

*Advance praise for INDIVISIBLE*

"With a lucidity of the written word to match his subject's famed eloquence of the spoken word, Joel Richard Paul shows how Webster's oratorical brilliance helped to define the meaning of the Union in the antebellum era." ~ **James M. McPherson, author of *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era***

"Joel Paul's *Indivisible* tells the remarkable story of Daniel Webster, a towering American whose hypnotic oratory in the 19th century helped to define the character of the American nation. A stirring and monumental achievement." ~ **Jamie Raskin, U. S. Representative, (D-MD 8th District)**

"*Indivisible* is an impressively researched book that is also a fine example of narrative analysis and old-fashioned storytelling. With a clear-eyed assessment of Daniel Webster's political brilliance and disappointments, Paul centers Webster in the 19th-century debate over young America's identity. *Indivisible* recounts how the moderate anti-slavery Webster made nationalism a "civic religion" in a country with deep political division over questions of racial equality. *Indivisible* is a must-read as issues related to race and America's national identity continue to vex the country." ~ **Anita F. Hill, University Professor of Social Policy, Law and Women's Studies Brandeis University and author of *Believing: Our Thirty-Year Journey to End Gender Violence***.

"In this compelling narrative, Paul portrays the tragedy of the man whose devotion to "liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable" could not overcome the strident demands of slave-holders and the populist racism of whites North and South. This insightful account gives Webster his due in a cautionary tale for a nation once again struggling to sustain constitutional liberty for all its people." ~ **Robert A. Gross, Bancroft Prize-winning author of *The Minutemen and Their World* and *The Transcendentalists and Their World***

"Joel Richard Paul's wonderful book blends episodes from the life of Daniel Webster, the silver-tongued orator who defined American national identity as "liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable" with kaleidoscopic coverage of other leaders and the events that nearly tore the country apart during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century." ~ **William Taubman, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era***.

"Distinguished author Joel Richard Paul has given us an elegant, highly-readable new biography of the greatly influential New England leader Daniel Webster (1782-1850). Webster was a fervent advocate of saving the national union when arguments over continuing or ending slavery were threatening to tear the republic apart. Webster favored a political compromise that ultimately failed, all masterfully explained by Paul in this gripping volume....highly recommended!" ~ **James Kirby Martin, Professor of History, Emeritus, University of Houston and author of *Surviving Dresden***.

"Daniel Webster was never a president, general, or Supreme Court justice. But he did more than perhaps any other individual to create an American nationality. Joel Richard Paul's richly contextual biography vividly captures the flawed, brilliant leader who forged American institutions and identity around his motto, 'Liberty and Union.' From incandescent oratory to morally muddled compromises, Webster did everything he could to battle extremism and division, a struggle all too resonant in our own polarized times." ~ *T.J. Stiles, winner of the Pulitzer Prize for The First Tycoon and Custer's Trials*

Historian Paul (*Without Precedent*) examines in this intriguing study the role that 19th-century lawyer, congressman, and orator Daniel Webster played in promoting the idea of American nationalism based on the Constitution. From the 1810s to the 1850s, Paul shows, America's national identity was being formed by leaders including Henry Clay, who advocated for infrastructure subsidies to "knit the country closer together," and Andrew Jackson, whose "insistent defense of slavery and white superiority won him popular support and unprecedented powers." The vast expansion of the U.S. through the annexation of Texas, California, and New Mexico and the literature of James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, and others also helped shape the ways Americans thought about themselves. Paul places Webster at the center of competing visions of "what it meant to be American," arguing that his "unequaled eloquence" as a constitutional advocate "was the antidote to Jackson's toxic populism." Though Paul describes Webster's 1830 speech against the theory of nullification, which held that states had the power to nullify federal law, "as the greatest extemporaneous oration ever delivered before Congress," he also explains how Webster's support for the Fugitive Slave Act backfired. Full of fascinating digressions and astute analysis, this is a rewarding look at one of America's most enduring fault lines. (Oct.) ~ *Publisher's Weekly*

**"A majestic history of "the development of American nationalism from the War of 1812 to 1852.** Though Daniel Webster (1782-1852) is mentioned in the subtitle, this book is about far more than one man's influence, significant as it was. In his latest examination of a specific period of American history, constitutional and international law professor Paul, author of *Without Precedent* and *Unlikely Allies*, fashions an impressively multilayered narrative. Focusing on a series of crucial figures and historical moments in the first half of the 19th century – e.g., the War of 1812; the Monroe Doctrine and Transcontinental Treaty, through which Secretary of State John Quincy Adams "had committed the United States to becoming a hegemon"; and the rise of Andrew Jackson's "toxic populism" – the author shows how American citizens began to gain a sense of common community and purpose, as opposed to identifying with a particular region. As a lawyer and senator, Webster made an early impression as "a leading opponent of slavery and the voice of New England." During the Jackson administration, he helped to lead the charge against Jackson's "mean-spirited campaign[s] against civil servants, bankers, foreigners, and Native Americans." Webster opposed the annexation of Texas as a needless provocation of war with Mexico and the

extension of slavery into new territory. However, he also defended the property of slave owners in the case of the slave uprising aboard the Creole in 1841. That incident, coupled with his later defense of the Fugitive Slave Act, tainted his glorious reputation. Indeed, in the years to come, many believed that Webster sold his soul for Southern votes in his quest for the presidency. Following the biographical thread of "one of the most influential statesmen of the antebellum period," Paul delivers important historical context along the way, showing how "while the Union was falling apart, our American identity was taking shape. **An ambitious work that wonderfully delineates the formative years of the nation's character.**" ~ *Starred Kirkus Review*