

Appendix for When Canvassers Became Activists

Daniel Carpenter and Colin D. Moore, “When Canvassers Became Activists: Antislavery Petitioning and the Political Mobilization of American Women,” *American Political Science Review*.

For related files and data, please see <http://people.hmdc.harvard.edu/~dcarpent/petitions.html>.

I. Anti-Slavery Petitions Data in National Archives.

We spent a seven-year period (2003-2010) collecting data on the petitions analyzed in this sample. The petitions are not digitized and in-person collection at the National Archives is the only way of assembling a database. There are certain petitions on display, including large rolled petitions with thousands of signatures, which cannot be unrolled for coding or examination. Yet for our purposes, this does not appear to pose a problem. Our archival research and consultation suggest that most of the large rolled petitions were assembled and sent to Congress in the late 1840s and 1850s, well past our critical period of 1833-1845 and outside the “surge” of the 25th and 26th Congresses (1837-1841). Dumond (1961: 241-48) remarks that 25th Congress is best preserved, and while our petition numbers are larger than those he reports – he likely was unaware of several collections of 25th Congress petitions housed separately from the rest – they are near his total and our state-by-state distribution of petitions maps well onto his. We have reason to believe that his remarks underestimate the completeness of the 26th through 28th Congress samples, especially for the 26th Congress. Our finding of fewer petitions and a smaller women’s effect for the 27th and 28th Congresses is consistent with other historical evidence of a schism in anti-slavery over gender issues that erupted in 1840. We are, moreover, able to show in the paper (Table 2, two rightmost columns of estimates) and below (Table A2a, two rightmost columns of estimates), that if analytic attention is restricted to the 25th Congress our findings (on the differential propensity of women’s petitions to contain more signatures) become stronger, not weaker. Specifically, the difference between the

number of signatories for women's only petitions and other kinds of petitions is larger in the 25th Congress than in other Congresses.

We began by examining all known sources of records in Record Group 233, the National Archives record group for the U.S. House of Representatives. These totals were checked against the records of the National Archives and Records Administration. We also tracked down hundreds of petitions that had been separated from the National Archives to be sent to the Library of Congress, then later returned, but not rejoined in the same collection with those from which they had been separated. In consultation with the staff at the Center for Legislative Archives and over a period of eight years, we located every petition that we think could have been contained in the various collections of the Archives.

Coding Petitions' Prayers:

We coded the petitions requests or "prayers" into several categories based upon the common kinds of claims that were being made in the documents. For those petitions that requested the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia (such as in Figures 1 and 2), we coded the prayer as having a prayer pertaining to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ("D.C. Slavery"). Where petitions concerned the prohibition of slavery in the non-state U.S. territories (where again Congress' authority was deemed to be clear), we coded the prayer as "Slavery in territories." Where the petition requested Congress to refuse to admit a particular state as a slave or state, or to refuse the admission of a state that would likely have been a slave state in the event that it were admitted (this was common for Florida and Texas, for instance), we code the prayer as pertaining to "Admission of slave states." Some petitions envisioned a world in which slavery continued to exist within states and in which the slave trade itself would continue within state borders, but where

Congress would exercise its power under Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution to prohibited the interstate traffic in slaves; we code these petitions prayers as pertaining to the “Interstate slave trade.” Finally, many petitions circulated that called – much less deferentially – for a repeal of the Pinckney gag rule. These petitions often circulated with others and, in many cases, the prayer called for the repeal of the gag rule along with one or more of the measures just discussed (abolition in D.C., refusal or restriction of slave state admissions, interstate trade prohibition, etc.). We therefore code these prayers as pertaining to the “gag rule.”

It is important to emphasize that petitions could, and often did, carry more than one prayer. We code these petitions as having more than one “prayer focus” accordingly.

Complications of Race and Archival Research:

It is worth reflecting on the fact that the National Archives petitions sample contains documents that largely emanate from white publics, which may limit the portability of the sample to questions of identity politics (Martinez-Ebers and Dorraj 2009). However, there are well-known examples of black women petitioning in the early Republic,¹ though these petitions were sent to state legislatures, and while we are not able at present to follow these petitions systematically we are collecting data on black women’s petitions from several state archives.

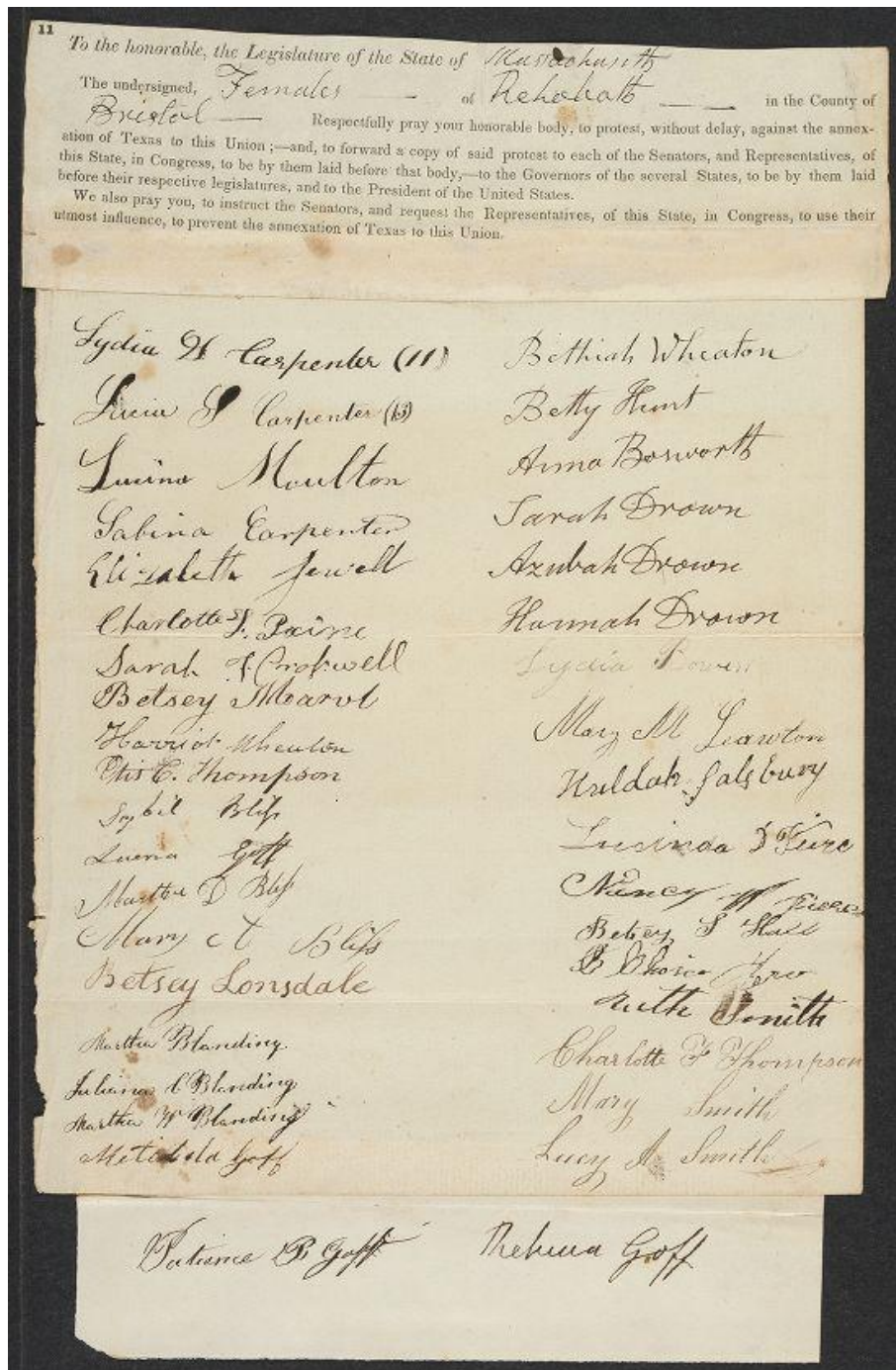
There is another complication and caveat here that we add, which is that after the Civil War some women became more supportive of women’s rights and, at the same time, *less* supportive of further civil rights for African Americans. This is a history with deep complications and tensions. Just because previously canvassing anti-slavery women became more active in politics does not imply that they invariably became more supportive of minority rights and civil rights in general (McPherson 1975: Chapter 17).

¹ See Amber Moulton, *Marriage Extraordinary: Interracial Marriage and the Politics of Family in Antebellum Massachusetts* (Ph. D. Thesis, 2011; Harvard University).

II. Supplemental Figures and Auxiliary Discussions

Appendix Section II.A. Canvassing by Young Women

Figure A1: Petition canvassed by 11-year-old Lydia Carpenter of Rehoboth, Mass.



Source: Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts (c. 1838).

Appendix Section II. B. Were Signatures Copied?

In many of our petitions, it appears that some signatures were copied in the same handwriting. This is difficult to evaluate in detail without consultation with scholars expert in analysis of nineteenth-century handwriting (we have begun this consultation), but our initial impressions suggest some number of these signatures.

That said, we do not believe that signatures were systematically forged. Figure A2 shows that women's instructions included specific commands (#3) to have everyone sign their own names, in part for fear of perceptions of forgery. Note that this document is only partially visible as another document has been glued over it in the version we have consulted at the Archives.

Figures A3 and A4 show why, in some cases, petitions had copied signatures. The original of the petition was often kept in its town of origin, either as a form of record-keeping or for public display there to demonstrate the legitimacy of community support. What we are able to view in the National Archives is, as in this case from Cayuga County, New York, only a copy. The (male) canvassers of this petition clearly were not worried about perceptions of forgery, which may suggest something about the role that the original copy played for local anti-slavery activists.

Figure A2: Petitioning Instructions in Massachusetts (partial image from Massachusetts State Archives, c. 1840).

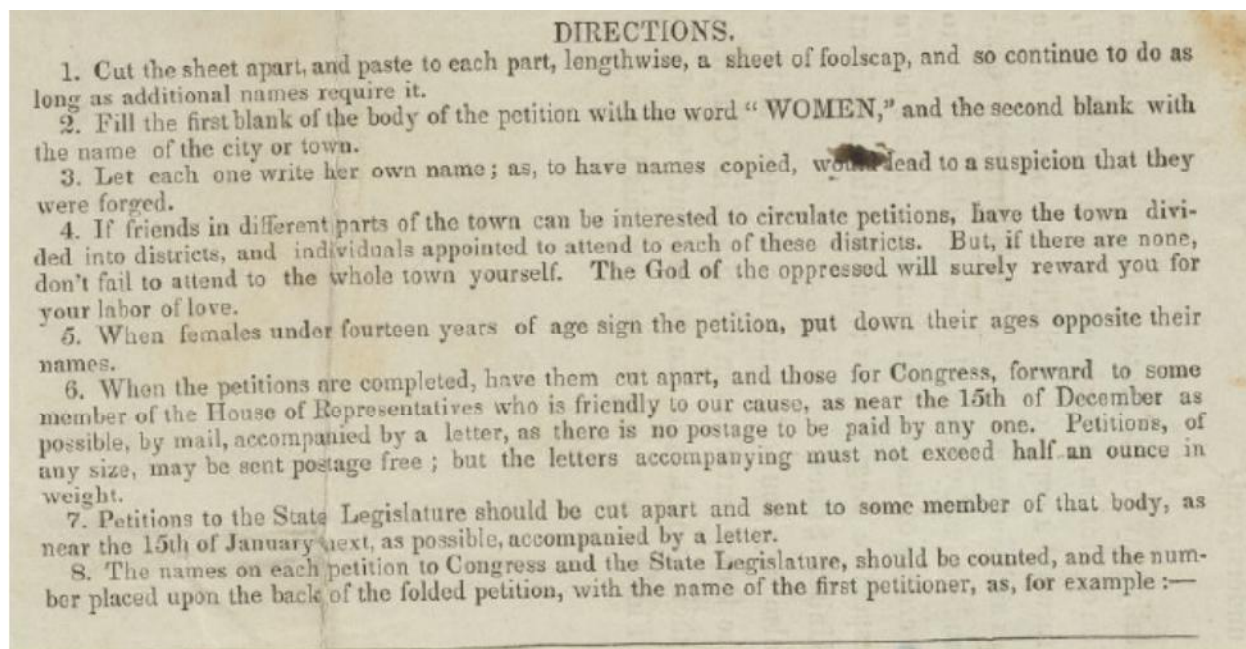


Figure A3: Letter Accompanying Petition with Copied Signatures, 1838.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

P. W. T. Byrnes Jan. 22 '39

Gov. William Stodd

Dear Sir

Enclosed is a true copy (the original of which is in my possession) of fifty petitions praying for the abolition of slavery in the D. C. &c. — by presenting it — you will only render your name still more dear than ever to us —

Yours for Oppress

W. C. Duwall




Figure A4: Figure of Men's anti-Slavery Petition with Copied Signatures, from Cayuga County, New York, 1839.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:
 The undersigned, *Signatures* of *West. Cayuga County*
 in the State of *New York* Respectfully pray your honorable body immediately to abolish SLAVERY, and the SLAVE TRADE, in the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, and in those TERRITORIES where they exist, and so to exercise the Constitutional power vested in you "to regulate COMMERCE AMONG THE SEVERAL STATES," as entirely to prohibit the Domestic Slave Trade.
 We also pray your honorable body, that this petition may be referred to a select Committee, before whom the undersigned may be heard, personally or by counsel.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:
 The undersigned, *Signatures* of *West. Cayuga County*
 in the State of *North* Respectfully pray your honorable body, not to admit any NEW STATE to this Union, whose Constitution tolerates DOMESTIC SLAVERY; and promptly to reject all proposals for the annexation of TEXAS to this Union, from whatever source they may come.
 We also pray your honorable body that this petition may be referred to a select committee, before whom the undersigned may be heard, personally or by counsel.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Williams Dwoall | Julia Clarke | William Lull |
| Nanni Dwoall | William Wright | Amos H. King |
| W. O. Dwoall | Nathan Nolley | F. P. Hall |
| Ely. a. C. Dwoall | Miner Frink Jr | Abble Green |
| Charles Paddock | Edward C. Willis | John A. Potter |
| A. H. Scott | William Crane | David Powell |
| John A. Curtiss | Jarvis M. Leonard | Wm Hayden Jr |
| Absalom Gutchus | David Sears | Robt Dutton Jr |
| Jonas M. Willis | Alfred Smith | Jacob Will |
| John M. Stover | Jonathan Paddock | O. P. Palu |
| Levi Belknap | Philip Grimsho | Edward Cox |
| Porter J. Proods | J. M. Clarke | A. B. Green |
| J. H. Belknap | Ann E. Arcty | Wm B. Miner |
| E. V. Prood | Saml. Prood | E. M. Johnson |
| Jacob Gutchus | Fanny Prood | James C. Daniels |
| James J. White | Mary C. Prood | Larfen Knapp |
| J. H. Valentine | L. M. Austin | Martin Hayden |
| Paul Goodrich | David Austin | Warren Knapp |
| William O. Thomas | Saml. H. Prood | Spencer H. Johnson |
| Wm Gutchus | Julia A. Prood | Jacob E. Fremper |
| Stephen Ward | Elizabeth Graham | John Clarke |
| Leborah Ward | Susan B. Graham | Lu man Lums |
| Z. M. Harrington | Sophia S. Graham | John Shoemaker |

Source: National Archives, Record Group 233.

Appendix Section III. Supplemental Tables and Auxiliary Discussions

III. A. Slavery-related Petitioning in the South.

As Figure 3 demonstrates, the geographical distribution of anti-slavery petitions in the 25th Congress is almost entirely contained in the northern States. It is important to keep in mind, however, that our sample includes only slavery-related petitions sent to the U.S. House of Representatives. Many thousands of petitions on slavery were sent to state legislatures during this period. To classify these as anti-slavery is more difficult because the kinds of movements that could organize and coordinate a reasonably unified anti-slavery message were not present in the South. Yet the systematic effort of historian Loren Schweningen² to microfilm and examine slavery-related petitions sent to Southern state legislatures suggests that there were, at the individual and the aggregate level, some criticisms launched of slavery-related institutions in the South. Many Southerners objected to laws criminalizing the teaching of reading to slaves (Schweningen 2001: 152-3) and in many other cases advocated for the emancipation of individual slaves (Schweningen 2001: 161, 200). There were also a range of “freedom suits” in Southern states during the antebellum period, which were brought by individual slaves or their advocates.³

Table A1: Southern Slavery-Related Petitions by State

Petitions to Southern Legislatures by States and Decades, 1777 - 1867									
Decade	Dela.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	Other	Totals
1777-1779			2				12		14
1780-1789	9		25	25			35		94
1790-1799	30		77	85	2		26		220
1800-1809	21	2	80	67	15		75		260
1810-1819	82	10	51	96	80		174	3	496
1820-1829	140	32	55	170	70		100	10	577
1830-1839	49	27	50	62	114	23	198	6	529
1840-1849	77		30	43	81	39	95	6	371
1850-1859	10	33	55	51	46	43	46	7	291
1860-1867		23	16	10	7	8	21	5	90
Undated		24		5					29
Totals	418	151	441	614	415	113	782	37	2971

Source: Loren Schweningen, *The Southern Debate Over Slavery: Volume 1: Petitions to Southern Legislatures, 1778 – 1864* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), xxxii.

² Loren Schweningen, editor, *The Southern Debate over Slavery. Volume 1: Petitions to Southern Legislatures, 1778-1864* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001). See also Schweningen, ed., *Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks: Series 1, Petitions to Southern Legislatures, 1777-1867* (Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1998), microfilm edition, 23 reels; and Schweningen, *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks: Series 1, Petitions to Southern Legislatures, 1777-1867* (Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1999).

³ The literature on these suits is broader than would permit a capable summary here, but for some representative works, consult Michael L. Nichols, “The squint of freedom: African-American freedom suits in post-revolutionary Virginia,” *Slavery and Abolition* 20 (2) (January 1999) 47-62; Edlie L. Wong, *Neither Fugitive nor Free: Atlantic Slavery, Freedom Suits and the Legal Culture of Travel* (New York: NYU Press, 2009).

III. B. Examples from Schweninger (2001) of women's petitioning in the antebellum South

Schweninger's summary of petitioning demonstrates that white women and free black women did petition in the South for the freedom of slaves, though there is little evidence that they organized against slavery as such. A summary and reference to two documents follow.

"The documents also illuminate the unique role of free women of color. Manumitted in larger numbers than their male counterparts and constituting a larger portion of the free black population, free black women struggled to protect themselves and their families. 'Tis with anxious and trembling foreboding then that your Petitioner presents herself before the Legislature to supplicate of their liberality and clemency,' Elvira Jones, a former slave, wrote the Virginia General Assembly in 1823; she asked for permission for 'herself and children to live and die in the Land of their nativity.'" (Schweninger 2001, xxx-xxx1).

Other examples of petitions from women:

Sally Dabney of Richmond to Virginia Assembly, 1834 (Schweninger 2001: 150-1)

A petition to recognize her freedom as the widow of a "free man of color."

- It appears that Sally Dabney's husband died, leaving her all of his property, but did not explicitly grant her freedom. This put her in the unique position of being a slave with no master, or, perhaps more accurately, being her own master.

Peggy Rankin, Montgomery County, to Texas Legislature, 1841 (Schweninger 2001: 176)

A petition to grant the freedom of a "Certain Mulatto Woman named Siney."

Other Tables (Qualitative and Quantitative Data)

Table A2: Five Weeks in the Life of Mary Avery White

[From Mary Avery White Diary, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.]

Sat [June] 10 ...we had a female antislavery society formed at the town hall. Rev. Mr Smith closed the meeting...

Sat [June] 24 ...Antislavery meeting of Females at the town Hall Mr Temple made a prayer Revd Mr St. Clair delivered an address a pertinent one on the subject of Slavery may we be animated to do what we can for the deliverance of the poor Slave

Sab [June] 25 ...a third service Antislavery concert...

Fri [June] 30 ...Mary took a circuit round the Neighbourhood with petition for the Abolition of Slavery in the district of Columbia & a remonstrance against the annexation of Texas to the United States as a Slaveholding territory may the Lord soon grant deliverance to those who are in bonds

Sat [July] 8 ...Female Antislavery society met this afternoon Caroline attended

Fri [July] 14 Very pleasant and warm Mary went & carried an antislavery petition to Miss Lucy Goodenow to circulate for subscribers...

Table A3a: Regression of Total Petition Signatures Upon Petition Characteristics
[Anti-Slavery Petitions Sent to U.S. House, 1833-45]

[Fixed-effects regression with petition as unit of analysis; each fixed effect corresponds to smallest identifiable unit of village, township, city, county from which petition was sent]

VARIABLES	Dependent	Dependent	Dependent	Dependent	Dependent
	Variable: <i>Number of Signatures</i>	Variable: <i>Number of Signatures</i>	Variable: <i>ln(Signatures)</i>	Variable: <i>Number of Signatures</i>	Variable: <i>ln(Signatures)</i>
		[petitions w sigs ≤ 1,000]		25 th Congress only	25 th Congress only
Woman Canvasser, Women Signatories	83.08 (18.41)	49.52 (4.48)	0.47 (0.04)	91.66 (16.37)	0.52 (0.05)
Gender-Separated Columns	37.98 (5.12)	38.97 (4.12)	0.48 (0.04)	49.58 (7.02)	0.49 (0.06)
25 th Congress (1837-39)	48.69 (27.33)	7.39 (9.73)	0.14 (0.12)		
26 th Congress (1839-41)	30.83 (21.59)	0.68 (9.23)	0.12 (0.12)		
27 th Congress (1841-43)	-5.22 (16.27)	-14.32 (12.55)	-0.13 (0.19)		
28 th Congress (1843-45)	32.20 (31.24)	-10.02 (12.13)	-0.05 (0.18)		
Prayer language: “Christ*”	9.26 (26.07)	1.91 (7.45)	-0.04 (0.07)	38.16 (41.29)	0.02 (0.11)
Prayer language: “republic*”	11.18 (13.33)	12.32 (5.95)	0.07 (0.05)	-11.30 (18.15)	0.01 (0.06)
Prayer Focus: D.C. slavery	0.10 (4.45)	2.63 (2.81)	0.01 (0.02)	-3.58 (5.99)	0.00 (0.03)
Prayer Focus: Slavery in territories	12.70 (11.50)	1.48 (4.51)	-0.01 (0.04)	9.90 (10.80)	-0.01 (0.03)
Prayer Focus: Admission of slave states	0.11 (4.17)	1.99 (3.36)	0.03 (0.03)	-5.18 (4.12)	-0.01 (0.03)
Prayer Focus: Interstate slave trade	-1.61 (6.06)	-5.26 (2.43)	-0.06 (0.02)	1.29 (8.50)	-0.03 (0.03)
Prayer Focus: Gag Rule	-14.95 (5.27)	-8.37 (3.62)	-0.08 (0.03)	-26.35 (9.49)	-0.13 (0.04)
Constant	36.62 (27.05)	69.62 (10.23)	3.86 (0.13)	81.23 (5.61)	4.01 (0.03)
N (petitions)	8,632	8,597	8,632	5,417	5,417
R-squared	0.04	0.07	0.08	0.05	0.09
Number of fixed effect parameters (villages, townships, cities, counties)	1,873	1,873	1,873	1,391	1,391

Note: For each petition, geographic fixed-effect corresponds to smallest geographic location identifiable from records (whether township, village, borough or county). Robust standard errors in parentheses; standard errors are clustered on geographic indicator variable used for fixed effect. For first three models, excluded Congress is 23rd and 24th (combined because of small number of petitions). Excluded canvassing category is male canvasser.

Table A3b: Regression of Total Signatures per 1,000 County Residents Upon Petition Characteristics
 [Anti-Slavery Petitions Sent to U.S. House, 1833-45]

[Fixed-effects regression with county-congress as unit of analysis; each fixed effect corresponds to county of origin.]

VARIABLES	Dependent Variable: <i>Number of Signatures per 1,000 County Residents</i>	Dependent Variable: <i>Number of Signatures per 1,000 County Residents</i>	Dependent Variable: <i>Number of Signatures per 1,000 County Residents</i>	Dependent Variable: <i>Number of Signatures per 1,000 County Residents</i>
	[Sample with Southern/border states & plains states excluded]	[Sample with Southern/border states & plains states excluded. Model with autoregressive errors]	[Sample with ≥ 1 petition in this county-congress]	[Sample with ≥ 1 petition in this and previous county-congress]
% petitions canvassed by women to women	1.07 (0.18)	0.98 (0.12)	0.71 (0.16)	0.57 (0.18)
% petitions with gender-separated signature columns	0.40 (0.09)	0.36 (0.08)	0.23 (0.09)	0.21 (0.10)
% petitions with prayer to abolish DC slavery	0.11 (0.08)	0.16 (0.10)	0.16 (0.10)	0.14 (0.12)
% petitions with prayer focused on territories	-0.01 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.15)	0.09 (0.18)	-0.37 (0.29)
% petitions with prayer focused on new states	0.04 (0.13)	-0.07 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.14)	-0.09 (0.23)
% petitions with prayer on interstate slave trade	-0.30 (0.09)	-0.28 (0.12)	-0.42 (0.13)	-0.31 (0.20)
% petitions with prayer on gag rule	0.35 (0.12)	0.31 (0.10)	0.14 (0.12)	0.15 (0.16)
Constant	-0.53 (1.10)	1.67 (2.61)	-557.03 (8.64)	-1.54 (7.25)
N (county-congresses)	1,170	975	775	365
Fixed effects (counties)	195	195	313	177

Note: In first two models, Southern and border states excluded because of absence of anti-slavery petitions; plains states excluded because of small population and absence of petitions). Included states for first two models: ME, VT, NH, MA, CT, RI, DE, NY, NJ, PA, OH, MI, IL. Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered on county. Excluded canvassing category is percentage of petitions with male canvasser.

Table A4a: Regression of Signatory Aggregates upon Petition Characteristics, by Congress, 1833-1845						
VARIABLES	(23 rd) 1833-35	(24 th) 1835-37	(25 th) 1837-39	(26 th) 1839-41	(27 th) 1841-43	(28 th) 1843-45
Women's Petition	16.86 (37.66)	20.80 (45.22)	93.70 (7.33)	54.77 (13.67)	48.23 (12.60)	-5.83 (58.02)
Separated Columns	17.20 (31.25)		47.02 (9.23)	33.08 (16.00)	11.72 (11.96)	16.70 (51.28)
Focus DC Slavery	106.36 (87.01)	78.92 (40.35)	3.42 (6.18)	-3.29 (12.20)	7.82 (8.52)	-10.56 (43.45)
Focus Territories	-88.66 (31.62)	54.21 (88.00)	9.54 (8.64)	36.33 (17.36)	31.41 (20.54)	8.77 (53.86)
Focus New States			-5.17 (7.64)	2.72 (12.92)	15.06 (12.50)	5.18 (63.37)
Focus All Slave Trade	-7.70 (85.14)		-2.19 (7.56)	14.32 (12.18)	-18.39 (6.86)	-1.07 (41.32)
Constant	20.65 (81.41)	60.05 (24.76)	74.01 (4.84)	67.87 (7.28)	58.76 (3.58)	77.58 (15.22)
Petitions	80	73	5,419	1,594	808	662
R-squared	0.19	0.17	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.00
Number fixed effects [unique geographic origins]	40	45	1,391	505	295	326

Dependent variable is number of signatories on petition. All petitions have at least one signatory. National Archives, Record Group 233. Several petitions dropped for lack of geographic indicator at county level or below.

Table A4b: Regression of Signatory Aggregates upon Petition Characteristics, by Congress, 1833-1845 [[petitions with > 1,000 signatories excluded]]						
VARIABLES	(23 rd) 1833-35	(24 th) 1835-37	(25 th) 1837-39	(26 th) 1839-41	(27 th) 1841-43	(28 th) 1843-45
Women's Petition	16.86 (37.66)	20.80 (45.22)	57.18 (3.51)	21.61 (5.16)	48.23 (12.60)	-6.52 (13.27)
Separated Columns	17.20 (31.25)		41.39 (4.39)	25.98 (6.01)	11.72 (11.96)	16.48 (11.73)
Focus DC Slavery	106.36 (87.01)	78.92 (40.35)	3.00 (2.94)	3.25 (4.58)	7.82 (8.52)	1.02 (10.04)
Focus Territories	-88.66 (31.62)	54.21 (88.00)	2.05 (4.12)	0.97 (6.54)	31.41 (20.54)	-2.99 (12.40)
Focus New States			-2.18 (3.64)	6.73 (4.85)	15.06 (12.50)	2.66 (14.50)
Focus All Slave Trade	-7.70 (85.14)		-7.60 (3.61)	-1.19 (4.58)	-18.39 (6.86)	9.23 (9.53)
Constant	20.65 (81.41)	60.05 (24.76)	74.98 (2.31)	74.50 (2.74)	58.76 (3.58)	64.06 (3.50)
Petitions	80	73	5,390	1,591	808	659
R-squared	0.19	0.17	0.07	0.03	0.05	0.01
Number fixed effects [unique geographic origins]	40	45	1,391	505	295	326

Dependent variable is number of signatories on petition. All petitions have at least one signatory. National Archives, Record Group 233.

Table A4c: Regression of log of Signatory Aggregates upon Petition Characteristics, by Congress, 1833-1845

VARIABLES	(23 rd) 1833-35	(24 th) 1835-37	(25 th) 1837-39	(26 th) 1839-41	(27 th) 1841-43	(28 th) 1843-45
Women's Petition	0.31 (0.37)	0.40 (0.53)	0.49 (0.03)	0.21 (0.06)	0.39 (0.15)	0.09 (0.18)
Separated Columns	0.32 (0.31)		0.48 (0.04)	0.48 (0.07)	0.37 (0.14)	0.44 (0.16)
Focus DC Slavery	2.01 (0.85)	0.01 (0.47)	0.02 (0.02)	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.14)
Focus Territories	-1.46 (0.31)	1.31 (1.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.08)	0.35 (0.25)	-0.01 (0.17)
Focus New States			-0.01 (0.03)	0.17 (0.06)	0.16 (0.15)	0.07 (0.20)
Focus All Slave Trade	0.10 (0.84)		-0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.27 (0.08)	0.03 (0.13)
Constant	2.58 (0.80)	4.12 (0.29)	3.98 (0.02)	3.95 (0.03)	3.74 (0.04)	3.72 (0.05)
Petitions	80	73	5,390	1,591	808	659
R-squared	0.41	0.15	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.03
Number fixed effects [unique geographic origins]	40	45	1,391	505	295	326

Dependent variable is natural logarithm of number of signatories on petition. All petitions have at least one signatory. National Archives, Record Group 233.

Table A4d: Nested Model of Signatories, 23rd through 28th Congresses combined

VARIABLES	DV: Signatories		DV: ln(signatories)	
Focus DC Slavery	4.74 (5.13)	2.69 (5.13)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Focus Territories	13.65 (7.27)	15.01 (7.26)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Focus New States	0.17 (6.35)	0.24 (6.34)	0.03 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Focus All Slave Trade	-6.74 (5.94)	-6.52 (5.93)	-0.08 (0.03)	-0.08 (0.03)
Women's only petition, 25 th Congress		104.69 (6.82)		0.57 (0.03)
Separated Columns, 25 th Congress		48.70 (8.11)		0.51 (0.03)
Women's only petition, 26 th Congress		54.27 (13.47)		0.32 (0.06)
Separated Columns, 26 th Congress		28.61 (12.90)		0.51 (0.05)
Women's only petition, 27 th Congress		4.37 (24.19)		0.08 (0.10)
Separated Columns, 27 th Congress		-9.88 (24.39)		0.31 (0.10)
Women's only petition, 28 th Congress		-14.18 (35.11)		0.14 (0.15)
Separated Columns, 28 th Congress		38.10 (26.61)		0.61 (0.11)
Women's only petition, general	87.21 (6.20)		0.49 (0.03)	
Separated Columns, general	39.96 (7.01)		0.50 (0.03)	
Constant	71.15 (3.47)	70.97 (3.47)	3.93 (0.01)	3.93 (0.01)
Petitions	8,637	8,637	8,637	8,637
R-squared	0.03	0.04	0.07	0.08
Number fixed effects [unique geographic origins]	1,873	1,873	1,873	1,873

Dependent variable is number of signatories or natural logarithm of number of signatories on petition. All petitions have at least one signatory. National Archives, Record Group 233.

Discussion of Interaction between Women’s Canvassing and Gag-Rule Prayers.

If we examine the interaction of women’s-only petitioning with a gag-rule-focused prayer, the interaction is positive and statistically robust ($p < 0.001$) (see Appendix Table A5b, next page). In the 25th Congress, for instance, the effect of percent petitions canvassed by women upon per-capita signatures more than doubled when women were also asking others to sign a gag-rule-focused petition ($p < 0.001$; Appendix Table A5b). (The signature aggregates on petitions canvassed by women remained significantly higher for non-gag-rule prayers when this interaction term is added.)

It is critical, however, to analyze the marginal effects according to methods which take into account the covariance of the estimated coefficient on women’s canvassing and the estimated coefficient on gag-rule-focused petitions. Drawing upon Brambor, Clark and Golden’s (2006) suggestions for calculation and presentation of marginal effects of interaction terms in a regression,⁴ we have calculated the marginal effect of the county percentage of petitions canvassed by women as a function of the county percentage of petitions focused on the gag rule. The plot of this function appear in Figure 4 in the Appendix, and the values of the marginal effect function appear in the following table for the 0th, 10th, 25th, 50th(median), 75th and 90th percentile of the gag-rule focus distribution.

Table A5a: Numerical Estimates of Marginal Effects of Percent County Petitions Canvassed by Women					
Percentile of County Percentage Petitions with Gag Rule Focus	Marginal Effect of Percent Women’s Petitions	Standard Error of Marginal Effect	Upper 95% Confidence Interval	Lower 95% Confidence Interval	
0	0.37	0.16	0.67	0.06	
10	0.98	0.14	1.27	0.70	
25	1.91	0.37	2.63	1.19	
50	3.46	0.81	5.04	1.87	
75	5.00	1.25	7.46	2.54	
90	5.93	1.52	8.91	2.94	

⁴ Thomas Brambor, William Roberts Clark, and Matt Golder, "Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses." *Political Analysis* 14 (2006): 63-82. We thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

The calculations here and the plot show that the marginal effect of women's canvassing remains above zero for the entire distribution of the county-level distribution of percentage of petitions against the gag rule. The marginal effect of women's canvassing becomes particularly large for larger values of the of gag rule focus variable.

Table A5b:
Interaction of Women's Petitions with Gag Rule Prayer

VARIABLES	Fixed Effects Model totnamesper1000	Fixed Effects Model with Autoregressive Errors totnamesper1000	Regression on 25 th Congress Only totnamesper1000
Percent Women's Only Petition	0.37 (0.16)	0.29 (0.13)	0.76 (0.33)
Percent Separated Columns	0.49 (0.08)	0.45 (0.08)	1.13 (0.23)
Percent Focus DC Slavery	0.16 (0.08)	0.20 (0.09)	0.76 (0.37)
Percent Focus Territories	0.03 (0.15)	0.04 (0.14)	0.04 (0.55)
Percent Focus New States	0.07 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.12)	1.06 (0.48)
Percent Focus All Slave Trade	-0.33 (0.11)	-0.32 (0.11)	-1.55 (0.55)
Percent Focus Gag Rule	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.64 (0.26)
Percent Women's Only Petitions x Percent Gag Rule Prayer	0.06 (0.02)	0.06 (0.01)	0.10 (0.02)
24 th Congress	-0.65 (0.51)	-362.84 (1,255.11)	
25 th Congress	33.55 (4.87)	-18.73 (179.95)	
26 th Congress	0.88 (1.61)	-7.84 (24.07)	
27 th Congress	2.91 (1.03)	0.00 (0.00)	
28 th Congress	2.45 (0.94)		
23 rd Congress [included in AR(1) model only]		-2,489.17 (8,677.06)	
Constant	-0.52 (1.09)	1.28 (2.44)	4.86 (2.77)
Observations (county-congresses)	1,170	975	195
R-squared	0.51		0.46
Number of fixed effects (counties)	195	195	

Dependent variable is signatures per-1,000-county-residents on anti-slavery petitions in the two-year period comprising a congress (county-congress).

These two tables show that even for separated-column petitions, women were getting more women’s signatures.

Table A6:
Regression of Number of Women’s Signatures on Separated Columns Indicator
[Women’s-Only Petitions Excluded]

VARIABLES	DV: # women signatories	DV: # women signatories [petitions with > 1,000 sigs excluded]	DV: ln(# women signatories)
Separated Columns	45.48 (2.48)	45.53 (2.49)	3.19 (0.08)
25 th Congress	8.79 (3.30)	7.56 (3.17)	0.23 (0.14)
26 th Congress	5.06 (3.29)	5.09 (3.18)	0.22 (0.14)
27 th Congress	5.83 (3.39)	5.62 (3.26)	0.38 (0.17)
28 th Congress	8.00 (3.93)	6.85 (3.40)	0.45 (0.19)
Prayer language: “Christ*”	2.45 (2.45)	3.07 (2.35)	0.07 (0.08)
Prayer language: “republic*”	-0.93 (1.50)	-0.13 (1.34)	-0.02 (0.04)
Focus DC Slavery	3.62 (2.13)	1.91 (1.06)	0.10 (0.04)
Focus Territories	-0.55 (1.72)	1.03 (1.36)	0.01 (0.05)
Focus New States	0.24 (1.03)	0.80 (1.00)	0.08 (0.03)
Focus All Slave Trade	0.62 (1.12)	0.97 (0.78)	0.09 (0.03)
Focus Gag Rule	-0.57 (1.48)	0.14 (1.32)	0.01 (0.04)
Constant	-4.45 (3.26)	-4.16 (3.08)	-0.04 (0.14)
Petitions	6,794	6,784	6,794
R-squared	0.15	0.29	0.64
Number fixed effects [unique geographic origins]	1,711	1,711	1,711

Dependent variable is number of signatories or natural logarithm of number of signatories on petition. All petitions have at least one signatory. National Archives, Record Group 233. Robust standard errors clustered on origin of petition appear in parentheses.

Table A7: Regression of Percentage of Signatories from Women on Separated Columns Indicator [Women’s-Only Petitions Excluded]		
VARIABLES	DV: % of signatories female	DV: % of signatories female [petitions with > 1,000 sigs excluded]
Separated Columns	38.99	39.01
	(0.87)	(0.88)
25 th Congress	2.99	2.94
	(1.50)	(1.50)
26 th Congress	2.34	2.33
	(1.44)	(1.44)
27 th Congress	4.78	4.74
	(1.91)	(1.91)
28 th Congress	4.96	4.86
	(2.15)	(2.17)
Prayer language: “Christ*”	0.55	0.60
	(1.06)	(1.06)
Prayer language: “republic*”	-0.11	-0.09
	(0.63)	(0.63)
Focus DC Slavery	1.43	1.31
	(0.39)	(0.39)
Focus Territories	0.32	0.39
	(0.65)	(0.65)
Focus New States	1.10	1.10
	(0.40)	(0.40)
Focus All Slave Trade	1.29	1.29
	(0.43)	(0.43)
Focus Gag Rule	0.46	0.49
	(0.56)	(0.56)
Constant	-0.63	-0.60
	(1.50)	(1.51)
Petitions	6,791	6,782
R-squared	0.59	0.60
Number fixed effects [unique geographic origins]	1,711	1,711

Dependent variable is number of signatories or natural logarithm of number of signatories on petition. All petitions have at least one signatory. National Archives, Record Group 233. Robust standard errors clustered on origin of petition appear in parentheses.