

TEMPERANCE, ABOLITION, OH MY!
JAMES GOODWYN CLONNEY'S PROBLEMS
WITH PAINTING THE FOURTH OF JULY

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In 1839, James Goodwyn Clonney (1812–1867) began work on a large-scale, multi-figure composition, *Militia Training* (originally titled *Fourth of July*), destined to be the most ambitious piece of his career [Figure 1]. British-born and recently naturalized as an American citizen, Clonney wanted the American art world to consider him a major artist, and he chose a subject replete with American tradition and patriotism. Examining the numerous preparatory sketches for the painting reveals that Clonney changed key figures from Caucasian to African American—both to make the work more typically American and to exploit the popular humor of the stereotypes. However, critics found fault with the subject's overall lack of decorum, tellingly with the drunken behavior and not with the African American stereotypes. The Fourth of July had increasingly become a problematic holiday for many influential political forces such as temperance and abolitionist groups. Perhaps reflecting some of these pressures, when the image was engraved in 1843, the title changed to *Militia Training*, the title it is known by today. This essay will

demonstrate how Clonney reflected his time period, attempted to pander to the public, yet failed to achieve critical success.

In the early years of his career, Clonney had an assortment of specialties and was not very successful at any of them. First of all, after immigrating to America from England, he worked as a lithographer for firms in New York and Philadelphia in the early 1830s. His first major commissions of lithographic illustrations were published in *The Cabinet of Natural History and American Rural Sports* by Childs and Inman in Philadelphia in 1830 and 1832. After that, one of the first biographers of American art, William Dunlap, lists him as a miniature painter in 1834.¹ Although today Clonney is known as a genre painter, his work before 1841 indicates an interest in a variety of subjects, including landscapes and portraits. Demonstrating a classical academic training which encouraged drawing from Greek and Roman sculpture casts, he won a prize from the National Academy of Design in 1833 for the second best drawing from the antique.² By 1834, he set his sights on an academic career and became an associate member of the National Academy of Design in New York where he exhibited from 1834–52.³ He also exhibited at the Apollo Association and the American Art-Union in New York and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia. *Militia Training* represents Clonney's turning point from a wide variety of subject matter to a career in genre painting.

Genre or scenes of everyday life became a popular subject matter in the 1830s in America. Often linked to the 1828 election of populist president Andrew Jackson, the rise of genre painting signaled an emerging middle class patronage. Characterized by robust feelings of nationalism and egalitarianism, the Jacksonian era, which lasted into the 1840s, determined the direction of the arts. The new patron wanted images from recognizable and topical events, particularly American scenes. Although earlier artists had addressed these topics, artists did not focus on genre painting because wealthy upper class patrons considered the subject matter too unsophisticated. With the rise of a new type of patron, tastes in America shifted, and many artists, such as Clonney, answered their demands by focusing on genre painting.

Genre painting, as opposed to the more refined subject matter of history painting, tends to be on a smaller scale with fewer figures. Canvases usually range from 20 to 30 inches as opposed to history paintings which could reach 5 to 10 feet. Even portraiture from the early nineteenth century was

typically larger than the early genre works.⁴ In many ways, the small scale fit the modest subject matter as well as reflected the intended location for the works. Genre works were not intended for expansive libraries and ballrooms in grand mansions but for intimate parlors and foyers in smaller dwellings. This scale also perpetuated academic hierarchies which placed genre painting below history, portraiture, and landscape subjects in importance.

As genre painting became more popular, artists sought to gain more recognition for their work. One way for genre painters to elevate their work's importance was to increase the canvas size and complexity. By the 1840s and 1850s, genre paintings were often over 30 inches and some reached over 40 inches.⁵ Another method for increasing the status of genre painting involved broadening the work's message. On first inspection, genre works seem to be about quotidian subjects. As scholarship in last decades has revealed, however, the artists were politically and socially engaged in their time period.⁶ Increasing the variety of messages signals the artist's desire to invest genre painting with as much importance as history painting. Clonney had ambitions to advance beyond animal prints and miniature paintings and depict scenes of topical American culture.

The size of the canvas, number of figures, and the complex arrangement in *Militia Training* demonstrate Clonney's intention to advertise his skills as an artist and bolster the reputation of the underappreciated genre. First, the work measures 28 x 40 inches which is larger than most typical genre paintings. Second, there are over 30 figures in the foreground, not to mention the suggestion of many more in the distance. Men dominate the scene, but women, children, and animals also appear. Five, possibly six men are African American, one of whom provides the focal point of the composition. Third, there are a number of scenes taking place in the painting. The central group consists of two dancing African Americans flanked by two older men—a Caucasian man fiddling on the left and an African American man holding his fiddle on the right. Behind each fiddler, more people mill around two carts. The cart on the left proudly flies the American flag in contrast with the cart on the right whose main attraction appears to be a large barrel. Based on the boisterous and swaggering poses of the individuals on and around the cart, the barrel holds an alcoholic beverage. In addition to this beverage station, a man and woman operate a beer stand on the far left.⁷ These offerings may explain the passed out sitting gentleman on the left being teased by a young boy and the crawling disheveled soldier on the right who tipsily reaches for

his misplaced hat. The background opens up to a distant landscape where people parade on an open field.

To highlight the Americanness of the scene, Clonney uses red, white and blue touches throughout the composition. The prominent American flag hangs just to the left of the central axis. On the far left, the beer stand has a red, white, and blue quilt as a canopy. Not only are the colors American, but also the quilt itself has American roots since many quilting patterns have African origins, brought over by the slaves. Clonney extends the patriotic color scheme to the celebrants' clothing. One of the participants, a woman sitting in the flag cart, has a red bonnet tied with a blue and white ribbon while another woman with her back to us wears a red shawl and has a blue bonnet with a red ribbon. Another partier, the Caucasian fiddler, wears a blue coat, red tie, and white shirt and has a festive red ribbon tied to his fiddle. And yet another, the crawling man wearing a white shirt from which a red cloth hangs, reaches for his hat with its red, white, and blue plume. It would seem with so many allusions to the patriotic colors that Clonney wanted to make sure the viewer knows this is an American scene.

Preliminary drawings for the composition show that at least two years before he finished the painting, Clonney carefully planned the figures and composition. He focused on caricatured African American figures which he probably felt added to the scene's Americanness. There are at least fourteen studies in the Karolik Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—four of which he worked up in more detail in wash, signed, and dated 1839. One of the more complete works is of a dancing African American, garbed in a rumpled suit and worn shoes [Figure 2]. His grinning face is comical in its crude proportions and childlike expression; the head is too small for the body while the large eyes are cartoonish with carefully delineated feminine eyelashes. A graphite drawing continues this caricaturing with another dancing African American with exaggerated bulging-eyes, upturned nose, and large smile [Figure 3].⁸ He is next to a full figure and head of Caucasian males. The contrast between the dancing figure with arms outstretched and the more reserved figures heightens the differences.

Another small pencil sketch contains a more complex arrangement of figures in two different scenes—the group around the cider barrel and the dancing figures [Figure 4]. Both compositions are reversed from the final painting, demonstrating Clonney's background as an engraver and his ease at switching figures. Closer examination of the lower image reveals Clonney originally drew the dancers as Caucasian, though the non-playing fiddler

remained African American. On the left in this drawing, a woman, man, and two children gather around the dancers and admire their fancy footwork. On the other side of the fiddler, two men face each other with knees bent in a possible dance step. Neither these spectators nor the jiggling men appear in the final version. In a detailed version in wash of the final painting, also reversed, the artist shows he intended to include even more cavorting African American figures in the right background. This sketch has a seated fiddler next to two dancing men who face a man on horseback. One of the dancers has his arms raised over his head in wild abandonment. All of them are African American. These figures demonstrate Clonney's attempt to appeal to prevalent tastes for stereotypes.

For many nineteenth-century artists, the addition of African Americans to their paintings offered humorous anecdote, and Clonney included these stock characters in *Militia Training* and other paintings. For example in 1838, he painted *In the Woodshed*, in which a Caucasian man stands over a sitting pipe-smoking African American whose openmouthed expression and absent looking eyes ridicule the individual [Figure 5]. Art historian Elizabeth Johns believes that Clonney's images of African Americans are direct responses to contemporary political debates. Johns interpreted *In the Woodshed* as an illustration of the expression, "nigger in the woodshed," a commentary on "abolitionism camouflaged in campaign rhetoric."⁹ The inclusion of African Americans in *Militia Training* also refers to events of the day. Although there is a cider barrel, often a sign for corrupt election politics, *Militia Training* is about broader topics than just the election of Whig candidate Benjamin Harrison in 1841 and includes references to temperance and abolition.

Other versions of the Fourth of July painted with more political acumen had met with critical success. Clonney's painting shares many similarities with John Lewis Krimmel's paintings, *Fourth of July in Centre Square* from circa 1812 and *Independence Day Celebration in Centre Square* from 1819, including the representation of African Americans and the alcoholic beverage stand [Figures 6–7]. Krimmel, a Philadelphia artist, is known as one of the first American genre painters. A critic in *Port Folio* praised Krimmel's subject matter in *Fourth of July*, calling it a "pleasing representation."¹⁰ Although the African Americans in Krimmel's works have the exaggerated features of caricature, their clothing, particularly in the earlier painting, indicates that the adults are wealthy and respectable members of society. In the background, an African American couple stands near the fence, separated from the rest of the crowd and looking askance at the mischievous boys who climb over the fence.

Only the barefoot boy in the foreground seems to join the other children's mischief by the alcohol stand. Drink polarizes the individuals in Krimmel's paintings much as it does in Clonney's. In the earlier piece, *Fourth of July*, a woman pleadingly gestures to her imbibing spouse, pointing out their curly haired cherub whom he forsakes for drink, while some Quakers put up their hands in protest over the licentious activities of their fellow citizens. In the second work, *Independence Day Celebration*, a woman on the right passes out temperance pamphlets while the citizens liberally partake of alcoholic beverages, including an African American boy who guzzles a jug under the cider table. As in Clonney's image, this later work caricaturizes the only African Americans, who are both unchaperoned children. Krimmel demonstrates the raucous events of Independence Day, but he also tempered them with a display of morality and temperance.

The negative association of drinking with the nation's birth may account for the criticism Clonney received when the work appeared in the National Academy of Design's 1841 annual exhibition. A writer in *The Knickerbocker* commented,

There is very decided merit in this effort. The negroes are painted with great truth. There are other figures as well executed; and the composition, though crowded is well arranged. There is something too much of the vulgar, however, in the subject, as here portrayed. We hope to see a pencil so capable, employed upon details more interesting to a pure and refined mind.¹¹

The "vulgar . . . in the subject" that he writes of is most likely the public drunkenness in the painting. The criticism seems to be directed more at the Caucasian figures since he praises the realism of the "negroes." Due to the importance of the day, their exuberance crosses the line of propriety. In addition, the National Academy of Design tended not to exhibit genre painting, and the reviewer perhaps seeks to put the lower genre in its place.¹² Artists typically depicted African Americans in an abandonment of decorum so that was less a concern for the critic.¹³

The amount of drinking associated with the Fourth of July angered many people, and, unlike Krimmel, Clonney does not show the anti-drinking constituency which had gained considerable popularity when the artist painted *Militia Training*. The American Temperance Society (ATS) founded

in 1826 became particularly strong in the 1830s and 1840s, advocating total abstinence from alcohol.¹⁴ Yet the movement began much earlier with proponents encouraging moderation. Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the earliest Americans supporting temperance, set the benchmark for later advocates. In "Hints Towards the Natural History of Pennsylvania," he linked drinking with dependency on Britain, suggesting that it would be easier to gain independence than eliminate drinking.¹⁵ Rush thought public gatherings from agricultural labor to militia training relied too much on alcohol consumption. He wrote in 1806, "The meetings of citizens for militia exercises are generally attended with intemperance in drinking, quarreling, profane swearing, and acts of violence to the property of the persons who live near the places where those meetings are held."¹⁶ Therefore temperance groups particularly admonished militia groups.

Temperance organizations exerted substantial change in America through lectures, publications, and special events. Organizations such as the ATS and later Washingtonians who emerged in the late 1830s gained many members through their persuasive oratory skills. By 1841, the year Clonney finished *Militia Training*, the Washingtonians had held successful public meetings in New York, Boston, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh with enrollment estimates reaching over ten percent of the free population.¹⁷ In addition to the moving presentations by reformed alcoholics, local temperance chapters sent out circulars and tracts and founded journals devoted to the cause.¹⁸ In the 1830s, Washingtonians even created a "cold-water Fourth of July celebration."¹⁹ Lower consumption of alcohol demonstrated the success of the temperance movement. By the beginning of the 1840s, spirits and cider use dropped significantly.²⁰ Therefore, Clonney's image represented exactly the type of event against which temperance groups fought.

Drunkenness on the nation's birth often led to rowdy or even unlawful behavior. In 1821, one irate citizen wrote about Philadelphia's celebration, "Intemperance and riot are generally witnessed in many directions before the end of the day, reeling to and fro in dreadful unison."²¹ In addition to the problems with public drunkenness, groups often used the day to attack African Americans in a country becoming increasingly divided over issues of slavery. Following one such incidence in Philadelphia in 1805, the city forbade African Americans the next year from participating in city events celebrating the Fourth.²² In 1834, Caucasian merchants in New York City attacked an integrated Fourth of July church group, while in 1842 a

white mob in Philadelphia attacked a parading group of African American Temperance Society members.²³ For African Americans, the Fourth of July had become a dangerous holiday.

In addition to the issues of alcohol abuse on the nation's birth, Clonney painted *Fourth of July* at a time when abolitionists had made the day part of their call to end slavery. William Lloyd Garrison called the day, "the time-honored, wine-honored, toast-drinking, powder wasting, tyrant-killing Fourth of July—consecrated, for the last sixty years to bombast, to falsehood, to impudence, to hypocrisy."²⁴ The celebration of American freedom rang false for those concerned with the emancipation of slaves. How could a nation's people celebrate liberty when a third of the population was enslaved? As Frederick Douglass would ask during a speech in Rochester, New York in 1852, "What to the slave is the Fourth of July?" He declared:

I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heart-less; your denunciation of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery. . . .²⁵

He went on to declare it criminal even to celebrate the day while enslaving one's fellow man. In addition, some free African Americans boycotted the day or sought alternative days to protest the hypocritical holiday and to avoid the backlash of drunken mobs. Some chose January 1, the day foreign slave trade was abolished in 1808 and then, after 1863, the day of the Emancipation Proclamation. After 1834, many celebrated August 1, West Indian Emancipation Day. Some even marked July 1 for the Amistad slave rebellion in 1839 or July 5, the day after the official holiday.²⁶

In those states where African Americans were free, such as New York and Pennsylvania where Clonney lived and exhibited, government officials debated their right to vote. Although New York did not outright forbid African Americans to vote, an 1821 law required property ownership to do so. In 1838, Pennsylvania voted to prevent African Americans from voting altogether, whether they were tax payers or property holders.²⁷ Clonney's reinforcement of stereotypes would have pleased a public eager to demonstrate the inequality between races. When he began work on *Fourth of July*

in the late 1830s, the artist entered a political maelstrom dealing with issues from temperance to abolition.²⁸

Philadelphia publisher Edward L. Carey (1806–45) purchased *Fourth of July* to use it as an illustration in his gift book series for many reasons. A Philadelphian like Carey would appreciate the image because it reflected many of the current concerns in Pennsylvania and the nation. His father, the esteemed publisher and patriot, Mathew Carey, supported the temperance movement and served as a delegate in national temperance conventions.²⁹ Gift books, an annual high-quality publication intended as a gift during the holiday season, were popular among the upper middle class in the nineteenth century, particularly among women, for their attractive wedding of art and literature. And women were one of the leading constituents of the American temperance movement. Gift books were also very lucrative for the publisher. During the 1830s and 1840s, Carey purchased paintings by Daniel Huntington, William Sidney Mount, William Page, and others to include them in his series. The engraved works would illustrate an accompanying story, also commissioned by the publisher. In this way, Carey encouraged and supported American artists and writers and made them more accessible to the general public. It was during this translation that Clonney's work became known as *Militia Training*.

When *Fourth of July* appeared in *The Gift: A Christmas and New Year's Present*, 1843, the image's meaning changed from a specific holiday to a general gathering through the inclusion of a short story. Engraved without any noticeable changes by Joseph Ives Pease (1809–1883), the image accompanied a story by John Frost (1800–1859), entitled "The Militia Training, or One Good Turn Deserves Another." Like all gift book writers, Frost wrote the story after seeing Clonney's painting and loosely based it on the work, incorporating some and eliminating other elements. In Frost's story, the main character, thirteen year old Master George, looks forward to attending the "General Muster" and helping out at the refreshment stand of one of his father's hired men, Jerry. During the day, George spots a passed out man and "being a member of the temperance society himself, considered the inebriate fair game." While he tickles the individual's nose, as one sees in the Clonney work, the man's brother, also drunk and presumably inspired by Clonney's crawling man, launches a counter attack. Jerry rushes in to protect his young friend, and as a result knocks over his stand, ruins his merchandise, and breaks his arm. George feels terribly guilty and resolves to repay Jerry, but his friend will not accept his money and even claims, "I begin to believe the

smashing of [the tent] was a judgment upon me for selling liquor...."³⁰ Years later, George runs into Jerry and is finally able to help him financially. The story reinforces the temperance message which was lacking in the original image and would have appealed to Carey, the publisher.

The title *Militia Training* works equally well, if not better, with Clonney's painting. The popular press frequently lampooned militia groups, particularly the enrolled militia which consisted of unregulated self-armed citizens who had to meet only two days a year. A British visitor noted,

Being more a matter of form than necessity, the members are allowed to send deputies for themselves, and also proxies for their weapons. As, for instance, if a farmer can't go, he sends his carter; and if his musket should be engaged, dispatches his umbrella or pitchfork in its place.³¹

The artist David Claypoole Johnston made a number of militia-related watercolors and prints mocking these groups, such as *A Militia Muster* from 1828 [Figure 8]. In Johnston's print, we see a man on the far right replacing his rifle with a corn stalk. Another figure in the middle swipes a hat off with his bayonet much to the chagrin of the older gentleman. Next to him a bemused character with a pint clutched in his hand unconsciously jabs a compatriot in the backside with his rifle. He shares his inebriation with another man who tries to fend off his associates. At the end of the line on the left, a brawl has broken out. Based on Rush's earlier comments and the popularity of this type of image, one senses that this is the typical melee arising when a militia group gets together. As with Clonney's work, public drunkenness went hand in hand with these semi-annual meetings.

Just as in the painting, drink plays a prominent role in Frost's story. Frost blames alcohol abuse for the destruction of Jerry's stand but at the same time pokes fun at those who over indulge. In the text, Frost refers to Clonney's scene as an illustration of the humorous activities associated with militia training and describes some of vignettes. He points out the figures sitting on the cider barrel, the toasting men, the drunken soldier riding his own musket, as well as the two central dancing African Americans. He observes, "... the head of the family was contemplating, with the most edifying gravity, the spirited performance of a genuine African reel, or *pas de deux*, executed with wonderful grace and agility by some Sambo and Cuffee."³² As with Clonney's

painting, the African Americans exist for entertainment and are not integral to the story.

Although the dancers are accomplished, the author still refers to them as Sambo or Cuffee, both derogatory and generalized epithets for African Americans at the time. Sambo was a common slave name. *The Staunton Vindicator* in 1867 defined Sambo “to mean the ‘offspring of the mulatto and the negro.’”³³ Cuffee had numerous associations. Paul Cuffee (1759–1817) was an African American merchant who advocated emigration of African Americans from the United States to Africa. Cuffee also derived from the Ashanti name “Kofi,” meaning a male born on Friday. Both names were used in popular literature and advertisements.³⁴ By invoking these names, Frost appeals to generally accepted stereotypes.

Whether Clonney intended his painting as a depiction of the Fourth of July or of militia training, he attempted to create a scene that the general public would appreciate. For some, as seen in *The Knickerbocker* review, his humor was too plebian. For others, the meaning behind the events was too loaded with political charge to be funny. However, one patron, Edward L. Carey, found the image engaging enough to buy it, engrave it, and distribute it on a large scale. In the following years, Clonney would turn even more to lampooning African American subjects and without the ambiguity seen in his contemporaries.³⁵ While Clonney never became particularly successful, his works unfortunately reflect prevalent views about African Americans in mid-nineteenth century America. In this way, Clonney had indeed found an American subject.



FIGURE 1: James Goodwyn Clonney, *Militia Training*, 1841. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Bequest of Henry C. Carey (The Carey Collection).



FIGURE 2: James Goodwyn Clonney, *Study for "Militia Training": Boy Dancing*, about 1839. Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Watercolors and Drawings, 1800–1875. Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIGURE 3: James Goodwyn Clonney, *Study for "Militia Training": Three Men, One Dancing*, about 1839. Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Watercolors and Drawings, 1800–1875. Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIGURE 4: James Goodwyn Clonney, *Study for "Militia Training": Two Composition Studies*, about 1839. Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Watercolors and Drawings, 1800–1875. Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

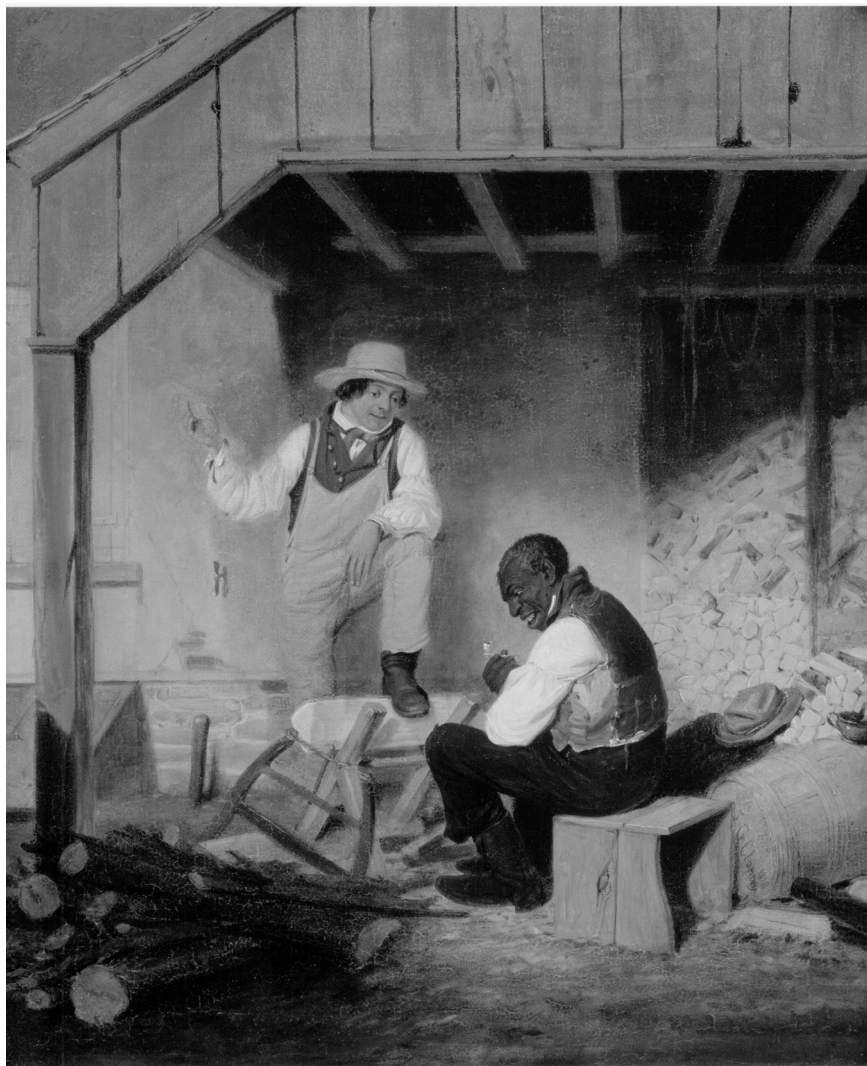


FIGURE 5: James Goodwyn Clonney, *In the Woodsbed*, 1838. Gift of Martha C. Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815–1865. Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIGURE 6: John Lewis Krimmel, *Fourth of July in Centre Square*, by 1812, Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Pennsylvania Academy purchase (from the estate of Paul Beck, Jr.).

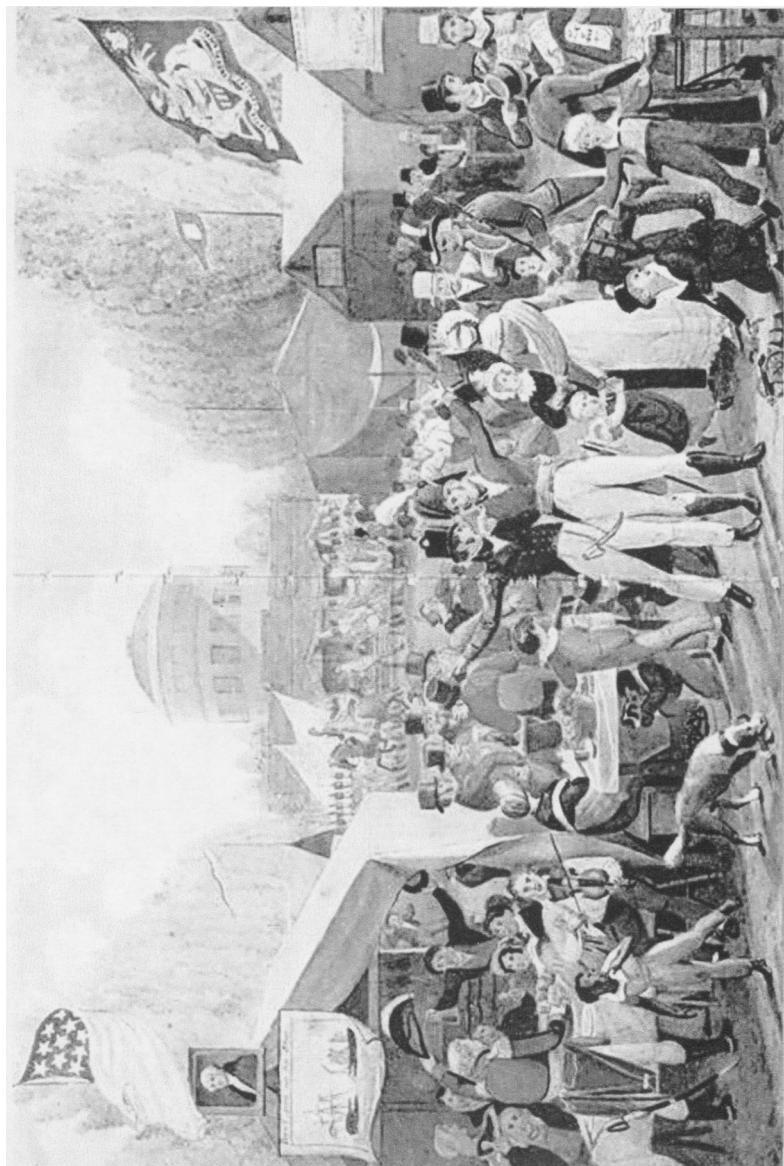


FIGURE 7: John Lewis Kimmel, *Independence Day Celebration in Centre Square*, 1819.



FIGURE 8: David Claypoole Johnston, *A Militia Muster*, 1828. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

NOTES

1. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York: George P. Scott, 1834): 290.
2. Lucretia H. Giese, "James Goodwyn Clonney (1812–1867): American Genre Painter," *American Art Journal* 11:4 (1979): 6.
3. Giese, 6.
4. For example, John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark* from 1778 is 71 ¾" x 90 ½" (National Gallery of Art), while Gilbert Stuart's *George Washington (Lansdowne portrait)* is 96 x 60" (National Portrait Gallery).
5. William Sidney Mount, one of the most popular genre artists in the antebellum years, created *The Power of Music* from 1847 (The Cleveland Museum of Art) on a canvas of 71 x 21."
6. Elizabeth Johns broke new ground in this field. Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991). Thus Mount's *The Painter's Triumph* from 1838 (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts) appears to be merely a pleasant exchange between a painter and farmer who stand in front of an unrevealed canvas, but it is also about the educated artist's uneasy alliance with unsophisticated patrons in a desire to make a living. Erika Schneider, "Starving for Recognition: The Representation of the Starving Artist in America, 1810–1865," unpublished diss., Tyler School of Art at Temple University, 2007.
7. The Pennsylvania Academy refers to the table as a beer stand, but it may also be a pie stand as a preparatory sketch for it in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston refers to it that way. There is a basket of apples in front of it, but the woman seems to hold a flask. *Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805–2005* (Frome, England: Butler and Tanner, 2005): 16.
8. Clonney's penchant for caricaturing didn't stop with the dancers; he targeted both African Americans and Caucasians in the same drawing. The figure on the left on the sheet shows similar exaggerations while the man in the middle looks more naturalistic.
9. Johns, 108. Abolition opponents claimed abolitionists used political issues such as taxes to conceal their agenda.
10. "Review of the Second Annual Exhibition." *Port Folio* 8:1 (July, 1812): 24. The reviewer criticized the execution of the painting.
11. "The Fine Arts." *The Knickerbocker* 18:1 (July 1841): 87.
12. Johns, 113.
13. William Sidney Mount's 1836 *Farmers Nooning* (The Museums at Stony Brook) shows an African American sleeping next to a telling jug.
14. Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989): 12. See also W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
15. John J. Rumbarger, *Profits, Power and Prohibition* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989): 4–5.
16. Benjamin Rush, *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical* (Philadelphia: Thomas and William Bradford, 1806): 116.
17. Blocker, 41.

18. Blocker, 13–14.
19. Blocker, 44.
20. Blocker, 29.
21. Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997): 212.
22. Stephen Elliot James, “The Other Fourth of July: The Meanings of Black Identity at American Celebrations of Independence, 1770–1863” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997): 19.
23. Leonard I. Sweet, “The Fourth of July and Black Americans in the Nineteenth Century.” *Journal of Negro History* 61: 3 (1976): 263 and Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986): 46. See also Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: the Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).
24. James, “The Other Fourth of July,” 133.
25. Frederick Douglass, “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July? (1852)” *Black Scholar* 7: 10 (1976): 35.
26. Sweet, “The Fourth of July and Black Americans in the Nineteenth Century,” 259.
27. Eric Ledell Smith, “The End of Black Voting Rights in Pennsylvania: African Americans and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837–1838.” *Pennsylvania History* 65:3 (1998): 293.
28. Numerous abolitionist publications circulated in the 1830s and 1840s. For example, Clonney could have read Garrison's journal, *The Liberator*, published from 1831 to 1865. In addition, the Amistad trial made the headlines from 1839 until the men's return to Africa in 1842.
29. Rumbarger, 15.
30. John Frost, “The Militia Training, or One Good Turn Deserves Another” in *The Gift: A Christmas and New Year's Present, 1843* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842): 199, 206.
31. David Tatham, “David Claypoole Johnston's Militia Muster.” *The American Art Journal* 39: 2 (Spring 1987): 8.
32. Frost, “The Militia Training,” 198.
33. “By What Name.” *The Staunton Vindicator* (August 17, 1867): 1.
34. Sheet music from 1865 depicts caricatured African Americans such as “Away Goes Cuffee” and “Cuffee's War Song.” “Historic American Sheet Music,” Digital Collection, Duke University Libraries. Sambo is a character in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, while the name Cuffee is also mentioned. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1852).
35. In Mount's *The Power of Music*, music is shown as a civilizing force over drink. Eastman Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home* from 1859 (New York Historical Society) pleased both slave holders for showing happy vignettes of family life and abolitionists for revealing the ramshackle conditions slave holders forced upon their slaves.