petitioning in 1788.

In sum, although the central organization seem to have had an important role kicking off the national petitioning campaign in 1788, other major religious and secular organizations were the ones to scale mobilization in both campaigns. The seeds of the newly developing organizational structures locally incited the development of other organizations within geographical reach. Presumably, this was brought about by pre-existing social and economic re-
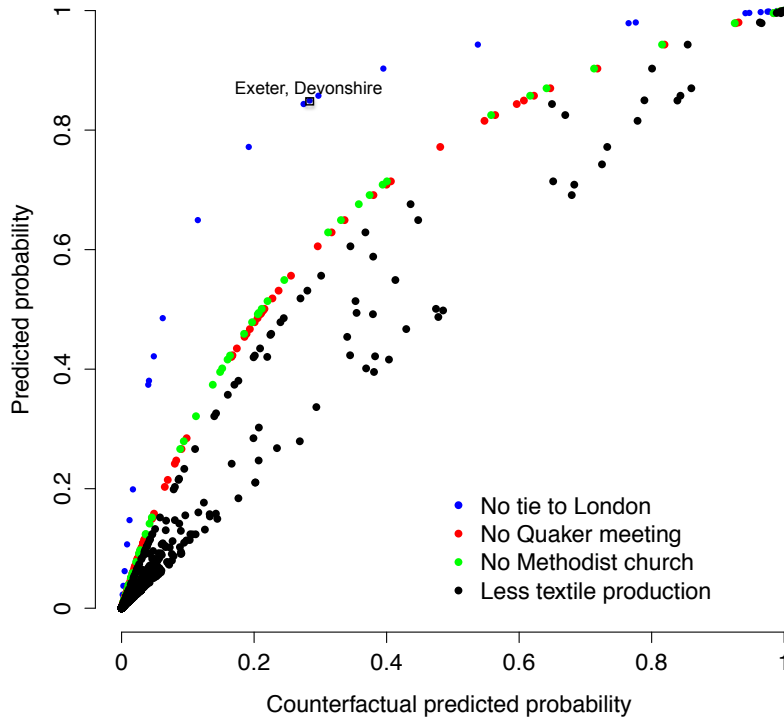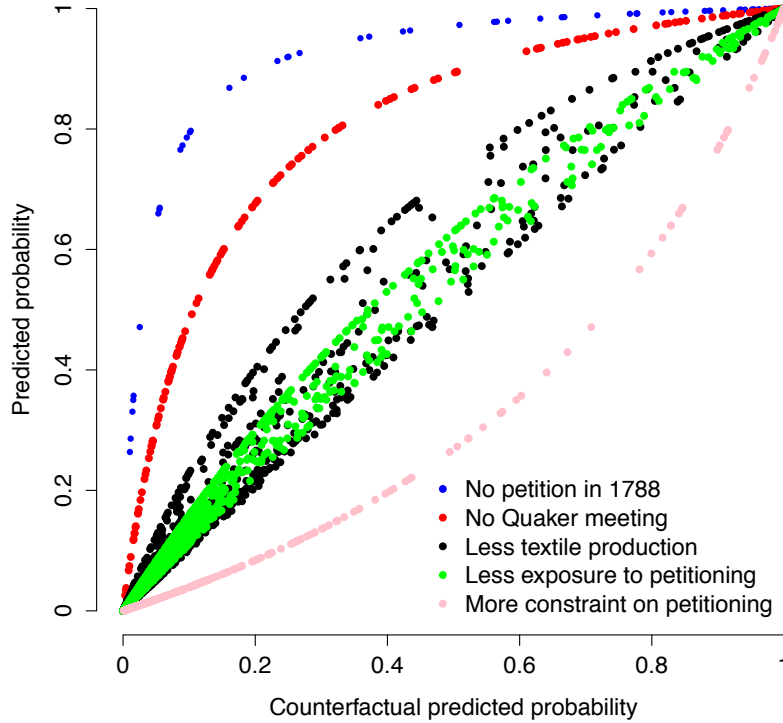
Figure 3.3: Assessing the relative importance of variables on the likelihood of petitioning in 1792. Predicted probabilities based on the model are on the y-axis; counterfactual propensities are on the x-axis.

lationships between these places, but it also manifested as a solution to a resource-allocation problem resulting in the non-linear nature of the relationship between the likelihood of petitioning and physical distance of other petitions in the previous campaign. The significance of this analysis is not that "organizations mattered for abolition" but that without organizations, this movement would not have assumed the spatio-temporal form that it did.

Furthermore, not finding an effect of the Methodist church in the second campaign is also novel, and invites us to reconsider the narratives that focus on ideology, and shift our attention to organizational differences between the churches[15]. This finding suggests that the impact of the two religious organizations seem to diverge over time[16]. The Methodist church

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[15]It is unlikely that the difference is due to a data problem. Recall that the ratio of the preachers listed by Barclay (1887) and the data I use is remarkably stable throughout. In other words, if this is a data problem, it should have shown up in the analysis on the first campaign in similar ways, and should have manifested by not finding a Methodist effect in either campaigns.

[16]It has to be pointed out that confidence intervals on the estimates for having a Methodist congregation overlap, i.e., the difference is not statistically significant at the usual levels, but suggestive of a difference:

does not seem to be able to impact communities in the second campaign as powerfully as it was able to in the first.

A reasonable question is whether this is because the Methodist church already "exercised" its organizational power through the first campaign, and the effect of it prevails through previous petitioning. Consequently, I omitted the control variable for previous petitioning in Table 3.5, Model 3. As expected, the variable that indicates a tie to the central organization becomes statistically significant, but the effect of the Methodist church does not become statistically significant at conventional levels (although the point-estimate increases from 0.414 to 0.616). Another way of thinking about this is to see how point estimates change if only those settlements are included in the analysis that had not petitioned in the first campaign, see Model 4 in Table 3.5 (obviously, the variable that indicates previous petitioning can not be included in these analyses). It seems that the same dynamics describe "new joiners" as those that have already joined the campaign: point estimates of all other variables, including the one capturing Methodist congregations are remarkably stable.

The difference between the churches could be thought through from the perspective of the Quaker effect being inflated in the second campaign. Monthly Quaker meetings frequently rotated among a handful of smaller Quaker communities that were unable to sustain a meeting every month of their own. It is possible that petitions that were sent in 1788 to the House of Commons included signatures from all settlements with Quaker meeting nearby, but named only a single one of these, and in 1792 simply, all settlements with Quaker meetings sent a stand-alone petition. To see if this is driving the Quaker effect, I dropped all settlements in a 10km radius of petitioning settlements along with the settlements that already petitioned in 1788. If the Quaker effect is exerting itself through this mechanism, the Quaker variable should not be statistically significant anymore; or its effect size should shrink substantially. As evidenced by the results in Table 3.5, Model 5, this is not the case.

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the p-value comparing the estimate in Table 3.3 and Table 3.5, Model 3, which have all the same variables is 0.107. I am indebted to Michael Hout who pushed me on this point and got me thinking on some additional analysis to strengthen it.

Variable	1792 – Model 2 Coeff	p-value	1792 – Model 3 Coeff	p-value	1792 – Model 4 Coeff	p-value	1792 – Model 5 Coeff	p-value
Methodist Church	0.414 (0.405)	0.306	0.616 (0.383)	0.108	0.425 (0.412)	0.301	0.265 (0.437)	0.543
Quaker Meeting	2.123 (0.268)	<0.001	2.172 (0.261)	<0.001	2.122 (0.275)	<0.001	2.152 (0.291)	<0.001
Tie to London	0.936 (0.120)	0.601	1.285 (0.531)	0.016	0.814 (0.627)	0.195	0.843 (0.663)	0.203
Org. Density (Secular)	5.604 (1.122)	<0.001	6.292 (1.069)	<0.001	6.475 (1.167)	<0.001	5.940 (1.210)	<0.001
Population	1.096 (0.149)	<0.001	1.169 (0.147)	<0.001	1.087 (0.150)	<0.001	1.209 (0.168)	<0.001
Petitioned in 1788	3.538 (0.676)	<0.001						
Any petition in 10km	-1.003 (0.330)	0.002	-0.186 (0.251)	0.459	-2.678 (1.456)	0.066		
% Petitioned in 25-50km	10.081 (4.443)	0.023	10.823 (4.353)	0.013	9.767 (4.487)	0.030	13.340 (4.864)	0.006

Table 3.5: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the second campaign. DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1792. N = 1527 settlements in Model 2 & 3, N = 1467 in Model 4, N = 1203 in Model 5.

Quakers and Methodists differ both ideologically and organizationally[17]. Peter Stamatov's work, for instance, focuses on Methodists and highlights the organizational innovation of itinerant preaching, general public meetings, and sensual sermons through which abolitionist ideology was propagated by the Wesleyan Methodist Church (Stamatov, 2014, see also Page (2011)). For example, the sermon that John Wesley gave in Manchester during the summer of 1787 is mentioned even in the Manchester year book that was compiled and published a century later (Axon, 1886, p.110). Anecdotes like these are deceptive and substantiate the claims about the Methodist Church's impact. However, note, that no matter how strong these influences might be, they are likely to be short-lived without a stable congregation in place to help mount a petition and organize constituents for petition signing. The analysis suggests that these influences may have been important for the campaign in

[17]Eventually, to causally attribute the difference to one of these factors is not possible. By definition, it is underidentified because organization and ideology goes hand-in-hand in this case.

different ways, through providing cultural materials to use and circulate by campaigners, such as sermons and pamphlets.

There is another crucial difference between the Quaker and Methodist church organizationally that may have impacted the Methodist organization in particular ways. Namely, that the Wesley brothers both died in the 1788-1791 window: Charles in 1788, and John in March 1791. This created a succession problem in the organization (and eventually lead to multiple schisms), and focused resources and attention on these more "mundane" issues closer to home, like education and factory reform. As far as ideological differences go, Quakers were much more outward looking in their ideology and aimed to alleviate the suffering of "others" outside of the congregation, which likely made their attention on the slave trade more tireless.

3.4   Discussion

Traditionally, religion was seen as the driving force behind the abolition movement, with an emphasis on the role of Dissenters, whilst social history more recently began to stress the importance of economic and social change in driving the movement (Page, 2011). The Second Great Awakening, as well as the prelude to industrialization has mostly been considered from the perspective of ideologies and class interests, while the organizations these processes produced, and the way in which they linked settlements to one another in new ways has been somewhat overlooked.

Communication and transportation infrastructures are crucial building blocks of any large scale collective action. "*The early nineteenth-century improvements in rural transportation helped to make Chartism possible*" (Calhoun, 2012, p.192). On a similar token, turnpikes and mail coaches of the 1780s fulfilled similar functions as the railroad and telegraph of the 1840s. Goods transportation and the extension of markets helped to pave the way for greater movement of people, communication, and national social integration.

Calhoun cautions excitement, though, and stresses that "*this sort of national integration was limited and closely focused on a few elites who were able to afford both the costs and the time for travel until well in the nineteenth century*" (Calhoun, 2012, p.192). This well may be true, but there is a close resemblance between these developments, and Watts' cavemen going from tribe to tribe, given the densely connected local fabric of social relationships and institutions within communities (Watts, 1999). These local institutions turn out to be of key importance for the movement. "*Those with the least power are typically better organized at local levels and disempowered by the need to struggle on larger scales. The growth of both state power and capitalism, however, brought a continual expansion of the scale at which social relations affecting individuals and local communities are organized*" (Calhoun, 2012, p.9). These are ways in which early industrialization likely impacted interpersonal and organizational networks, which have not been acknowledged in connection to abolition.

The timing of the two mass campaigns is crucial, and provides the scope conditions for its success and scale, which depends, among other factors, on the response from the state. Out of fear from revolution that consumed France, Parliament considered suspending the Habeas Corpus as early as the end of 1792, and indeed suspended it for a period in 1794. A government crackdown on various voluntary associations to avoid sedition characterized the years after the second mass campaign, which limited the functioning of many organizations, as well as drove some completely under ground. This limited the public sphere and was coterminus with other legislation taxing newspapers in 1797, driving their cost upward, and influencing the pool of subscribers.

Voluntary associations themselves made their "contribution" reinforcing these processes that struck more pronounced boundaries between classes, as well as activities of the "respectable" by regulating their membership, and increasing the price of subscriptions. *The divisions grew sharper and the overlaps fewer in the early nineteenth century. Not only property but also education and other markers of "proper" preparation for public discourse shaped the distinction of the legitimate public from those cast as a counterpublic.* (Calhoun, 2012,

p.142) Note, however, that most of these changes started to take effect in the early 1800s, well after the mass campaigns for abolition, and in these ways the timing of the campaigns is crucial, and that these scope conditions expose the movement's timing in a new light, one that considers it from the perspective of organizations. Brown highlights that the abolition movement *takes off* a few years after the end of the War of Independence (Brown, 2006). It might, however be even more important to notice that the popular campaign relying on mass petitioning *ends* with the 1792 campaign, as the organizational landscape changes.

3.5 Robustness Checks

Table 3.6 contains models using alternative specifications for modeling the likelihood in the first abolitionist campaign. As a reminder, the logistic regression results with county-level fixed effects are displayed, then, the same model can be seen using random effects, finally, the same fixed effects specification using a probit model.

Variable	Logit FE		Logit RE		Probit	
	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value
Methodist Church	1.320	0.022	0.899	0.069	0.705	0.023
	(0.590)		(0.494)		(0.309)	
Quaker Meeting	1.295	0.003	1.030	0.009	0.681	0.002
	(0.435)		(0.396)		(0.224)	
Tie to London	2.656	¡0.001	1.392	0.030	1.398	0.001
	(0.788)		(0.642)		(0.411)	
Organizational Density (Secular)	6.083	<0.001	2.843	0.085	2.964	0.001
	(1.754)		(1.654)		(0.916)	
Population	1.652	<0.001	1.486	<0.001	0.772	<0.001
	(0.261)		0.225		(0.126)	

Table 3.6: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the first campaign. Logistic regression with county-level fixed effects; DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1788. N = 1527 settlements.

Table 3.7 contains further robustness checks using different samples and population estimates – for details, see the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources*. First, all settlements in Wales are dropped. Second, all the small settlements with no reliable historical population

Variable	W/o Wales		W/o small		Pop altern.		Pop altern. 2	
	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value
Methodist	1.401	0.018	1.289	0.029	1.374	0.019	1.338	0.023
Church	(0.593)		(0.589)		(0.584)		(0.588)	
Quaker	1.196	0.007	1.280	0.003	1.312	0.002	1.299	0.003
Meeting	(0.441)		(0.438)		(0.433)		(0.434)	
Tie to	2.683	<0.001	2.636	<0.001	2.654	0.001	2.653	0.001
London	(0.781)		(0.788)		(0.780)		(0.785)	
Org. Density	6.252	<0.001	5.962	<0.001	5.897	<0.001	6.012	0.001
(Secular)	(1.786)		(1.760)		(1.738)		(1.747)	
Population	1.601	<0.001	1.657	<0.001	1.551	<0.001	1.614	<0.001
	(0.260)		(0.265)		(0.251)		(0.256)	

Table 3.7: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the first campaign. Logistic regression with county-level fixed effects; DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1788. N = 1486 settlements without Wales; N = 1389 settlements without the small settlements; N = 1527 in the remaining models.

Variable	Logit FE		Logit RE		Probit	
	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value	Coeff	p-value
Methodist Church	0.414	0.306	0.416	0.283	0.238	0.296
	(0.405)		(0.387)		(0.228)	
Quaker Meeting	2.123	<0.001	2.094	<0.001	1.199	<0.001
	(0.268)		(0.255)		(0.150)	
Tie to London	0.936	0.120	0.892	0.122	0.480	0.145
	(0.601)		(0.578)		(0.329)	
Organizational Density (Secular)	5.604	<0.001	4.778	<0.001	3.046	<0.001
	(1.122)		(1.032)		(0.620)	
Population	1.096	<0.001	0.996	<0.001	0.598	<0.001
	(0.149)		(0.141)		(0.080)	
Petitioned in 1788	3.538	<0.001	3.424	<0.001	1.875	<0.001
	(0.635)		(0.611)		(0.339)	
Any petition in 10km	-1.003	0.002	-1.002	0.001	-0.507	0.003
	(0.330)		(0.316)		(0.169)	
% Petitioned in 25-50km	10.081	0.023	10.267	0.010	5.681	0.021
	(4.443)		(3.989)		(2.464)	

Table 3.8: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the second campaign. DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1792. N = 1527 settlements.

counts are excluded, and finally, two alternative ways of estimating the population of these settlements are used.

Table 3.8 contains models using alternative specifications for modeling the likelihood in

	W/o Wales		W/o small		Pop altern.		Pop altern. 2	
Methodist	0.410	0.312	0.392	0.337	0.360	0.373	0.366	0.367
Church	(0.406)		(0.408)		(0.404)		(0.406)	
Quaker	2.122	<0.001	2.102	<0.001	2.077	<0.001	2.092	<0.001
Meeting	(0.269)		(0.271)		(0.269)		(0.269)	
Tie to	0.936	0.120	0.910	0.135	0.911	0.133	0.914	0.132
London	(0.602)		(0.608)		(0.606)		(0.606)	
Org. Density	5.830	<0.001	5.438	<0.001	5.420	<0.001	5.538	<0.001
(Secular)	(1.179)		(1.130)		(1.125)		(1.127)	
Population	1.103	<0.001	1.089	<0.001	1.114	<0.001	1.140	<0.001
	(0.150)		(0.152)		(0.143)		(0.149)	
Petitioned	3.535	<0.001	3.612	<0.001	3.584	<0.001	3.583	<0.001
in 1788	(0.637)		(0.673)		(0.648)		(0.643)	
Any petition	-1.001	0.002	-0.922	0.006	-0.996	0.003	-1.026	0.002
in 10km	(0.330)		(0.334)		(0.330)		(0.330)	
% Petitioned	9.876	0.026	9.306	0.037	9.691	0.029	9.780	0.028
in 25-50km	(4.445)		(4.459)		(4.431)		(4.439)	

Table 3.9: Modeling the likelihood of petitioning in the second campaign. DV: if a settlement sent a petition to the House of Commons for abolition in 1792. N = 1486 settlements without Wales; N = 1389 settlements without the small settlements; N = 1527 in the remaining models.

the second abolitionist campaign. As a reminder, the logistic regression results with county-level fixed effects are displayed, then, the same model can be seen using random effects, finally, the same fixed effects specification using a probit model.

Table 3.9 contains further robustness checks using different samples and population estimates – for details, see the *Supplementary Materials on Data Sources*. First, all settlements in Wales are dropped. Second, all the small settlements with no reliable historical population counts are excluded, and finally, two alternative ways of estimating the population of these settlements are used.

These robustness checks show that the results are robust to modeling choices of specification, functional form, and estimating variables.

3.6 Supplementary Materials on Data Sources

This section describes the data on settlements in England and Wales that I constructed using various different primary and secondary sources. The most comprehensive list of populated places of importance from the early 1800s is the one compiled, developed and maintained by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP). As a courtesy of Dan Bogart, on behalf of the Group I obtained the list of these places and used this list as a starting point[18]. CAMPOP also shared a set of population estimates they compiled from different primary and secondary sources from the late 1700, early 1800 period. The list of settlements has the names of 1783 locations with their respective counties through England and Wales, to which I added 13 more settlemets which I identified through the procedure of merging data on petitions and religious organizations described below. Using a simple API to Google Maps, I georeferenced these locations, and manually entered the coordinates of locations that were not found, and updated the coordinates of places that were clearly assigned to the wrong location on the map[19].

Population

Compiling a list of towns and their respective population size is notoriously hard (Langton, 2000) before the 1850s. Great Britain's urban landscape was dynamically changing in this period, with a new class of settlements emerging, and others loosing importance. The most widely used population estimates from 1801 come from Law and Robson (LR)[20]. The LR data contains population counts for 1801, as well as for later dates in decennial intervals. There are 373 settlements with population counts in 1801 from LR. For another 95 settlements

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[18]For replication purposes: I relied on the file called "FINALTownMatrix.csv" that I obtained from CAMPOP.

[19]I used the ggmap library in R. I also triangulated these with the GIS file shared by CAMPOP that containing the settlement points.

[20]Bennett, R.J. (2012). Urban Population Database, 1801-1911. [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7154, http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7154-1

Variable			
(Intercept)	88.46	75.80	−465.65
	(55.45)	(87.55)	(264.40)
Popoulation in 1811	0.79		
	(0.03)***		
Popoulation in 1821	0.12	0.99	
	(0.04)**	(0.02)***	
Popoulation in 1831	−0.012	−0.04	0.66
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.04)***
Popoulation in 1841	−0.04	−0.18	−0.09
	(0.01)***	(0.01)***	(0.03)**
Adjusted R^2	0.9997	0.9991	0.9919

p < 0.0001 "***", p < 0.001 "**", p < 0.01 "*". Indicator variables for a few Wales counties are supressed from the table, but are common across models.

Table 3.10: Linear models for building settlement-level population estimates for 1801 relying on population data at later dates.

I used the population counts for later dates (using data from 1811, 1821, 1831 and 1841) to estimate population size in 1801. The simple linear models I used for this purpose with their fit statistics could be found in Table 3.10. The number of settlements where estimates for 1801 were built using information from 1811–41, 1821–41, and 1831–41 are 27, 26 and 42 respectively. The correlation between the 1801 population counts and the respective estimates are above 0.999, regardless of the model used.

Another source of data on settlement-level population is a paper recently published by Brunt and Meidell (BM) reporting population size both at the parish and at the settlement level for many populated places in 1811 (2013, Table A3). The BM data contains information on 859 settlements, 567 of which do not have data by LR. I built a quadratic model using only the 1811 population data reported in LR to estimate the populatin size of the settlements reported in 1801, and used the coefficients from this model to make predictions for 1801 using the BM data. The correlation between BM-predictions and the LR data is 0.992.

Following this, I used the predictions from the LR data gleaning information on popula- tion counts from later dates to have an estimate for 1801, which gives population counts for another 47 settlements (10 rely on 1811–1841 data, another 10 on 1821–1841 data, and 27

on 1831–1841 data).

To obtain population counts for the remaining 809 settlements I was left with following the above-described procedure, I used a data set that reports population size at the parish level in the 1801 census, also shared by CAMPOP. The parish level data maps imperfectly on settlements, as various settlements had multiple parishes in their confines, as well as some parishes spanned multiple settlements[21], which is only one of the reasons why establishing population counts is hard in this time period. I collapsed the parishes to the level of settlements, which resulted in approximately 9400 populated places (PP). This led to candidate population counts for 947 settlements, 309 of which had no data based on the previous ways of establishing population size. The correlation between PP and LR is 0.997, between PP and BM is 0.987, respectively.

I attempted to find all the remaining settlements in William Cobbett's *Geographical Dictionary of England and Wales* (1832) that provides population counts for all parishes in England and Wales from the 1831 census returns. From the remaining 500 settlements, 293 could be found in the Cobbett publication (COB)[22]. In this case again I used a similar strategy: I built a model to estimate 1801 population counts using information from the LR data (which should be the most reliable, and is the most widely used among the different sources). I capped these estimates at 3000, which impacted the calculation of population size of 59 settlements – the idea being that if these settlements were larger than this size at the time, they should have been included by LR and/or BM.

I constructed five different estimates for the remaining 207 locations. Based on LR's and BM's inclusion criteria, these settlements should have had populations below 2500 souls. The first estimate sets the population of these places to 500, the second to 1000. I also calculated the mean and standard deviation of population sizes in my data below 2500 (1198.658, and

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[21]This was much less frequent, and was most likely to occur in the case of smaller populated places.

[22]Note that searches did not rely on OCR: I tried to find every place through a manual search, and looked for alternative spellings as well. In case a settlement belonged to a parish that comprised of multiple different settlements this number was also recorded, and I divided the population equally among settlements having no better alternative.

536.874 respectively) and used these to draw random sizes from a normal distribution with these parameters (also making sure that no population estimates are negative). In sensitivity analysis I use the full data set with each of these estimates in turn. More specifically, Table 3.2 and 3.3 contain population data that used the normal distribution. In the *Robustness Checks* section Table 3.7 and 3.9 in the columns "Population alternative" and "Population alternative 2" set population size of these to 500 and 1000, respectively. In these same Tables he column "W/o small" contains estimates using the data while dropping all these settlements from the analysis.

In sum, the population variable comes from the LR data in 21% of the settlements, the BM data in 32% of the settlements, the LR data with model-based predictions in 4% of the settlements, the parish data from the 1801 census in 17% of the settlements, the 1831 census parish data together with model-based predictions in 16% of the settlements, and finally, the remaining 12% of settlements have population counts based on the observed distribution of population sizes for small settlements used in conjunction with the inclusion criteria for the LR and BM data sets[23].

Petitions for Abolition

The data collection of abolitionist petitions relied on the *Journals of the House of Commons* (Journal) and used the *Index* to identify petitions[24]. See an example in Figure 3.4. There are 409 unique petition-location combinations recorded in my data for the 1788 and 1792 cycle that originated from England or Wales, 74 from 1788, and 335 from 1792. 92% of these are petitions were submitted to Parliament from a single location, the remaining petitions name multiple locations from which signatures originated (these locations were places close to one

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[23]The percentages do not add up to 100% because of rounding error.

[24]In collaboration with a group of historians from the UK, and economic historians from the US a more comprehensive data set on petitioning is being built that does not rely on the *Index* but the page-by-page reading of the Journal. Although the data I use might be incomplete, there is no reason to believe that certain kinds of prtitions, or petitions from specific geographic regions may be systematically missing. Furthermore, the data collected for these analysis is the most comprehensive data set on abolitionist petitioning to date.

another, like Salford and Manchester, but significant enough to be each mentioned). Of these petition-location pairs, 13 originated from larger geographical units, naming counties rather than settlements. These were dropped from the analysis as they could not have been assigned to any of the settlements. Additionally, 4 were unmatched because the name of the settlement referenced could not be located (i.e., it was not among the 1783 settlements shared by CAMPOP, nor was I able to add these places, like the additional 12 I identified). The remaining 392 petitions (96%) were linked to the data on settlements using the names of settlements first applying exact matching, then applying probabilistic matching and manual review. Data on an additional 190 petitions were collected originating from Scotland, or without any geographical reference (e.g., a petition from "the people called Quakers") that were not used in any of the analysis. Most settlements sent a single petition to the Commons in both these years: in 1788, 86%, in 1792, 84%. In the cases where multiple petitions were sent this occurred when a religious body sent a separate petition from another naming only secular actors, or in a few instances the petitions organized along a status gradient where one petition named the mayor and other principal inhabitants with their status labels, and the other petition referred simply to inhabitants.

Quaker Meetings

The Quaker Church, which is the religious organization that became involved with abolition perhaps the earliest of times and has been the most persistent proponent of doing away with the practices of both the slave trade and slave holding, started publishing the schedule and location of their monthly and quarterly meetings in 1789. The publication, titled "*A General Account of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of the People Called Quakers in England and Wales*," is only kept in specialized archives. The data used in the analysis were collected from this publication housed at Quaker Archive of Haveford College for the years of 1791 and
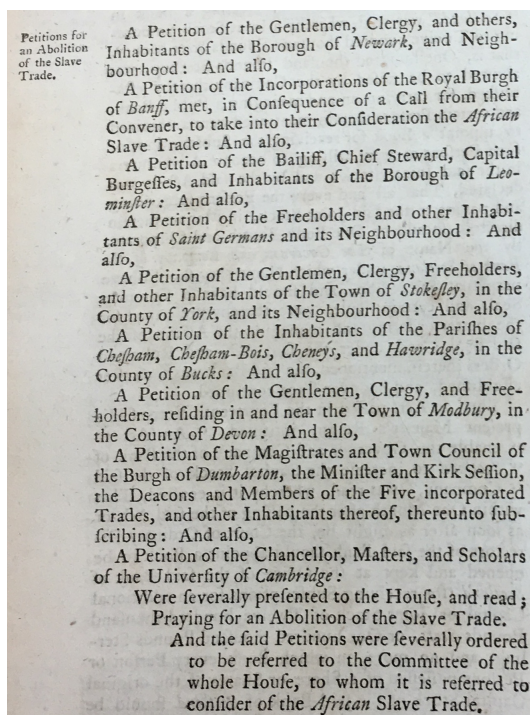
Figure 3.4: An excerpt from the *Journals of the House of Commons* documenting the Common's work in 1792, page 542, for the 13th of March, accessed 03/01/2016.

1793[25]. There were 148 and 171 settlements that had at least one monthly meeting (monthly meetings often rotated among settlements near by when the size of the community was not substantial enough to sustain a monthly meeting on its own), and 71 and 73 settlements that had quarterly meetings, in 1791 and 1793, respectively, that were successfully matched with the settlement data. In some cases no specific location is listed, only that meetings were scheduled happened with some frequency. Given that it is not possible where these meetings took place, or if they had taken place at all, I did not include any settlements that had indication of a sizable Quaker community in the counties in question.

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[25]Note that these dates are post the first campaign. I recently obtained the 1789 publication from the London-based Library of the Society of Friends, and based on manual comparison for a number of counties, the places where meetings were held has not changed dramatically in these years.
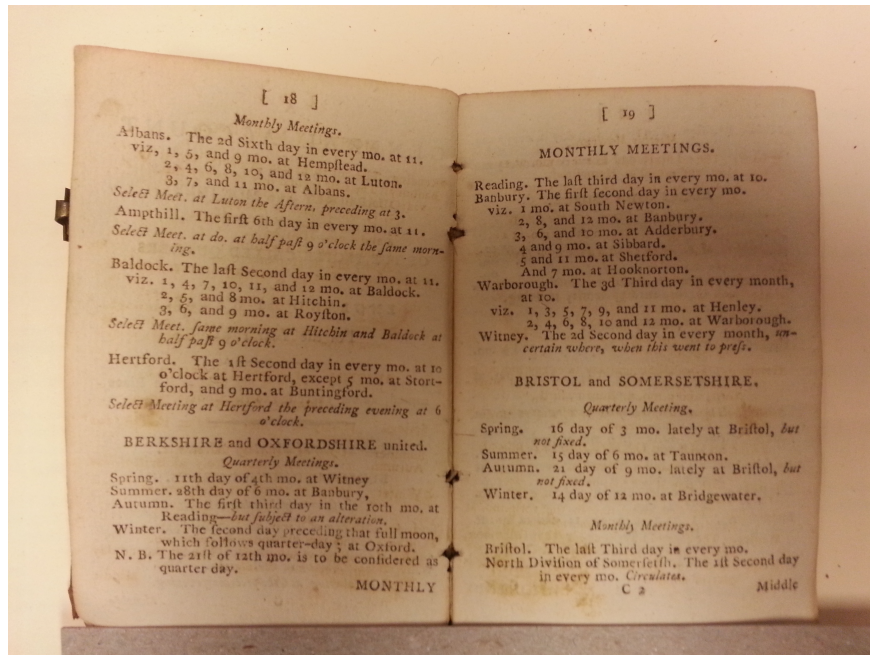
Figure 3.5: Pages 18 & 19 from *A General Account of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of the People Called Quakers in England and Wales* for the year 1791. Copied 06/10/2016.

Sitting Methodist Preachers

Ideally, one would measure the presence of religious organizations that were involved in abolitionist mobilization in particular at the level of communities. Membership lists (updated over time) would be the most straightforward measures, but these are lacking in this historical period. As a consequence, I turned to alternative strategies, and measured the penetration of Weaslyan Methodism with whether or not a community had sitting Methodist preachers. I used the *Arminian Magazine*, which was founded in 1778 by John Wesley, and became a regular outlet periodically appearing and reporting on the development of Wesleyan Methodism, both from a spiritual, and an organizational perspective[26]. This magazine, in its September-November issue reported a list of all stationing (i.e., non-itinerant) Methodist preachers, and the communities where they were settled in, which was decided at the yearly conference held in July. I collected this data from 1786 to 1793, an example of which could be found in Figure 3.6.

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[26]Digital copies of the magazine are available from the *Newspaper Archive* from 1778 to 1797.

16 *Briſtol,* A. Clark, G. Wadſworth, S. Hodgſon : J. Valton, J. Gore, Supernumeraries.
17 *Sheptonmallet,* J. Eaſton, J. Algar.
18 *Taunton,* J. Cuſſens, C. Watkins.
19 *Tiverton,* R. Drew, J. Poole.
20 *Bideford,* S. Bardſley.
21 *Plymouth,* T. Warwick, W. Dufton, C. Bland.
22 *St. Auſtle,* J. Maſon, W. Aſhman, B. Leggat.
23 *Redruth,* B. Rhodes, W. Holmes, J. M'Geary.
24 *St. Ives,* A. Suter, J. Peſcod, T. Dobſon, J. Sandoe.
25 *Pembroke,* W. Palſher, J. Hall, W. Heath.
26 *Glamorganſhire,* G. Button, W. Fiſh.
27 *Brecon,* J. Jerom, W. Church, J. Muckerſey.
28 *Birmingham,* J. Benſon, G. Snowden, W. Thoreſby, J. Smith.
29 *Wolverhampton,* M. Horne, Supernumerary : J. Brettell, T. Cooper.
30 *Burſlem,* R. Roberts, J. Brettell, A. Moſeley, J. Beaumont.
31 *Macclesfield,* J. Allen, S. Gates, R. Lomas.
32 *Stockport,* D. Jackſon, T. Tennant.
33 *Mancheſter,* R. Rodda, C. Hopper, S. Bradburn, W. Hunter, jun.
34 *Bolton,* T. Hanby, J. Wiltſhaw. .
35 *Cheſter,* P. Greenwood, F. Truſcot, J. Denton: T. Briſcoe, ſupernumerary.
36 *Liverpool,* W. Myles, H. Taylor, J. Tregortha.
37 *Blackburn,* G. Story, G. Lowe.
38 *Coln,* W. Collins, W. Bramwell.
39 *Leiceſter,* W. Butterfield, M. Martendale, J. Chriſtie : J. Watſon, ſupernumerary.
40 *Nottingham,* J. Taylor, T. Vaſey, J. Moon.
41 *Derby,* J. Watſon, R. Coſterdine, R. Seed, J. Atkins.
42 *Sheffield,* A. Inglis, L. Harriſon, T. Bartholomew.
43 *Grimſby,* W. Saunders, R. Scot, J. Ryles.
44 *Horncaſtle,* T. Carlill, G. Mowatt, J. Evans, J. Kerſhaw.

45 *Gainſborouʒh,*

Figure 3.6: Page 606 from the *Arminian Magazine* listing the names of stationing Methodis preachers settlement-by-settlement, in the November issue of 1786 from the *Newspaper Archive,* accessed 02/18/2017.

This data covers England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, but of course, only the English and Welsh data are used in the analysis. I aggregated these lists to the year-settlement pair and counted the number of preachers in each settlement, in each year. Descriptive statistics of this data could be found in Table 3.11, where the number of settlements with sitting preachers, the mean number of preachers per settlement with its standard deviation, and the range of the number of preachers per settlement are listed. In the early years the mode is 3 preachers per settlement, later on, it is 2. The settlement that has the most number of preachers is always London, and the second biggest Methodist community had about half

Year	# of settlements	Mean # of preachers	Sd of # of preachers	Range
1786	52	2.77	1.13	2–9
1787	54	2.85	1.11	2–9
1788	56	2.86	1.23	1–10
1789	56	2.96	1.08	1–8
1790	63	2.92	1.18	1–10
1791	71	2.75	1.10	1–8
1792	74	2.87	1.65	1–14
1793	82	2.72	1.41	1–13

Table 3.11: Descriptive statistics of the Methodist Preacher data merged with the settlements.

the preachers than the capital in each year.

The data on Methodist preachers were merged in based on the name of the settlement. In case of multiple matches, additional research was conducted to disambiguate matches in different counties. I also conducted additional searches on each settlement that was part of the Methodist data, but found no exact or reasonably close matches in the town data set. Most of the instances that did not match initially were due to spelling mistakes, and the fact that towns appeared under different names in different publications (e.g., in Norfolk, the settlement Lynn is also known as King's Lynn or Lynn–Regis). Only very few locations were not found.

Conclusion

This work is shifting away from the "why" question, i.e., why did Britons decide to abandon the slave trade and ends up answering a "how" question, i.e., how public support was forged and acted upon in the form of petitioning, with implications for the "why" question being more speculative than conclusive. With the data used in this thesis, and arguably with behavioral data in general, it is hard to attribute meaning to individuals' actions, especially in light of the fact that meanings change as personal narratives unfold, and as new events influence the way in which past events are referenced. However, through seeking answers to the more mundane, "how" question, some potential answers emerge for the "why" question, mostly in the form of which why-arguments are more credible than others.

The chapter on Manchester-petitioners has three important results. The first delineates the limits of the impact of the Quaker church. The second shows that no clear occupational gradient of petitioners can be established. The third uncovers the role that institutions, places where politics was done, played in petitioning. The significance of these results is the following, in turn. The set of results highlighting that kinship ties were especially important within religious groups, and that petition-signing specifically did not exhibit the patterns of block-recruitment yield a more nuanced understanding of the impact of religious affiliation on abolition. It also highlights the boundaries of making inferences from movement leaders to petitioners among the masses. Interests have been often conceptualized as economic interests and monetary gains, linking specific occupational groups or strata in British society being more "prone" to abolitionist action compared to others. In this case as well, what applies to movement leaders has limited relevance to ordinary men signing petitions. It also

94

echoes results of Gould who shows that collective action in a form that could be conceptualized through the lenses of class-consciousness in the French context emerges later in the 1800s (Gould, 1993b, 1995). The UK seems to be no exception. Last, but not least, geographic clustering of petitioners around inns and taverns that were historically involved in the movement or housed merchants from other communities with experience in abolitionist mobilization shows what other factors were likely consequential for "would-be" petitioners to become petitioners. These findings together provide the micro foundations for the macro phenomenon of historical importance.

The chapter considering the movement at the national scale builds closely on the Manchester-chapter, especially concerning the interpretation of the results. The key findings are three-fold: first, the analysis verifies the notion that contact with the central organization was key for the success of the first campaign, but it also reveals that the second campaign relied on more "horizontal" connections than hierarchical ones that tied provincial towns to London. Second, the analysis confirms that non-conformist religious organizations were pivotal for the inception, and scaling of the national campaign, but Quakers seem to exert important and continuous influence, whereas the Wesleyan Methodist organization contributes much less to the second campaign. Third, industrialization plays a key, and increasingly important role in the movement.

This thesis does not answer the question why abolition happened in the specific historic moment it did. However, it enumerates a number of necessary conditions for the breadth and geographic patterning of public support. The abolition movement occurred at the brink of industrialization, before processes of class-formation solidified boundaries that, had they played out earlier in time, would have likely prevented participation at the scale it in fact reached. The empirical components, building one on the other help lay the microfoundations necessary to explicate the first, modern national social movement in history.

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