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AMERICA AND BRITAIN, 1750-1830

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Boston in 1773

"I wrote you the 8th instant and inform'd their Lordships of the Rebellious State of the People of this Town on Account of the Tea's exported by the East India Company subject to the Kings duty of three pence in the pound, which was resolved in the Town meeting should not be paid, and on that account an Arm'd Force was appointed to Parade the Wharf's where the Tea Ships lay to prevent its being Landed." The letter, dated 17 December 1773, came from Rear Admiral Montagu at his base in Boston. He was reporting to the agent of the Lords of the Admiralty in London. "I am now to desire," Admiral Montagu continued,

you will be pleased to inform their Lordships that last Evening between 6 & 7 O'Clock, a large Mob assembled with Axes &c., encouraged by Mr. John Hancocke, Samuel Adams, and others; and marched in a Body to the Wharfs where the Tea Ships lay, and there destroyed the whole by starting it into the Sea.

I must also desire you will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that during the whole of this transaction, neither the Governor, Magistrates, Owners, or the Revenue Officers of this place ever called for my assistance, if they had, I could easily have prevented the execution of this Plan, but must have endangered the Lives of many innocent people by Firing upon the Town (C.O. 5/120 [= Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office Papers, series 5, box 120]).

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The Boston Tea Party, as the events of that December evening came to be known, had been in preparation for about two months. The Northend Caucus had voted on October 23 to resist the landing of the dutied tea. Early in November handbills began to appear demanding that the tea consignees resign and send the tea back to England. Public meetings and anonymous notices both restated the demand that the consignees resign.

The meeting of 29 November, called by Boston's Committee of Correspondence, led to the posting of the "Arm'd Force" at Griffin's Wharf. As Governor Hutchinson described the gathering:

Altho' this Meeting or Assembly consisted principally of the Lower Ranks of the People, & even Journeymen Tradesmen were brought to increase the Number & the Rabble were not excluded yet there were divers Gentlemen of Good Fortune among them, & I can scarcely think they will prosecute their Mad Resolves (Hutchinson to Dartmouth 2 December 1773, quoted in Hoerder 1971: 407).

The tea consignees fled to the protection of the Castle. From there, after further meetings and additional threats, they eventually stated their willingness to store the tea unsold, but not to ship it back. Attention shifted to the shipowners, who were reluctant to carry the tea back to England, and unready to guarantee not to land it. The orderly destruction of their cargo on the evening of 16 December decided the issue for them.

At the core of the tea-dumping crowd were two groups of activists who had gathered separately before walking to the wharf: seventeen members of the North End's Long Room Club, who were largely masters and shipbuilders; a larger and more disparate group from the South End who had rallied at Liberty Tree, on the corner of Essex and Orange Streets (Hoerder 1971: 419-420). The preparation of the event drew on Boston's standard anti-

British coalition. The coalition included skilled workers and masters from the North End, workers, masters and merchants from the South End, professionals and merchants -- Hutchinson's Gentlemen of Good Fortune -- from the city as a whole. In the following years these three groups of activists played a major part in the widening campaign of non-cooperation and resistance. They contributed to the erection of parallel institutions of government in Boston and in the rest of Massachusetts. They were the nucleus of a revolutionary coalition.

By December 1773, some version of the revolutionary coalition had been at work in Boston for eight years. The Stamp Act crisis of 1765 had brought it into being. From that point on, the allied craftsmen and merchants repeatedly attacked the local "placemen" whom they regarded as profiting from a willingness to favor the interests of the British crown over those of the American colonists.

Boston's activists stated their disapproval in more than one way. Over the decade from 1765 to 1775, we find them petitioning Parliament, sending delegates to England, organizing patriotic clubs, holding mock trials of their enemies, sacking the offices and houses of British agents, gathering for speeches at the Liberty Tree, marching through the streets to bonfires, tarring and feathering tea-drinkers, and more. By 1774, much of their effort was going into two complementary sets of activities: destroying the effectiveness of the official British governmental apparatus and its personnel; building a set of effective, autonomous, indigenous political institutions. In the first category fell the economic and social boycott of the British troops sent to occupy Boston after the resistance to the tea duty, the forced resignation of British commissioners and agents, the sabotaging of royal courts. In the second category came the organization of such revolutionary organizations as the Sons of Liberty, the

addition of powers to the committees of correspondence, the holding of people's courts and unauthorized town meetings. As Vice Admiral Graves wrote to the Admiralty on 23 September 1774, ". . . they have obstructed, and are determined, let what will be the consequence, to oppose the Execution of the Laws, and to stunt, and destroy every Person, who will not take an active part against Government" (C.O. 5/120). By 1774 the people of Boston, and of all the American colonies, were creating an unauthorized but effective parallel government.

The Quality of Colonial Contention

By the end of the year, indeed, colonists were not only boycotting and building, but attempting to seize control over portions of the existing British governmental structure. That emphatically included control of armed force. A letter from New Hampshire's Governor Wentworth, dated at Portsmouth on 14 December 1774, describes one such attempt:

Yesterday in the afternoon one Paul Revere arrived in this Town Express from a Committee in Boston to another Committee in this Town, and delivered his dispatch to Mr. Saml. Cutts a Merchant of this Town who immediately convened a Committee of which he is one, & as I learn laid it before them.

This day about noon before any suspicions could be had of their Instructions, about five hundred Men were collected together, who proceeded to His Majesty's Castle William and Mary at the Entrance of this Harbour and forcibly took Possession thereof, notwithstanding the best defence that could be made by Capt. Cochran & by violence carried away upwards of one hundred barrells of Powder belonging to the King deposited in the Castle. I am informed that expresses have been circulated throughout the neighbouring Towns to collect

a number of People tomorrow or as soon as possible to carry away all the Cannon & Arms belonging to the Castle, which they will undoubtedly effect unless assistance should arrive from Boston in time to prevent it (C.O. 5/121).

This action coincided with efforts, often unsuccessful, to seize cannons and rifles in other garrison towns along the American coast. It paralleled the effort to recruit British soldiers and sailors to the American cause. It supplemented the creation of groups of armed patriotic volunteers. A revolutionary situation was in the making.

A twentieth-century reader of the eighteenth-century reports from the colonies notices the wide, creative use of street theater: skits, tableaux, dumb shows, effigies, stylized symbols of the issues and antagonists. One example will give the flavor: the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day (known in the colonies as Pope's Day) of 1774 in Charles Town, South Carolina:

Saturday last, being the Anniversary of the Nation's happy deliverance from the infernal Popish POWER-PLOT in 1605, and also of the glorious REVOLUTION by the Landing of King William in 1688, two Events which our Brethren in England seem of late to have too much overlooked, the Morning was ushered in with Ringing of Bells, and a MAGNIFICENT EXHIBITION of EFFIGIES, designed to represent Lord NORTH, Gov. HUTCHINSON, the POPE, and the DEVIL, which were placed on a rolling Stage, about eight Feet high and fifteen Feet long, near Mr. Ramadge's Tavern in Broad-Street, being the most frequented place in Town. The Pope was exhibited in a Chair of State, superbly drest in all his priestly Canonicals; Lord North (with

his Star, Garter, &c. and shewing the Quebec Bill) on his right Hand; and Governor Hutchinson on his left, both chained to Stakes; the Devil, with extended Arms, behind the Three, and elevated above them, holding in one Hand a Javelin directed at the Head of Lord North, and in the other a Scroll, inscrib'd "RIVINGTON'S NEW YORK GAZETTEER;" on his Arm was suspended a large Lanthorn, in the shape of a Tea Canister, on the sides of which was writ in Capitals, "HYSON, GREEN, CONGO and BONZA TEAS." The Exhibition was constantly viewed by an incredible Number of Spectators, amongst whom were most of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the first Fortune and Fashion. The Pope and the Devil, were observed frequently to bow, in the most respectful complaisant Manner, to sundry Individuals, as if in grateful Acknowledgement for their past Services. About 8 O'Clock, A.M. the whole was moved to the Square before the State-House, and back again to Mr. Ramadge's, when Divine Service began in St. Michael's Church; in which Situation it remained throughout the Day, without the least Appearance of Opposition, Tumult or Disorder . . . In the Evening the whole Machinery was carried thro' the principal Streets, to the Parade, without the Town Gate, where a Pole 50 Feet high was erected, strung with and surrounded by a great Number of Tar Barrels. The TEA collected by the young Gentlemen the Tuesday before, being placed between the Devil and Lord North, was set on Fire, and brought on our Enemies in Effigy, that Ruin they had designed to bring on us in Reality (South Carolina Gazette, 21 November 1774).

The exhibit was complete with homiletic posters, such as:

ROBBERS AND WHITE-ROB'D SAINTS,
 COMPARED TO TYRANTS.
 MAGNA CHARTA, AND THE OATHS OF KINGS
 ARE COBWEBS NOW;
 WITNESS, THE VIOLATION OF THE BOSTON CHARTER.

Over Massachusetts Governor Hutchinson's head hung the words HIC VIR
 PATRIAM VENDITIT AURO: this man sold his country for gold. And on Hutch-
 inson's breast were these lines:

Here in BOSTON,
 Loaded with the undeserved Honours of my Country,
 I chose to be her Curse;
 I forg'd her Chains.
 The World shall know me: HUTCHINSON my Name,
 'Mongst Traytors damn'd to everlasting Shame.
 Preferment comes neither from the East, nor from the
 West, nor from the South; but from the NORTH.
 The Devil take America, if I can only get Preferment.

This was the texture of a routine patriotic celebration in the America of
 1774. Despite the angry words, the festivities went off in calm, even in
 good humor. But the same iconography and the same rhetoric also appeared
 in many of the violent events of the time: forcible seizures of tea, at-
 tacks on agents of the Crown, vigilante trials of transgressors against
 the rules of boycott and non-importation, tarring and feathering of
 British sympathizers.

The forms of popular collective action in the pre-revolutionary de-
 cade are not merely absorbing in themselves. They are relevant to major
 questions concerning the origins of the Revolution. Pauline Maier, for
 example, has used the character of popular action as evidence for her
 argument that the initial impulse of the pre-revolutionary mobilization
 was defensive -- an attempt to maintain liberties which the colonists re-
 garded as embedded in the English constitution. Richard Maxwell Brown
 places the crowd of the 1760s and 1770s at the crossing-point of an indi-
 genous colonial tradition of violent protest and the eighteenth-century
 British practice of bargaining by riot. Gary Nash offers an analysis of
 crowd action to support his portrayal of a well-developed popular radical-
 ism among the colonists. Indeed, popular collective action such as the
 Stamp Act resistance is so visible and crucial in the history of the Ameri-
 can Revolution that the advocate of any position whatsoever must fit an
 interpretation of that action into his general argument.

Repertoires of Collective Action

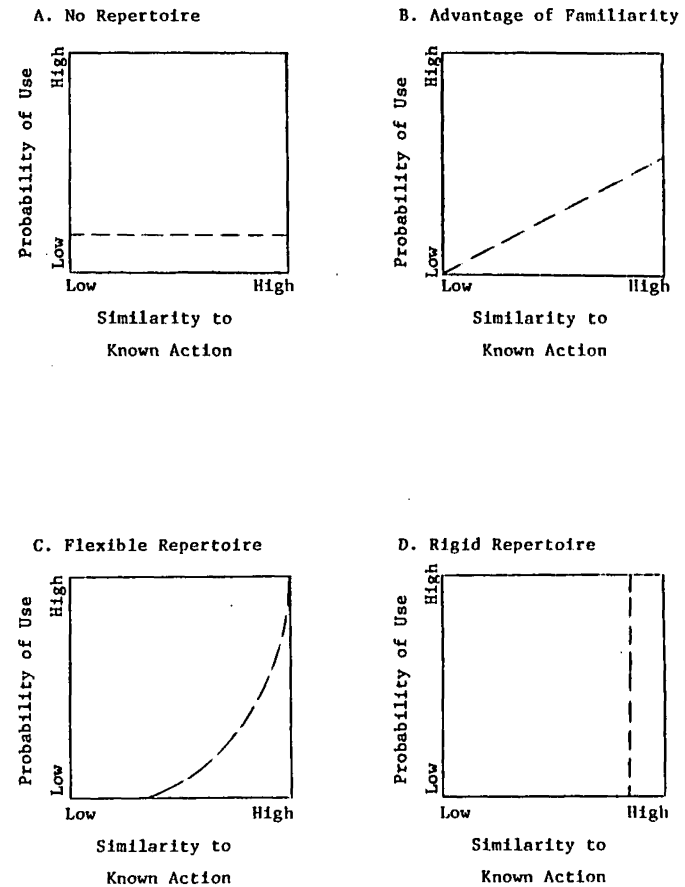
My purpose here, however, is neither to infer an account of the
 American Revolution as a whole from the behavior of crowds nor to reinter-
 pret crowd action in the light of a general thesis about the Revolution.
 I want instead to draw attention to some general features of popular col-
 lective action which take on a strong relief in the glare of a revolutionary
 situation. The main point is elementary: within any particular time and
 place, the array of collective actions which people employ is a) well-de-
 fined and b) quite limited in comparison to the range of actions which are
 theoretically available to them. In that sense, particular times, places
 and populations have their own repertoires of collective action. On the
 whole, the existing repertoire only changes slowly. At a given point in
 time, it significantly constrains the strategy and tactics of collective

actors.

If the idea of a repertoire of collective action is plausible, it is not self-evident. It states a position rather different from two other competing ideas concerning popular collective action: 1) the notion of universal forms such as quintessential crowd behavior or standard revolutionary actions; 2) the image of calculating tacticians who seize every opportunity to press their advantage and to fend off their disadvantage. In contrast with both these views, the idea of a repertoire implies that the standard forms are learned, limited in number and scope, slowly changing and peculiarly adapted to their settings. Pressed by a grievance, interest or aspiration and confronted with an opportunity to act, groups of people who have the capacity to act collectively choose among the forms of action in their limited repertoire. That choice is not always cool and premeditated; vigilantes sometimes grab their guns and march off on the spur of the moment, while angry women make food riots. Nor are the performances necessarily frozen, regimented and stereotypical; demonstrators against the Stamp Act and the arrival of dutied tea often invented new ways of broadcasting their message and regularly responded to unanticipated contingencies by improvising. The repertoire is the repertoire of jazz or commedia dell'arte rather than of grand opera or Shakespearian drama. Nevertheless, a limited repertoire sets serious constraints on when, where and how effectively a group of actors can act.

If the idea of a repertoire is more than a convenient metaphor, we should be able to compare the real world with the concept. Figure 1 sketches out four possible relationships between the forms of action which are already familiar to a population and those which it adopts when a new opportunity comes along. If there is no relationship between the probability of a given form of action and its similarity to the forms of

Figure 1. Alternative Portrayals of Collective Action Repertoires



action already known to the population, the idea of a repertoire is wrong. That could be true either because the forms of collective action were random and impulsive, or because actors generally chose the efficient means regardless of its familiarity. In the second case, familiar forms have an advantage for such reasons as the greater efficiency with which groups use them. To call the familiar forms in this case a "repertoire" is misleading. For the word to be useful, actors should display a preference for familiar forms which to some degree overrides questions of efficiency, which is not simply a function of the availability of information, and which leads them to choose differently from other actors elsewhere.

Sketches C and D portray cases in which the idea of a repertoire is useful. A flexible repertoire leaves some room for innovation and for the deliberate adoption of relatively unfamiliar means of action, but still cants the choice strongly toward familiar means and sets some limit of unfamiliarity beyond which the actor will not go. A rigid repertoire confines the actor to already-familiar performances: the actor does not innovate, and does not deliberately unfamiliar forms of action -- except, perhaps, in crises which alter the entire repertoire.

One could employ the four types or the continuum along which they fall as a taxonomy for real actors, and as the basis of speculation concerning the determinants of an actor's flexibility. It might be, for example, that the less specialized the group and the closer it comes to providing its members with a complete round of life, the more rigid its repertoire. For the present, I have a simpler point in mind: the suggestion that for populations which have any significant capacity for collective action the flexible repertoire is the normal situation. Why? Because any particular actor's means grow out of its members' own previous

experience with collective action and its own specific relationship to other significant actors in its immediate environment.

Describing and Explaining Repertoires

This particularism sets us two challenges. The first is basically empirical: to make a firm, reliable description of a particular actor's existing repertoire before attempting to explain its current action, or inaction. The second combines theory and observation: to account for change and variation in the repertoires of different sorts of actors. This paper makes a small response to the first challenge by sketching the varied repertoires of collective action in America and England between 1750 and 1830. As for the second, I have only preliminary suggestions to offer. A checklist of factors we must consider runs like this:

1. the pattern of repression in the world to which the actor belongs;
2. the relevant population's accumulated experience with prior collective action;
3. the daily routines and internal organization of the population in question;
4. the standards of rights and justice prevailing in the population.

The list is broad. Yet it excludes a number of factors various students have considered to be important: how angry or frustrated or deprived the population is, whether mobilization is proceeding rapidly or slowly, and so on.

Repression is probably the most underrated item on the list. Most observers concede some tendency for repression to lower the level of collective action. The controversy there turns on the strength, consistency and contingency of the relationship: Do long-repressed populations eventually acquire the will to rebel? Does a rapid increase in repression tend

to stimulate resistance before it has a depressing effect? We have less controversy, and fewer interesting speculations, about the effects of repression on the form of collective action. Yet we have reason to believe that those effects are considerable.

The first reason comes from the history of particular forms of collective action. Consider the strike: During the nineteenth century workers, employers and governments engaged in a continuing struggle; its general outcome was not only the legalization of some sort of strike activity but also the creation of shared understandings concerning the actions which constituted a strike. By no means all concerted withholding of labor qualified: the parties hammered out detailed rules excluding individual absenteeism, occupation of the premises, refusal to do particular jobs, and so forth. It is not simply that legislators made some forms of strike legal, and other forms of strike illegal. That happened too. But in the process the antagonists created -- in practice as well as in theory -- a sharper distinction between the strike and other forms of action with which it had previously often been associated: sabotage, slowdown, absenteeism, the demonstration. A narrowed, contained strike entered the repertoire of workers' collective action. Pressure from the authorities shaped the particular contours of the nineteenth-century strike.

The second reason for attributing importance to repression is the apparent success of authorities in channeling collective action from one form to another. In eighteenth-century Britain, the authorities tolerated or even encouraged assemblies for the purpose of preparing a petition for relief of the poor and the unemployed, but sent the militia against crowds which gathered at an employer's house to demand work or higher wages. In the short run, the pattern of repression channeled workers away from mobbing

the employer and toward petitioning the Magistrates. In the long run, a persistent choice of petitioning altered the organization of workers and diminished their capacity to mob when that might have been the most effective choice.

If the interplay between authorities and other actors significantly affects the collective-action repertoire, that fact makes it hard to amass independent evidence of the existence of a particular repertoire. If a group of Boston workers never sack the custom-house, is that because custom-house-sacking has no place in their repertoire, or because they never have the opportunity and incentive to do so? We shall ultimately have to face the difficulty by thinking of all possible forms of action as falling into a long rank-order of preference, the highly preferred forms constituting the repertoire. Compared with other groups, or with itself at another point in time, we will find a group employing a particular form of collective action when the expected costs of using that form are relatively high and the expected benefits of its use relatively low. Occasionally the sorts of documents with which I began this essay give us evidence about the preference: let us in on the deliberations of a group on its way to action, show us reactions to the news that some other group has acted in a way which is foreign to the local group's repertoire, and so on.

For the time being, however, we shall have to settle for a thoughtful inventory of the means of collective action which different groups actually employ. A thoughtful inventory should lead to clearer ideas concerning the reasons behind the particular mix of actions observed, and perhaps to evidence confirming or denying the importance of a learned repertoire as a constraint on collective action. In the preliminary inventories which occupy the remainder of this essay, my hopes are modest. The range of collective action under consideration is narrow: It concentrates on forms

of contention in which at least one party is making claims on another party -- claims which would, if realized, require the second party to expend valuable resources. The empirical work I have done so far focuses, furthermore, on gatherings in which a number of people assemble in the same place and make such claims. The repertoires in question, then, are not really repertoires of collective action in general, but those portions of the repertoire which consist of contentious gatherings. If heavy repression, for example, encourages people to shift away from any gatherings at all toward the coordinated appeal to powerful patrons, that important relationship will tend to escape our attention.

Instead of following the technical and theoretical problems which face any student of repertoires, let us make four more quick stops in the available evidence. First, another look at America in the Revolutionary period, to gain a first impression of the effect of the political crisis on the repertoire of contention in the colonies. Next, a glance at the United States fifty years later, to get some sense of longer-range changes. Then, a return to the eighteenth century, but this time to Great Britain in the period of the American Revolution. Finally, some observations on contentious gatherings in the Britain of the 1820s.

Changing Repertoires in America, 1750-1780

In the American colonies, the thirty years from 1750 to 1780 take us from a period of relative calm through the French and Indian War, through the Stamp Act crisis and further conflicts between the Colonies and Britain, into the outbreak of open war with the mother country. Any inventory of contentious gatherings in the colonies registers those changes unmistakably. The Seven Years War -- known in America as the French and Indian War -- began in 1756. During the years before the war, the most frequent contentions

of any size were no doubt the meetings of local and provincial assemblies; among the most common actions, for example, were a town meeting's petitioning of a provincial legislature for protection or tax relief, and a provincial legislature's petitioning Parliament for the right to issue money or levy taxes. In those years, violent contention often took the forms of affrays between Indians and white settlers on the frontier, struggles between adjacent settlements for control of forests, fields or water, resistance to impressment for naval service, resistance to the Crown's commandeering of tall trees for masts, battles between customs men and colonists who wanted to evade the payment of duties, and the tracking down of runaway slaves. Public ceremonies such as Pope's Day were frequent occasions for the display of support or opposition to officials and public policy.

With the arrival of 1756, Indian/settler battles and military engagements between French and British forces became much more prominent than before. Let us take, for example, the contentious gatherings reported during 1756 in two important weekly newspapers: the Boston Gazette and the South Carolina Gazette. From January through March, the fourteen reported events included eight violent encounters between Indians and white settlers in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, two gala greetings for famous generals in New York and Boston, two meetings of assemblies and two escapes of prisoners. In the quarter from April through June, 22 events included another nine settler/Indian affrays, six relatively routine assemblies to transact public business and make demands on higher authorities, the welcoming of a general to New York and a governor to Charleston, two patriotic rites (one a day of fasting and prayer for the preservation of the government, the other a celebration of the King's birthday), a meeting of back-country Pennsylvanians demanding a militia, and the marching off

of the governor and gentlemen of Maryland to build a new fort. July through September brought another 22 events: eight Indian/white battles, raids or skirmishes, two assemblies of Indians, two conferences of colonial officials with Indians, six processions and receptions in honor of generals, Boston's public demonstration of support for the war, a meeting of the gentlemen of South Carolina for the purpose of forming an artillery company, the preparation of a petition for county courts in South Carolina, and but one routine assembly: to arrange the incorporation of Phillipstown, Massachusetts. The year's last quarter produced only fourteen accounts of contentious gatherings: seven instances of white/Indian violence, four patriotic celebrations, one conference between Indians and colonial officials, a meeting of the Virginia legislature to raise money for the support of the Cherokee and Catawba participation in the war against the French, a single meeting of the proprietors of Nottingham. Throughout the year come multiple accounts of troop movements, brushes and battles among the French, the British and different groups of Indians.

If you automatically dismiss this catalogue as a biased enumeration of 1756's contentious gatherings, your impulse is absolutely right. The Boston Gazette and the South Carolina Gazette were surely more likely to learn of distant Indian raids than of distant town meetings; they were also undoubtedly more likely to print the news of the raids when they knew of them. Nonetheless, the list gives a sense of the texture of the more visible types of contentious gathering in 1756, and can serve as a baseline for comparisons with other sources, periods and places.

In 1756, acts of war dominated the list. In addition to acts of war, meetings of warriors and meetings with warriors stand out. War continued to loom large in American contentious gatherings for the next seven years. But the 1756 catalogue of events also brings out other issues,

only indirectly related to the war, which became major bases of contention later on. In South Carolina and elsewhere, people at the frontier were making two strong demands on the officials in the coastal capitals: give us protection from Indians and outlaws; let us have our own courts, governments and military units. The two demands were partly contradictory. Out of the contradiction grew the widespread vigilante and Regulator movements of the 1760s; local people took the law into their own hands. Other important issues shaping up in 1756 included the powers of the colonial legislatures to tax, regulate money and control military activity. Those issues persisted to the Revolution.

Moving forward ten years to 1766 brings us into the midst of the Stamp Act crisis. That was the onset of determined colonial resistance to demands of the British crown. The war had ended in 1763. Britain had wrested Canada from the French at great expense, and had built up its North American military establishments in order to protect its expanded empire. As the war ended, the British sought to help pay for the war and the expanded military expenses by increasing the return from old sources of revenue and by inventing new sources of revenue. A tightening of surveillance over customs was an important part of the first effort. It led to numerous clashes between coastal traders -- smugglers, from the British point of view -- and customs officers. The Stamp Act was a critical part of the effort to raise new revenue.

The Stamp Act required the use of expensive stamped paper for a variety of legal and commercial transactions. It went into effect in Britain months before its application in America; there it excited widespread grumbling and some localized resistance, but nothing like a national movement of protest. In the colonies, it brought a wide, determined coalition of patriots into being. By the start of 1766, the major cities had

already been through four months of mobilization and conflict over the Stamp Act. By that time, organized groups of merchants, artisans and other urbanites were actively and effectively blocking the application of the Act anywhere in the colonies. Their efforts focused on coercing royal officials and designated stamp agents, to keep them from even setting up stamp offices or putting the stamped paper on sale. They organized extravagant spectacles, including the erection of gallows and the hanging, parading and burning of effigies. On occasion, they attacked the persons or property of officials and stampmen. The action included the famous sacking of Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson's mansion on 26 August 1765. By the end of that year, most stamp agents had prudently resigned, and the activists had entirely blocked the Act's application in the colonies.

The action continued up to the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766. There were public bonfires of stamps, mock trials, more public tableaux. Repeal itself was the occasion of major public celebrations with much of the same street theater. In Charleston, according to the South Carolina Gazette of 9 June:

Wednesday last being the birth day of our most gracious and good Sovereign, King George III now in the 29th year of his age, the same was observed here with all possible demonstrations of affection, loyalty and joy; to the last of which the remarkable incident of the repeal of the stamp-act arriving that very day, added not a little. The morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells, and a general display of colours on all the bastions and vessels. The Charles Town regiment of militia, commanded by the hon. Col. Othniel Beale, the artillery company commanded by Capt. Christopher Gadsden, and a new company; of light infantry, commanded by Capt. Thomas

Savage, were all afterwards drawn up in Broad Street, and reviewed by his honours the Lieutenant governor, attended by his council, the members of assembly and public officers, who was pleased to express great satisfaction with the appearance and behaviour of the whole; and it must be particularly observed, to the honour of Capt. Savage's company, that they exceeded all expectation from the short time they had been formed. At noon royal salutes were fired from the forts, &c. And his honour gave a very elegant entertainment to the council, assembly, and public officers, at Mr. Dillon's, where many loyal and constitutional toasts were drank, amongst which the best friends to Britain and America were not omitted -- The artillery and light infantry companies likewise had an entertainment in honour of the day at Mr. Dillon's. -- At night the illuminations were grand and general, but the weather proving bad, many curious exhibitions were prevented.

In Massachusetts:

On the first news of the repeal of the stamp act, in New England, the bells were set ringing at Boston, the ships in the harbour displayed their colours, guns were every where fired on all the batteries, and in the evening bonfires. At the same time a day of general rejoicing was appointed; the morning of which was ushered in with music, ringing of bells, and the discharge of cannon; the ships in the harbour displayed their colours, and on many of the houses were hoisted streamers. At one in the afternoon, the castle, and batteries, and train of artillery, discharged their ordnance; and at night the whole town was most beautifully illuminated. On the common, a magnificent pyramid, illuminated with 280 (the number

that voted for the repeal) lamps were erected, the four upper stories of which were ornamented with the figures of their Majesties, and fourteen of the worthy patriots who distinguished themselves by their love of liberty (Gentlemen's Magazine, July 1766, p. 341).

So it went throughout the colonies. The Stamp Act was and its repeal were not the only objects of contentious gatherings in 1766, but they were the most visible. Otherwise, the pattern was much like that of 1756, minus the war.

By 1776, a new war had begun. Now the colonies were in more or less open rebellion against the Crown, after several years of gradually detaching themselves from the effective control of the royal agents in America. In all the colonies outside of Canada, full-fledged revolutionary committees and provisional governments completed the displacement of the old authorities. During the year, disciplined military forces pushed unsuccessfully into Quebec, then withdrew into New England; another army evacuated the city of New York after a British landing on Staten Island. Meanwhile provincial legislatures and a Continental Congress deliberated, pronounced, declared independence and made the provisions necessary for the support of the military operations and for the creation of new, independent instruments of government. These feverish activities absorbed or blunted almost all other interests and divisions. In one way or another, almost all of America's contentious gatherings linked directly to the revolutionary struggle for power. This state of affairs -- a high level of mobilization, the dominance of military activity and statemaking, the absorption of most local conflicts into one large conflict -- continued for another six years.

This cursory review of American contentious gatherings in the thirty years after 1750 only hints at a significant change: the steadily increasing contact and coordination among the activists in different colonies. We

noticed earlier the attention Charleston's patriots gave to Boston during their Pope's Day celebrations of 1774. As the front stage of confrontation with the British authorities, Boston generally attracted more attention than other colonial cities. But the phenomenon was much more general. With the Stamp Act mobilization and the formation of a web of local patriotic clubs and committees, the people of one colony increasingly drew ideas and information from the other colonies: news flowed, and so did rhetoric, symbols, the very form of gatherings. Liberty trees, gallows, effigies, printed slogans and bonfires became the standard accouterments of anti-British displays.

Throughout the period, three main classes of contentious gatherings prevailed: 1) acts of war, some of which consisted of attacks by armed forces on members of the general population; 2) resistance by well-defined groups, such as coastal traders, against the efforts of constituted authorities to control their regular activities or to take valued resources away from them; 3) assemblies authorized by law and public officials, in the course of which ordinary citizens often articulated grievances, demands or political preferences; this third category included public holidays, ceremonial entries of dignitaries, markets and the openings of courts and legislatures. From a twentieth-century point of view, it is surprising how much contention appeared in the midst of duly authorized gatherings, and how little through unauthorized efforts to assemble and make demands. Not that the Americans of the 1750s were servile or quiescent; their readiness to battle customs agents and military recruiters shows the contrary. When faced with moral reprobates, furthermore, they were prepared to mock them in the streets, to burn them in effigy, to tar and feather them, to ride them out of town on rails. But when ordinary Americans themselves directed

a demand or complaint at holders of power, they were very inclined to do so either through a display of sentiments at an already-authorized public occasion or through the petition of a regularly-constituted deliberative body.

That trait of American contentious gatherings changed somewhat in the two decades after 1756. With the struggle over the Stamp Act we see a trio of related alterations in the pattern: an increasing readiness of ordinary citizens to organize their own ceremonies, symbolic displays and demonstrations of sentiment without prior authorization; a rising importance of special-purpose associations such as the Sons of Liberty; an increasing employment of the forms and symbols of moral reprobation in large-scale political conflicts. To be sure, elite organizers such as Samuel Adams and John Hancock often stood behind the scenes. To be sure, the coalition -- implicit or explicit -- between substantial merchants and established craftsmen frequently underlay the newly independent shows of force. That change in the structure of power helped transform the character of contentious gatherings.

A Brief Glance at America in 1828

A half-century after the Revolution, the United States were steadily filling up the land from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi, and pushing on beyond. Although farming was the predominant economic activity, manufacturing was growing rapidly in the Northeast. The manufacturers of New England sought protection from foreign competition, while the cotton-growers of the South prospered by shipping their product to the rival manufacturers of Great Britain. Regularly-elected deliberative assemblies of various kinds were doing a major part of public business.

In that America, Niles' Register for 1828 reports a somewhat different mixture of contentious gatherings from the mixture we have noticed in the eighteenth-century papers. Of the mere 21 gatherings mentioned

unambiguously in the 1828 Niles', nine were deliberately-called meetings. The wool growers and manufacturers of Massachusetts met in Boston to resolve Protection. The acting committee of the New Jersey Society for Promoting Manufactures and Mechanic Arts met in Paterson, likewise to plead for Protection. So did a group of manufacturers in Philadelphia. Anti-tariff meetings, on the other hand, took place in Oxford, North Carolina, in Abbeville, Columbia and Waterborough, South Carolina, and in Athens, Georgia. Only one of the reported meetings did not directly concern tariffs, and that one still had a protectionist flavor: it was a Baltimore gathering which issued a memorial opposing the auction system, which allegedly gave foreign merchants control of American trade. All nine meetings either brought together members of particular special-purpose associations or were sponsored by special-purpose associations.

The other twelve events were more diverse. There were four battles between Indians and whites; they now took place in the zone from Indiana to New Mexico rather than close to the East Coast. There were three actions by workers as workers: a turnout by laborers on the Charlestown, Massachusetts drydock; a series of battles between weavers and the watch in Philadelphia; a "riot" of stevedores, riggers and others in New York. Two gatherings were authorized public ceremonies -- one the assembly of a large crowd to greet Henry Clay on his arrival in Philadelphia, another a celebratory dinner for a free-trade congressman from South Carolina, and still another the burning in effigy of a New York state senator who had voted against a local canal bill.

All these events had their eighteenth-century equivalents. The smaller list is obviously short on electoral meetings and rallies. The magazine's strong protectionist stance probably led it to emphasize gatherings dealing with the tariff. Nevertheless, the reports in the 1828 Niles'

bring us into a different world from the 1756 Boston Gazette. In that world, authorized public ceremonies play a diminished role as the settings for the statement of demands and grievances. Special-purpose associations appear to be important. And we have some signs that workers are pursuing their own collective interests as workers to a greater degree than in the eighteenth century.

In terms of repertoires of contention, the comparison between the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources hints at significant changes. All sorts of street theater appear to have declined. (Although these cursory compilations do not show it, the actions of night riders, vigilantes and disguised avengers probably substituted to some degree for the actions of mocking crowds.) The disciplined meeting, previously announced, sponsored by a particular association or set of associations, organized around an announced agenda and presided by a temporary or permanent set of officers, became a common vehicle for the statement of complaints and claims. The strike was on its way. The trend toward associations and meetings was already visible in the pre-revolutionary mobilization. An observer of the two decades before the Revolution, on the other hand, would have had no good grounds for anticipating the decline of effigies, gallows, mock courts and dumb shows as the paraphernalia of collective action.

A Quick Glance at Eighteenth-Century Britain

On the other side of the Atlantic, some of the same transformations were occurring. The pattern of contentious gatherings in eighteenth-century Britain is better known than that of eighteenth-century America because George Rudé, E.P. Thompson and other social historians have lavished attention on the British crowd and its context. As a result, my summary can be brief.

The eighteen contentious gatherings described in the 1756 Gentlemen's Magazine give us some flavor of the time. Eleven of them were food riots in which local people seized provisions from the stocks of bakers, grocers or merchants. In two cases, a crowd essentially took the law into its own hands: forcibly closing the shops which were illegally open, attacking two detested criminals while they were in the stocks. The remaining events were a mutiny, a battle between sailors and a press gang, the hanging of an unvictorious admiral in effigy, a miners' rising and a celebration of Lord Mayor's Day in London.

Those few events of 1756 were characteristic of the time. When W.A. Smith enumerates "riots" (exact definition unspecified) from 1740 to 1775, 96 out of 159 events he finds are food riots, and another twenty are industrial disputes; most of the remainder consist of concerted resistance to some governmental action (Smith 1965: 29-33). The food riot, apparently rare in eighteenth-century America, was a frequent occurrence in Britain. When prices rose, supplies dwindled and local authorities did not themselves regulate the local food supply, crowds often did it for them. This substitution of a crowd for the authorities was a common pattern in eighteenth-century British contentious gatherings. Another common feature was the deliberate collective exercise of disputed rights -- for example, in the events which the authorities called poaching in newly-created hunts (see Thompson 1975). The predominant orientation of the period's contentious gatherings was, in fact defensive: groups of ordinary people resisted what they saw as other people's assaults on their rights, privileges and possessions.

Two common characteristics of eighteenth-century British contentious gatherings we have already encountered in America. One of them is the use of pageantry and street theater to dramatize the conflicts at issue. Rituals,

mocking songs, effigies, dumb shows provided the texture of many a riotous assembly. The other was the prominence of sponsored public ceremonies: Guy Fawkes' Day, Lord Mayor's Day, the entries of dignitaries, public hangings. When it came to formulating new demands or complaints, it was rare -- and dangerous -- for ordinary people to assemble on their own initiative.

We must, however, separate the contentious gatherings of London from those of the rest of the country. The contentious gatherings of the capital were often large. They showed a level of pre-planning which was rare elsewhere. The presence of Parliament and the Court produced many events with significant links to national politics. London crowds had an unmatched reputation for independence and determination.

During the period from 1750 to 1780, London alone produced significant alterations in the repertoire of contention. A series of major political and economic movements stirred the capital. The Spitalfields silk weavers and other London crafts were organizing on an unprecedented scale. Sometimes they acted against particular masters. But in the 1760s they began a campaign of petitioning Parliament for such benefits as the exclusion of foreign silks. Petitioning itself was an old form, but when thousands of weavers marched through the streets to present a petition, it was a novelty.

At about the same time, gentleman-publisher John Wilkes was gaining a following through his attacks on the government. Wilkes himself first went to jail for his writings in 1763. He spent several years thereafter in exile, a popular hero. Whether he was in Britain or not, the Wilkites began developing tactics parallel to those of the craftsmen: showing up at trials and public punishments as an identifiable group, and in extraordinary numbers; bending the long-established right of petition to include mass marches through the city. The tactics continued through Wilkes' campaigns for Par-

liament between 1768 and 1774. Wilkes continued to lead petition marches after becoming Lord Mayor in 1774. A new form of electoral politics and a new way of demonstrating a movement's strength were emerging. The Wilkites were coming close to creating the demonstration as a distinctive form of contention.

Wilkes had begun his public life as a critic of governmental incompetence, corruption and tyranny. As the Stamp Act crisis and its aftermath made American policies salient issues in British politics, he became an advocate of American rights. Besides a series of proposals for increasing representative government within Britain, Wilkes' 1774 electoral program included a number of grievances which later appeared in the American Declaration of Independence.

The London Radical movement, with which the Wilkite movement overlapped, likewise developed a great sympathy for the American cause. The Radicals maintained contact with their American counterparts, and attacked the government's arbitrary rule in the colonies as a proxy and proof for its arbitrariness at home. Thomas Paine came from the London Radical milieu. Although the militant Radicals themselves were largely middle class, they included a number of radical craftsmen, and maintained a loose alliance with the organized workers of the city. They, too, took part in mass marches and shows of strength.

Finally, the popular anti-Catholicism of the later 1770s employed many of the same means. The anti-Catholic Lord George Gordon led huge marches to lay petitions before Parliament. His Protestant Association held mass meetings. In 1780, his followers went beyond marching, shouting and meeting as they sacked the city's Catholic chapels. The cause, the targets and -- to some extent -- the social base were different, but the anti-Catholic forms of contention had a good deal in common with those of

the Wilkites and the Radicals.

The Protestant Association was itself an important example of a major innovation: the deliberate formation of an association devoted to the pursuit of a single cause. The Americans, with their general Association to resist Britain, their Committees of Correspondence and their local patriotic societies, became important models for the British. The Society for the Support of the Bill of Rights, formed in the 1760s, started with the patronage of great lords, but foreshadowed the political parties and mass-membership pressure groups of subsequent centuries. Other associations proliferated. "By 1792," remarks Eugene Black,

political associations had arrived. The discerning read the future in organization. Even as association was the hallmark of growing national political maturity, the political expression of popular interests, so political association educated the public, both enfranchised and unenfranchised, on questions of moment. Mysteries of state became less mysterious. As the Commons slowly discovered its own potential power in Parliament, the public began to intervene in a manner which would prove decisive through political association (Black 1963: 279).

The counterpart of the organizational change, as we have seen was a shift in the repertoire of contention.

Britain in 1828

Even in 1792, however, a long road separated the British forms of contention from those of our own time. A move forward to the 1820s will help us detect the further changes which were in store. We arrive here at the first truly systematic enumeration of contentious gatherings reported in this paper. My research group is enumerating and describing a large set

of events which occurred in Great Britain from 1828 through 1833. The period is interesting in its own right. It included the great mobilization and conflict surrounding the Reform Bill of 1832. During the same period, Britain experienced important struggles over Catholic Emancipation, parish representation and the Corn Laws. 1830 brought the movement of landless laborers which we sometimes call the Swing Rebellion, as well as intense industrial conflict. It seems to have acted as gateway to the large-scale movements exemplified by Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law League. It also seems to have brought the last major round of older forms of contention such as food riot and machine-breaking. It is a promising period for the study of contention.

The events we are enumerating are occasions on which ten or more persons outside the government gather in the same place and make a visible claim which, if realized, would affect the interests of some specific person(s) or group(s) outside their own number. The sample includes all such events reported in the London Times, Morning Chronicle, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Annual Register, Gentlemen's Magazine and/or The Mirror of Parliament which began anywhere in England, Scotland or Wales on any date from 1 January 1828 through 31 December 1833. At this writing, it seems likely that the sample will include some 25,000 entries.

The work is at an early stage. Here I can only report some fragmentary, preliminary impressions of 1828. Table 1 lays out a provisional count of qualifying events reported in our six sources in their 1828 issues. Some events first appear in our sources months after they occur. For example, a number of contentious gatherings show up first in the course of parliamentary debates concerning the petitions which the gatherings sent off to Westminster. At the moment, it looks as though another forty or fifty events, concentrated in the later months of 1828, will emerge from our 1829

reading. The expected total of 400-odd contentious gatherings will still make 1828 one of the least contentious of our six years. 1830 and 1831 will each yield many times that number.

To get a sense of the table's meaning, let us first examine a list of the 31 events we have enumerated in May, 1828, grouped according to the table's categories:

violent encounters: after a conviction for riot, a group of men from near Shrewsbury kindles a fire in front of the prosecutor's house, and throw stones and brickbats at his house; in the Hull barracks-yard soldiers attack civilian spectators at a parade and the constables sent to arrest some of them for a prior offense;

unplanned gatherings: Kidderminster weavers band together to block one of their number who applied for work at a blacklisted low-wage shop;

authorized celebrations: none;

delegations: a deputation from the general meeting of country bankers meets the Duke of Wellington at the Treasury, to take a stand on the renewal of the Bank Charter; a delegation of Haverhill weavers goes to their Magistrate to complain of being obliged to buy inferior provisions from their masters;

parades, demonstrations and assemblies: none;

strikes, turnouts: inmates of the House of Correction, Clerkenwell, refuse to do the work assigned to them;

pre-planned meetings: seven different groups, such as the municipal officers of Nottingham and the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, meet to take positions of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; bondholders of South American states meet to request government action on their behalf; a dinner at the City of London Tavern celebrates the inauguration of the new sheriff; the Anti-Slavery Society meets at Freemason's Hall; journeymen dyers of Manchester meet behind All Saints Church to prepare wage demands; licensed victuallers meet at London Tavern to appoint a permanent committee to defend them against government interference in their trade; the parishioners of St. Giles-in-the-Field and St. George's Bloomsbury meet at Angel Inn, High Street, to complain about the select vestry's use of their funds; inhabitants of the Ward of Bridge meet at St. Magnus' Church to take a position on the proposed new London Bridge; a general meeting of the metropolitan trades, at the Crown & Anchor in Bethnal Green, takes a stand on the dispute between the Macclesfield silkmasters and their workmen; the Pitt Club meets at the London Tavern to celebrate William Pitt's birthday; the electors of Aylesbury meet to support parliamentary reform; the Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys in Sweeping Chimneys meets at the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House; the Friendly Society of Carpenters meets at Hole-in-the-Wall, Fleet Street, to prepare a petition to Parliament against the Friendly Societies Bill; a public meeting in Liverpool (sponsors unspecified) petitions against the burning of widows in India; Roman Catholics of the chapel of St. Swithin's, Norwich, meet to petition for Catholic Emancipation; parishioners of St. John's, Norwich, do likewise; the Chamber of Commerce of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

meets to petition Parliament for repeal on the limitation of one-pound banknotes; the congregation of Dissenters at Providence Chapel, Gray's Inn Lane, meets to stand against further concessions to Catholics; the Friendly Society of the Bull Inn, Northampton, gathers to petition against the Friendly Societies Bill.

Regardless of the group's title or professed aims, none of these gatherings entered the sample unless the accounts contained some evidence that the group had made claims of some sort at this specific meeting. Hundreds of additional meetings, and some other kinds of gatherings, failed to qualify on that ground.

The catalogue itself gives a sense of the texture of contention in that time. We see the importance of taverns and coffeehouses as meeting-places, the proliferation of special-purpose associations, the frequent confrontations of journeymen and masters. The events also provide a rough inventory of the day's major public issues. In 1828 as a whole, the standard issues were the political rights of Dissenters and Roman Catholics, the proper organization of parish government (especially the use of elite Select Vestries), the regulation of Friendly Societies and the wage demands of industrial workers. All of them show up somehow in May's contentious gatherings.

The categories of Table 1 result from the needs of our initial enumeration rather than from the requirements of sound analysis. Regrettably, they give a somewhat clouded picture of the specific forms of action involved. Violent encounters, for example, consist especially of affrays between poachers and gamekeepers; they also include attacks on tollkeepers, battles between smugglers and customs officers, and those brawls in which we can detect at least one party making a well-defined claim. Unplanned gatherings

Table 1: Rough Breakdown of Contentious Gatherings in Great Britain, 1828.

Type	January- March	April- June	July- September	October- December	Total
Violent Encounters	15	9	14	12	50
Unplanned Gatherings	7	2	7	11	27
Authorized Celebrations	0	1	0	1	2
Delegations	1	3	0	0	4
Parades, Demonstrations, Assemblies	4	1	2	0	7
Strikes, Turnouts	2	2	0	0	4
Pre-planned Meetings	71	126	36	36	269
Total	100	144	59	60	363

run from street crowds to markets to arguments on the hustings, just so long as the claims at issue are not on the previously-announced agenda of the gathering. Pre-planned meetings, on the other hand, usually take place in an enclosed space under the sponsorship of a named and previously-organized association. They typically have an announced agenda. At that time, indeed, it was common practice to use a small newspaper advertisement to announce a forthcoming meeting and state its purpose.

The large number of meetings in the provisional sample, however, does not result from the practice of advertising meetings in advance; we do not include an announced meeting unless we find evidence that it actually took place. If the sample overrepresents meetings (which is quite possible), it is for other reasons. Certainly the number of meetings is impressive. The 269 meetings reported in Table 1 amount to three quarters of all the contentious gatherings in 1828.

Even if the overrepresentation of meetings is considerable, the evidence remains persuasive. By the 1820s, a standard way -- probably the standard way -- of acting together on a grievance or an unrealized interest was to form some sort of association, to assemble under its auspices, and to issue demands and complaints in its name. We saw this form of action emerging in the 1760s. It only regularized and routinized later. The rise of the meeting, the rise of the association and the rise of electoral politics occurred in tandem. They depended on each other in ways we do not fully understand; one of the objects of my inquiry is to deepen that understanding.

By contrast, both unplanned gatherings and authorized celebrations appear to have declined in importance as the origins of contentious gatherings. That varies with the year, the group and the issue. For example, our first explorations of 1830 suggest that routine markets produced a good deal

of that year's contention. Nevertheless, the assembly of the general population patronized by the elite and authorized by local officials seems to have been much less important in the 1820s than it had been a half-century earlier. Strikes, too, varied considerably in prominence from one year to the next. Yet it is clear that in the 1820s they had not acquired anything like the salience they would have in the decades to come. Most puzzling is the paucity of parades, demonstrations and assemblies. Given the near-creation of the demonstration toward the end of the eighteenth century, we might have expected it to be a prominent form of action by the 1820s. Since the Reform and election campaigns of 1831 did include a number of parades, demonstrations and assemblies, it is possible that 1828 is simply an exceptional year in that regard. For such refinements, we shall have to await further evidence.

Conclusions

This essay has resembled an archeologist's reconstruction of an ancient pot, using a few shards, some previous experience, and a lot of imagination. If the archeologist is clever, and has happened on the right fragments, he may produce a good fit. More often, the reconstruction is erroneous: the model is the wrong shape, the fragments really came from two different pots, or they came from no pot at all. Yet even an inaccurate reconstruction is helpful. It invites comparison, inspires alternative sketches, and lends itself to refutation or improvement when the next shard appears.

We have actually been attempting two reconstructions at once: of this particular pot, of all pots. This particular pot: we have examined the prevailing repertoires of contention in England and America during the century after 1750. The examination, to be sure, has been cursory and provisional; it has concentrated on contentious gatherings to the neglect of less visible

forms of contention, and has drawn on limited sources for selected periods. The provisional examination has, however, yielded interesting conclusions. It points to a significant relationship between the forms of contention which flourished in the nineteenth century -- the demonstration, the strike, the meeting and so on -- and two changes which were underway in the later eighteenth century: the growth of special-purpose associations and the rise of electoral politics. It gives us indications of a common Anglo-American heritage affecting the forms of contention. In both countries we witness a decline of street theater as a tool of contention, and an associated dwindling of the relative importance of authorized public ceremonies as the settings for the statement of claims and grievances. The material suggests that the pattern of government and the associated structure of power in the two areas shaped the entire pattern of contention, whether or not it had to do specifically with influencing the government. It gives us some reason to believe that major mobilizations and conflicts such as those preceding the American Revolution on both sides of the Atlantic themselves reshaped the patterns of collective contention in Britain and America; Samuel Adams and John Wilkes helped invent forms of action which subsequently altered the choices available to aggrieved or ambitious groups of citizens. Finally, although we have barely discussed governmental repression, it looks as though the differential response of authorities to the various forms of contention significantly affected the prevailing repertoires.

All pots: we have also been reflecting on the nature of repertoires of contention in general. The fragmentary evidence on Britain and America gives some encouragement to the idea of a flexible repertoire, with room for innovation and the occasional deliberate adoption of unfamiliar means of action. After the fact, it is not difficult to see the recurrence of a limited number of slowly-changing forms of action in British and American

contentious gatherings. We see Englishmen innovating within the limits set by the petition march, Americans adapting the devices of moral repression such as tarring and feathering or the mocking serenade to political ends. That is the easy part of the job.

The hard part has two phases. The first is to establish whether the existing repertoire itself constrains the pattern of collective action; after all, whatever recurrence of contentious forms exists could well result from the recurrence of the interests, organizations and opportunities which produce contention. The second part is to explain the variation and change. What are the relative contributions of repression, tactical experience and organizational changes? How do they interact? These questions, fortunately, drive us back from the analysis of repertoires for their own sake to the analysis of contention as a whole.

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